



# Workers' Breadnought

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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## THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF THE WHITE TERROR.

By GEORG LUKACZ.

It is a time-worn falsification of Marx and a demagogism of moderate Socialists to neglect the historic, economic and social conditions in analysing the "phenomena" of class-war. The "right" Socialists seek to avoid the tactical consequences of regarding actualities. They speak nebulously of democracy in general, instead of distinguishing between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. They speak vaguely of "dictatorship," without differentiating between the classes which enforce the dictatorship and apply the Terror. As a result, they ignore the tendencies, as well as the possibilities of existence, development, and cessation of the Terror. They condescendingly (though without notable historical insight) make a distinction between Red and White Terror. But they fail to draw any conclusions from this distinction. Either they declare that, after all, the White Terror is more savage than the Red, or they proclaim that, as genuine democrats, one terror is as despicable to them as another. This signifies that their differentiation, when all's said and done, is no differentiation. They are equally incapable of making distinctions—in a Marxian sense—in the question of Terror as in the questions of Dictatorship of Democracy.

### The Red Terror.

What is the Red Terror? It is an organised weapon, employed by the proletariat which, determined and prepared to enforce its will, has already attained power. Its goal is to dispose of those obstacles which block the path of Socialism: counter-revolution, sabotage, corruption, and profiteering. The true aim of the proletarian dictatorship is to create. The Terror is merely a *defensive* measure in this struggle. It is defensive precisely because the proletariat, having achieved power, stands upon the pinnacle of its *offensive* against capitalism. It is the constructive nature of the proletarian dictatorship that deals the fatal blow to capitalism and thereby destroys its social roots. Force is an inevitable, though secondary method, employed by the proletariat only for its self-preservation. Force is accordingly applied only to that degree to which the proletariat is *driven* by the active or passive resistance of the former dominating class. With the magnanimity natural to a class destined to ascendancy, the proletariat holds itself aloof from the introduction of terrorism, even when terrorism is an inevitable necessity. The proletariat practices clemency at the price of its own security and development. Counter-revolutionary resistance and the consequent Terror diminish in the course of organic evolution, since this very evolution leads—through hard-contested conflicts—toward Socialism. The Dictatorship must pass through periods when relentless terror is essential to the proletariat's survival. Sooner or later, this necessity is totally or partially reduced. The period of the terror becomes shorter as the Dictatorship is applied with greater energy. Russia appears to be approaching this point today.

The White Terror, however, can rely upon no class which is pre-destined to guide society, or which is fitted effectively to organise society as a whole. Accordingly, the White Terror cannot lead to peaceful development. The White Terror becomes the sole weapon of the exploiting classes only when these classes are placed upon the *defensive* by the proletariat, and when—in this desperate dilemma—they win a battle.

### The White Terror: a Weapon of the Exploiting Classes.

As soon as the exploiting classes are placed upon the defensive by the proletariat, their only weapon becomes the White Terror. Then the White Terror is unavoidable, because, having won a battle in this crisis, the exploiters can only safeguard the fruits of such an ephemeral victory by perpetuating the terror. The doubtful social foundation of the White Terror reveals itself in the fact that *all* oppressing classes unite to defend tyranny in general.

The White Terror is the Holy Alliance of the oppressors against the proletariat—a union *sic* between classes which cannot lastingly remain united. The clashing interests of the oppressors become so intense that a legal, parliamentary compromise among them is impossible, especially after the collapse of a proletarian revolution. Obviously the union of these classes, directed against the victorious,

or potentially victorious proletariat, must face disillusionment as soon as the workers are defeated. For then the issue arises, *who is to reap the harvest of victory?* And it becomes self-apparent that the community of interests between the oppressors rests exclusively in the preservation of the *abstract* possibility of tyranny and exploitation. The manner of *concrete* exploitation brings the oppressors into acute conflict with one another.

Take, for example, the small land-holders, who comprised the *elite garde* of the counter-revolution during the proletarian dictatorship in Hungary, and whose sabotage wrecked the food supply in the great cities. To their great consternation, these petty-land-owners now realise that the great counter-revolutionary municipalities must also be nourished; that the counter-revolution also pays for grain with paper money; and that the counter-revolution must enforce requisitions if the farmers refuse to deliver the essential foodstuffs.

### A Hopeless Struggle.

The history of the White Terror is one of despair and hopelessness. Each of the triumphant classes (the feudal aristocrats, financiers, clergy, small land-owners, etc.), is attempting to gain for its own interests and contrary to the others' interests the weapon of that victory which was attained jointly. This struggle is a hopeless one, because the counter-revolution can maintain itself only through the unity of all oppressors, just as it could achieve power only through their unity. This rivalry among the victors is a blind alley, above all, because the sole effectual weapon of the counter-revolution, namely the White Officers' Detachments, are in the service of no class whatever. The White Terror is not a "class-terror," as is the organised power of the victorious proletariat. The White Terror is the violent and gory expression of *oppression-in-general*.

Indeed, *who* practices the White Terror? The White Terror substantiates the theory of bourgeois ideology that the "state" (bureaucracy, police, constabulary, and other armed forces) transcends the conflict of class interests. In pre-revolutionary times, this theory was false, because the "state" was controlled by that class which was able to organise production in accordance with its own interests and to adjust society as a whole to its own interests. But since the dawn of revolutionary days, especially since the defeat of proletarian revolution, this situation changed substantially—particularly in Central Europe.

### Hungary and the War.

The war cost Hungary more than half of its territory and population. This brought disaster upon the Law-and-Order elements. The Intellectuals among the ruling Hungarian minority were adepts at acquiring for themselves, at the cost of the weaker nationalities, the preponderance of positions both in the army and in the administration. This minority parasitically controlled a territory and a population vastly beyond its nationalistic frontiers. The fall of Magyar rule left this entire horde of parasites without a host. Although these Nationalist parasites are incapable of useful and productive work, they nevertheless are loathe to abandon their economic and social privileges. Consequently, their only hope is an extension of the machinery of State, to be directed against the proletariat at home, and to prepare new imperialist wars abroad. Thus does the Minority dream of regaining its lost privileges.

The leaders of this parasitic minority are the professional officers. It is obvious how desperate their predicament becomes without the White Terror. Their social and economic survival is inseparably linked to the existence of Imperial Power, which can never be restored and maintained without a relentless and permanent White Terror. Any other course, even a "democratic" transition, signifies their annihilation.

Their allies in this struggle are the university students, "the blossoms of intelligence." The last generation of students was caught by the war in the midst of their studies. Most of them "did their bit" and became morally and spiritually crude in the process. They were unable to "pursue learning," and yet the bourgeois State awarded them diplomas or promised them degrees. These diplomas bestowed upon them privileged positions, despite the fact that they were unsuited for any useful work,

The restoration of "normal" conditions would merely assure them places in the ranks of the "Lumpenproletariat." But the White Terror guarantees them not only the freedom to plunder and a secure livelihood, but also the respect accorded to "law-abiding" persons and a share in the booty of privilege. No wonder that the White Terror became an *end in itself* for such groups! And small wonder that they are not inclined to discard the White Terror, even when they come into sharp opposition with these classes for which they are ostensibly carrying on the Terror. They could not abandon the Terror, for to do so would be to pass sentence of death upon themselves.

The distinctly *offensive* nature of the White Terror discloses itself in the fierce *struggle for survival* of these classes whose doom is sealed by the laws of social evolution. The Red Terror is *defensive* and humanitarian, and restricts itself to the minimum of violence, because the proletariat is launching its final and inevitably victorious *attack* against the disintegrating bourgeoisie, and because the ultimate triumph of the workers will render all violence superfluous. The White Terror, on the other hand, must rage more and more mercilessly, because it is inherently condemned to failure. It is impossible to conceive of a counter-revolutionary Social Order which could safely dispense with the White Terror. The White Terror is self-sustaining. *It is an end, not a means.* Therefore it carries its fatal germ within its body. The disharmonious oppressing classes can neither contend against the White Terror, nor control it, nor adapt it to their own purposes. Yet they cannot exist without the Terror. And yet its existence undermines and shakes to pieces the stronghold of its authors.

### White Terror Indispensable to Counter-Revolutionaries.

The White Terror is indispensable to the counter-revolutionary alliance of the oppressors during the victorious days of the proletarian advance. The Terror is equally essential, *objectively* viewed, in the present phase of the Hungarian reaction. However, this same Terror becomes intolerable to the united oppressors as soon as their special interests assert themselves. It becomes intolerable, on the one hand, because all propertied classes demand law and order, under which the machinery of oppression can work invisibly, discreetly and unobserved, and under which production and social intercourse may proceed unhampered. On the other hand, the Terror becomes unbearable to the perpetrators because of its incessant growth. Being an end in itself, the Terror affects the ruling classes themselves, as well as the workers, whom it is destined to persecute. The White Terror eventually arouses the *class-consciousness of the reactionary troops*. These troops are aware that the continuance of oppression and their own existence can only be assured while they keep their weapons in hand. They will, accordingly, refuse to surrender their arms at any price, and will permit no one to interfere with the use of their power.

### Digging Its Own Grave.

Thus the White Terror digs its own grave. The alliance of the counter-revolutionary classes breaks down most rapidly, precisely through the White Terror. The Terror drives the middle-class elements away from their allies, the oppressors, to whom, lacking class-consciousness and fearing revolution, that middle-class had affiliated itself. In this manner, the master classes become isolated; acute opposition arises within their own ranks, and they are brought into keen conflict with the White Guard, upon which their existence depends. The disintegration of the bourgeoisie, which may be regarded as the ultimate preparation for the revolution, culminates in the White Terror.

Consequently it is simply a naïve illusion to assume that the White Terror can be mitigated either through internal or external pressure. The White Terror can only continue to gain impetus until the process of disintegration has acquired such dimensions that the aroused proletariat is capable of destroying its persecutors. Only this organised might of the proletariat can accept the challenge to battle. The struggle to halt the White Terror can only be purposeful when it is simultaneously a struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.



# URGENT QUESTIONS.

By J. T. MURPHY.

Comrade Murphy has promised us a series of articles on "Urgent Questions," divided as follows:

- (1) Organisation of the Party.
- (2) Application of principles to immediate situations.
- (3) Unionism—Communist conception.
- (4) On Working in the Unions.
- (5) The Red Labour Union International.
- (6) The Organisation of Women, industrially and politically.
- (7) Organising the Youth for Communism.
- (8) The Labour Party.
- (9) Councils of Action and their significance.
- (10) The Agrarian Problem.
- (11) The Colonial Question.
- (12) The British Movement and the International: A General Survey.

## I.

### THE ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY.

"What we need is not purely and simply a Communist Party; we need a strictly centralised Communist Party with an iron discipline, with a military organisation.

"One cannot carry on a war against a countless number of foes without one's own authoritative general staff, without the strictest iron discipline, without having created an organisation which receives all directions from one centre. Without these conditions, victory is impossible, without this defeat of the revolution is certain."—ZINOVIEV.

"The Communist Party should be based on the principle of democratic centralisation. The chief principle of the latter is the elective nature of the lowest unit, the absolute authority of all the decisions of a higher unit upon the one immediately beneath, and a strong party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of party life between party conventions."—THESES ON ROLE OF PARTY (14th par.).

### An Important Question.

The question as to how the Communist Party shall be organised stands out as one of the most important questions of the hour for the Communists of Britain. Within the next few months all our forces will be brought together. There will be a medley of notions and conflicting opinions on this question striving for supremacy. When these are classified, however, it will generally be found that they fall into two principle categories, one of centralisation and the other of decentralisation.

Probably there is no other country in the world where capitalistic notions of democracy have so saturated the social and political life of a people as in Great Britain. The Socialist parties have not even escaped them, and in this merging process which is now proceeding they will be bound to manifest themselves. The plea for referendums and local autonomy have been quite common to every party, and rank and file control by way of the ballot-box, has become to many the only test of such control.

The fight against these notions has now opened in earnest under the impulse of the Communist International, and the growing intensity of the class war. So long as there was comparative quietness and lack of urge to rapid action, so long as the revolutionary movement was confined to propaganda, there was fertile ground in which local autonomy and referendums could grow. Now that the whole conceptions of the movement are changing, now that it is more and more realised that the movement of which we are a part is a revolutionary and insurrectionary struggle involving the penetration of numerous organisations, the harnessing of forces leading to open conflict, the mobilisation and direction of masses first in this direction and then in that, according to the exigencies of the situations developed by the waging of war upon the capitalist class, each step fraught with grave consequences, any toleration of looseness in organisation and lack of decisiveness and quick responsive action, becomes a veritable menace to the working class. We are a revolutionary army waging a many-fronted war, and an army that is not organised in such a manner that it can act in unison and work according to a definite plan of campaign is destined to failure. We witnessed plenty of incidents in the military campaigns of the war to drive this matter home. But the revolutions in Russia and Germany have provided overwhelming evidence to show that without the unity of purpose and action of the Communists is concentrated and expressed by a strongly centralised party, the revolution will be lost.

### Different Conditions in Britain.

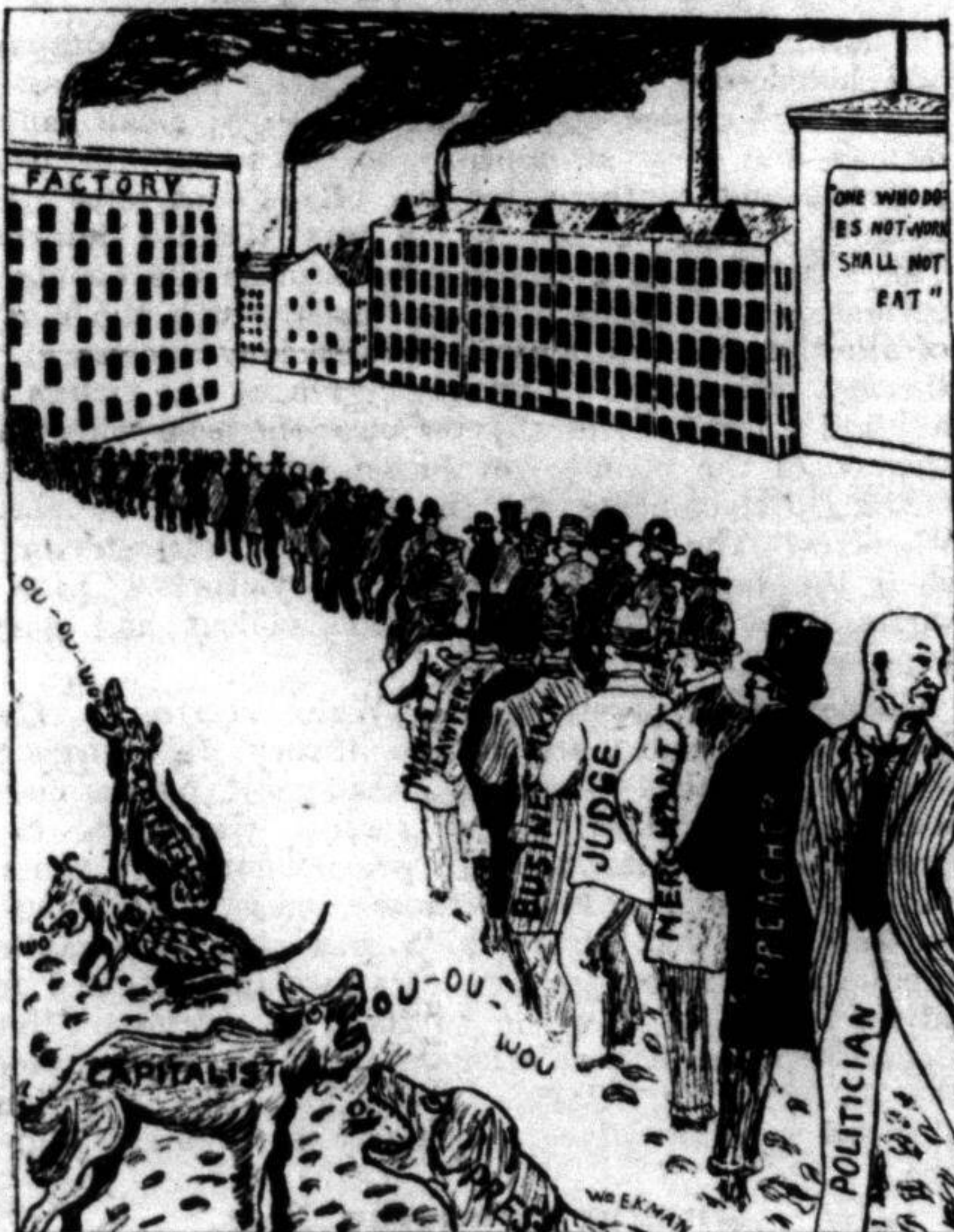
It may be asserted by many that conditions in Britain are different to those of other countries and that therefore what applies to Russia and Germany does not necessarily apply to Britain. No greater mistake could be made than to assume that in this matter there is no parallel. Nowhere is there a greater danger from "petty-bourgeois, anarchistic, centrifugal tendencies" than in Britain. Nowhere is there greater complexity of organisation and a more varied front. Not for nothing were we dubbed a "nation of shopkeepers." The shopkeeper notions

are everywhere: in the trade unions, in the parties, in the schools; and once we let them triumph in the revolutionary movement we play into the hands of the enemy. We need to organise so that in the penetration of the unions, the co-operatives, the schools and other institutions we are certain of co-ordination, unity of purpose and disciplined action. The time has gone by even in Britain when so-and-so can be left to carry on as best they may. Critical hours are falling upon Britain with increasing rapidity and of ever greater significance. They will be hours that will call for rapidity and promptness of action, for we have passed the stage when the political parties have to take a back seat in industrial disputes and the like. Every industrial dispute in Britain either tends to become or immediately is a challenge to the State, and thus merge into a political issue of the first order.

### The "Council of Action."

The advent of the "Council of Action" is a clear indication of the importance of this development. True it was not an industrial or economic demand that brought it into being, but let it be clearly observed especially by those who have howled so much about the "dictatorship of the Communist Party" and visualised it as a terror that in the crisis on the question of war with Russia, a veritable dictatorship of the Labour Party was exercised on the working-class movement of Britain and expressed through the Council of Action. Here was a political party harnessing the industrial movement for strike action which would challenge the very existence of the State.

The miners' demands move from the opposite direction towards the same situation. Their economic demands produce a political crisis. Such situ-



THE RED TERROR IN RUSSIA.

ations cannot be escaped; they will recur and recur until the open revolutionary struggle for power is thrust upon us. The political forces of the working-class movement cannot escape being forced into the forefront of the struggle. It is thus the task of the party to mobilise and organise itself as a military political force with all the discipline and organic unity the term military implies, for the purpose of a concerted struggle for the leadership of the masses in the conquest of the State.

## II.

### THE UNIT OF ORGANISATION.

Immediately we turn away from all discussion of decentralisation as a policy to be pursued in the organisation of the party, we are brought up against a variety of theories as to the organisation of a strong centralised party. Passing by the discussion of the theories as a whole and turning immediately to the questions surrounding the organisation of the branches, again there are two leading opinions. One stands for the organisation of large city and town branches, and the other favouring a number of small branches as a means of most effective work.

### Large or Small Branches?

The arguments in favour of the large branches (branches of more than 100) are: (1) There are more people from which can be chosen the special departmental committees necessary for effective work; (2) the large branch can maintain an enthusiasm for work and facilitates the distribution of labour; (3) central direction is made easier by the concentration of the members under one committee,

The arguments against the large branch are: (1) The larger the branch the more the branch assumes the aspect of a public meeting, where business tends to become general discussion; (2) it tends not in the direction of the effective distribution of work, but towards placing it in the hands of a caucus, which is left to do the work, not distribute it, whilst the membership drifts into indifference; (3) it does not bring the rank and file of the party sufficiently into active responsibility or provide an effective means of assimilation of the best workers for office.

On the other hand the effective federation of the small branches does, in my opinion, meet the objections offered to the large branches' demand. Especially is this the case when we take account of the large amount of group activity which has now to be undertaken. We have to create Communist groups in the trade union branches, in the factories, in the co-operative societies, etc., and in every working-class institution wherein we can get a footing. And further, all town workers must be aware of the technical difficulties imposed upon the workers by the hours of labour and the distance of their homes from their work and the centres of towns.

One other very important matter should be taken into consideration. We want the most extensive contact with the masses, and the time may be very near when the whole organisation will be thrust into underground activity. We cannot face this question as if we were immune from such a contingency, and as if the British capitalists were made in a finer mould than any others and susceptible to all the fine sentiments of the poets. They mean business, and so do we.

### A Suggested Way of Forming Branches.

Therefore, with these facts well in mind, I would urge that the local organisation take on the following form: Branches be formed with a membership of not less than ten in the town or city wards, in the factories, in the union branches, etc. By this I do not mean to imply that the branches should consist of only ten members, but ten should be a minimum to constitute a branch. Where there are not ten Communists in a group, they should constitute a section of a branch. The local central authority and organisation should then be established by each branch electing one delegate for each ten members to its local council, from which can be elected all the local departmental and central committee. The central committee should consist of the chairman of each departmental committee. There should be special committees at least to deal with factory agitation, work in the co-operatives, and among the women and youth, general political propaganda, and party organisation.

The local executive committee must be empowered to issue instructions to the branches in accordance with the decisions of the executive committee of the party, which must be the supreme authority between the national congresses of the party. The local executive shall be the supreme authority in the locality apart from the higher organs of the party, viz., the national congress, the executive of the party, the district congress and district council.

Such a network of organisation in a locality strongly centralised in the local executive, provides a means through the operation of the delegatory principle for the assimilation of the best workers and specialists for the various kinds of work to be undertaken. By its small unitary basis it draws the whole membership into action and provides a means of knowing the value of every worker in the party. It gives less opportunity for fakirs to work their way into the leading positions of the party.

## III.

### DISTRICT ORGANISATIONS.

Equally important are the problems associated with the organisation of the town and city structure into district organisations. Previously the parties have contented themselves with town to town conveniences favouring this region or that region according to the proximity of some particular large towns to each other.

This is a policy which does not meet the demands of a movement passing from a period of simple agitation to a period of mighty struggles, which have a profound relationship to industry. Time and again have we witnessed the elemental impulses to action finding expression in limited areas determined by the geographical distribution of what are known as basic industries. At one time the mining industry is all astir, at another the cotton industry is in a state of ferment. Where the grievances of the workers are economic grievances in a highly industrialised country such as Britain, the impulse to action finds its expression first through the economic organisations similarly concentrated as the industry. These movements are all of the utmost importance, especially as they develop political crises and rapidly assume a class character in their challenge to the State. Repeatedly we find that when such is the case, it is looked upon even by those who are participating in the fight as "the miners' challenge to the State" or "the Engineers' challenge to the State," and so on, with a complete lack of understanding of the fundamental issues involved.

(Continued in next issue.)



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## INDIA.

The British Government is raising 144 millions from the Indian people this year. Of this amount, 57½ millions are spent on the Army, 4½ millions on Education, and ¼ of a million on Sanitation.

Colonel J. Wedgwood, M.P., has arrived in India, and will attend the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress, as a delegate from the British Committee of the Congress. Mr. Holford Knight will also represent the Committee, and Mr. Ben Spoor, M.P., will attend as a delegate from the Labour Party.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, gave the following returns for casualties in Mesopotamia, since October 31st, 1918:—

British soldiers: 83 killed, 106 wounded.

Indian soldiers: 823 killed, 2370 wounded.

## RUSSIA.

## Scandal at Riga.

Moscow, October 25th.

A grave scandal is occupying public attention and the Constituent Assembly in Latvia.

It concerns efforts made by agents of the Russian counter-revolution, to recruit, on Latvian territory, —with the assistance of Latvian Ministers—soldiers for Wrangel. At the end of September, Count Pahlen, a notorious agent of Bermont, was stopped when passing the Lettish-German frontier, and a package found on him seized, which contained letters addressed to Savinkoff, Wrangel's agent at Warsaw. The signatory of these letters, Derenthal, reveals himself in them as the secret agent of Savinkoff, with the Latvian Government, and testifies to the existence in Latvia of recruiting bureaux for Wrangel. Soldiers were afterwards shipped from Latvia to Memel and Poland, under the guise of Polish refugees. Derenthal also speaks of secret conferences which he had as representative of Savinkoff, with representatives of the Lettish Government and High Command. He also mentions that those conferences were attended by Ulmanis Meerovitch and his aide Albat and General Radzin, Chief of General Staff. In these documents, it is said that Savinkoff's agents have succeeded in

concluding an agreement with the Lettish Government in favour of Wrangel.

Wrangel had promised complete independence to Latvia, whilst Estonia, Lithuania and Ukraine would only enjoy autonomy. It has also been revealed by the Lettish press, that on October 16th, an agent of the Intelligence Service of the Lettish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, passed the frontier with four bags containing sealed letters from the Lettish Government addressed to Savinkoff and with letters signed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs for Savinkoff.

These are the facts revealed by the Lettish press which have caused lively excitement in the country. An interpellation has been introduced in the Constituent Assembly. A Cabinet crisis is awaited.

Discussing the Riga scandal in an article in *Izvestia*, Stekloff denounces capitalist governments which render themselves guilty of crimes by falsely accusing the Soviet Government. It is the capitalist governments who violate engagements entered into by them. In any case, the state of opinion at Riga is such that it will cost dearly the Lettish Ministers who wanted to disturb the peaceful relations which existed between Latvia and Russia, by putting themselves at the service of the agents of Wrangel and the Entente.

—Rosta.

## Russia's "Ultimatum" to Armenia.

Information about the alleged menacing ultimatum of Russia to Armenia, is erroneous. Soviet Russia pursues a policy of peace, and uses her influence in the Near East for the purposes of establishing peace. Russia proposes to use her moral influence, and the ultimatum is not connected with any movements or eventualities of a military character. The Turkish advance on Armenian boundaries had no connection with the Soviet Government's policy, as the latter has no control upon the Turkish Government. The Soviet Government is in full sympathy with the Turk's fight for independence against Imperialism, but is not responsible for any movements of the Turkish troops. Their advance upon the Armenian border was an independent act of the Turkish National Government. The Russian Government can do no more than propose mediation, but in this case, it can expect from Armenia commercial facilities and the cessation of its participation in its aggressive anti-Russian policy. Soviet Russia has the most friendly feelings for the Armenian

people, and is sincerely desirous of helping them towards a better future, and of establishing peace in the Near East.

Authentic news from Bulgaria states that 40 Russian prisoners left Varna for Odessa on the *Christo Botief*, on June 22nd, being fully authorised by the French representative; but instead of this, they were brought to the Crimea and delivered to Wrangel. 32 were shot and 8 are still in prison in Sebastopol. This barbarous act of the most reactionary of Governments deserves to be pilloried.—Rosta.

## The Situation of Wrangel.

The regular army of Wrangel is only composed of a few regiments, and these ranks are filled, up to now, by the peasants who were partisans of Machmo.

Discipline does not exist, and entire battalions desert from their camps. The French and English officers are on very bad terms with the soldiers and the Russian population. The conduct of the French and English is the same as that of an Army of Occupation.

## The Socialisation of Rural Properties.

The taking of possession, by the workers of Petrograd, of the old properties of Poland and private properties and the parting of the same has been accomplished. It is not to private persons or to the workers of the Commune that the Soviet properties are confided, but to all the workers of industrial undertakings.

Of the 1,500 properties situated around Petrograd, 250 have been remitted to industrial workers. To prepare agricultural machines, they need 1,000 qualified workers and these agricultural works at present occupy 3,000 agricultural workers permanently. In the country, 4,000 men work by groups, for two or three weeks.

These proceedings, without stopping the continuation of the work in the factories, give the workers the opportunity to make a practical sojourn in the country.

## ROUMANIA.

## Economic Difficulties in Roumania.

The economic situation in Roumania is considered to be very serious. Free commerce has not helped to lighten the crises. The Minister of Public Provision is to introduce State Control of corn and flour. Some provinces of Roumania are so badly provisioned that a famine is feared which will cause insurrection.

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

## War in Mesopotamia.

In reply to Captain R. Terrell, Sir A. Williamson stated that the rate of expenditure in Mesopotamia and North-West Persia is at the rate of two and a half millions per month. This money is being spent in the interests of a few capitalists, but it is the workers who are paying it and who are sacrificing their lives.

## Revolutionary Speeches.

Colonel Burn (C.U.) asked the Home Secretary if his attention has been called to the speeches detrimental to this country made in Hyde Park and other places in London by foreigners and others; has he received any report of these speeches from the police; and what action does he intend taking to put an end to the propagation of these revolutionary principles.

Sir W. Davison (C.U.): When answering this question, will the right hon. gentleman state whether his attention has been drawn to the outrageous revolutionary speech made by a Member of this House in the Albert Hall?

Mr. W. Thorne (Lab.): Rubbish!

Mr. Shortt (C.L.): Revolutionary speeches have been made in Hyde Park and other places for years. Many of these speeches are reported by the police, but provided no breach of the peace is occasioned, and the speeches do not advocate direct violence, there is no legal provision for dealing with them short of prosecution for sedition. It has been the practice to regard Hyde Park to some extent as a safety-valve for discontented people; and I doubt if the point has yet been reached where interference is necessary or advisable.

In view of the many arrests that have been made in Hyde Park, revolutionary speakers would be well advised to take particular note of this reply and to get witnesses to testify as to whether a breach of the peace occurs or not at their meetings.

## Warfare (Inhuman Weapons).

Mr. Charles Edwards (Lab.) asked the Prime Minister whether the proposal of the Russian Soviet Government for a general agreement not to use such inhuman weapons as submarines, aeroplanes, and poison gas has been considered by the Cabinet; and whether an opportunity will be given the House of discussing the question.

Mr. Bonar Law (C.U.) replied that the whole subject had on more than one occasion been considered in the Cabinet, and is now under consideration of the League of Nations. He did not hold out much hope of it being agreed to. What Huns these Bolsheviks are to be sure! At the present time a Renfrew firm is executing an order for 3,000,000 gas shells, which Sir A. Williamson said on November 10th was for a foreign government.

## Disorderly Crowds: Police Charges.

In reply to Viscount Curzon Mr. Shortt said that a charge would never be made until all other means

of dispersing a disorderly crowd have proved ineffective or until an attack has been made on property and immediate action has become necessary. Evidently the procedure with regard to an orderly crowd is different, as we know from experience.

## Cost of Living.

Mr. Briant (L.) asked the Minister of Labour whether the monthly cost of living statistics is still calculated on the basis of a working-class budget derived from figures supplied by some 2,000 urban working-class families during one week in 1914; and, if so, whether he is satisfied that the basis is an adequate one under present conditions. This estimate is based on the consumption of a pound of fresh butter per week and one dozen eggs.

Dr. Macnamara (C.L.) said that the relative expenditure as between one staple article and another between 1904 and 1914 was slight as regards the increased consumption of margarine, for which allowance was made. This shows how deceptive the Government figures for the increased cost of living for the poor really are; their dietary has changed very much since 1904.

Colonel Newman (C.U.) said that with the exception of wheat the price of which was to be maintained at an artificial price for reasons of State, the average price of the commodities of life was now lower than two years ago. He asked that wages which were advanced on a sliding scale should be reduced accordingly. Later in the day, Mr. Adamson (Lab.) asked for a Select Committee to consider an increase in pay to Members, and the next day it was moved that Ministers' salaries should be increased!

## Irish Questions.

Preference is given at question time on Thursdays to Ireland, and a number of enquiries were made about cases of reprisals, but, as was to be expected, the answers were evasive and the reports one-sided. Sir H. Greenwood, in reply to Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (L.), said he considered courts of inquiry into murders presided over by majors in the Army as senior officers, and into alleged excesses by troops, were quite competent courts on which we may rely.

## Arrest of Mrs. J. Annan Bryce.

In reply to Mr. Hogge (L.), Sir H. Greenwood said that he took full responsibility for Mrs. Annan Bryce's arrest at Holyhead, and that in view of the fact that the documents found upon her contained gross libels upon the R.I.C., no apology or redress was due from the Government. Of course, he only gets reports from those who wish to whitewash the police, and not from independent witnesses.

The Prime Minister said: The action taken by my right hon. friend and by those who are associated with him in the Government of Ireland are for the defence and for the protection of liberty, and therefore I certainly, as a Liberal, support fully the action which they took.

We wonder whose liberty they are defending and protecting? Only the military and the police, evidently! The Prime Minister further replied that the police were entitled to take precautions and to make examinations and search where there was any suspicion, and to arrest for the protection of their comrades and themselves and for the establishment of law and order in Ireland. What crimes have been committed by governments in the name of law and order!

## Destruction of Creameries.

When pressed, Sir H. Greenwood had to admit that the creameries had been destroyed by the forces of the Crown.

## Socialist Sunday Schools.

Sir J. D. Rees (C.U.) asked the President of the Board of Education whether he can exercise any supervision over the Socialist Sunday Schools of Glasgow and the industrial districts of the Clyde, the teachings of which are of an undisguisedly revolutionary character?

Mr. Munro said the answer was in the negative, the question referred to being outside the jurisdiction of the Scottish Education Department.

## Meat Prices.

Mr. McCurdy stated that prices paid by the Board of Trade to New Zealand and Australia for mutton ranged from 4½d. to 5½d. per lb., and for beef from 4½d. to 5d. All the contracts had now expired, with the exception of that of Queensland. The prices the consumers paid while these contracts were in existence were very different.

## Bolshevist Teaching in Schools.

Mr. Swan (Lab.) was afraid that schools were being used for the propagation of Bolshevist doctrines amongst the children, but the President of the Board of Education had no knowledge of it. Presumably the Labour Members prefer the propagation of capitalist doctrines.

## Ministers' Salaries.

Motion made and question proposed "That a select committee be appointed to consider whether the salaries of any of the Ministers are relatively inadequate and should be increased, and, if so, to what extent."

Several of the Members who spoke objected to the raising of Ministers' salaries. Lord H. Cecil (C.U.) asked whether it was relative to the pay of the private soldier, and Mr. MacVeagh (N.) drew attention to the Civil Service pensioners, many of whom have to bring up families on £50 or £60 a year. Commander Bellairs (C.U.) objected to the composition of the committee, nearly all its fifteen members being budding Ministers of the future. No Labour Members spoke, but then, they are budding Ministers! It was ordered that a Select Committee be appointed to consider what the remuneration of Ministers should be.



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## JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL DEADLOCK.

### Tug-of-War Between the Building Workers and Employers.

The folly of imagining that the class war can be obliterated, and that capitalists and workers can settle down in harmony as co-workers, is exemplified by the situation that has arisen on the Joint Industrial Council for the Building Industry. The Building Workers' representatives laid before the Council a scheme for reorganising the industry, into what they called "a great self-governing democracy." The scheme was not a drastically Socialistic one, interest was to be paid on the capital invested in the business, and it was proposed to pay wages of management "commensurate with ability," which means that the employer would be called the manager, and secure an inordinate share of the profits. There was no question of anything so daring as equal wages in this scheme.

The Joint Industrial Council which had to consider this scheme, consists of equal representatives of employers and employed. The Committee appointed by the Council to examine the scheme is composed in the same way. On this scheme, all the Labour representatives voted for the scheme, and an employer voted with them. Therefore the scheme was recommended to the Council by a majority of the Committee.

When the scheme appeared before the Council, however, it met with strenuous opposition. Mr. R. B. Chessun, one of the employers' representatives, said that 95 per cent. of the employers would be ready to accept a profit-sharing scheme, but declared that this particular scheme could not be tolerated. He complained that the building-workers were opposed to any scheme that gave them less than an "equal status with the employers." To give the worker an equal status with himself, Mr. Chessun naively admitted, is a proposition which the employer is not prepared to countenance. Yet the pretence made by those who advocate and set up Joint Industrial Councils, is that their object is to give the worker and the employer an equal status. Of course, such equality is impossible; there will be a continual tug-of-war between the employers and the employed, until the employer is put out of existence by a change of system.

G. Hicks, President of the Building Trade Operatives, said:—

"In a properly organised society, the people who produce things will be the owners of the things produced. We object to you employers having control of all this wealth, and deciding according to your individual liking how it shall be used. We are trying to persuade the people not to labour for the enrichment of the few and the impoverishment of the many."

The employers solemnly warned the workmen that they were "suggesting formation of a huge trust or combine, which uncontrolled, would be apt to develop anti-social traits."

The employers did not, of course, mention that their present great and small capitalist trusts and combines are anti-social; that, ignoring the general welfare, they profiteer to the utmost possible extent, both in time of peace and war; no National or International emergency or misfortune being too serious or too sacred for them to re-

frain from taking advantage of it, and that it is a condition of their being to exploit the worker, using up as much of his vital energy and intelligence as they can induce him to give, and turning him off to sink or swim as best he can, when he is no longer the most profitable material to employ.

The employers' representatives added that "in seeking to expel the employers from the industry, the workers invite the hostility of the employers, though employers and employed might produce wealth enough to give abundance to all who will work."

A serious rift in the harmony of the Joint Industrial Council, even a disruption of that body, seemed imminent. Some of the more timid and reactionary of the workers' representatives therefore moved to refer back the workers' scheme for further consideration by the Committee. The employers agreed to this, and a crisis on the Council has therefore been evaded—for the moment.

It should be obvious to any intelligent person, that Joint Industrial Councils can only be maintained so long as the workers refrain from pressing for any changes tending towards the socialisation of the industry, or any radical and far-reaching improvement in the status of the workers.

The Industrial Councils can only subsist so long as they content themselves with tinkering at unimportant minor matters. With the development of class-consciousness amongst the workers, the Joint Industrial Councils are bound to be disrupted.

The Labour leaders, whose policy is to create Joint Industrial Councils, are bankrupt of honesty and common sense, and are leading their followers down a blind alley.

RICHARD KEIR.

## THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR.

As they exploited the Unknown Warrior in his lifetime, our rulers now exploit his corpse. They seek, by the splendour of his burial, to turn the eyes of the people from the fact that his comrades who escaped death, but came back broken in health, or failed to find employment on returning, have been treated by the Government and the employing class, with grudging stinginess and cold neglect.

The Unknown Warrior has been exhumed from the mould and re-interred with tremendous pomp and circumstance in Westminster Abbey. Millions of bereaved people have been impressed by the thought that their dead son, their brother, their father, husband or friend they will see no more, has been honoured thereby.

An obscure clergyman, who was Army chaplain at the front, conceived the idea of performing this ceremony, to keep green the memory of the poor and lowly, whose lives were sacrificed without notice in the great capitalist War.

Our rulers seized on the chaplain's proposal, and exploited it to the full for their own advantage.

They seized upon it as an opportunity to fan into flame the dying embers of popularity of the war they created: the war in which they were always the principal actors upon the public stage.

They endeavoured to re-create out of the Armistice festival, the idea of National unity by which they hypnotised the people during the war.

The press our rulers control and manipulate was their ready servant in the scheme. By photographs and articles, and reports of their speeches, it kept them well to the fore, and bound up their personalities with the festival of remembrance, which they used all their advertising arts to popularise.

In life our capitalist rulers exploited the Unknown Warrior; ruthlessly forced him to be the cannon-fodder in their ambition, and mercenary quarrel, and at the same time used his sufferings and death as the bait to draw his brothers into the battle-line and to quiet the discontented murmurings of his class.

In every town and district, there is now an army of unemployed ex-service men, seething with unrest. Some of them have suffered or now go in fear of eviction. They are hungry and cold and the future is dark before them. They know by their own plight that the honour paid to their fallen comrade, by the rulers of this country, is but an empty show.

## H. G. WELLS ON RUSSIA.

H. G. Wells is contributing a series of articles on Soviet Russia to the *Sunday Express*. Wells, as you know, is supposed to be an awfully clever fellow. When he tells us that the Bolsheviks are a set of blunderers and that Russia is in a state of collapse, we should doubtless be enormously impressed. We should doubtless say: "If only the wonderful brain of H. G. Wells were inside Lenin's hat, how much better things in Russia would be!"

The only thing that deters us from coming to these conclusions, is that Wells, in the same series of articles, has not only written about Russia and Russia's Communists and Marxists; he has also written about Marx, Marxist theory and the Marxists and Communist Movement of Britain. In this field, he has betrayed such flagrantly flippant ignorance, that any one with the most superficial knowledge of these matters is compelled to dismiss him as a presumptuous ass. Therefore, his stories about Russia will be taken with much more than the proverbial grain of salt, and dismissed as coming from an unreliable and ill-informed source.

## LLOYD GEORGE AT GUILDHALL.

Lloyd George's speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet was singularly dull. He said that he attached great importance to the disarmament of Germany, because "if a nation does not disarm you suspect she does not mean to carry out the stipulations of her bond." In that sentence he described his own outstanding characteristic. He will always break a promise unless he is forced to keep it. He remarked complacently that "the German Navy has almost disappeared," and that the German Army, too, has almost reached a point of reduction which he regards as satisfactory. He complained, however, that "there are still too many rifles at large in Germany," and that these are not in the hands of the Government, but are held by the population; therefore he regards them as a menace to Germany. He spoke quite kindly and respectfully of the present German Government because he realises that if that Government gets into difficulties, it may be immediately replaced by Soviets.

As for Russia, the Prime Minister was very guarded in his utterances. He declared that Bolshevism cannot survive because it is an "impossible," "ludicrous" and "crazy" creed, but he insisted that the great danger in Russia is anarchy, and "therefore, in spite of everything, we persevere to secure peace."

A pretty pretence this to be made by a government which induced the Czarist Generals, Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel and the rest to begin the fight against Soviet Russia; which organised the Polish war on Russia; which sent British soldiers and sailors to invade Russia and to carry on war there for many months, and which still maintains a blockade on Soviet Russia. But Lloyd George and his Government always talk of peace with Soviet Russia, when the emissaries they have sent to fight her are doing badly. Wrangel's fight against the Soviets is virtually at an end, and it seems that this time he will probably disappear from the stage like Denikin and Koltchak. When, a few months ago, Wrangel was almost defeated by the Red Armies, the spokesmen of the British Government cried peace, and begged for mercy for Wrangel, but even as they did so they were preparing another offensive. To-day Lloyd George is doubtless conferring with all the foremost military commanders of capitalism and any political adventurers who may be willing to lead a desperate fight in the cause of reaction, with the object of discovering if there may not be some vulnerable point in the armour of Soviet Russia, which may enable the reaction to secure a victory there.

As to home affairs Lloyd George declared that industrial unrest is quieting in regard to the coal strike, but admitted that the large poll against the Government's terms, in spite of the advice of the miners' leaders, is a "feature which fills him with a little disquiet. It means," he said, "that there is still an atmosphere of suspicion even of their own leaders." As to the leaders, he said: "I saw the anxiety on the part of the leaders of the men, equally with ourselves, to settle."

Lloyd George is a shrewd observer; he knows the reactionary Labour leaders inside and out, and has proved his capacity to manipulate them. He knows only too well that he is less successful in managing the class-conscious rank and file.

His more flippant and bombastic vein the Prime Minister reserved for Ireland, where, he said, "we have murder by the throat," and "you must break the terror before you can get peace. Then you will get it." The Government would seek further powers of coercion if necessary, "because civilisation cannot permit a defiance of this kind to the elementary rules of its existence."

Timid people urge us not to press for a change in the social system, though they admit the need for it, because they fear that the effort to change the system may lead to violence and disorder. They overlook the violence and disorder which continually arise out of the capitalist system. This bitter struggle around the question of Irish independence could have no existence under Communism.



# A Rough Draft of the Thesis on the Agrarian Question.

For the Second Congress of the Communist International.

(Continued from last week).

After the victory of the urban proletariat, it is quite unavoidable that this class will throw all sorts of obstacles in the way, sabotage, and even armed counter-revolutionary attacks. For this reason, the revolutionary proletariat must take immediate steps to organise the necessary forces by means of which, it is completely in their power to completely disarm this class; at the same time, overthrowing the capitalists. In the case of a rebellion, the rural proletariat should be armed, so that they should be able to deal this class the final blow. Rural Soviets should be organised, but seats must not be given to the exploiters; only the proletariat and semi-proletariat should be allowed in.

However, the direct problem of the victorious proletariat should not be the expropriation of the rich peasantry, for the necessary material, especially technical necessities needed for the socialisation of such farms, fail. Besides that, the social conditions do not allow of this. In exceptional cases, allotments are confiscated which are let out on hire or which are necessary for the petty-peasant population round about those parts. Part of the agricultural machines, which belonged to the rich peasantry, should be lent to these peasants gratis, and so on. According to the general rule—the proletarian State power—the rich peasants should be assured of their land, which should be confiscated only in case of rebellion against the existing labour power. In the Russian Proletarian Revolution, the fight against this rich peasantry was very complicated, and was lengthened owing to special conditions, but it proved nevertheless that if this class were punished for its slightest protest, it could be taught to enact the problems of a proletarian State, and now it is even beginning to respect the power which protects every slave from the merciless whip of the slave-owner.

The special conditions, the cause of lengthening the fight of the victorious town proletariat with the rich peasantry in Russia, are due to the following:—(1) After the November Revolution of 1917 the country experienced a stage of bourgeois-democracy, the whole of the peasantry fighting against the peasantry; (2) the urban proletariat began to diminish and lose their cultural standard; and (3) the large distances, and the bad state of the railway communication. The revolutionary proletarians of Europe and America, which have not these obstacles to face, will be free to execute a final and decided victory over the rebellious rich peasantry, and lay them completely on their backs. This must be done; until then, the rural proletariat, semi-proletariats, and middle-proletariats cannot fully acknowledge the State power of the proletariat.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must confiscate unconditionally all lands belonging to the land-owners, and squires, i.e. of those who in capitalist countries directly, or through their farmers, systematically exploit hired workers, and local petty or middle peasants. Those who do no physical work at all for the most part are the descendants of feudal lords (in Russia, Germany and Hungary, the nobility; in France, the restored seigneurs; in England the lords; and in America, the late slave-owners). Or they belong to the class of enriched financial magnates, or to a mixture of both these categories of exploiters and do-nothings.

On no account must the land-owners be rewarded for the confiscation of their lands, for under the modern conditions of Europe and America this would mean treachery to Socialism, and the laying on of a new burden for the working and exploited masses, which have suffered the most from the war, and at the same time increase the number of millionaires.

Concerning the questions of how the land, confiscated from the rich land-owners, is worked, in Russia, which is economically backward, this land was divided amongst the peasantry; only in exclusive cases the so-called "Soviet farms" were organised. The "Soviet farms" are maintained by the proletarian State; they train late workers into statesmen and members of soviets, which rule the State. The Communist International maintains that for the leading capitalist countries the large agricultural enterprises should be used according to the Russian type of the "Soviet farms."

It would be a great mistake, however, to exaggerate this rule, or never to give over the land gratis to the local petty, and sometimes to the middle-peasantry.

Secondly, the general objection against this, pointing out the technical supremacy of large scale agriculture is often made to amount to, instead of an indisputable theoretical truth, the most evil form of opportunism and treason to the revolution. For the sake of this revolution the proletariat has a right, temporarily, to lower production, as was done by the bourgeois enemies of slavery in North America with regard to the production of cotton during the civil war of 1853—1855. Production is important to the bourgeoisie only as production, whilst the important thing to the proletariat is to overthrow the exploiters and to secure such conditions which will enable the workers to work not for the capitalists, but for themselves. The first and principle task of the proletariat is to secure and to consolidate the proletarian victory. The stability of the proletarian government is impossible with the neutralisation of the middle peasantry and the guar-

antee of the maintenance of a considerable section, if not of the whole of the petty peasantry.

It is not only the increase, but even the preservation of industry on a large scale in agriculture pre-supposes a fully developed revolutionary village proletariat, which has gone through an organised course at a good trade and political school. Where rural conditions do not exist, or where there are no competent industrial workers to take over the work, the untimely attempt to nationalise the large farms might compromise the Soviet authority. Here the greatest caution and a sound preparation is required, when organising Soviet farms.

Thirdly, in all capitalist countries, even in the largest, there are still signs of the middle-aged exploitation of the local middle-peasants by the rich land-owners; for instance, the "Institute" in Germany, the "Metiers" in France, the renters of plantations in America, both negroes and whites, of whom are being exploited in this manner. In such cases it is obligatory on the part of the proletarian State to transfer the land-owners by the petty-peasants into the free use of the latter, in view of the fact that any other economic and technical basis is neither extant nor possible of establishment.

The inventory of the large farms should be confiscated and turned over to the State under the condition that upon this inventory having been secured by the State, the petty-peasantry are to have the use of these free of charge, provided that they adhere to the conditions set forth by the proletarian State.

If immediately upon the proletarian revolution not only the confiscation of the large farms becomes necessary, but also the wholesale exile or interment, both of the leaders of the counter-revolution and the merciless oppressors of the entire agricultural population, with the consolidation of the proletarian government in town and country, on the other hand, a systematic striving should be maintained that all the forces of that former class who are in the possession of valuable experience and knowledge and organising abilities should be utilised under the control of reliable Communists, of course, for the establishment of socialistic agriculture on a large scale.

7. The full victory of Socialism over Capitalism may be looked upon as complete only when the proletarian State authority, after having finally put down the exploiters, reorganises the whole industry on the most modern technical basis (founded on the electrification of the whole industry). Only this can aid the town in its technical and social support of the village, and in largely raising the productivity of agricultural labour. The petty land-owners will then be incited to transfer themselves to the large, collective machine agriculture, as they will see that it is more advantageous to themselves. This is an undeniable, theoretical truth, acknowledged by all Socialists, but in practice has become corrupted by opportunism which masters in the yellow Second International among the Labour leaders in Germany and England, and the French Longuetists, etc. This corruption lies in the fact that attention is concentrated on a comparatively very distant future, though beautiful and rose-coloured; their attention is detracted from the immediate tasks of the actual transition to an approach to this future. In practice it amounts to the establishment of a compromise with the bourgeoisie, and of a "social" peace, i.e. absolute treason against the proletariat who is fighting under conditions of incredible disorganisation and impoverishment, which have everywhere been caused by the war, and under the conditions of unprecedented environment of a clique of militarists, also due to the war.

To ensure the victory of Socialism in the village, it is necessary first of all for the Communist parties to instil into the minds of the industrial proletariat the fact that sacrifices on their part are unavoidable for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the strengthening of the proletarian power for the dictatorship of the proletariat proves the capability of the proletariat of organising, and of standing at the head of the workers and the whole of the exploited masses. It also proves their ability of being to the fore everywhere in order to attain this end, no matter what endless sacrifices or heroism it may cost. Secondly, in order to ensure success, it is necessary, that the workers and exploited masses in the villages should see from the victory of the workers an immediate improvement of their situation at the cost of the exploiters. Without this support, it is doubtful if the village population will support the industrial population, but in particular they will not be able to supply the town with food.

8. The capitalist system thoroughly neglected the education of the agricultural workers in the political sense, and because of this the work of organisation and education is the more difficult. The Communist parties must pay special attention to the strike as a means of fight in the village; they must give it their support, also an all-round development. The Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, as well as the latest German and other revolutions, prove that only a massed strike (under which certain conditions should be spread to the villages and petty peasantry) is capable of waking up the village from its sleep, awaken class-consciousness, and the conviction of the necessity of organising the exploited

masses of the village, and make it clear to them the importance of their union with the town workers.

The Communist International brands as traitors those Socialists who do not side with the strike in the villages or who protests against it (for example, K. Kautsky). Such Socialists are to be found not only in the yellow Second International, but also among those Socialists who left the Second International and who belong to the three most important parties in Europe. They fear the strike in the village, as they look upon it as a danger liable to decrease production.

Their programmes and solemn declarations are of no worth if they are not put into practice. The Communist workers' leaders have proved indeed that they have the victory of the proletariat at heart above anything else in the world; that they are able to make the greatest sacrifices for its sake as this is the only salvation from hunger, disorganisation and new imperialist wars.

It is necessary in particular to point out that the leaders of the old Socialism and the representatives of the "labour aristocracy" who are at the present moment prone to make verbal concessions to Communism, and moreover nominally to come over to the side of Communism for the purpose of retaining their prestige amongst the revolutionary working masses, should be tried in their loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and their ability to occupy responsible posts, where the development of the revolutionary consciousness and the revolutionary struggle is more acute than the resistance of the farmers and of the bourgeoisie (the peasant profiteers), where the distinction of the Socialist betrayers and the Communist revolutionaries is most conspicuous.

9. The Communist Party should do everything in its power to effect a more rapid establishment in the villages of Soviets or deputies consisting first of all hired workers and semi-proletarians. It is only by being connected with the mass strike-struggle, and with the more oppressed class, that the Soviets are in the condition to fulfil their mission and to become consolidated to such an extent as to submit to their influence, and subsequently to include their Soviets the middle peasantry; on the other hand, if the strike-struggle is not developed sufficiently, and the capacity of the agricultural proletariat for organisation is worked, whether to the heavy oppression of the land-owners and the rich peasantry, or by virtue of the absence of support on the part of the industrial workers and their unions, the formation of Soviets or deputies in the villages will demand a long preparation; this in its turn can be effected by the establishment of small Communist groups of a proper agitation which is to explain Communist demands in a popular form, to illustrate by example the most notorious facts of exploitation, to establish a systematic course of excursions of the industrial workers into the country, etc.

## THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA.

Its Effects On Unemployment and the Cost of Living.

The outlook for tens of thousands of our class during the coming winter is appalling.

The live register of the unemployment exchanges showed that on October 1st there was a total of 358,115 unemployed persons in this country, and the cost of living, by the same date, had risen by 164 per cent. without including increases in rent and railway fares.

The blockade of Russia is one of the main causes of present high prices and unemployment.

The following statistics of Russia's trade are significant:—

Exports (foodstuffs and raw materials), £150,355,026  
Imports (manufactured goods), £129,150,687.

Authority for the above figures is to be found in the British Diplomatic and Consular Reports.

These figures are based on pre war prices. If calculated on present prices, they would be:—

Exports (foodstuffs, raw materials), £451,065,078.  
Imports (manufactured goods), £387,452,061.

Russia has been blockaded for three years. Her trade during that period (based on present prices) would have been:—

Exports (foodstuffs, raw materials), £1,353,195,234.  
Imports (manufactured goods), £1,162,356,183.

Well might Mr. Lloyd George say, referring to Russia's trade, "the figures are prodigious."

Full trading relations cannot be established without full peace.

## COURAGE.

Never despair! Let the feeble in spirit

Bow like the willow that stoops to the blast;

Droop not in peril, 'tis manhood's true merit,

Nobly to struggle and hope to the last.

When by the sunshine of fortune forsaken,

Faint sinks the heart of the feeble with fear,

Stand like the oak of the forest unshaken—

Never despair, boys! Oh! never despair.

Never despair! though adversity rages

Fiercely and fell as the surge on the shore,

Firm as the rock in the ocean for ages,

Stand the rude torrent till danger is o'er.

Fate with its whirlwinds our joys may all sever

True to ourselves, we have nothing to fear;

Never despair, boys! Oh! never despair.

[The above lines were written by William Smith O'Brien on the day on which sentence of death was passed upon him, October 9th, 1848].



# THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THEIR DOINGS.

By HENRIETTE ROLAND-HOLST.

Several decades before the great Imperialist War, Marx and Engels foresaw that it was inevitable. Their predictions as to its results are being realised.

The economic and social catastrophe to which it has necessarily led has opened before the feet of proletarians throughout the world an abyss of hunger, unemployment, poverty, intensified exploitation, enslavement to the all-power of capital. Another part of the prophecy is being simultaneously fulfilled. The economic and social crisis brought about by the War is arousing the revolutionary strength of the proletariat, and this strength will at long last break the shell of the bourgeois capitalist world.

These two phenomena, the economic and social crisis on the one hand, and the revolution on the other, have a common foundation. Both are based on the War, and they are for that reason intimately connected. In those lands where the old regime has been undermined by the War, the revolution is beginning. The starting point of the revolution, its primary focus, has been Russia, a country whose time-worn political and social structure, rotten to the core, was least resistant to the destructive forces of the War. That is why the old regime fell first in Russia. Thus the most backward country in Europe, where neither the beginnings of bourgeois liberty nor those of bourgeois civilisation were known, has unexpectedly become an experimental field for the first attempts at the reorganisation of society upon a Communist foundation.

The circumstances in which the working-class (or its advance-guard, comprising its most awakened, boldest, and most resolute elements), assumes power, are similar in all countries, varying only according as the seizure of power takes place at the outset of the economic catastrophe, or at some later stage of its development. The very phenomena—a shortage of food; a lack of production, a shortage of raw materials and of machinery; inadequacy of means of communication and transport; shortage of labour; want of money and of credit—all the things which in 1917 contributed to the overthrow of the old regime in Russia and which are now operating in the same way in Germany, create almost insurmountable obstacles to the Socialist reconstruction of society.

It goes without saying that these general conditions work out in different ways as variations are met with in the political and social peculiarities of each country. Variations occur, that is to say, proportional to variations in the strength of the impulse which for centuries has been communicated by historical forces, and proportional to the economic exhaustion and social disorganisation in each country at the moment when the reins of power are snatched from the hands of the erstwhile rulers. But we may well doubt whether there is any other land where the influence of these disastrous conditions will impose so great an obstacle as it imposes on Russia, to the Socialist reconstruction of society.

Towards the end of March, 1918, Trotsky, at a Communist meeting, gave an address entitled *Work, Discipline and Order will Save the Socialist Republic*. Enumerating the chief difficulties in the way of the Socialist reconstruction of Russia, he classified them as subjective and objective respectively. Among the objective difficulties he mentioned the general disorganisation of economic life, the bad state of repair of the roads and railways, the lack of rolling stock, the scarcity of fuel, the complete disorganisation of the factories and workshops. At the close of his book, *The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk*,\* after examining the question just mooted, he sums up in the following words the objective difficulties in the way of reconstruction, difficulties observed at the outset of the Revolution: "Economically the War had exhausted the country to the last degree. The Revolution had destroyed the old administrative machinery, and there had as yet been no time to create a new one. As an outcome of three

years of war, millions of workers had been completely withdrawn from productive activity; they had been withdrawn from the life of their class, had been uprooted as it were, from their normal psychological environment. A colossal war industry on an insufficiently developed economic foundation had sapped the very life-blood of the nation, and the return to peace production presented the greatest difficulties. Economic and political chaos were widespread throughout the country."

Among the subjective difficulties, Trotsky refers to the lack of organisation, of discipline, and of experience, among the workers. Historically, he says, the weaknesses of the Russian proletariat can be explained as the result of its whole political and economic past; they can be explained above all by the purely rural nature of the greater part of Russian life. The characteristics of this life render it unfavourable to the development of free personalities, to the emergence of those endowed with initiative. "There was nothing to be found in these regions but a compact mass, living and dying after the manner of a swarm of locusts." The Revolution first awakened human individuality in the masses. It was inevitable that at the outset the awakening should assume a chaotic form. In the peasant and the operative who had hitherto been merely the slaves of the Tsar, the nobles, and the great capitalists, in those who had been no more than dumb, driven cattle or a crowd whose sole function it was to mind machines, in those who had ever been exposed to the last extremity of exploitation, selfish impulses and passions suddenly broke loose with furious violence. Every one of these poor devils now felt himself to have become the centre of the world. Boundless pride, disruptive inclinations, a taste for rapine, individualistic and anarchistic tendencies, showed themselves all at once in the masses, showed themselves with irresistible force, so that during the months which immediately followed the November Revolution, mass action was everywhere stamped with this peculiar seal. The phenomena in question were especially conspicuous in the demobilised soldiers, in those who had been uprooted from their social environment. Trotsky, explaining the unbridled acts of the masses during the first phase of the proletarian Revolution, writes: "The Russian peasantry has been for centuries bowed beneath the primitive and barbarous discipline of our land system, and has in addition been crushed by the iron discipline of Tsardom. The course of economic development has undermined the former discipline; the Revolution has destroyed the latter. The chaotic manifestations to which I have referred were the inevitable issue of the antecedent repressions."

In other words, the Russian masses entered the era of the proletarian Socialist Revolution with a mentality that had been formed in the conditions of existence and amid the relationships peculiar to an earlier type of social development than that characteristic of the capitalist age. For century after century they lived under a semi-Asiatic despotism, knowing only the limited experiences of a primitive agricultural society. Abruptly, without transition, they have been summoned to an almost superhuman task. The call has gone forth to them to build a Socialist Republic upon the ruins of Tsarist Russia. In fact, Russia has skipped the epoch of bourgeois freedom and bourgeois culture; it has only experienced capitalism in an abridged and mutilated form. But side by side with the negative influence exercised by this evolution upon the souls of the people (an influence repeatedly and clearly emphasised by Lenin and Trotsky), we may point to certain positive aspects. The latter are so important that they suggest to our minds the possibility that the Russian proletariat may become the vanguard of the Workers' Revolution, that the Russians may actively lead the way in bringing about the social transformation. An inextinguishable flame of idealism; an intense and simple love of the realities of life; an aspiration towards the loftiest summits, towards the inaccessible; hatred of falseness and half-measures; hatred of everything that is Laodicean and incomplete; a yearning for "all or nothing"—such

are the characteristics of the Russian soul, characteristics which in large measure serve to explain the splendid and unqualified radicalism, the unrivalled adhesion to principle, peculiar to the Russian revolutionaries.

But in this soul of the Russian people, as moulded by Russian history, there are certain weaknesses which manifest themselves in the sphere of practice. First of all, we find that Russians are apt to lack certain qualities which capitalist society has cultivated to the highest possible degree; they are deficient in love of order, punctuality, application, organising capacity.\* Prior to the revolution, there was no possibility that the Russian masses should acquire political and social education by taking part in social life, and by entering great organisations. The masses lived in conditions which were anything but propitious to the development of civic sentiments and of self-discipline. These qualities are developed in the people by bourgeois liberty. The complete and prolonged reign of this liberty, such as has prevailed in England, makes such qualities second nature.

\* "The Russian works badly when compared with the worker of more advanced lands." How could it be otherwise under the Tsarist regime and amid the vestiges of serfdom. The Soviet Government must devote all its energies to the task of teaching the people how to work."

(Continued in our next issue.)

## OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "COMMUNIST."

### Ocean Lodge, Nantymoel.

With the termination of the recent miners' crisis, considerable discussion has taken place throughout the Valley on the terms of the settlement and other matters appertaining thereto, the chief of which being a letter appearing in the "Western Mail" on November 2nd, written by the chairman of the above Lodge, stating that the crisis was a fight not between Capital and Labour, but rather between the Moderates and Extremists, a most ridiculous and absurd plea to put forward, especially from a professing "Socialist" holding such a prominent position.

This letter aroused the irony of the workmen, and a special meeting was called to consider the chairman's recent attitude. The meeting was of a rather stormy character, and the advanced element fought strenuously for his resignation. But the rules of the Federation are such that a chairman cannot be removed until the expiration of his term of office.

We hope to see the advanced sections turning out *en bloc* to appoint their officers for the ensuing year. Then is your opportune time, comrades.

The sincerity of the chairman remains undisputed, also the work he has done on behalf of the Lodge in the past which was appreciated by practically all the workmen. But to-day, his views being of a very mild nature, and as he insists on not moving along with the times, there is no other alternative but to demand his resignation. The Lodge maintains that it is in the interest of progress to adopt such a course, and, in the words of John Ruskin, "Time and tide wait for no man."

### Emergency Powers Bill.

At the present time a subject which is continually getting discussed at Ogmores Valley is the above. Undoubtedly it is a very serious proposition for us as workers and gives one food for thought. The Emergency Powers Bill is the thin edge of the wedge to smash modern Trades Unionism, and it is up to us as Communists to point out this great fact. Comrades Sylva Pankhurst and Malone are the victims of the same. Work for the Social Revolution, comrades, which means the destruction of Capitalism and all that it entails, and in so doing you will bring nearer the day of your economic emancipation, and in instituting the Communist State.

### Religion in the Schools.

Religious instruction is again becoming very prominent in our local schools. It seems such a great pity that, in the light of modern science, such mythical ideas exist, and as such is still getting taught in our schools. We advise those who are foremost in this matter to study for a few evenings, "The Riddle of the Universe." In this book, Professor Haeckel very quickly disposes of such myths. Where are the teachers who still tolerate this business, when their own common sense points out to them differently? Have they not the courage of their convictions? And where is the N.U.T.? As Communists, it is high time that we pass aside this religious fanaticism. Our task lies in reconstructing Society on this earth, a Society where men and women will be regarded as human beings, and not as they are to-day, private profit-making machines. "A speedy end to superstition; a gentle one if you can contrive it, but an end."—Carlyle.

\* London, 1919, published by Allen & Unwin, in conjunction with the British Socialist Party and the Socialist Labour Party.—E. & C.P.



## NATIONAL SECRETARY'S NOTES.

### The Cardiff Conference.

The main business for which this Conference was called, was for the discussion of the remaining conditions of affiliation to the Moscow International, and the discussion of the various theses issued by them.

It appears that these theses and conditions will not be printed in pamphlet form by any of the existing organisations, at least, before the date of our Conference, and up to the present, I have not received a copy of the theses myself. The National Executive, however, have instructed me to extract as far as possible the contentious points and major matters for decision and insert them in these columns, commencing next week, so that delegates, as far as possible, can be mandated by Branches how to vote on all main points. Branches are especially requested to watch the next two issues of the *Dreadnought* for this matter.

### The January Conference.

Steps have now been taken with regard to this Conference, and it is hoped that delegates from each body may meet as an Agenda Committee to arrange final details for what gives every augury of being the most important Conference in the history of the British Revolutionary Movement. This Agenda Committee will probably be at work at a date immediately following our Cardiff Conference. An informal meeting has taken place in London, of members of four of the bodies concerned, and united action agreed upon to get over any difficulty on the question of precedence.

### The Thesis and Conditions.

At this informal gathering, it appeared that the Third International passed a definite resolution regarding the January Conference. This resolution was not produced at our Gorton Conference. Comrades Gallacher and Ramsey who were present in Moscow at the time, both state that this resolution makes it perfectly clear that the January Conference is merely to be a Conference to merge British Communist Parties and Groups. It is not to be a conference for discussions on principles. It is not to be non-binding. It will mostly be concerned with details of the new organisation, its constitution, system of self-government and so on. Now if the production of the resolution in question shows this interpretation to be true, it certainly throws quite a new light on the whole matter of the January Conference, from the viewpoint of our organisation, and that will have to be gone into fully at Cardiff. Meanwhile I will put briefly the viewpoint, so far as I can put anybody else's viewpoint, of the anti-Parliamentarians of the C.L.P. In the first place, they urge that the whole theses and conditions are world-wide, equally to be accepted by Eastern nations as by Western nations. That it is not a logical position for anybody to say: "I will accept the world theses and the world conditions as soon as these theses and conditions are altered, so as fall in line with what I think and what I believe. Until then, I shall withdraw my support from the world-revolutionary centre."

They urge that we should accept the thesis first, although frankly admitting there are portions that are bad for British Communists, and then seek to get them altered by a special demand from the United British Party after the merging. They also urge that the thesis is a highly complex draft, so hedged about by conditions and ties that it would require a K.C. to get well into it and say with certainty exactly whether one portion or another is dominant in a certain sense. In fact, that great opportunity presents itself to all anti-Parliamentarians in interpreting the theses. They suggest we should join them and do some interpreting. Also, for instance, they suggest that the single clause: "All the legal side of the Party to be dominated by the illegal," as indeed is necessary in a truly revolutionary organisation, throws all the Social Democrats quite out of gear. They also urge that the state of the various sides of the British Movement makes it certain that this clause alone can be operated, without possibility of failure. They further urge that the clause stating that simple workmen are to be the Parliamentary candidates, if any, throws all the hoary old political carp like William Paul, Tom Bell, Willie McLaine, Arthur McManus, and so on, right outside the possibility of ever being adopted as a Parliamentary candidate. There seems to be some truth in this, for those of us who have had a life in politics, even if it be in industrial politics, naturally become so adept at twisting, and side-stepping, and making black appear white, we become such adepts in the arts of politics as existed in the time of Aristophanes, more than two thousand years ago, as existed in the days of Bacon, and the days of the statesman Machiavelli, that it throws us all right dead outside the possibility of our being candidates under the thesis. Such men as I have mentioned, are very far from the "simple mechanic Badayeff," who stares open-mouthed to hear such queer things coming from his dear Nicholas as to what he should tell the legislators of the Duma. Finally, our Scottish friends urge that on the thesis we are bound to go underground pretty smartly and become a real revolutionary organisation; and they say that if we don't help them in the fight against the political twisters of Maiden Lane, they will have to carry on a devil of a struggle to keep the British Revolutionary Movement sound and clear. In a word, they say: "Come and lend a hand, we are quite confident that with you, we can knock the stuffing out of the bounders, which the weaker parts of the thesis let creep inside, pretending to be revolutionists."

That, briefly, is the case as put by the Scottish Comrades. All that will have to be reviewed - our

Cardiff Conference, and duly considered. The rank and file of our organisation will have to review and consider this side and our own side too, which has been put pretty completely before, and decide for the organisation. It is not my business, as a Communist, to give a lead, and I am not going to give one. My own voice on the matter is worth exactly one five-hundredth part of the organisation's voice, and at that figure it is going to remain. I will suggest that the matter should be pretty fully ventilated in the next two issues of our Party Organ, so as to clear the air for Cardiff.

### The Trafalgar Square Meeting.

A huge crowd gathered to hear our speakers on Cenotaph Sunday at the Square. As was to be expected, a large portion of this crowd was non-Communist, and matters did not go so smoothly as on the last occasion. Comrades Victor Beacham, Minnie Birch, W. Cornwallis, John Steele, R. Bishop, and E. Thomas delivered the message of Communism in no uncertain fashion, and the meeting concluded with the triumphant singing of "The Red Flag," in the heart of our Metropolis. Cash to the amount of £2 17s. 2d. was donated on the plinth from an appreciative audience. Organised interruption, headed by the monocled individual who was in the past so prominent at the Grosvenor Square meetings, outside the Polish Embassy, was a feature of the meeting, and one or two minor scuffles took place. The Square is open, and rightly so, to all associations and societies, and we should be interested to hear this monocled scion of "Empire" take the plinth, and expound his panacea for the evils of poverty, wage-slavery, and unemployment that disgrace our civilisation.

### The Students.

The attack of the students on our Comrade Steele's platform in Hyde Park was a disgraceful affair. It has always been an extraordinary phenomena of this country, that the "Students" should always be on the side of the strong against the weak. Whenever Labour fights its uphill fight against the massed forces of Capitalism, the students are always on the side of the "Big Battalions." It was not so in Russia, where to be a student was almost synonymous to being a revolutionary, and where the flower of the revolutionary movement has always come from the ranks of the University students. The same is more or less true of the whole of the Continent. Here, however, despite the tradition of fighting uphill fights and against odds, we always find our students, instead of on the side of truth, and on the side of the workers, ever on the side of lies and Mammon. It appears that the vaunted tradition of sportsmanship, which is such a cherished point with "The English Gentleman," is more a matter of myth than reality. If any "sports" among the students want to have the game of their life, the only real great game, let them join the unpopular side and risk everything in the fight for justice for the toiling masses. They will soon get all the danger, difficulty, and excitement, they may need.

### The Referendum.

The recent referendum on the question of the Secretary, resulted in a two to one vote in favour of a full-time worker. The Executive gave no bias on the vote, and it is my opinion, that with the present Party membership, it is a physical impossibility for the post to be filled otherwise. As to the other referendum, the results are completed, and the result will be announced in due course to the branches.

### The London District Council.

The first District Council has been called into being, and commenced its work on Saturday last. It is hoped that following the Cardiff Conference, it will be possible for the National Executive to be composed solely from delegates, liable to recall, from the District Councils.

### The Christmas Competition.

A comrade writes me: "Being a vegetarian, teetotaler, and non-smoker, I am not greatly influenced in the Christmas Competition."

And he suggests that as consolation prizes, subscriptions to the Party paper, *The Dreadnought*, should be offered. This suggestion will almost certainly be acted upon, so comrades may go ahead, free from visions of the dangers of narcotic poisons.

## DANCING

AT

400 Old Ford Road

Every Saturday

From 7 till 11 o'clock.

	Each.	Dos.
Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, by Lenin ...	2d.	1/6
Soviets for the British, by L. A. Motler	1½d.	1/1
Soviets or Parliament, by Bukharin ...	1d.	9d.
Hands Off Russia, by Israel Zangwill ...	2d.	1/6
A Year in Soviet Russia ...	2d.	1/6

## SHOOTING AND SHOUTING.

By L. A. MOTLER.

There is a great deal of what is really absolute-rot talked and written about the Revolution. That is mainly because a good many seem to think it necessary to put on red spectacles before they can think clearly about it all.

Recently we had the wild news in the Press to the effect that there were some—I don't know how many thousands—of the Clyde men drilling behind barns and marching up and down Farmer MacLoud's mortgaged three acres and a cow. This the journalist sleuth called "getting ready for the Revolution."

There is, further, now and again, an "exposure" of revolutionary plots by some other sleuth-reporter who has run down the monthly branch meeting of the local "hot-heads." By a skilful jugglery of the resolution passed, the reporter can easily make some fine hair-raising "copy," which will get the Middle Classes Union a few more half-crowns from baldpates and blackcoats.

It is not the reporter-sleuth's fault that he can so easily get on the right side of his boss. Our propaganda does not go far enough.

We keep up a very inefficient Special Branch of the Criminal Investigation Department, directed by an "inner circle" of Sir Basil Thompson's cronies of the M.I.5. This is paid for out of public money, and these "special branchers" are engaged to track down the revolutionaries to their various lairs. They do nothing but hang round public-houses, and watch, all day long, stray pieces of orange peel on the chance that they may be bomb-parts.

They are trying to forestall the revolution, and if they see it coming along anywhere within 500 miles of New Scotland Yard, it will be run in at once, and carted away to the Tower.

Whereas, if these well-paid consumers of small basses and smaller whiskies came round to the "Dreadnought" offices they would find all the information they wanted in the various pamphlets on the shelves. And, as printing in these days is such an expense, and bearing in mind they are well paid, they must be prepared to pay cash down, quantities at wholesale rates.

The fact is, of course, that the "Dreadnought" has simply too many shelves full of literature, which ought to be out in the workshops, in the homes, in the streets.

Our Editor, Comrade Pankhurst, said:—

"The more people understand what is happening, and that a change of system is inevitable, the less bloodshed there will be."

And that is a fact. Not only will there be less bloodshed, but LESS CHANCE OF BLOODSHED. The people of all sorts and shapes and creeds—must be got to know the truth.

Here we have ex-servicemen and others parading around, not knowing what to do. In my own district there is a small procession constantly going about with a banner announcing their unemployment, and collecting. There is a further band of ex-servicemen who come all the way from Islington to play the trombone and the what's-its-name, and who were quite recently fined for the usual "obstruction" merely because they were trying to turn an honest penny.

There are perhaps few people who do not know that a revolution is bound to come; but beyond that they cannot see. It is all very well to say that the present system must be changed, but how? By a Communist Revolution. Good! What is a Communist Revolution?

There are, of course, pamphlets about Soviets and Workshop Committees, but do these pamphlets ever get into the hands of your mates?

The "Dreadnought" stands for a Communist Party that is a People's Party. It is a proletarian party. I was recently showing a young lady round Petticoat Lane one Sunday, and she told me the sight of so many people in misery was incredible. When I told her that these people were part of the great proletarian army, she said: "Surely that is not so?"

Well, it is so. The People—the real people, those in squalid misery, have never been catered for. The People—those who do the dirty work of the world and make it possible for the superior young ladies to walk about in clean streets, have not been catered for. Most Socialist parties have existed mainly for the worker who has learnt how to put on a clean collar straight, read Karl Marx without going to sleep over him, and attend labour colleges.

For some years I have been trying to get propagandists to write in plain English exactly what they want known. I have tried to explain that a "literary style" is not only unnecessary, but a hindrance. And I have been told that such plain writing is too comic, too undignified, and that, anyway, if people can't read what Socialist papers say, then they ought to educate themselves up to it.

A profound book may be all right; it may be wise and extremely clever. But the really clever man is he who can be read by the great mass of the people, by the real proletariat. It is much easier to use half the words in the dictionary and a few half-baked, badly-accented French words from the back of that same dictionary, than to write simply.

Now, however, there are more simple, more plain, more interesting pamphlets to pass on to your mate in the workshop. There is no fear of finding him asleep over that little red booklet you left at the bench where you had your wrap-up dinner. There is nothing so fascinating as passing on the good news and finding folk interested in it. Read again Sylvia Pankhurst's burning words in the middle of this article and send up for—not a dozen, but a dozen dozens. And send your order right now—with the cash.



**"FREEDOM" GROUP OF ANARCHISTS.**

Chandos Hall, 21a, Maiden  
Lane, Strand, W.C.  
**TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, at 8 p.m.**

**Wm. C. OWEN**

will speak on

**"Bolshevism—What is it? Do we Want it?"**

Ample time will be allowed for Questions and Discussion.

Doors open at 7.30.

Admission Free. Silver Collection.

**CARDIFF CONFERENCE.**

**SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4th, 1920.**

ALL BRANCHES and other ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS desirous of being represented are requested to place all matter for the Agenda in the hands of the National Secretary on or before the 20th November.

Each Branch and Group participating is entitled to have one delegate, who should present a Credential signed by his Branch Secretary stating card vote of Branch or Group.

All rail fares pooled, so cost to each Branch and Group is the same.

**EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD,**  
National Secretary,  
8, Sinclair Gardens,  
West Kensington,  
London, W. 14.

**COMMUNIST PARTY, B.S.T.I.**

**Comrade Fred Tyler**

Just returned from 10 weeks' tour through England and Scotland, is willing to speak at any

**Communist or Socialist Branch**  
on

**"The General Situation of the Movement and Party."**

No fees. Collection in aid of

**"Workers' Dreadnought" Fund.**

Apply Fred Tyler, 33, Denbigh Rd., Willesden, N.W. 10.

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Will Committees and Others desirous of forming same, communicate with

**H. W. Emery, 153, Melbourne Rd. Coventry.**  
Sec. Coventry Unemployed Workers' Committee.

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39 Illustrations.

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"Professor Hardy spares no pains in pointing out why parental prudence would be productive of so much good in ameliorating the conditions under which the poor live. His arguments are concise, clear and conclusive. He then shows the latest and most hygienic methods known to science which can be practised by even the poorest couples. In fact, the work is a perfect encyclopædia on Neo-Malthusianism and should be found in every household and read by all married people and those about to marry."

THE TRUTHSEEKER.

The book is only supplied to persons over 21 years of age. State age when ordering from

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91, Dorset Street, Bradford.

**COMMUNIST PARTY**

British Section of the Third International.

**CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP.**—The acceptance of the following points: (1) The complete overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism. (2) The Class struggle. (3) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (4) The Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' Council system. (5) Affiliation to the Third International. (6) Refusal to engage in Parliamentary Action. (7) Non-affiliation to the Labour Party.

**MINIMUM WEEKLY SUBSCRIPTION:** Threepence.

**Entry Fee:** One Shilling.

**Provisional Secretary:** EDGAR T. WHITEHEAD, 8, Sinclair Gardens, West Kensington, London, W. 14.

Branches' notes and list of meetings, sent in for publication, should reach the Secretary not later than first post Thursday morning.—All articles and news matter (other than Branches' notes) to be sent to: 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E. 3. and marked: "The Editor, The Workers' Dreadnought."

The "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" may be obtained for sale at 3/- per quire (26 copies). Usual Trade rates for wholesale and retail newsagents.

All Members should make a special effort to see that our paper is on sale and posters displayed at local newsagents, trade union branches, in the workshop and at all public meetings in their districts.

**BRANCH NOTES.**

**New Branch: Willesden.**

A new Branch has been formed at Willesden, the Secretary being Comrade J. H. Chambers, 7, Holberton Gardens, College Park, N.W. 10. Comrade Fred Tyler was elected Chairman of this Branch. The next meeting will be held on Sunday, November 21st, at 11 a.m., at 91, Milton Avenue, Stonebridge Park, N.W. 10, when all Willesden rebels are invited to join.

**Sheffield.**

Dear Comrade,—Many protest meetings are being held in Sheffield on behalf of Sylvia Pankhurst. New members have rallied in, and the sale of the "Dreadnought" has gone up with leaps and bounds; in fact, I think if the Government arrests us all, the Party would treble its strength. At a special Branch meeting held on Sunday, November 7th, the Branch decided to hold outdoor meetings and carry on an active campaign throughout the winter. Comrade Harpin has agreed to be responsible for the collection of all subscriptions in the future. Comrade Graham is the treasurer, and Comrade Martin literature agent. The Branch wishes to inform Sylvia Pankhurst that it is not necessary to send many cheers for her, as she will readily recognise that to be arrested by the present Government proves that she is already on the right track.—A. Carford, Sec.

**Branch Secretaries are requested to compile Branch notes weekly, and forward to the National Secretary not later than Thursdays for the succeeding week's issue.**

**COMMUNIST PARTY (B.S.T.I.)**

**Branch Directory.**

**CAMBERWELL.**—Comrade Kloots, 27, South Grove, Peckham, S.E. 16.  
**POPLAR.**—Mrs. Walker, 158, East India Dock Road, E. 14.  
**BOW.**—Miss N. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E. 3.  
**BARKING.**—D. Roodzant, Glenhurst, Ripple Road, Barking, E.  
**HAMMERSMITH.**—H. Biske, 22, Rockley Road, Shepherds Bush, W.  
**MANCHESTER.**—Frank Elder, 36, Brunswick Road, Broadheath, Cheshire.  
**GORTON.**—E. Redfern, Gore Brook Hall, William Street, Gorton, Manchester.  
**PORTSMOUTH.**—M. E. Marsh, 12, St. Johns Road, Fratton, Portsmouth.  
**SHEFFIELD.**—A. Carford, 183, West Street, Sheffield.  
**EXETER.**—C. Lucy, 8, Okehampton Road, Exeter.  
**HOLT.**—H. E. Durham, Co-operative Land and Crafts Guild, Cromer Road, Holt, Norfolk.  
**PORTH.**—D. A. Davies, 38, Cemetery Road, Porth, South Wales.  
**HULL.**—F. Jackson, 62, Hawthorne Avenue, Hull.  
**SOHO.**—W. Cornwallis, 13, Eaton Row, Eaton Sq., S.W. 1.  
**STEPNEY.**—S. Ginsburg, c/o International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1.  
**HYDE PARK INTERNATIONAL.**—J. Steele, 126, Portobello Road, Notting Hill, W.  
**MERTHYR.**—H. Griffiths, 60, Quarry Row, Merthyr Tydvil, South Wales.  
**TRE THOMAS and MACHEN.**—H. Price, 14, Glyn Gwyn, Tre Thomas, Monmouthshire.  
**STAINES, ASHFORD, and EGHAM.**—A. J. Silvester, 4, Factory Path, Staines, Middlesex.  
**SOUTH SHIELDS.**—J. Beadham, 18, Osborn Avenue, South Shields, Durham.  
**BIRMINGHAM.**—R. V. Harvey, 314, High Street, Harborne, Birmingham.  
**COVENTRY.**—H. M. Emery, 153, Melbourne Road, Coventry.  
**SWANSEA.**—E. Penny, c/o 60, Alexandra Road, Swansea.  
**CENTRAL.**—H. Bernard, c/o "Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.  
**ALTRINCHAM.**—J. Whinfield, 62, Brunswick Rd., Broadheath, Cheshire.

**GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.**

Hull Comrades, 12s. 6d.; W.L., 10s.; Portsmouth Comrades 23s. 8d.; Birmingham Comrades, 10s.; Altrincham Comrades, 6s.; Hyde Park International, 8s.; Willesden Comrades, 5s. 7d.; D. E. Fisher, 10s.; Aram Daniels, 10s.; Florence Houghton, 5s.; Fred Schette, 10s.; F. O'Grady, 2s.

**LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.**

**Whitechapel.**

Osborne Street, Sundays, at 11.45 a.m.

**Poplar.**

Dock Gates, Sundays, at 7 p.m.

**Camberwell.**

Saturday, 13th, Hanover Park, Rye Lane, at 7.30.

Comrade Cornwallis.

Sundays, Peckham Rye, at 11 a.m.

**Soho.**

The Broadway, Golden Square. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**

The Grove. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Wilkesden.**

Manor Park Road, Fridays.

**Bow.**

St. Stephen's Road. Every Saturday at 6.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**

Bull Ring. Every Friday at 7.30. Every Sunday at 7 p.m.

**Stepney.**

Mile End Waste (opposite Stepney Green). Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Local Communist speakers. Every Friday at 8.15 p.m. Osborne Street, Whitechapel. The City of London branch has now been affiliated with this branch.

**Barking.**

Near Barking Station. Sundays, at 6.30 p.m. Communist speakers.

**INDOOR BRANCH MEETINGS.**

**Soho International.**

58, Old Compton Street, Soho, W. Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. prompt.

**Bow.**

400, Old Ford Road. Every Thursday at 7.30 p.m.

**Poplar.**

20, Railway Street. Every Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Camberwell.**

16, Peckham Road, Mondays, at 7.45 p.m.

**Hull.**

Argyle House, Anlaby Road. Every Wednesday night at 8 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**

Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherds Bush. Every Monday at 8 p.m. All Party members and inquirers welcome.

**Barking.**

Thursdays, at 8 p.m. At "Glenhurst," Ripple Road, Barking, E.

**HYDE PARK PROPAGANDA GROUP.**

Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Rd., Paddington.

Sundays, from 4 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

Wednesdays, at 7.30 p.m. Garrould's Corner, Edgware Road.

Thursdays, at 7.30 p.m. Prince of Wales, Harrow Road.

Saturdays, 6 p.m. till 10 p.m. Hyde Park, Marble Arch.

**RUSSIAN CLASS** (in Olive Beamish's Office), 93, Bishopsgate, on Fridays, 7—8 p.m. For terms apply Mrs. BOUVIER, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham.

**NOTICE.**

Mr. F. Wilson who was present at our Gorton Conference claiming to represent the Shop Stewards (Building Section) was expelled from the Party at an Executive meeting, held on the 13th November, 1920.

**SEEING THE RED LIGHT.**

Herbert Smith, President of the Yorkshire Miners' Association and vice-president of the M.F.G.B., is said to be considering his resignation on account of the criticisms levelled at him by extremists. The Left Wing movement in the mining industry is making great headway. The number and power of the revolutionary Communists is growing. When the next crisis comes there may be no reactionary leaders left to work with the capitalists to keep quiet the rank and file.

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