# greakers Ahead in the Marine Workers' Union.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

# MORE TRADE.

(After Rudyard Kipling.)

oup the sword and rifle; forth your ships with speed, oin the nations' scramble, vie with them in greed. find your goods a market and the Western flood; poor folk who withstand you answer it in blood.

up the sword and rifle, so does all the world: ere's none shall dare upbraid you, en once your flag's unfurled. race is to the swiftest, battle to the strong: cess is the criterion, a cares to count the wrong.

up the sword and rifle, throw no fear or pause. at though your hands be bloody, o calls ye to the laws? ports ye wish to enter, roads ye wish to tread, ke them with workers living, te them with workers dead.

up the sword and rifle, every savage race: use their lands and harbours, this is Christian grace. n though ye slaughter thousands, still may count it gain; extend your commerce, I dread the curse of Cain?

up the sword and rifle, keep your conscience wholesoon is found an unction woothe a guilty soulwith it to your Maker; reive Him if ye can. for the sake of justice: for the love of man.

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

#### TO OUR READERS.

e wish to draw the special attention of Comto Rosa Luxemburg's world-famous book he Russian Revolution, which we are serialisin our columns; also to the important series Alexandra Kollontay, which we are also pub-Me urge you to secure the widest pospublicity for these articles.

hat brings us to an important point. Week week the Workers' Dreadnought contains trial which does not appear in any other n in this country, and which is essential to atelligent understanding of the Communist ement to-day. We desire this valuable inhalion to reach as large a circle as possible. te urge those who are already readers of the t to bring it to the notice of others.

e ask you :-

get your friends to buy and read the

sell it, or see that it is on sale at all meetield in your district.

get your newsagent to stock it and show a

e are prepared to send the Dreadnought free weeks to anyone whose name and addressand to us as likely to be interested in the

# GERMANY, 1914-1918.



# WILL BE OUR ALLIES NEXT TIME

### FINN AND JAP.

It almost seems that the world is ripe for happiness, were it not for Governments!

We reproduce here the last two stanzas of a little poem in Esperanto, that appeared in the Japanese periodical "La Verda Utopio," it was written by Dr. Darmstedt, a Finnish professor, on his return from a visit to Japan.

> Ankaŭ vi, la sinjorino, Kiu min en Esperanto Bonvenigis, vi meritis, Ke mi vin en mia kanto Laŭte laŭdas kaj aplaŭdas, Car vi bone ja parolas. Certe vi meritas kanton, Min akceptu, se vi volas.

Estas stulte skribi multe, Se la propraj vortoj mankas. Sed vi sciu ĉiuj, ĉiu, Ke mi dankas, kore dankas. Oran dankon, Osakanoj! Jam finiĝas finna kanto Kaj anstataŭ adiaŭ Estu: Banzai Esperanto.

Which means in English, briefly:-

And you, Lady, who in Esperanto Greeted me, deserve that in my Canto I praise you, for indeed you speak it well.

Whilst I can only say in words too few To my Osaka firiends for my farewell, Banzai, Esperanto! A heart's adieu!

What better proof have we of the fact that Esperanto acts as a world freemasonry; the Doctor, who had learnt some Esperanto, evidently sought out the Esperantists in Osaka and was so well received that he wrote these verses to his entertainers, who, in their turn, had them published.

If Dr. Darmstedt had not learnt Esperanto he would have had to learn Japanese (he probably knew Japanese, but that is exceptional) or the Japanese would have had to learn Finnish, both much more difficult and less useful languages, or else found an interpreter who happened to know both Finnish and Japanese! A somewhat improbable combination; so Esperanto is a factor that helps to ripen the world for happiness!

#### PARLIAMENT THE PEOPLE'S ENEMY.

Now that so many of the workers have learnt that they are an oppressed and robbed class, learnt through bitter experience, it seems cruel that parties should arise which are trying to revive their faith in Parliament.

To-day we have more homeless and badlyhoused, ill-clad, semi-starved, sick people in the British Isles than ever before, and yet we have more Labour Members in Parliament.

These facts, which greet us at every step, should convince us that Parliament does not protect or save the common people.

Putting aside the fact that Parliament is not democratically chosen by the people, but that candidates and election funds are in the hands of certain cliques in which the workers have little power or choice, the machinery of Parliament is devised to suit the interests of these same people -not the workers.

Parliament is used to keep the rich rich, and the poor poor, and the Labour Party is impotent to alter this.

It can alleviate or apply palliatives during industrial crises when Capital over-reaches itself; in other words, it staves off the explosion of the gasometer.

On Wednesday, May 5th, 1921, the important subject of the London rates was discussed. Eight Labour Members turned up.

On Wednesday, May 6th, when Col. Wedgwood Benn tried to move that the House should adjourn in order to discuss the Polish War, only 36 Labour Members supported him-36 out of 66; so you can send your Member to Parliament, but you cannot be sure he will attend to your

Questioned on the Polish War, the Speaker replied: "That cannot be said to be a matter of urgent public importance." Has, then, the taking of human life and the diverting of labour from useful production to the making or sending of munitions become such a small matter, at a time when bread and other necessaries are badly wanted in order to defend our country from

It was not so when the capitalists wanted to discuss war in order to wage it, but stopping it i another matter.

When the Daily Herald grumbled at the Labour Members for not being in their places, the Secretary wrote to say: "The Party was taken unawares."

That condemns the Parliamentary machine more than ever, for it shows Capital can easily get its own way by "taking them unawares," resorting to tricks, subterfuges, and other underhand means which would be impossible under the Soviet system.

Many a well-intentioned Socialist enters Parliament in the vain hope that he can revolutionise it, but Parliament revolutionises him.

He is brave enough to enter Parliament, bu seldom has the courage to come out, shake the musty dust off his feet, and build ready against the day when Parliament has played its last dastardly card and fallen by it.

I would write over the door " Abandon hope all ye who enter here," for Parliament is de- by Act of Parliament, humanising.

out that the Parliamentary machine is too complicated and overburdened with capitalistic rules, deed, the alliances were denied, and the majority which would prove a stumbling-block to the of members deceived. workers; rules made in order to baffle the workers and to find soft jobs for lawyers and capitalists'

tion of Mines," J. R. Clynes admits "The free- Liberty. Fraternity, and Equality. dom of political democracy is a magnificent The Speaker can refuse to give his eve to a accomplishment, but it is now realised that the Member, and thus scotch or shelve anything. slavery of industry is harsher than the slavery of the unenfranchised serf." Proving that in- Wedgwood, the chosen speaker of the Labour dustrial freedom is more necessary than political Party, was denied a hearing, though his name Lords which would destroy the Lords' position, freedom; in fact, true industrial freedom spells had been duly and constitutionally handed in how could you expect it to pass? These men the hand had been duly and constitutionally handed in how could you expect it to pass? These men the hand had been duly and constitutionally handed in how could you expect it to pass? These men the had been duly and constitutionally handed in how could you expect it to pass? These men the had been duly and constitutionally handed in how could you expect it to pass? political freedom.

When everyone is assured of good industrial

political machine. If we build away from it, it will die.

When we have no rich, no poor, when all our children are well fed, clothed, and housed, our country will be defended.

people, not for defending them.

cal reasons, so long as politicians interfere with are disappointed to find this country is ruled by Labour, Labour is right in striking for political a mere handful of men who are simply the month reasons, and it is often the only redress for industrial wrongs.

If Labour had struck against the War and continued the industrial fight instead of calling a truce, we should not be in the plight we are.

The Soviet system, even in this early stage, has shown some grand results; but with the blockade lifted, and the cessation of capitalist intervention, life in Russia for the workers would They do not hesitate to do so where a battleshing be Heaven in comparison with the worker's life is concerned; but the more important ship under our system.

It is useless even to ask a question in Parliament, for Ministers constantly reply: " It is not in the public interest," or they give a half-lie which is more misleading than a whole one.

Why do we need to ask so many questions which ought to be common knowledge? When these people ask to be allowed to represent us in Parliament and they know the business and we do not, how can they be said to represent our side of the question?

If capitalists in Parliament cannot work their will by fair constitutional means, they never hesitate to do it by foul unconstitutional means. such as Lloyd George used when he refused to give the House an assurance that it would be same? consulted before any new allied advance was made in Germany, also when he suppressed Krassin's Peace Note in October 1920 he unconstitutionally kept the peace terms from the

Telegrams and letters are suppressed, and Lord Milner even altered one telegram, thus causing the Boer War.

All the tall talk about Parliament being our servant is nonsense. Parliament is our master, and what they do not say or accomplish at Westminster is said and carried out in secret at

Two or three men arrange and ratify secret treaties which are to be the means of murdering millions of useful and innocent people, and all the boasted machinery of Parliament is useless to restrain these men or take precautionary measures for frustrating or even knowing their plans. This same Government causes the man in the street to be arrested for the slightest unconstitutional act, at the same time allowing

Carsonites to stop by force a constitutional ballot. In Belfast on May 17th, 1921, the Labour candidates were forcibly prevented from opening their election campaign. Why talk about acting in a constitutional manner and the power of the ballot-box when in America, after five members had been elected constitutionally, the capitalists refused to allow them to take their seats?

Moreover, of what use to waste time in getting a Bill passed and placed on the Statute-book, as the Home Rule Bill for Ireland was passed, if the Bill is not to be carried out?

When the Home Rule Bill was placed on the Statute-book the British Government, by sending troops over to suppress the Irish people, was fighting against what it had itself made lawful

Three or four men were instrumental in To people who think it useful, I would point dragging England into the greatest war in history without the knowledge of Parliament; in-

In fact, now they do not even declare war, probably knowing that if they did, the war-weary sons; rules made in order to awe, impress and nation would object, so they wage it without desilence the uninitiated. Well may the man in claring it or asking permission, as in Ireland and the street say: "I don't understand politics." Russia. Labour's hard-earned wealth is squan-In the preface to Frank Hodges' "Nationalisa- dered to crush peoples who are fighting for

The Indian question was treated thus, and Col.

We are suffering through Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us though Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us though Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us though Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us though Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us though Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us though Parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the standard of the parliamentary ad- you think their evil record should lead us the standard of the standa conditions there will be no need to petition the ministration, and do not want to capture a to hope that they will themselves help us to hope that stretch machine devised by the capitalistic class. How get back the land? As soon expect the prover-

ean it be adapted to the aims of Socialism? The following condemns Parliamentarians out

of their own mouths :--Mr, T. A. Blane (Coalition Member), speak- in Parliamentary palliative grooves, for their ides

Parliament is a machine for exploiting the ing at Leicester, said: " Members of Parliament are a strong body of men sent to Westminster t As regards its being wrong to strike for politi- carry out the wishes of the majority; but the pieces of bureaucracy."

"He recognised how futile was the effort of the individual Member of the House of Commo When he saw how little they could do, either collectively or individually, he wondered how the people tolerated the present system of government."-Daily Herald, May 23rd, 1921.

If it is wrong and futile, why not scrap it State, however obsolete, is to be retained.

We allow Parliament to scrap much better things, the Plimsell line, for instance, a reform that a man fought twenty years to obtain, was scrapped in order to make money, and seamen's lives counted of less value than a heavy cargo.

When Commander Kenworthy asked leave to move the adjournment of the House on the allied advance into Germany, only thirty-six Members rose to support him on April 28th, 1921.

A telegraphist or ordinary paid servant of the community is forced to show a doctor's certificate if he does not turn up at his post. The Members of Parliament are the well-paid servants of the community; why are they not made to do the

Pacifists who will not enter the revolutionary movement, deeming it militant, deceive themselves when they enter Parliament if they think they are still pacifists and the man who belongs to a party that has a red army is not, because Parliament is upheld by, and rests upon, force.

The Lord Chancellor (and he ought to know) said: "Mr, Collins was apprehensive that an attempt . . . might be made to destroy the provisional Government by seducing the armed forces, upon whom, if it came to a trial of strength, it must in the last resort depend."\_ Daily Herald, February 15th, 1922.

After result of election, Richard Davies sai I have lost because my opponents took special care to circulate the idea that the Labour Party is a party of disruption, out for a violent revolution with the object of destroying capital and reducing society to a state of chaos!"

The Daily Herald adds: "Lord Percy's wealthy supporters lent him an enormous fleet have lost a bet with a friend? "-Daily Herald, of cars. Davies was placed at a distinct disadvantage owing to the weather and lack of cars."

Is Richard Davies out for the destruction of capitalism? If not, he is useless either inside the House or outside; for so long as we have capitalists, so long shall we have poor people on the precipice of starvation.

Of what value the vote of a man if he will only register it for a ride in a motor-car?

the rich man can always win; for the workers only make them, they do not possess them. Now turn to the Privy Council, "the private Council of the English Sovereign, the mem-

bers of which are chosen at his or her pleasure." This Council does not represent the people. A Labour leader takes the Privy Councillor's oath of allegiance, in which he swears over and

swears to defend the people.

of the late War the Labour Party dropped the workers' war in order to back up a capitalist in conclusion, "present want knows no war; and if Parkiament wants to do an uncon- luturity"; of what immediate value is the vote stitutional thing it makes it constitutional by 10 a starving man? William Morris says: "To rushing a Bill through in a few hours, as in the leturn to our Government of the future, which case of the "Emergency Powers Bill," and the people have no voice or choice in the matter.

to get Communism through Parliament.

have long stuck to one-third of the land. Do the land that is held up by those who never till

The reason Parliamentarians will never bring and all for each. Communism is that they can only think and ac

ring the coal strike, Members of a future or Cabinet altered or refused to carry out the ions that had been voted upon. If these n let a strike down, be sure they will let the

If the present capitalist basis of society is be razed to the ground, Parliament must go first as it is built upon the foundations of capinamely, money.

Do not waste your time trying to smash it nisation in the workshop is complete, Parliaant will die; industry can live without politics, t politics cannot live without industry. Can you imagine after the foregoing uncon-

utional record that capitalists will be turned of Parliament by constitutional means? No: to enter Parliament with the capitalist

em still going is only to perpetuate that Under the present system no number of abour men in Parliament can achieve Com-

ism, for if they get more money than the dustrial worker they go in as members of a uling or superior class.

nunists inside Parliament are out to imrove the capitalist system.

Even Earl Stanhope admits economics and olitics are one and the same thing. He says. Why, oh why, can British diplomacy not alise that it exists for trade, and because of ade, and that its reason for existing is primarily ensure the peaceful and uninterrupted flow of commerce and all the fruits of our industry

roughout the markets of the world." Note: "Our industry," from a man who is industrious in spending the profits.

How seriously these men take the affairs of starving people the following will show: "The lome Secretary himself lounged on the Treary Bench with his feet on the table.—Daily ald, May 15th, 1921.

The following is a quotation from a speech by B. Stanton, M.P.:

"Besides," he added, "is the Government aware that if the answer is in one direction I

On August 5th, 1921, the Daily Herald, which advocates voting, said: "By appointing an Ad isory Committee of big business, under the of Geddes, the Government is now penly and publicly proclaiming its own incompence, abdicating from its duties, and handing ver the destinies of the people to a clique of garchs not elected (italics mine) not wanted, If the vote depends on the possession of cars, not to be trusted." Of what use your Member

The Daily Herald says of the new Bill to reform the House of Lords (the House that owns me-third of our land): "It will remove the last estige of popular control and enable the Second hamber to thwart every proposal of a Labour

Col. Malone says: "I entered Parliament in over again to defend the King, but he never the hope of assisting to better the social condions. I have seen from the inside the futility In times of crisis history has again and again and again are Parliamentary action so far as fundamentals shown that the parties, Conservatives, Liberals, are concerned," and "If you are out to destroy and Labour, quickly join hands (coalesce) against the system, you cannot begin with taking the the interests of the people. At the declaration of allegiance to the symbol of that very

fould be rather an administration of things than government of persons."

Parliamentarian Socialists say they are going Control your own workshops, your own food hair. ores. In short, control all that makes life If a Bill had to go through the House of Worth while. Only allow commodities to be disunder allow profit to be made out bial camel to pass through the eye of a needle. Groats to Lands End. Share the fruits, on that day than he had done in all his days.

graciously giving the people Socialism. No man has a right to preach economy to another of Judges in the Bible were as ignorant of the the people ought to carry it out for them- until he has reduced his income to the same level origin of the story as the Christian gentlemen of as the man to whom he is dictating.

1921: "Parliament is adjourning from August children, just like Little Red Riding Hood, which to February," for six months. Business went on is a part of the same story. So I want you to just as usual, but when the miners struck, or remember the fairy-tale of Samson, and to laugh were locked out, industry was paralysed."

The actual stonework is crumbling, workmen you. daily try to patch it up; this symbolises that the spirit which animated it is dving.

within, or you will fall with it. When Come into the sunlight and build away from this unconstitutional constitution.

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

# PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson. "A Child's Lesson" (Samson-Judges, 13-16). Samson was the strong man of the Hebrews. mi re restas volonte sole en tiu ĉi tempo. He lived about 2,000 years before the Christian Li travadis la rivereton kaj malaperis en la era. He was a holy child born of the Lord; arbaro. Post unu horo li revenis kaj trovis nur that is why he was a strong man. His mother kelke da mizeraj, malgrandaj fruktoj. was barren, and an angel of the Lord visited Li estis ĉagrena pro tio kaj lia virino simile,

her and told her she would have a child. let me know."

visited her again, one day while she was in the estas certa. field, and she said unto the man of God:

"Please tarry awhile, that I may go and in- kaptis per la mano grandan ezokon kiu naĝis tute form my husband."

was here, and so her husband went and had a ne estis pensinta pri io. Nun li ĵetis ĝin sur la conversation with the man of God, and the man insulon kaj tie kuŝis la mizera ezoko, malfermis of God said to Manoah:

shall be the father, and you shall call his name Manoah and his wife then offered up a sacrifice to Gcd for His great kindness unto them,

and lo and behold the angel of the Lord ascended up into heaven in the flame of the sacrifice; then Manoah knew he had seen God. Mancah's wife had a child, and she called his

name Samson as she had been commanded by the angel of the Lord to do. Samson, when he grew up, was very fond of the ladies, and so he made his father and mother go down to Timnath and get him a daughter of

the Philistines. They did not want to go, but Samson said "Go and get her for me." And so they went. And on the way down Samson kills a young lion with his hands, just as easily as you would

kill a mouse. Samson also did some wonderful feats. He went and caught 300 foxes, and tied them tail to tail with burning torches on their tails, so they ran into the fields and burnt up all the corn of the Philistines. This is more than great modern Christians can do.

He also slew 1,000 Philistines with the jawbone of an ass. That was a good big job. Killing one every minute, it would take him 161 hours. He also went down to Gaza and stayed with a strange lady, and in the morning he carried away the gates of the city on his shoulders a distance of 40 miles, just to let the Philistines see what he could do.

Samson's great strength lay in his long hair, which had never been cut. And after codding his wife with false stories he told her his secret, that his strength lay in his hair. So his wife had him bound, and the Philistines cut off his

Poor Samson was done, for they made him a prisoner and put out his eyes.

One day they were having great celebrations, and Samson asked that he might be led to the pillars that support the building, so that he might lean against them. So they led Samson to the pillars, and he put his arms around them and pulled them down; and he killed more people

One great objection to Parliament is that men story of Samson lies in the sun; but it is so long £1; per Sylvia Pankhurst, 10/-. Total for week, £400 to £5,000 a year are not capable of ago that we have forgotten all about it, and the £14 3s. 3d. Total, £158 15s. 4½d.

cit aloof and aloft on a glorified plat- legislating for the great majority of workers. men who wrote the story as given in the Book

Kings, dukes, and rich men cannot represent Every tribe of the world had their Samson, because everyone worshipped the sun. In the The Daily Herald said on July 15th, course of years it will become a fairy-tale for our when the man with the reversed collar passes

#### ESPERANTO. LA DUPIEDULO. DAURIGO.

Mi iras alporti kelkajn oranĝojn, diris la dupiedulo. Eble daŭros malmulte pli longe, ĝis mi revenos, ĉar la arbojn en la proksimoco ni jam ĉiujn senfruktigis.

Ne restu tro longe, diris lia virino, vi scias, ke

ĉar ŝi estis malsata. Ili sidiĝis kaj konsiliĝis, ĉu Samson's mother was just a little dubious of ili ne povus trovi en la proksimeco ian alian the angel's story, so she went and told her hus- mangeblajon. Car tuj kiam vesperiĝis, ili ne band what the man of God had said to her. He riskis forlasi la insulon. Hodiaŭ vespere mi listened to what his wife told him, then he said: vidis la lutron en la akvo, diris lai dupiedulo. "The next time this man visits you, come and Gi kaptis grandan fison kaj manĝegis ĝin. Eble ankaŭ mi povus agi tiel.

True to his promise, the angel of the Lord Provu, ŝi diris, ni devas havi nutraĵon, tio

Li denove malsupreniris sur la bordon kaj proksimege al li kaj suspektis nenian danĝeron. So she went and told him that the man of God Gi ja tiel ofte vidis lin vadi tra la rivero, ke ĝi sian buŝon kaj spiregis, ĝemadis tiel laŭte, kiel "Your wife shall have a son, and the Lord gi povis; He, hallo! Mortigo! Al la helpo!

Sed jam ĝi estis morta kaj la dupieduk oblia virino manĝis ĝin kun plej bona apetito. Who Portu al mi morgaŭ denove fiŝon, ŝi diary

Sincere dirante, mi ekmalŝatis jam la pomojn. La proksiman matenon li denove iris al la rivero. Ne daŭris longe, li trovis bonegan fiŝon, sed ĵus kiam li volis kapti ĝin, alvenis la lutro

kaj forkaptis la fiŝon antaŭ lia nazo. Cu vi ne volas foriri de tie ĉi, impertinenta rabisto! Li kriis kaj batis post ĝi.

Vi diras rabisto? demandis la lutro kaj furioze montris siajn blankajn dentojn. Ĝis nun la rivero apartenis al mi. Mi loĝis tie ĉi, pli antaŭe ol vi venis. La dupiedulo saltis al la tero, alportis grandajn ŝtonojn kaj ĵetis ilin post la lutro. Unu ol ili trafis ĝin sur la buŝo tiel, ke la sango torente komencis elflui. Tiam ĝi rapidege rifuĝis, dum la dupiedulo kaptis alian fiŝon kaj alportis ĝin al sia virino.

Sed kiam la lutro vesperiĝante havis la kuraĝen elfri el sia rifuĝo, la orangutango estis hazarde tie kaj ekbalancis la kapon al ĝi.

Mi vidis ĉion, li diris. Mi sidis sur la arbo kaj vidis. Kiel li ĵetis la ŝtomojn sur vin. La akvo fariĝis ruĝa de via sango. Ankaŭ min li atekis jam foie. Li diris, ke la nomoj apartenas al li kaj fornelis min per batado de la arbo. Kaj tamen ni estas parencoj.

Se mi nur povus lin ataki, diris la lutro, grincante per siaj dentoj; sed mi estas tro malgranda. Alvenos la tempo, alvenos la ago. Konsolis ĝin la orangutango. Ni ankoraŭ venkos lin.

Fino de la dua Capitro.

FOR THE CLASS WAR PRISONERS. Class war prisoners in U.S.A. may receive books and newspapers sent by the publishers. Will comrades send contributions towards sending the Workers' Dreadnought and our other publications into the American gaols? Will comrades stand out for establishing the same right in this country?

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#### GENOA.

poned till June and removed to The Hague.

come to light gradually.

capitalists.

reports that Mr. Leslie Urquhart, of the Russo-Asiatic Corporation, has said that the rule of the Soviet Government is the alternative to anarchy in Russia, and must not be upset because "the work begun at Genoa must be continued at all

of the Britain if they could, and will one day. The timeminent rivalries are to-day America-Francewargium versus Britain, who may take Germany with Russia in tow whenever the British Government thinks that course wise.

#### GO TO THE GUARDIANS.

down relief to the unemployed. They are to go closing of the branch, because the latter move to the Labour Colonies, their wives to the work- would deliberately play into the hands of Havehouse, the children to the Poor Law schools, lock Wilson, and thus destroy the work accompwhence presently some of the little ones will be lished by the Vigilance Committee. A resolusent out to the overseas Dominions.

relief are withdrawn, the destitute are unable to instated pending an enquiry." pay the rent. They are evicted, by force if The proceedings were adjourned until the folnecessary. If they take refuge in a shed or lowing night, when the General Secretary camp out they are prosecuted for cruelty to their attended on the invitation of the members. That children; they are sent to prison and the child- worthy individual stated that the present position ren are taken by the Poor Law authorities. had arisen through there being too much Com-

-contains the following passages:-(Notts), chairman of the National Vagrancy them were members of the Masonic Order.

Malvern yesterday. avoided unions where strict discipline was en- no avail.

conditions were relaxed. tween the ages of twenty and forty-five never out of subscriptions, because the Head Office intending to do honest work, while the com- officials deprived us of the use of a hall.

What does it mean, men and women? It of the officials pending an enquiry. means that when the destitute, shunning the A reporter of the Daily Herald was present, the stokehold and the crow's nest is hurled back ing tramp, the heavy hand of the Capitalist Finance Committee of the A.M.W.U., and also Industrial Commonwealth.

Government will follow them thither and send a director of the Daily Herald, the reason is them prisoners to the Labour Colonies.

The fiery cross of revolt must now be raised in the land. We must tear down the system which maintains such iniquities.

# BREAKERS AHEAD.

That much-advertised structure, supposed to cater for all seamen, that was going to lead the men of the sea into the promised land (via the channels of "rank and file control," etc.), is at present on the rocks in Liverpool, both in the financial sense and the moral sense.

It is history that for months on end a rank-Vol. IX. No. 10. Saturday, May 20, 1922. and-file Vigilance Committee put in strenuous work against Wilson and his henchmen. As soon as the ground was ripe for development along came Cotter and Shinwell, supported by So Genoa has collapsed, and the business of "Order - of - the - Red - Banner Williams, and opening up Russia to the foreign capitalist-well, planted the A.M.W.U. in our midst, thus taking we should say the open business, for the secret advantage of the sacrifice and work of the Vigiunderhand business goes on all the time—is post- lance Committee. Propaganda was distributed wholesale. Every other day would see a differ-How much Genoa has achieved in destroying ent leaflet issued, all pointing out that the what remained of Socialism in Russia will only N.S. and F.U., with its aristocratic leader Wilson, were retarding the progress of the seamen, The editor of The Times says that the Russians and the only " real," " live," " honest," " dedo not wish America to be represented at The mocratic "organisation with " rank-and-file con-Hague because the Americans will re-enforce the trol " was the A.M.W.U. These statements standpoint of the Belgian and French Govern- were naturally tested by those who became memments. Of course the Americans will: they are bers of the new organisation, who, when they opposing the oil and other deals with Russia moved anything of a progressive nature, were in which the British are forestalling the other opposed in many instances by some of the local officials who defended the Executive Council, and The Daily Herald-innocent Daily Herald- Joe Cotter in particular, when charges of autocracy were raised.

On April 26th the members were informed that all the local officials had been dismissed by order of the Finance Committee, and the branch offices closed. The members asked questions, and the explanation given by the local officials That work is capitalist work, and British capi- was that, in the first place, the assistant secretalism is the principal gainer thereby. The tary had been dismissed on some frivolous com-French capitalists are so jealous that they would plaint that did not justify the action taken. His brother officials were not satisfied, and definitely agreed to stand by him until the Finance Committee rescinded its decision. The solidarity of the local officials evidently raised the ire of the powers that be at the Head Office, with the result already stated, that all local officials were dismissed and branch offices closed.

The lay members were not so much concerned A systematic effort is now in progress to cut over the dismissal of the officials as over the tion was carried unanimously:-

When the unemployment dole and Poor Law "That all offices be re-opened and officials re-

The Daily Herald-O, credulous Daily Herald munism and too much rank-and-file control in the branch. When a Press reporter interviewed " All Boards of Guardians should urge the Cotter on the subject, and Fiery Joe explained Government, through the Ministry of Health, that the Liverpool branch was being run by the to enable them to establish labour colonies by Communist element, the local officials repudiated Act of Parliament,' said Mr. A. H. Bonser the implication, and admitted the majority of

Committee for England and Wales, speaking at After this meeting conferences were held every the West Midland Poor Law Conference at day of lay members and ex-officials, and deputations were continually visiting the General Secre-"By a system of communication with each tary and newly-imported District Secretary, in other, said Mr. Bonser, habitual tramps order to have the branches re-opened, but all to

forced, and overcrowded those areas where The deputation finally decided to set up a council of action, which drafted a policy to be "It was estimated that there were probably submitted to the members at the following 30,000 of the able-bodied vagrancy class be- branch meeting, the cost of same being borne

munity was content to let them continue carry- In the presence of a crowded meeting, the ing on by begging and stealing. This was a Council of Action was endorsed and resolutions real danger, especially in remote country dis- were unanimously carried demanding the reopening of all the branch offices and the reinstatement wages."

workhouse, dreading the export of their children but no report found its way into the columns of the demand for one big industrial union that will to the Dominions, migrate into the country to "the only Labour (?) daily." When you navigate the treacherous seas of Capitalism live as best they can the life of the poor wander- realise that Bob Williams is a member of the discharge us in the long-sought-for haven of the

Next day, Friday, May 5th, the Council of Action began to make a move. An vance guard was sent out to take possession the branch offices, which had been reopened the same day by officials from other ports, who di not know the real nature of the situation. advance guard walked into the nearest office took the occupants by surprise, demanded the keys, and then installed the ex-officials to carry the business out on behalf of the members Similar tactics were used in taking over the Cen tral Office in North John Street, where the General Secretary was in charge. The lad typists were a bit afraid at first, but were reassured when the intruders began to resume the duties agreed upon. A third branch was can tured, and in each instance the police were brought in to scare us, but were ordered off the premises and have not troubled us since.

The news of the coup reached the ears of Havelock Wilson, who sent an emissary, saving he was prepared to meet a deputation on condition that certain ex-members of the Vigilance tion reached London on Sunday, May 7th, and tune by motor-car. The usual "stage properties " were shown to the deputation by a guide. by a liberal supply of whiskey given by Have-adown to the sea in ships. The deputation were the "old man of the sea" was compelled to rest his weary bones. This, of course, was intended to dispel any impression that may have existed in the minds of the deputation that Have-it-all wined and slept in luxurious surgested that he would finance the ex-officials to

a 40-ft. pole. person of Shinwell, the national organiser, who representative of all the branches in the country meet in Liverpool to try and straighten the

While this situation exists the seamen are tion at sea, and the piling up of enormous profits for the shipowners on one hand, and the crimps, unscrupulous adventurers, political fakirs who sabotage him on the other, to repeat the away from the State into private hands. name of a popular song, "E dunno where E

Past experiences are teaching a lesson, and despite the machinations of the leech ariety mentioned in the last paragraph, the fakers fight amongst themselves to be king of the castle, while at the same time yelling the hackneyed phrases, "Some Trades Unionism," accompanied by the cries of the shipowners longer hours," "no overtime pay," and "lower

From the forecastle and "glory hole," from

#### WHAT IS COMMUNISM? The Fallacies of a Debate.

What is Communism? Surely everyone should w that to-day.

unism is a classless order of society in th property is held in common, production for the common use, there is no money or no buying and selling or barter, no emof social products, each person takes accordashility. All this is clear.

makesmen of the Communist Party of Great ing. He said:-(Third International) and the Independant Labour Party, it was assumed on both sides but the tactics of the Third International are mism; in fact, that Communism, instead tain political party's tactics and methods of trangling to attain to power.

Committee did not form part of it. A deputation troduce it in criticising the I.L.P. policy. He backwardness of the electorate. bserved that the I.L.P. produces each year a ILP, constitution for the coming Common- attention on the teaching of pure Socialism. whose powers of speech had been strengthened wealth, which, of course, is not a Socialist Comonwealth at ali.

"The Socialist Commonwealth is that State shown a small bed supported by a piece of of Society in which Land and Capital are comtimber, covered with sparse bedelothing, where munally owned, and the processes of producdue to his poverty-stricken circumstances, etc. tion, distribution, and exchange are social

"The Independent Labour Party believes in democracy organised both in its political and industrial aspects, for communal ends.

"The basis of political democracy must be roundings. Wilson arrived on the scene, and the whole body of citizens, exercising authority

Again and again both Palme Dutt, of the Communist Party (Right Wing), and Ernest E. dunter, of the I.L.P., N.A.C., asserted that being explaited more than any other body of men there is State Socialism in Russia, entirely ignor-in the country. Between over-work and starvaing the fact that the land of Russia is privately worked by the peasants, that vast tracts of it are being offered for private capitalist exploitation, and that the industries are fast passing

Mr. Hunter actually stated that "There is State Socialism in a most perfect form in Queensland," and Palme Dutt allowed this more than once repeated assertion to pass without comment. the fact, of course, is, as most of our readers are aware, that whilst certain services have been lationalised in Queensland, the great bulk of production and distribution is still carried on there Third. by private enterprise.

arty Cabinet may be.

at most absurd debate.

something quite other than it is.

Hunter declraed that the special policy of the capitalist Government in the case of the Rand I.L.P. is to explain Socialism, whereas it is strikers. notorious that an explanation of Socialism is the This was Palme Dutt's best point; but, of ers and employed, all are entitled to the free last thing one expects to hear from an I.L.P. course, Hunter might have replied, "We explatform. In spite of his continual assertion pect better things from the Soviet Government to need, and each one gives according to that the special business of the I.L.P. is to teach than from capitalist Governments, and we know Socialism, Mr. Hunter himself explained why, that it is useless for us to make representation Nevertheless, at a debate between official nevertheless, the I.L.P. does not give this teach- to the South African Government, whereas the

> "When it is a question of Socialist adminis- therefore shown ourselves Realists." tation and Socialist victories, we are bound to Palme Dutt scouted the idea of unity with the

of being a social system, is a question of a tion of getting a seat, or keeping a seat on a pub- system. Hunter justly replied by reminding licly-elected body, the I.L.P. finds it advisable Palme Dutt that the Communist Party proposed not to teach Socialism or anything else that is the United Front. Truly it is absurd for the nunism itself had no part in the debate, thought extreme, but to tune its song with refer- Third International to desire unity with the prothough Palmer Dutt had every opportunity to in- ence to the existing prejudices and political war Government Socialst and Labour Parties and

The first business of the I.L.P. is obviously to I.L.P. pacifism! The I.L.P. pacifism at least were conveyed to the headquarters of Father Nen- new programme for the future "Socialist Com- win elections, not to teach Socialism. Ask Mr. held out, on the whole, against the capitalist war, nonwealth," but he makes no criticism of the Ramsay Macdonald whether he concentrates his whilst the jingoism of the Labour Party and

ment that the I.L.P. is devoting its attention to the front and the militarisation of their labour drop Wilson at the expense of the men who go Here is the I.L.P. programme just issued:— the teaching of Socialism. He did not dissent at home. Those who are prepared to enter the from Hunter's statement that the Communist party of Henderson, who was in the Coalition Party is not teaching Communism, but is merely Cabinet, who deported the Clyde shop stewards. preparing for the revolution. Instead of reply- and made himself responsible for the Munitions ing that Hunter was wrong, Palme Dutt boasted Act, the secret treaties, the torture of C.O.'s, that the principal work done by the Communist the intervention in Russia and the welcome to Party (Third International) is preparation for Kerensky, and who have actually made a leader revolution; for the joining of the final struggle of their party of Cachin, who toured on behalf between the working class and the capitalists, in of the French Government to bring Italy into the which capitalism will be overthrown.

after professing to have an inside knowledge of through a national representative assembly, ance of the policy of his own Party. It is true Right and becoming more like the Labour Party the new Union, and criticising Cotter and Shin- directly elected by the people, with a decen- that the Communist Party (Third International) every day. well, declaring the former to be an autocrat, sug- tralised and extended system of local govern- has abandoned any serious attempt to teach Com- On this point Hunter made a pregnant obwho unanimously decided: "That Wilson's offer technical and manual, engaged therein, operat- Unions. This is why the United Front has been you send in to do that work." be rejected, and we have no further interviews ing in conjunction with the representatives of devised. Why? Because the policy of "peace Hunter was absolutely right in that observa-

Unions of the other countries. advocacy of "peace and trade" with Russia is Government promise that its findings would be a useful lever in preparing the Governments in accepted, and now had said he would not have power to adopt that policy. So it is in the other done so had he known the Government would countries. If the Soviet Government and the breeak its promise. Dutt contended that the Third International were still preparing for Com- Communist Party would not have made that mismunism and the revolution, the reactionary take. Hunter replied: "Of course they would. Labour and Social Democratic Parties would not they would have jumped at the Coal Commission. be advocating "peace and trade" with Soviet beacuse they would have said it would advertise Russia. In any case, the peace and trade policy; their cause." the Genow policy is incompatible with the revolu- We think, knowing the C.P.G.B. and its per-

had been the undoing of the Second Inter- accept it now. national and had necessitated the creation of the Palme Dutt attributed to the policy which

Hunter observed that he thought it rather a the miners' movement. The reason of the co-One was driven to the conclusion that to at mistake to debate the differences between the lapse of the miners' movement is that it was a one member of the I.L.P. executive, State C.P. and the I.L.P. He would prefer to dis- bubble reformist movement subsisting on catch m merely means that there is a Labour cover their points of unity. Palme Dutt, how- cries and bluff, and lacked any widespread desire y Government in office, however reactionary, ever, said that the I.L.P., because it refuses to to overthrow the capitalist movement. Therepowerless to combat capitalism the Labour prepare for civil war, because it does not advo- fore it was bound to temporise and bound to cate the use of force by the working class, is collapse with the advent of bad trade. ther Communism, nor Socialism, in the true taking its stand on the side of the force em- Instead of endeavouring to build up a genuine sense of those terms, ever found its way into ployed by the capitalist state, since the capitalist Communist revolutionary movement, the policy

The debate hinged purely upon the immediate that the I.L.P. demands that the Soviet Govern tactical policy in the class struggle of the two ment shall not apply capital punishment to the rival parties; but, strangely enough, neither Social Revolutionaries and others who have fought spokesman appeared to be aware of the actual against it, and dmands representatievs at policy of his Party, for both described it as being the Commission of Inquiry into these cases. The I.L.P. does not make similar claims upon the

Soviet has acceded to our demands. We have

I.L.P. on the ground that the I.L.P. pacifism That, of course, means: When it is a ques- is a support to the maintenance of the present at the same time to grow squeamish about the Social Democrats engaged in recruiting for it and Palme Dutt, however, accepted Hunter's state- assisted in the conscription of the workers for War, need not shrink from the I.L.P., although Herein Mr. Palme Dutt showed a woeful ignor- we have to admit it is drifting further to the

munism; it has substituted demands for the servation, which every member of the C.P. who fight Cotter, if they would transfer to the N.S. . "The basis of industrial democracy must be: eight-hour day and other slogans of the United still retains any Communist and revolutionary and F.U., bringing the members with them. (1) The organisation of the wage and salary Front. It has also substituted for the policy of views should seriously consider. He said: "You He did not forget to point out that he was a earners; and (2) the organisation of consumers. international revolution the policy of peace and of the C.P. are engaged in doing what we are skipper in the N.S. and F.U., and while he re- must decide the amount and character of com- trade between capitalism and Soviet Russia. doing, capturing power in the Trades Councils mained on the bridge his word must be obeyed. I munal production and service necessary. The This is why the policy of forming Revolutionary and Labour Parties. Whilst you are doing that The report of the deputation was given on internal management of each industry must be Industrial Unions built up from the workshops is you are encountering the steady deterioration, Monday to the Council of Action and ex-officials, in the hands of the workers, administrative, opposed in favour of bolstering up of the Trade from the Socialist point of view, of the members

with him." Many of those who proclaimed the organised consumers. Experience will de- and trade " with capitalism requires the support tion: he spoke from experience. In doing so themselves as Masons spoke vigorously in sup- termine the methods of co-operation and the of the British Labour Party and Trade Union he bore out our contention that a Communist port of the resolution, and declared they would detailed form of organisation, as step by step Congress, and that of the reactionary Right Wing organisation must not affiliate to a nonsooner tramp the streets than touch Wilson with staken towards the attainment of the Socialist S front is opposed to the progress of Communism. The offices were held for four days. On the Mr. Palme Dutt did not point out that this Had Soviet Russia approved the German one Hunter asked what pratcical difference is there fifth morning we discovered the locks had been a scheme of the I.L.P. is by no means Com- big Revolutionary Union in opposition to the to be found between Colonel Malone, M.P., of removed during the night and replaced by new munism, and is, of course, merely a poor, un Scheideman-Noske Trade Unions of Germany, the Communist Party, and Neil Maclean, M.P., ones, making the keys in our possession value practical half-way house thereto. Note, there the Russo-Germany Treaty would not have of the I.L.P.; between Messrs, Watts and Butler, less. Oil for the troubled waters arrived in the salary earners and the wage been signed. The Third International, which is L.C.C., C.P., or Messrs. Ammon and Snell. entierly dominated by the persons who form L.C.C., I.L.P.; or between two such Mayors as suggested, if possible, that a delegate meeting. The term Socialism was as grossly misused as the Russian Soviet Government, believes that Major Atlee, I.L.P., and Joe Vaughan, C.P.? the British Labour Party may soon form a Palme Dutt replied that Robert Smillie, I.L.P., British Government, and even if it does not, its had accepted the Coal Commission on the

sonnel, that Hunter was right. Nevertheless, In the days when the Third International was the Third International in Moscow would have revolutionary, it scouted the policy of the opposed acceptance of the Coal Commission in its "United Front" and declared that that policy early revolutionary days: it would certainly

accepted the Coal Commission the collapse of

state is maintained by force. He pointed out of the C.P.G.B. is simply to go on repeating the

palliative catch cries and to win a cheap popularity which fails to create a Communist movement of action and determination. The shortcut policy produces only the bubble movement over again.

Palme Dutt repeated the oft-repeated lies that the working class has got the power in Russia though capitalism daily extends its power there and workers' control has passed away.

First the industrial workers seized the factories and administered them.

Then partially-elected, partially-appointed Committees of Management took over the man-

Then management by one man appointed fro outside replaced the Committees.

First lodging, fuel and light, and essential food and clothing, travelling facilities, postage, amusements, etc., were free: one could live divided equally, except that the manual worker, and the soldier, had higher food rations than sedentary workers, and children had preference in milk, eggs. etc. Wages and salaries were not equal; but these only earned the extras. In 1920 equal food rationing ceased; responsible workers began to get better food; the " new economic" policy of reversion to capitalism followed. Markets at which general purchases could be made were illegal at the beginning of 1921. As the Russian Information and Review has it :-

With the introduction of the new economic policy private trading became legal, and the free market began to receive an increasingly dominant importance; and, as a result, the money payment of wages became a growing value."

With the new economic policy, factories began passing over from the Soviet State centrol to private enterprise. Vast tracts of Russian land containing oil and other natural resources are being offered wholesale for capitalist exploitation; says the Russian Information and Review:

doubtedly immense."

vidual produce.

including part of the Black Belt, the richest soil the same thing if a Socialist Government is in of Russia, are being sold for capitalist enterprise, power. Only the surrender of property to the new laws are now being made regarding the land nation can guarantee the possibility of organisheld by the peasants.

distributed every few years." has it been since. The rich peasant, the middle production along uniform lines. peasant, and the poor peasant have not disap- Let the detailed plan of this effective control peared. We should like to know how far the be what it may, whether placed in the hands

that a peasant living in such a commune, without leaving his house or village, may break away from the commune and work land individually apart from it, either alone or in co-operation with the land. others. He may also employ hired labour (which was not hitherto permitted) if he is short of labour for his holding. He may even lease land provided he is working and not living wholly on his property. (See Russian Information and Review, May 15th, page 367.)

So Russia goes slipping back into capitalism. Yet the members of the Third International refuse to admit that anything is changed, and still declare that in Russia the proletariat is in control. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

LEAKEY'S

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# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

The Bolshevists are the historic successors of the English Levellers and the French Jacobins. The concrete task that has devolved upon the Russian Revolutionists since they seized the power is, however, much more difficult than that of their historic predecessors. (Consider the importance of the agrarian problem from so far back as 1905. Then the Right Wing of the peasantry in the 3rd Duma! Consider the peasant problem and defence, the Army.)

Undoubtedly the slogan of "the immediate seizure and partition of the land by the peaswithout money. These things were, moreover, ants" was the simplest, shortest, and most concise formula for accomplishing two things-the abolition of the big landed estates, and attach. ing the peasants at once to the revolutionary

> These, as political measures, were excellent tactics for consolidating the proletarian Socialist Government. Unfortunately, however, ants, who acted in response to the watchword there are two sides to the question, the reverse of Lenin and his friends: "Go and take unto one being that the immediate seizure of the yourselves the land," led to a sudden stir and land by the peasants has practically nothing in commotion; a chaotic passage from big landed common with Socialist economy.

The Socialist re-shaping of rural economic conditions and relationships pre-supposes two

Firstly, land nationalisation; aiming primarily at the big estates, and understood to be, in a technical sense, the most progressive manner of concentrating the agrarian means and methods of production, which alone can serve as duction belong to the days of the Pharaohs, e basis of Socialist agrarian economy. If one is to make the petty peasant feel that his plot will not be taken away, and that he need not been carried out, we find that in the rural dis-"The opportunities for foreign capital are unbe anxious as to his security of tenure; if he is tricts the social distinctions arising from property found the Australians dreadfully lacking in as they are at the present time. There are a number to be shown the advantages which joint produc-As to the land, the revolution gave the land tion will bring him; if he is voluntarily to join to the peasants. Breadly speaking, the peasants a co-operative society, and thus learn how to took the land from the landlords, cut it up into take up a right attitude towards the industrial strips, one for each family to work as its own life of the whole community, it naturally follows private property; and except for the State re- that every Socialist economic agrarian reform quisitions for the bread monopoly, and so on, the will have to start with the big and medium-sized peasants bartered or sold for money their indi- estates. It must be a question here of surrendering ownership of property to the nation, or, Apart from the fact that quantities of land, if one prefers the term, to the State, which is ing agricultural production on Socialist lines.

Says the Russian Information and Review: Secondly, it must be taken for granted, in this "In the primitive Russian Commune the peas- re-shaping of conditions, that there shall be an ants generally cultivate the ground in common, end of the cleavage between agriculture and inbut reserve the produce of particular strips for dustry, which is characteristic of bourgeois each individual family. These strips are re- society. This cleavage must end in order to get both agriculture and industry working together This practice was by no means universal in to their mutual advantagge, and to make room Russia in the period prior to the revolution, nor for a development of both agrarian and industrial

primitive commune as above described now of the municipal authorities, as some people adexists, and what proportion of the land it covers. vocate, or whether it rests with the central body Be that as it may, new decrees now lay down set up by the State; in any case, it pre-supposes a reform introduced, imposed, and carried through by a central sed authority, which takes as its indispensable basis the nationalisation of

> The nationalisation of the big and mediumsized estates, and the unification of industry and agriculture are the two basic foundations of every Socialist economic reform, without which there cannot be Socialism.

> Is it discreditable that the Soviet Government has not carried out these gigantic reforms in Russia? It would be going rather too far to demand, or to expect, from Lenin and his comrades that they should have solved, during the short time they have been in power, one of the most difficult problems; indeed, we may say the most difficult of the Socialist Revolution. must be remembered that they have had to face a situation in which everything is being whirled into a vortex of internal and external conflicts, and have been faced with enemies and opposition from all quarters. When we in Western Europe finally come into power we shall also break many

teeth in trying to crack this hard nut, before w surmount the thousand-and-one difficulties of one gigantic task, even under the most favourable

Any Socialist Government must, whatever happens, do one essential thing: it must take such measures as will prepare a fundamental basis for eventually settling agrarian conditions that the Co-operative men would not let his stuff and relationships on Socialist lines; it must at least avoid everything that would stand in the way of the Socialist solution.

The watchword of the Bolshevists: "Immedia ate confiscation and apportionment of the land and the estates by the peasants," must of necessity act in opposition to Socialism. Not only is it not a Socialist measure, it actually bars the way to Socialism. It puts insuperable difficulties in the way of re-shaping agrarian conditions and relationships on a Socialist basis.

The confiscation of the farm lands by the peasproperty to peasant landed property.

What we now see created is not Communal free heads over much. He is probably a bit property, but a new kind of private property. Tarked at not having impressed hard-bitten work-In other words, the landed properties have been the men into touching their hats to him. The papers sessions, so that a relatively progressive big in got they did not belong to him as they do in his dustry has been battered into a primitive small native land. industry, of which the technical means of pro-

and purely capricious manner in which it has barrack,' as it is called here, spoiled one of his holding have not been effaced, but have been aggravated. Although the Bolshevists invited the peasants to form Peasant Committees, in order to make the confiscation of the land of the nobility appear to be the result of mass action. it is plain that the actual state of affairs and the social relationship determined by the wielding of power which existed in the rural districts could not be altered in the least by such general advice. Committees or no committees, the wealthy peasants and profiteers, who constitute the village bourgeoisie, and who have, in every Russian village, managed to get all the local power of any importance into their hands, are bound to be the people who reap the greatest benefit from the agrarian revolution. Anyone can see at once that the result of the apportionment of the land has not been to abolish, but only to aggravate, the social and economic inequalities which existed within the peasant population. The class an-Socialist interests. Fermerly it could always be giving his time. reckoned that a Socialist agrarian reform would 2. That the comrade who could make the aristocratic and capitalist landed proprietors, and lade who required it—giving his (or her) time expropriate such a tiny minority as these persons in ingredients for making the pastry. amounted to is mere child's play to the great With regard to the letter from "D. T.," I revolutionary masses. Now, however, since the ligree that the organisation of the food supply "seizure" of land by the peasants, we find that the most vital fatcor; but, of course, we must all attempt to bring Socialist ideas to bear be content to start in a very small way, and canupon agriculture meets with the hostile resistance not, therefore, anticipate dealing with this quespeasant owners, who are prepared to fight tooth and nail against all Socialist "outrages" upon the cultivation of an allotment or allotments their newly-acquired property.

Thus, the question of the future socialisat of the agricultural industry in Russia (which means, of course, the socialisation of production in a very small way indeed, and not itself) has become a question that has thrown the postponing our start by saying, "Oh, peasant masses and the urban proletariat into fierce opposition and open conflict. That this why, when one thinks of these things, canopposition has already assumed large dimensions opposition has already assumed large dimensions is proved by the boycott of the towns by the peasants. By refusing to send foodstuffs to towns, the peasants endeavour to set up as pro fiteers, and so followed in the footsteps of

(Continued on page 8.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM NEW ZEALAND. comrade writes :-

The growers of Bowen, Queensland, formed intage. There was one dissentient. He wouldn't join their jolly old Union. would send his pumpkins and things on his

"On carting his stuff to the train he found thin ten thousand miles of it; not they!

"Reactionary townsmen patted him on the possible, and the multitude uncovers for it. They called him 'a b- fine fellow,' We have another case in point in Ireland at the nd all that, and sent for blackleg labour to load stuff into the truck.

"The Union leaders threatened the blacklegs printable tortures if they attempted to near their train, and the backsliders were ot game to go near them. Australians do not rder ' so common in England.

"Lord Northcliffe has been touring here. eavs that though the Australians are a 'fine, hospitable, etc., people,' they do not seem realise the chaarcter and tenacity of the tisher. Poor fellows: how misguided they ore! The fact is, they do not appreciate Uncle

or could not be called much of a success. The As a result of this measure, and of the chaotic regrettable tendency of people here to heckle,

> THE PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM EAR COMRADE,-

I have followed with interest the various letters ith regard to Communism in practice, and I am are that now is the time for anyone who believes it to put same into effect as far as they possibly m under the present system.

now how simple the thing is if only there are a few willing to carry out the ideas.

make it clear as to who is to provide the necesmaterials for the different things that may be required. I take it, though, that what is

tagonisms amongst the peasantry have become | 1. That the comrade who requires a new hinge more acute. Moreover, the shifting of power and a meat safe would supply all the necessary has been to the detriment of proletarian and materials, the comrade who did the work just

meet with resistance from a small clique of large would just go to the house of the comfrom the small wealthy village bourgeoisie. To and would be supplied with all the necessary

way sugggested in "A. Y. L.'s" letter—i.e., power to keep that rebel in gaol. the keeping of chilkens, extending this side the work as the idea grew.

One thing we must be ready to face is the were are not enough of us to make a start."

e amongst our friends? Why not, therefore, gree to broaden the thing out and do it to those may not, perhaps, come under the term

A Young Convert.

THE CULT OF THE DEAD. BY AN IRISH RANK AND FILER.

One of the peculiar charcteristics of the Irish race is the cult of the dead. The Irish as a general rule are quite ready to give honour to a great Irishman, but he must die first. While he is alive he finds great difficulty in getting a meal, especially if he has a powerful personality and is a revolutionary force people fight shy of him. The politician, on the her hand, is worshipped during his lifetime, because he always follows the line of least resistance, and never asks his followers to do anything that might in any way inconvenience them. The rebel follows the path that leads to trouble and the prison cell.

wait for his death to sing his praises. Thus it is that James Connolly fed in the Mendicity institution while he was alive, and nobody bothered very much about his literary merits. Now every mealy-mouthed politician drags in his name wherever

For this reason, the mass of the people prefer to

present time. Jim Larkin is the greatest power in the Labour movement in Ireland. He is in gaol in the United States. His name is a household word even vet in Dublin. The Irish bosses fear him worse than the proverbial devil fears holy water. Yet the leaders of the Irish Labour movement are using every means in their power to drown his memory. Every week in their official organ the writings of Connolly been to have a grain of that respect for 'lorand- are published. Why? Not because these men loved Connolly, but because Connolly is dead and he 's no longer a danger to the reactionaries. There is not one word about Larkin. Why? Because Larkin is alive and a living danger to their power and their jobs if he were to come back. The average dishonest labour union official in Ireland will tell you that Jim was a great fellow, but crazy. He was no good to build up an organisation. He was always in trouble -strikes, gaol sentences, libel actions, etc. He would waste the funds feeding the hungry among the Union members. You may remonstrate with the before." Labour official: you may say that a trade union should not be a business proposition, but an organisaparcelled out in medium-sized and small pos- have made fun of him, too. I suppose he for- tion of mutual aid among the workers, to help one another in difficulty, and carry on the fight against the bosses in the best way possible until the advent of Communism. Then the Labour official will laugh "Conan Doyle was another washout. His at you and say that you are a Communist.

Now in Ireland at the present there is a powerful General Workers' Union. It is probably the strongest result. Union in these islands. Yet the Irish workers, from of bureaucrats with large salaries at the head of the organisation, who rule the masses under them with an iron hand. Any man who is discovered to have revolutionary views is victimised. Strong propaganda is being sent out from Liberty Hall every week to the various branch officials condemning Larkinism and undermining Larkin's influence.

Thsi is a definite policy adopted to prepare for the eventuality of Larkin's return. If he returned, his revolutionary policy would not result in any great acquisition to their luxury. William O'Brien would not be able to ride about in limousines with Mr. David Barry, of the Port and Docks Board; and Mr. Foran might be forced to leave the racecourse and The letter by "A. Y. C." seems to me to lar, has been cleverest in this scientific sabotage against the influence of Larkin. He, no doubt, is most conscious that the interests of the friendly The writer of that letter does not, however, be irremediably injured by the return of such a rebel. organisation to which he is reputed to belong would However, this policy is now being exposed to the Irish workers. Little indiscretions on the part of the rulers of Liberty Hall, who had succeeded until him as he lay. now in imposing on foreign comrades as genuine Reds, are showing the Irish workers how they have been fooled. An Irishman is easily fooled, but when he discovers the fraud he is liable to take drastic action. The clever plans laid by the present Labour be maintained. leaders in Dublin had very nearly succeeded, but owing to the watchfulness of the few rebels left in the

Union they have been at length discovered. It is well that comrades in foreign countries, before giving credence to reports about the Labour movement in Ireland, should examine the source of this ing class is at the mercy of the Labour lieutenants of the Boss Class, they should easily understand that the Executive Committee of a union must be reactionary when there are scabs working in the headquarters in Dublin, while the old staff are walking the streets on strike. Further, it is the duty of

We call for the support of our English comrades Saturday, June 10th.-3 p.m., Catherine Road, to aid us in the effort to bring Larkin back. It is East Ham; 8 p.m., Beckton Road, Canning Town. enough for a man to suffer imprisonment at the hands of his enemies, without being reviled and discredited 2 pm., Parliament Hill; 7 p.m., Finsbury Park. by the very men he raised from the gutter. The situation in Ireland calls for the firm hand of a class- Water Lane, Stratford. conscious leader. Time servers and poltroon politicians are at hand and in power. RANK AND FILER.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS. By Edward Carpenter. A TELLING SATIRE. Price - 4d.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP. 152 Fleet Street, London E.C.4.

A MASSACRE OF A PEACEFUL PEOPLE.

A HUNDRED HOUSES REDUCED TO

A WOMAN BURNT ALIVE.

We recently published information from an Indian correspondent regarding the massacre of the Bhils of the native state of Gujarat by British troops because the Bhils had refused to pay their taxes in order to secure redress of grievances. We have now received the report on the Bhil situation by a deputation sent by Sewa Sangra and Rajputana Central Indian People's Association, signed by B. S. Pathick.

After the massacre already reported, the authorities urged the Bhils to pay first and leave their grievances to be dealt with later, but the Bhils refused to pay the taxes—at least until they had assembled in general conference to decide whether they should alter their policy. The troops of the state, taking Mr. Pritchard, a British official, with them as adviser, marched to the village of Sirea. The Bhils of the village believed, as a result of experience, that the troops had come either to arrest or to kill them. Many Bhils took to flight, but those who remained declared they would maintain their determination to pay taxes only after the redress of grievances. The troops approached the Bhils. One of the Bhils who had seen Mr. Pritchard at the previous massacre now cried:

"Such white people deceived and killed us

The Bhil uncovered his rude little knife and prepared to defend himself.

Mr. Pritchard, who had been in front of the troops, now retired behind them, and from a safe distance brandished his loaded revolver. The Bhils now reproached their comrade for showing Labour Union machine, the Irish Transport and his knife, as they feared that trouble would

> Next day the officers summoned the Bhils from several villages, and ordered them to pay the taxes; but they refused, in spite of all the threats. The Bills of Sawaya were summoned to come to the officers, but refused. Thereupon the troops fired a cannon into the village and the houses, filled with fuel grass and highlyinflammable, were set alight. The flames spread throughout the village, sparing neither grain, nor cattle, nor agricultural instruments. A pregnant woman, too ill to escape, was burnt to death in one of the houses, her cries for help unheeded by the troops. The fleeing people were fired on by the troops, and a large number were killed. The exact number is not yet known. Houses for some distance around the village were also burnt. The deputation saw an old man of a hundred years lying helpless at some distance from the village. He had been wounded in the head, and the soldiers had robbed

The deputation visited some of the State officials, who declared that such barbarities were unavoidable if the prestige of the State were to

### TOM ANDERSON IN LONDON.

Comrade Tom Anderson, of Glasgow, well information. In England, especially, where the work- known as a pioneer of the Proletarian Schools. is coming to London for a series of meetings lasting from Friday, June 7th, to Sunday, June 18th, inclusive. He will speak during the period as follows :-

Friday, June 9th, Poplar Town Hall, Dance, 7.30every class-enscious worker to denounce those who 12 p.m., to meet Comrade Tom Anderson, who will of a strong and enormously increased mass of the toth of a start could be made in the tionary's efforts, whilst using every means in their Labour Band. Admission, 1s. 6d. Refreshments at

> Sunday, June 11th .- 11 a.m., Peckham Rye; Monday, June 12th .- Noon, Tower Hill; 8 p.m.,

Tuesday, June 13th.-Noon, Albert Dock, Connaught Road; 8 p.m., Tottenham Corner. Wednesday, June 14th.-Noon, Leather Lane:

8 p.m., Wren Road, Camberwell Thursday, June 15th.-Noon, Arsenal, Woolwich;

S p.m., Minerva Café, At Home. Friday, June 16th.-Noon, Victoria Road, Custom

House; 8 p.m., East India, Dock Gates. Saturday, June 17th .- 3 p.m., Clapham Common; 8 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith.

Sunday, June 18th.-11 a.m., Victoria Park; 3.30 p.m., Trafalgar Sguare.

#### IF THE UNEMPLOYED WENT RED.

Sir P. C. Roy, one of the leaders of the Indian non-Co-operation Movement, at Kustia, in Bengal, on March 6th, had a talk with some of his own people over there in India, which is reported in Karmi, a newspaper published by the clerks of Calcutta. Some of Sir P. C. Roy's remarks were of considerable interest to us, fellow-workers. He said:

"At the advent of the British merchant, the people of Bengal were found quite indispensable to British trade. By working for British firms they soon became very rich and acquired many landed estates [that means the Indian boss class, fellow-worker, not the

working people, who become poorer, not richer].

... The descendants of the Indians who helped the British traders, instead of taking to trade and commerce on their own account, passed their lievs in dissipation." [They did not realise, fellow-worker, that real wealth and power resides in possession of the means of life-food, clothing, housing, and all the necessities of society. They left these to the exploitation of the foreigner.]

"The Hindu College and other educational institutions were established, every educated person found employment, either as deputy munsiff, or lawyers, and the country was being equipped with networks of law courts." [The number of useless parasites who bat- in firm possession he became the dourest of createned on the toilers who fed, clothed, and housed the population of India was thereby in-

creased, fellow-worker.]

"No notce was taken by the rich and educated Indians at Bengal of trade and commerce. Foreigners and strangers availed themselves of the opportunity, and established a lasting hold on the trade and commerce of Bengal. Ninety-five per cent. of its wealth is now in the hands of foreigners. The Bengalees are now only employment seekers in their own country; they have lost the proprietorship of the real wealth of the country."

[Why, fellow-worker, that is just your position, is it not?] "Every year Bengal has to export 20 crores of rupees for cloth only. Bengal cannot

grow rich so long as this sort of commercial dependence continues."

[Nor you, fellow-worker, whilst you are the serf of the shopkeeper, the middleman, and

the boss.

"To start new mills in Bengal, to clothe her people, is out of the question; for an upto-date cotton mill will cost 25 lacs of rupees for machinery, besides exorbitant or prohibitive import duties. But Bengal cannot sit idly if she is ever to live. The people must take to charka the spinning-wheel).

"If every family owns one charka (spinning-wheel) and ten or twenty cotton plants, we can save at least one crore of rupees a year, if on an average five members of each family

spin for half-an-hour daily."

[Some effort that, is it not, fellow-worker?]

"Bengal is an agricultural country, and the people have to work for their agriculture only for three months in the year; the remaining nine months being spent in idleness, they can utilise the time by working on the spinning-wheel. Thy must work their own way out. Their precarious condition is of their own make. It is their hankering for ' ready-made scrvice' and inveterate idleness that have made them so.

It seems that the lawyer class and the rich, who do not work even three months in agriculture, are those who must first be accused of idleness: theirs was the class which sold

India to the foreigner. (O, Soviet delegates at Genoa!)]

"Still, there is time to avert the run. Take to charka and learn the dignity of

labour."

Now that is very interesting, is it not, fellow-worker? You will ask, perhaps, why the Indans do not seize the mills and factories which the foreigner has planted in their midst, instead of going back to the primitive methods of home and hand production, which Sir C. P. Roy and other non-co-operators are urging.

All in due time, they certainly will seize the mills and factories, fellow-worker; of course they will. At present the non-co-operation movement is finding its way from strength to strength. It is partly designed to injure the British exploiter by boycotting his products; it is also intended to arouse the sense of independence in the Indian people, and to give them an opportunity to develop its practice. They will grow in self-reliance and courage to overthrow the foreign domination by this means.

Do you think that it is only independence of the foreign capitalist that the Indian people will learn from charka? Will they wrest their industry from the foreign capitalist, only to give it back to the home capitalist? That would be folly indeed, would it not, fellow-worker?

There are, however, bad possibilities, as well as good, in the charka movement, fellowworker. The bad tendency is that which would make every individual a petty producer, producing every single thing that he uses for his or her immediate self and family, without thought of the general welfare. Home growing of cotton, home spinning and weaving of cloth is too primitive a method of supply; it necessitates over-work for everyone, and affords only a scant supply for anyone; because it discards all the means of quick and easy prduction which human ingenuity has discovered during the capitalist period, and because it discards the benefits of co-operative work and mutual aid. The Indian people, and any others striving to emancipate themselves from capitalism, must work in co-operation, share their products in common, practise mutual aid between industry and industry; individual and individual, and as soon as possible the use of machinery and scientific facilities.

But let us consider the unemployed in this island of ours. Is it not strange, fellow- order for 1/1 to-day to the Workers' Dreadworker, that they are more helpless than the savage? All they can do is to "go to the nought, and you will receive the pen by return Guardians." (If you go to the Guardians at the Sick Asylum in Devons Road, Bow, in the Borough of Poplar, they will put you in a bug-ridden bed, fellow-worker; we have it direct from one of the Guardians that Sick Asylum beds are being burnt, owing to the atrocious dirt

and neglect which has obtained there.)

The unemployed, be it observed, are more hopeless than savages; they go to the Guardians, and the Guardians are now more and more disposed to send them down to the Labour Colonies at Hollesley Bay, Belmont, and elsewhere. A comrade tells us he is going to Belmont to work on the land in return for his food and 6d. a week pocket money. Another comrade tells us he is going to Hollesley Bay for 2s. 6d. a week pocket money, but 1s. a week out of that is saved up for him till he goes.

At Hellesley Bay the unemployed went on stike for better conditions. (Oh, naughty! naughty! They forgot they were poverty's prisoners!) They held a meeting in the village. The boss whom the Guardians had placed over them grew angry and sent them back to London.

But suppose the unemployed at Hollesley Bay and Belmont, and the other colonies, really went Red. Suppose they took control of those colonies and began working them as the nucleur of the Communist Soviet Republic that will one day be set up in Britain. Suppose they had held a business meeting with the railwaymen, and arranged with them that no one and nothing should be brought down to the Labour Colony without permission of the workers there. Suppose they had seized the telephonic and telegraphic communications. Suppose they had held a business meeting with the villages and arranged to act with them on principles of Communist mutual aid.

Suppose they issued a call to the workers in every kind of service to follow their example. Then they would be the first to hoist the Red Flag in this island. If it were soon hauled down for the time-being they would sow a pregnant seed. We xi ect it to happen at any time.

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.—Continued from page 6. Prussian Junkers. The French peasants who received their portion of the land which the Revolution had confiscated from the emigrants became in return the bravest defenders of the great French Revolution. As Napoleonic soldiers they carried the French flag to victory, and went from one end of Europe to the other, destroying feudalism wherever they found it. Lenin and his friends may have expected a similar result from their agrarian policy. It has turned out, however, that the Russian peasant, having actually seized the land on his own account, never dreamt of defending either Russia or the Revolution which made it possible for him to obtain the land. As soon as he found himself tures and abandoned the Revolution to its enemies, the State to disintegration, and the urban population to hunger.

To be continued.

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