

Kropotkin on Revolution.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Under Communism all shall satisfy their material needs without stint or measure from the common storehouse, according to their desires. Everyone will be able to have what he or she desires in food, in clothing, books, music, education and travel facilities. The abundant production now possible, and which invention will constantly facilitate, will remove any need for rationing or limiting of consumption.

Every individual, relying on the great common production, will be secure from material want and anxiety.

There will be no class distinctions, since these arise from differences in material possessions, education, and social status.—all such distinctions will be swept away.

There will be neither rich nor poor. Money will no longer exist, and none will desire to hoard commodities not in use, since a fresh supply may be obtained at will. There will be no selling, because there will be no buyers, since everyone will be able to obtain everything at will, without payment.

The possession of private property, beyond that which is in actual personal use, will disappear.

There will be neither masters nor servants; all being in a position of economic equality—no individual will be able to become the employer of another.

All children will be educated up to adult age, and all adults will be able to make free, unrestricted use of all educational facilities in their abundant leisure.

Stealing, forgery, burglary, and all economic crimes will disappear, with all the objectionable apparatus for preventing, detecting, and punishing them.

Prostitution will become extinct; it is a commercial transaction, dependent upon the economic need of the prostitute and the customer's power to pay.

Sexual union will no longer be based upon material conditions, but will be freely contracted on the basis of affection and mutual attraction.

The birth of children will cease to be prevented by reason of poverty.

Material anxiety being removed, and the race for wealth eliminated, other objects and ambitions will take the place of the personal struggle for individual material existence; since all will benefit from the labour of all, honour will be done, not to the wealthy, as at present, but to those who are skilful and zealous in the common service.

Emulation in work will take the place of emulation in wealth.

With the disappearance of the anxious struggle for existence, which saps the energy and cripples initiative, a new vigour, a new independence will develop. People will have more courage to desire freedom, greater determination to possess it. They will be more exacting in their demands upon life, more fastidious as to their choice of a vocation. They will wish to work at what they enjoy, to order their lives as they desire. Work will be generally enjoyed as never before in the history of mankind.

The desire for freedom will be tempered by the sense of responsibility towards the commonweal, which will provide security for all.

Public opinion provides a stronger, more general compulsion than any penal code, and public opinion will strongly disapprove idleness and waste.

To secure the abundant production necessary to Communism, and to cope with the ever-growing complexity of modern life and requirements, large-scale production and co-operative effort is necessary. The people of to-day would not be willing to go back to producing everything by hand in domestic workshops; were they to do so, they could not maintain the population in comfort and with reasonable leisure. The people of to-day would be unwilling to abandon all the productive factories, the trains, the electric generating stations, and so on. The retention of such things necessitates the working together of large numbers of people. As soon as numbers of people are working together and supplying with their products numbers of other people, some sort of organisation of work and of distribution becomes inevitable. The work itself cannot be carried on without organisation. In each industry, either the workers concerned in the work must form and control the organisation, or they will be under the dominion of the organisers. The various industries are interlocked in interest and utility; therefore the industrial organisations must be interlocked.

by the possessors of wealth. Thus Capitalism will only be overthrown by revolution.

The revolution can only come when conditions are ripe for it; but opportunities may be missed: the rising may fail to take place at the opportune moment, or it may fail by mismanagement of the proletarian forces. A partial success may be achieved, and if Capitalism is not completely destroyed, it may afterwards re-establish itself, as it speedily did in Hungary, as it is gradually doing in Russia.

(to be continued.)

A BIT OF PAST HISTORY.

The second Apocalyptic rider, the Plague, followed in the tracks of Famine. In 1893, the cholera from Persia came up the river over the low ground of the Volga and breathed with its murderous breath over the villages, apathetic and exhausted by famine.

The behaviour of the instruments of the Czarist Government towards the new enemy sounds like an anecdote, but was bitter truth.

The Governor of Baku fled before the plague, into the mountains, the Governor of Saratov hid himself on a steamer when popular unrest broke out. The Governor of Astrachan sent watch-ships to bar the entrance into the Volga of all vessels coming from Persia and the Caucasus, as cholera suspects, but sent neither food nor drinking water to the quarantine prisoners.

More than 400 steamers and barges were confined in this manner, and 10,000 human beings, whole and sick together, were left to destruction by plague, hunger and thirst.

At last a ship came down stream towards Astrachan; an emissary of Providence?

The looks of the perishing turned, full of hope, to the ship of deliverance. Its freight was coffins.

Then the storm of popular wrath broke loose.

Like a raging fire, the news of the detention and of the martyrdom of the quarantine prisoners spread up the Volga, and was followed by the cry of suspicion: "the authorities were purposely spreading the plague, to decimate the people."

The first victims of the cholera-revolts were the sanitary workers; men and women of the intelligentsia who, with self-devotion and heroism, had hastened up to erect hospitals in the villages, nurse the sick and take measures for the safety of the sound. Hospitals went up in flames; doctors and sick nurses were struck down. Then followed the customary punitive expeditions, shedding of blood, court-martials, and executions. In Saratov alone there were 20 death sentences. The magnificent region of the Volga was changed once more into Dante's Inferno.

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When wages have disappeared, when all are upon a basis of economic equality, when the position of manager, director, organiser, etc., brings no material advantage, the desire for it will be less widespread and less keen, and the danger of oppressive action by the management will be largely nullified. Nevertheless, management imposed on unwilling subordinates will not be tolerated; where the organiser has chosen the assistants, the assistants will be free to leave, or change him; where the assistants choose the organiser, they will be free to change him. Co-operation for the common good is necessary, but freedom, not domination, is the goal.

Since co-operative work and mutual reliance on mutual aid renders some kind of organisation necessary, the best possible form of organisation must be chosen: the test of its worth is its efficiency and the scope for freedom and initiative it allows to each of its units.

The Soviet structure of committees and delegates, built up from the base of the workshop and village assembly, presents the best form of organisation yet evolved; it arises naturally when the workers are thrown upon their own resources in the matter of government.

The Soviet structure will undoubtedly be the organisational structure of Communism, at any rate, for some time to come. We live always, however, in a state of flux, and there is and happily can be, no permanence about human institutions; there is always the possibility of something higher, as yet undiscovered.

The overthrow of Capitalism precedent to the establishment of Communism will be resisted

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

I.

The word "Revolution" is upon all lips, and one feels its first vibrations. And, as always, at the approach of great commotions and great changes, all who are dissatisfied with the actual régime—however small may be their discontent—hasten to adopt the title of revolutionaries, hitherto so dangerous, now so simple. They do not cling to the actual régime; they are ready to try a new one; that suffices for them.

This affluence to the ranks of the revolutionaries of a mass of malcontents of all shades, creates the forces of revolutions and renders them inevitable. A simple conspiracy in the palace, or of Parliament, more or less supported by what is called public opinion, suffices to change the men in power, and sometimes the form of Government. But a Revolution, to effect any change whatsoever in economic order, requires the agreement of an immense number of wills. Without the agreement, more or less active, of millions, no revolution is possible. It is necessary that everywhere, in each hamlet even, there should be men to act in the destruction of the past; also that other millions remain inactive, in the hope of seeing something arise to improve their future condition.

And it is precisely this vague, undecided discontent, which is very often inconscient, surging in the minds of men at the eve of great events, and that loss of confidence in the existing order, which permits true revolutionists to accomplish their immense task—the Titanic work of reconstructing, in a few years, institutions venerated for centuries. But this is also the rock upon which most revolutions split and become exhausted.

When a revolution takes place, overturning the established outlines of daily life; when all good and bad passions flash forth freely and are seen on the housetops; when weakness and great devotion are side by side, poltroonery here, heroism there; shabby antipathies and personal intrigues alongside of great self-sacrifice; when, in fact, the institutions of the past fall, and new ones are designed with difficulty in the midst of continual changes—where the great majority of

THE LOGIC OF TO-DAY. By "WOBBLY."

Many criticisms have been levelled at the various Theses governing the Communist Party, and most criticisms have been answered by the stereotyped reply "Iron Discipline"; but today the issues are becoming more momentous as the period of revolutionary travail draws near, too momentous, in fact, to allow the parrot-cry "Discipline" to prevent a rigorous and constructive criticism being indulged in by the rank and file.

Every day, the Communist Party, with its quota of intellectuals, draws nearer to the unconscious masses. Doubtless that statement will draw a sigh of relief from the Big Boss Communists, but sorrowfully they will reflect, on investigation, that the unconscious mass are irresistibly drawn to any idea or organisation which plays upon their sentimentality or their dwarfed conception of themselves as a class.

The swing of the pendulum has turned and may eventually reach the other end marked "Reformist Social Democracy." The steam valve of criticism has been closed, and as the pressure of the rank and file grows more and more, the inevitable burst will come.

The astounding feature of the Communist Party to-day is the seemingly conscious sabotage of the industrial movement. One can understand the old Socialist parties neglecting this most important weapon of the working class, composed as they were of the sentimental and eventually treacherous leaders; but to view the Communist Party, with its avowed revolutionary tendencies, its scientific Marxian structure and its historical advantages, alongside this industrial sabotage—one is bewildered.

As a political party the Communist Party proclaims to the world its independence from and its hatred of all reactionary and reformist labour and pseudo-Socialist organisations. It

those who yesterday gloried in the name of revolutionaries hasten to pass into the ranks of the defenders of order; the general commotion, the instability of struggling institutions, the insecurity of the morrow fatigues them soon. They fear, on the one hand, that the slight alterations that have been effected should sink in the tempest, and they do not perceive that the smallest change in economic institutions implies already a profound modification of all conceptions of society, and that this can only be brought about after much larger changes; and, seeing the counter-revolution approach, they hasten to conform to it. Popular passions, sometimes coarsely expressed, cause them aversion; still more so the shabby passions of leaders. Soon they have had enough of the revolution and run to join those who call for rest and peace.

Among such, the past recruits its most ardent defenders, all the more so if they have sustained slight losses. They hate those who endeavour to go further, and they are so much the more dangerous for being able to seize upon previous revolutionary acts and to put them to the service of the past. They dare in a manner in which the reaction would not dare without them, and they strike precisely those who sap more deeply the foundations of the ancient institutions and desire to advance afresh towards the future.

These persons become the Robespierres and St. Justs who guillotine the "mad ones" under pretext of saving the revolution, but in reality to check it.

Friends of revolution cannot be distinguished from its enemies during a period of struggle; but it is necessary to note that the historians of the past have done their utmost to throw into chaos all ideas of these facts.

To consider only the great French Revolution. The ideal of some is Mirabeau, perfectly satisfied holding a portfolio in the constitutional Ministry of Louis XVI. Of others it is Danton the patriot, with daring against the Germans, but without a trace of daring in economic questions—the tribune, who, to resist the invasion, made use of a constitutional king, of peasants serving bourgeois proprietors, all wonderfully mixed with revolutionary talk. For others it is Robespierre the

maintains that all bodies wishing to work along Communist lines must submit to the dictates of the Communist International. Its conclusions as to the Communist Parties working with these Labour and pseudo-Socialist bodies is that the national sections of the Third International may affiliate and work with them, only on the condition that they are allowed freely to criticise and, at the same time, assert their own integrity. On no account must any secession, from the Communist standpoint, be allowed; yet we are astonished to find that this same Communist Party allows the reformist Labour Unions—who govern the reformist Labour Party—to affiliate to the Red Trade Union International. It allows Communists to accept official positions in the reactionary Trade Unions, WITHOUT any qualification whatsoever, save that the C.P. can recall these same individuals, unless, like Williams of the Transport Workers, and Cook of the Miners' Federation, they act ridiculously and refuse to be recalled. The C.P. allows groups of Communists, as Communists, to work inside the Trade Unions, striving, by tinkering with the out-of-date rules, to reform these Unions, in order, say they, "to gain the confidence of the masses."

Thrice Blessed Masses that you can force the R-R-Revolutionary Communist Party to forego its iron discipline!

Instance after instance leaps up before us of the foolishness of this position: the Engineers, with their eight-year officials; the Miners, with the Marxian and treacherous leaders; the Transport Workers, with their "Order-of-the-Red-Banner Williams"; the N.S. & F.U., with their rebels "bored" right out; the Dockers in a similar position—oh, what a kaleidoscopic policy! Shake it gents, and you get a different view every time! Contrast the two policies: the political, with its hidebound and iron-disciplined force, and the industrial one with its conjurers and rag-time dancers flashing across the

pages of the *Communist*. Note the deadly logic which is to force an Industrial Master Class to its knees—to brush away the little pests who crawl bewildered in their path.

The Communists maintain that the conditions in England are so determined, that the people are born with a Trade Union card round their neck, and to attack these Unions means that we are alienating the masses; to start an independent industrial and revolutionary organisation means political suicide—there, the cat is out of the bag, and I intended to keep it in.

One is driven to the conclusion that these fearsome revolutionaries are so afraid of their propaganda not being accepted if they attack the Labour Party Bosses' jobs—for the Labour Party leaders are Labour Union leaders—that they must pander to the ignorance and apathy of the masses; strange to say, the masses themselves are crying out in the wilderness against these bosses, and are asking for One Big Union.

What a shock for the Labour Bosses if the virile Communist Party came out with a Moscovised slogan: "All Power to the Revolutionary Industrial Union"—and what a diminished party it would be for a time!

Why not be logical and apply the same treatment to the Industrial as to the Political field? Certainly it would mean many heartaches for lost popularity; it would mean real imprisonment when the boss class realised its significance; it would mean real sacrifice and work; but it would stimulate the working class into revolutionary ardour if it were carried out effectively.

The result of the shilly-shallying on the industrial field is the cause of the workers leaving the Unions, in disgust and in a fog, to wander like lost sheep with no fold to go to.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Just, who guillotined revolutionists, who talked of equality of fortunes and published their Atheism; the man who, in the summer of 1793, at the moment the people of Paris suffered famine, insisted that the Jacobins should discuss the advantages of the English constitution! For others, finally, it is Marat, who one day demanded the heads of two hundred thousand aristocrats, but who had not a single word upon the subject which impassioned two-thirds of France, namely, the question, to whom should belong the land cultivated by the peasants. And for several tricksters, last of all, the ideal is the Attorney of the Republic, who frantically demanded the heads of the duchesses and their servants—particularly their servants, because the duchesses were at Coblenz—while blackguards of traders pillaged France, starving the workmen and making from what they had stolen from the duchesses the scandalous fortunes which were seen to appear under the "Directoire."

As for the general number of revolutionists, they unhappily know only of the theatrical side of former revolutions, as related with forced effect by historians, and they scarcely suspected the immense work accomplished in France during the years 1789-93 by millions of obscure persons—work which caused France to be, in 1792, quite a different nation to what she was four years previously.

It is to assist actual revolutionists in guiding themselves somewhat in this chaos, that we undertake these studies. We wish to demonstrate the necessity of distinguishing well beforehand those who call themselves our friends and who will soon be our enemies. We shall try to show to revolutionists the immense task they have to accomplish to inform them of the troubles which will overtake them if they picture to themselves the next revolution on the model of what historians have told us of the past revolutions. We wish finally to show them what display of energy, what boldness of thought, what intense energetic work the revolution will require from those of its children who desire to give to it from day to day of their life and strength, much more important for its success than the rifle shots exchanged at the critical moment.

We present here the first instalment of an Esperanto Primer which will appear weekly in our columns, and which has been specially written for Socialists by James Leakey. This Primer will contain readings chosen for their suitability for use in Socialist schools and classes.

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AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

LESSON I.

The English word THE is LA in Esperanto, pronounced LAH, like the note in tonic solfa.

In fact, for the vowels in Esperanto you can follow the sound of RE, MI, FA, SOL, and never vary it; the U is pronounced like double oo in boots.

A good way to memorise the sounds of the five vowels is to repeat FA, RE, MI, SOL, FLUTE.

Read the following words, carefully pronouncing the vowels, as above:

La patro, the father. La patrino, the mother.
La filo, the son. La filino, the daughter.
La knabo, the boy. La knabino, the girl.
La nevo, the nephew. La nevino, the niece.
La onklo, the uncle. La onkino, the aunt.
La koko, the cock. La kokino, the hen.

Remember that every letter in Esperanto must be distinctly sounded; in knabino, the k must be sounded, knabeeno will be approximately the right pronunciation, sounding K well.

This is of great importance, as it is necessary for all nationalities to pronounce alike; above all, avoid pronouncing I like eye, but like EE.

For those who wish seriously to learn it, it is advisable that they should make a little book with one letter of the alphabet to each page, and note down at the right page each English word here given, with the Esperanto word against it, so as to form a vocabulary, to be used during exercises.

You have noticed that the nouns all end in O.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.

The Language Barrier.

At every International Congress, delegates exclaim: "If only there were no language barrier between ourselves and our comrades; if only we had an international language!"

The translation of speeches into many languages is most tedious; the spirit of the discussion; the interest of the delegates, largely disappears in the process. Moreover, the translator's task is a difficult, almost an impossible one; the most able translator cannot reproduce the personality of the speaker, the wealth of detail in argument, the expressive emphasis of the earnest advocate.

Many speeches are untranslated, or barely summarised; it would be impossible to translate all with any degree of completeness. In social intercourse with international comrades, and when study and organisation are embarked on, the language barrier is still more irksome.

To the small nationalities whose language the peoples of big countries will not learn, the need for an international language has become so vital that some of their Governments are actively encouraging Esperanto, teaching it in the schools, insisting that their officials shall know and use it. Esperanto and Ido are rival claimants to the position of the international language, and while we do not wish to judge between the rival claimants, we think we are right in saying that the Esperantists have secured the larger body of support in this part of the world.

The advantage of an international language, specially invented to meet modern requirements, is that it is much more easily learnt than the old languages which have grown up through ages of gradual development. Ordered simplicity and rules easy to understand and never departed from, simplify the work of the student.

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You have noticed that the nouns all end in O.

Now you will see that all adjectives end in A.
bona, good. malbona, bad.
granda, large. malgranda, small.
plena, full. malplena, empty.
vera, true. malvera, untrue.
nova, new. malnova, old.
juna, young. maljuna, old (in age).
longa, long. mallonga, short.

One of the aims of Dr. Zamenhof, a Polish Jew and Doctor of Medicine, to whom we owe the invention of Esperanto, was the simplifying and shortening of the vocabulary—the feminine ending INO makes a great saving of words; instead of uncle and-aunt, cock and hen, we have only to memorise the masculine word, changing the final O into INO.

Again the saving is effected of a great number of adjectives, by the prefix MAL, reversing their meaning.

As we proceed, we shall find a number of such devices, resulting in an immense economy of labour to the learner, and making the Esperanto dictionary less than a quarter as long as any other.

The letter Y is not used in Esperanto; it is replaced by the letter J, which is pronounced like the English Y; JES in Esperanto, means YES, and is pronounced Yes, as in English.

KAJ in Esperanto means AND, and is pronounced ky, as in sky.
Juna, young, is pronounced yuna.

EXERCISE I.

Pronounce carefully and translate into English:

La bona patro. La patrino kaj la filino. Jes, la malbona knabo. La maljuna onkino. La onklo kaj la nevino. La granda kokino. La malgranda knabino. La juna nevo. La vera filo.

It is advisable after writing out this exercise in English, to translate it back into Esperanto, and then correct it by the text in the lesson.

THE WATSON LIBEL CASE A PROTEST.

It is difficult to imagine why Mr. Watson brought his libel action against the Duke of Northumberland, for he seems to have gone out of his way to lose the case, and to provide evidence in support of the Duke's statements, of which he professed to complain.

In providing such evidence, he made, if the reports which are given by the *Daily Herald*, *The Times*, and other newspapers are correct, a number of misleading statements which are unfair and injurious to persons in our own and other movements.

If Mr. Watson's statements in the witness box are at all like the reports he made to the police, the latter were certainly most dangerous. It goes without saying that they were most uncomradely. For any person in the movement to make such statements as some of those made by W. F. Watson in the course of his libel action is, in our opinion, a betrayal of comrades and of the movement.

It is always easiest, in cases of this kind, to say nothing; one thus avoids arousing the antagonism of others; but, in the interests of the movement, we consider it our duty to express our opinion strongly and plainly.

We shall deal first with Mr. Watson's statement that he was meeting Russian Bolshevik emissaries. This statement appears to have been volunteered by himself in the witness box, quite without reason. He seems to have been anxious to assert that he was in contact with emissaries of the Soviet Government; though that could not possibly help his case against the Duke. He even drew from Mr. Knight, of the defunct London Workers' Committee, the statement that a Russian courier came to the Committee's offices in Featherstone Buildings. If it were so, it was a breach of confidence, a betrayal on the part of Watson and Knight to say so; but we believe, for our own part, that either the memories of Messrs. Watson and Knight have betrayed them, or some impostor has misled them.

We are satisfied that no emissaries of the Russian Soviet Government had any dealings with Mr. Watson, Mr. Knight, or the London Workers' Committee.

We invite the attention of our readers to Mr. Watson's statements regarding his alleged meetings with Russian Soviet emissaries at No. 1, Kingly Street. We quote from *The Times*:—

"The plaintiff, asked by Mr. Hogg to give the address of the meeting place in London of the Workers' Committee and the emissaries of the Russian administration—which he had declined to give on the previous day—now said that it was 1, Kingly Street, near Piccadilly. He said that he wished to make a formal protest that the address had been drawn from him in cross-examination. He added that many meetings were held, but that he was only present at two, and both of those took place at Kingly Street. On August 6th there was a secret meeting with Russian couriers."

The facts in regard to 1, Kingly Street are as follows:

A little informal, private "At Home" was held there, to hear the experiences of a comrade who had lived in East London, who was known to many of us, and who had been to Russia and returned. Only a few comrades, known to be specially interested in Russia, were invited, but no secret business was transacted, no plans for action or propaganda were made: it was purely a gathering to receive information. Questions were asked, and just the kind of information imparted regarding Soviet Russia's constitution and activities, which we were trying to place before the movement and the public at large. Only those whom we regarded as trustworthy, genuinely interested comrades, were invited, because more serious consideration could then be devoted to the important subject.

The gathering was private, because our comrade was of Russian nationality, and might be unnecessarily harassed by the authorities, were it thought that he was addressing public meetings, since the Government had taken up an attitude of hostility towards the Soviets.

Mr. Watson's statements in the witness box suggest a plot, or something unlawful. There was nothing of the kind. He had no right, however, to divulge the fact that a meeting was held in this place, because he was invited confidentially, and he did not obtain the permission of those concerned before doing so.

The meeting was held in a room over a restaurant, which was hired for the evening. I may say that the then proprietor of the restaurant has retired from business.

Mr. Watson says that other meetings were held at Kingly Street. We know that the same room was hired on a few occasions for members' meetings of the Workers' Socialist Federation, but no Russians were present. There was no secrecy whatsoever about these members' meetings, which were advertised in the *Workers' Dreadnought*. The perfectly lawful gatherings at Kingly Street have been made to appear something mysterious and illegal by Mr. Watson's references to them in Court. Injury may be done to persons who have done nothing at all, by such insinuations, and we regard such insinuations as betrayal.

Sinn Fein.

Let us turn now to the question of Sinn Fein: W. F. Watson denied the statement the Duke of Northumberland alleged he had made, that Sinn Fein could supply him with several hundred men, trained in the use of arms. It is well that he did so. It is obvious that the Workers' Committee movement and the proletarian movement generally is altogether distinct from that of Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein is officially as much opposed to the rise of the working class as the Lloyd George Government itself. This the Irish workers will certainly discover, in practice, so far as they have not already done so.

Mr. Watson gave unnecessary assistance to the Duke in winning the libel action, and showed little scientific knowledge of the position when, as reported by the *Daily Herald*, he made the following statement:—

"Counsel asked Watson whether it was his view that it was a necessity for the interests of his movement to take the initiative in dissolving the union between Ireland and Britain.

"As a principle, yes, certainly!"

Obviously, it was not only unnecessary, but impossible for the British Shop Stewards "to

(continued on page 6.)

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IRELAND.

The question of war, or peace, with Ireland is still in abeyance.

It seems that Ulster is being asked on what conditions she will accept an all-Ireland Parliament, and apparently she is replying that she does not want an all-Ireland Parliament, and if she did, she would insist on getting the same representation for her small handful of people as is given to all the rest of Ireland. The Ulstermen show no inclination to accept an all-Ireland Parliament.

If they were to accept it, there is not, we think, any guarantee that Sinn Fein would concede any of the points which the British Government declares essential.

Some people think that Sinn Fein has said: "Give us an all-Ireland Parliament and we will accept your other terms." We do not think that Sinn Fein has made any such concession; we think that Sinn Fein is fencing with the Government; trying to discover how much can be secured without itself giving anything away.

The Government, of course, is holding to the things it cares for, and bargaining with the things it does not care for. The Government—and, of course, especially the Unionists in and out of the Coalition—are unwilling to quarrel with Ulster, because Ulster has strong support all over the Kingdom; at the same time, the question of a separate North of Ireland Parliament is not so interesting to Unionists on this side of the Channel as to those in Ireland.

But all this manoeuvring on the question of an all-Ireland Parliament is as likely as not a plan originated by Lloyd George to make an apparently large concession to Sinn Fein, in order that when Sinn Fein rejects the Government terms on what are really important issues, the Government may say: "See, these truculent Irish refuse peace, in spite of the great concession which we and Ulster have made them; they are to blame, and not we, for the inevitable war."

Ulster is afraid that acceptance of an all-Ireland Parliament may be taken as a precedent, even though the acceptance be only a manoeuvre to make it easier for the Government to blame Sinn Fein.

The statement made by Sir Laming Worthington Evans, as to the things he and his Unionist colleagues in the Coalition Government will not tolerate, shows conclusively that there has been no offer either of Independence, or complete Dominion Home Rule to Ireland.

He said:—
"I will not agree to any settlement of the Irish question which does not preserve the supremacy of the Crown. I will not agree to any settlement which does not keep Ireland within the Empire. I will not agree to any settlement which does not leave the British Navy the sole guardian of the shores and the seas of Great Britain and Ireland. I will not agree to any settlement which does not make Ireland pay a fair share of the debt and of the pensions. Nor will I agree to any settlement that requires the coercion of Ulster to assent to it."

The fiscal question he did not mention; but that by no means necessarily infers that any concessions have been made in that direction. Yet such concessions would be made with Sinn Fein.

War with Ireland remains much more probable than peace. Amongst the many evidences of this fact are the news that the army is being secretly organised in Belfast, and the manner in which the news has been received by the British authorities. The Irish *Bulletin* reports that the Royal Irish Constabulary of Belfast has instructed its officials that the Government is considering "the desirability of obtaining the services of the best elements of these organisations, and has

"decided that the scheme most likely to meet the situation would be to enrol all who volunteer and are suitable into Class 'C,' and to form them into regular military units. "The force is intended as a military one, only to be called out in grave emergency to act in a military capacity.

"They will not of necessity be utilised for local defence, but may be drafted to any theatres of operations within the six counties."

This can mean only one thing: that the British Government expects to go to war with Ireland on the side of Ulster.

Meantime, in the Conference and the protracted negotiations, they are merely casting about either for a means of keeping things as they are, without war, or for a method of gulling the British people into acquiescence in war with Ireland.

When the Government goes, as Austen Chamberlain said, "to the mothers for their sons, to the wives for their husbands," it wants to be able to make them believe that war is the only alternative.

British Labour still on the Fence.

Official British Labour continues to play a cowardly and contemptible part. The Joint Council of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Executive has just issued a manifesto which says:—

"Should the present Conference fail, Labour will continue to demand for the Irish people whatever Constitution for Ireland the Irish people desire, subject only to two conditions—that it affords protection to minorities, and that the Constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace to Great Britain—a policy which has been accepted by Irish Labour."

What do these conditions mean? Do they mean anything, or are they merely an appeal to the gallery of the thoughtless?

If they are to be taken to imply what they would in the mouth of the ordinary politician, then this is the translation of these obscure phrases; phrases which a Labour Party ought to be ashamed to use; for, of all parties, a Labour Party should obey the duty of using plain language which every working man and woman can understand.

LABOUR PARTY STATEMENT.

"Protection to minorities."

PROBABLE MEANING.

The handful of people in Ulster to be given equal power with the rest of Ireland.

LABOUR PARTY STATEMENT.

"The Constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a naval or military menace to Great Britain."

PROBABLE MEANING.

Ireland to be kept within the Empire under the control of the British Army and Navy, and debarred from making independent alliances with other countries.

We challenge the Joint Committee to say what it means by its obscure phrases, and we urge all workers to make it their business to secure an open declaration of policy from the Labour leaders. In our opinion, they are prepared to support the Government in the event of war, unless the war be thoroughly unpopular—in that case they may pause.

Those who want to prevent war should endeavour to get the Labour movement committed to the support of the Irish Republic, and should call for a delegate conference with this object.

More important still, they should prepare the men and women who actually carry on the work of this country to resist the war.

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE IN GERMANY.

By A. Irvine.

The housing question is as acute in Germany as here, and solutions of the problem put forward by the middle-class-Socialist Government there differ little from the panaceas of our own Government, and respectable, cool-headed (not to say cold-hearted) Labour leaders.

"More Production" (the ten hours day), "Thrift" (lower wages), the private initiative of manufacturers stimulated by high profits. They ration garrets and cellars, award a building subsidy of over five milliards from the pockets of the proletariat to the bosses of the building industries, "standardise" all windows and door latches, advance very slowly towards compulsory letting, set up Government departments (salaries of officials assessed at from 800 to 800 milliards, of Government representatives from 225 to 300 millions, additional Government expenses of 225 to 300 millions, and that for housing bureaux alone). They recommend a tax on housing luxury, etc., etc. In connection with the latter, the *Büzerzeitung* says: "On April 30th 1921, the Saxon (that is, Independent Socialist) Ministry of the Interior promulgated an order on the subject of the luxury tax on dwellings which might serve as a guide to local officials, and should be taken into consideration at once by the municipalities."

Imagine with what pleasure the cultured classes would read the following: "What is to be held as (housing) luxury is uncertain, and varies according to time and circumstances."

The following is in leaded type: "But housing luxury is to be distinguished from housing refinement. It cannot be the task of a luxury tax to lower the standard of housing refinement, of health and comfortable housing that has fortunately been attained by large portions of the population, and that is of high moral value and economic importance."

And so, you members of the uncultured, unrefined masses, if your children's moral development suffers from the crowding into one room of infants, adolescents and adults, of both sexes where privacy in the performance of physical functions is impossible, and decency can only survive under conditions by a miracle; remember that, though housing conditions more conducive to moral refinement would be a luxury to you, they are a necessity to your "betters," and it would be highly undesirable that the house-room should be curtailed to give you more.

Should the housing accommodation of anyone, however, all due allowance being made for a "cultured" standard of living, be judged luxurious, "the Ministry considers that a tax of 50 marks (please bear in mind the present-day value of the mark) for the first, 75 marks for the second, 125 marks for the third, and 200 marks for each further taxable room, in regular proportions, is not excessive."

No, I shouldn't say it was, for a "Socialist" Ministry.

In certain places an attempt to remedy the housing shortage has been made by means of Building Guilds and direct labour. Here and there a cut has been made at the employers' profits; but it is easy for the capitalist to sabotage these efforts, and many guilds are already brought to the verge of bankruptcy.

The State railway in Bavaria has already learnt the trick of a specially slow delivery of building materials for Workers' Guilds. In addition, the coal for the brick kilns, the iron for every door latch, every nail, has to be obtained from Stimm.

It is impossible to create Socialist oases in the desert of Capitalism, and the only solution of the problem of how to satisfy the workers' needs, in Germany, England, all over the world, is the destruction of Capitalism, the sweeping on one side of all who, misnamed "employers of labour," have the power to prevent us from employing ourselves in the direct supply of our wants whether for food, housing, clothes, or anything else necessary to human existence.

THE VULTURES.

Our readers may recall that some few months ago, Dr. Sadler, a British Minister of Religion, wrote to these columns complaining that the Russian Soviets had robbed him of his Russian dividends, and insisting that the capital he had invested in Russia should be repaid to him.

We explained to him that to saddle the Workers' Republic with the debts incurred under the Czarist régime would be to cripple it, and to add to the difficulties of the people struggling through to reconstruct from the chaotic neglect of the old régime and battling with famine. We showed that if the Russian worker were to be burdened with the payment of interest to the old capitalists, Russian and foreign, they would still be the prey of capitalist exploitation, and if they were to attempt to repay the accumulated debts, the cost of doing so would be a crushing one, even if spread over a lengthened period.

But Dr. Sadler, consumed by selfish thoughts, could not see that his duty in the interests of humanity was to forego both the principal and the dividends he had invested in Russia. He joined with the international usurers in demanding either the repayment of his capital, or the continued payment of the interest.

We do not know whether he took any active steps in the interest of securing the repayment of money; whether he sent in claims through the British Government, and so on; but we know that in principle he did not withdraw his claim on the goods and labour of Russia's workers, and that he voiced that claim through the columns of this paper. In principle he cannot separate himself from those who have endeavoured to force Russia under the yoke of the old Capitalism and its commitments till he is prepared to renounce his own share in the spoils and the usury. He preaches love and brotherhood, yet he has ranged himself amongst those who cry: "The emancipation of the Russian workers from the yoke of Capitalism has caused us to lose the lien we had bought upon them; therefore they must be forced back under the yoke of Capitalism."

The usurers of all countries who lent money to Czarist Russia have combined in a great hostile ring against the Workers' Republic. Their powerful, far-reaching influence procured the Allied intervention and blockade, the Polish war, the boycott of Soviet Russia, that still continues. They fought, and fight, both openly and secretly, by bomb throwing and assassination, by bribery. They plotted to blow up bridges, that by cutting off the means of food supply, whole city populations might be starved. Hear René Marchand, the noted French war correspondent, in his letter to President Poincaré:—

"I allude to a private meeting held at the former Consulate-General of the United States on August 23rd or 24th (1918) . . . the Consul-General of the United States, Mr. Poole and our own Consul-General were present. . . . I learnt that an English agent was arranging to destroy the railway bridge across the Volkoff, before the station of Zvanka. Now it requires but a glance at the map to see that the destruction of this bridge would mean the complete starvation of Petrograd. . . . Moreover, the author of the project stated himself all the gravity of the consequences of such action. . . . A French agent added to this that he had already attempted to blow up the bridge of Tcherepovetz, which, as far as the provisioning of Petrograd is concerned, would have the same effect as the destruction of the bridge of Zvanka. . . ."

Enough! This paper could be filled many times over with well authenticated examples of such plotting.

The Russian proletariat was faced, when they took the power, with a gigantic, an impossible task, the task of supplying some of the vast population of peasants and themselves with manufactures, industrial products, transport in a land where tools, machinery, and the means of transport were notoriously lacking.

The needs of the Russian peasants and proletariat had always been notoriously under-supplied; but Czarist Russia had had the possibility of

procuring supplies from all the industrial populations of the world. Such supplies were absolutely cut off from the Workers' Republic. Moreover, the counter-revolutionary armies early seized the richest coal and oil fields and cut off Central Russia from the sources of cotton and other raw materials, and the richest corn lands.

The proletariat of Russia must therefore face its impossibly-vast productive task, handicapped in every direction and, moreover, must send from its ranks soldiers for the Red Army, fighting the revolution, and workers to rebuild the factories, bridges, houses destroyed again and again by the counter-revolution. All this must be done by the industrial workers, suffering under an actual shortage of food and clothing, and enduring every kind of personal hardship.

The task was too great. Little by little, the power of resistance and revolutionary enthusiasm was worn down, in this direction and that. One section after another found the position of bare equality in such a period of shortage too hard to bear: section after section claimed and got special privileges—making the lot of the unprivileged still harder. Capitalism, ever intriguing, with hostility, with pretended friendship, ever fighting, ever bringing pressure to bear, secured concession after concession—so Soviet Russia ceased to progress: took the backward path: allowed Capitalism to enter her borders with swift strides, to take her workers, little by little, back under its yoke; to thrust everyone back on his own resources; to fight for personal advantage over his fellows; abandoning "the ideal of general security provided by the principle that all should share alike from the common store; abandoning 'the principle that each shall work for all and all for each."

Now in the midst of this mournful tragedy, this failure to establish Communism; a failure which, however, is only temporary, for Communism is coming as assuredly as day follows night; now, whilst the international usurers flock as vultures to the tortured body of Soviet Russia, tearing from her flesh all possible profit in the hour of her weakness; arises the voice of Dr. Sadler, in his incomprehending foolishness and self-gulling hypocrisy:—

DEAR EDITOR—
State-force in Russia has been tried for four years—November, 1917-1921—and has failed to produce a true Communism, but only an enforced bread rationing, and that for a time.

Force, even to "terror," has been tried, and Trotsky now tries to uphold the "terror" he made.

But all this has not changed men's hearts, not destroyed the greed of exploiters, which now emerges. Force cannot do it.

Force excites others to revenge. Whether it be Parliamentary armed force, or "Communist" force, the result is the same. Greed still curses the world, in Russia, as elsewhere.

Is there no other way?
"Resist not the evil man by forceful revenge" (Matthew 5, 39). "Love ye those who hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy," as the "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles," an early Christian book, declares.

Suppose we try this method! Teach the three evils of exploitation by landlordism, and by limited companies (73,000 exist), and by the state-army.

Then organise a non-violent strike against all three at once. Privately each one must control the appetite of sex, and use it only to produce offspring who are healthy, and desired. (Dr. Marie Stopes does not urge an end to child-bearing, but to the bearing of weakly and undesired offspring. She stands for "Radiant Motherhood," the title of one of her books.)

Abolish the use of alcohol, which now wastes £1,000,000 each day; £400,000,000 a year!

By these spendid and non-violent methods, we can bring a change in men's outlook, and we can bring in a new social order.

The war has shown us the stupidity of States. Force fails: and ever must do so.

Try faith: faith in that deeper Infinite Life, whose will for us is Reason lit by Love, to create

free lives of health and joy, amid scenes of beauty!

Yours faithfully,
GILBERT T. SADLER.

PUTNEY.

THE COMMUNISM OF THE SPRING.

I love the Communism of the Spring,
Who knows no poor and neither sells nor buys,
But scatters broadcast all her merchandise;
In every land her courier-comrades sing
A world-wide anthem, and rejoicing bring
Her countless gifts that Private Enterprise
(Thank Heaven!) is powerless to commercialise
With profiteering combine, trust, or ring.

—R. H. L., in Melbourne "FELLOWSHIP" for September.

GERMINAL

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF MODERNITY.

They who portray life in art, the writers and the draftsmen, have the moulding of the minds and manners of their fellows.

More than the politicians and the teachers of ethics and morals, the story-tellers make men's habits of thought and belief, their outlook on the broad and general, as well as on the intimate and particular things of life.

Reading a novel, the average man and woman live, for the time being, the lives of its characters, thinking their thoughts, becoming imbued with their aims.

The story-tellers are given a high place in the temple of human endeavour; they are ranked with the great inventors and explorers who have brought to mankind knowledge which has modified the whole of life and sent civilisation forward along new paths.

The only claim of the story-tellers to this great place in social estimate is that they are creators of thought and social habit, assistants in the task of civilising humanity.

The average story-teller gains an easy popularity by echoing prevailing ideas, by subtly telling people that their present ideals are completely right, and that they need not trouble themselves to consider new ones.

"GERMINAL" comes to tilt at outworn standards and conventions in all fields, to set up new ideals, to assist in preparing minds and habits for the new times.

"GERMINAL" will publish the best work by the best novelists, poets, playwrights and draftsmen who are looking forward.

The contributors to "GERMINAL" will include:—

H. R. Barbor; Cornelia Barnes; Maurice Becker; Amy K. Browning; Herbert Cole; Robert Dell; James Waldo Fawcett; Richard Fox; Edward Garnett; Hugo Gellert; Wilfrid Wilson Gibson; Henriette Roland Holst; Sylvia Pankhurst; Grace Potter; Ludovico Rodo; Christopher St. John; Joseph Southall; Austin O. Spare; Bertram M. Stevens; T. Sweetlove; Eric Verney; Charles W. Wood; Henri Barbusse; H. D. Harben.

"GERMINAL" will be published in December, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. Its price will be 1s. monthly.

Orders for "GERMINAL" should be sent in as soon as possible. Donations towards the initial cost of launching the magazine should be sent to "GERMINAL," 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

No Free Right to Strike for the Workers in Russian Private Industries.

The Moscow trade union paper Trud declares itself in the matter of strikes in industries leased to private enterprise, and says that in Soviet Russia, where the proletariat and the State form the whole, the strike may only be used as a number of other means of reaching their ends at the command of the workers.

The All-Russian Trade Union Council has worked out a project for regulation of the position of the workers in private industries in accordance with which factory committees shall be instituted as sections of the trade union concerned, and maintained at the expense of the employer.

English Naval Plans.

The paper Opinia, which appears in Jassy, reports that the English will erect a naval base at Galatz in a short time so as to control the mouth of the Danube, which will be internationalised.

Washington and War on Russia.

Rosta, the official Soviet Russia news service, wired: "We learn from a reliable Warsaw source, that Marshal Foch, who at present is on a trip to the United States, is carrying on active propaganda there in favour of an immediate military intervention in Soviet Russia."

The "Altered Conditions" following this statement occurs the following passage:—"At the seventh Provincial Party Convention, he pointed out that the former economic policy was one of bitter attack upon the fortress of capitalism, and that this attack had ended with failure."

British East African Government Officials to Mutiny.

A mutiny against the British Imperial Government officials is expected in British East Africa. The Imperial Government has decided to permit Indian settlers to hold land. This has stirred up the pride and self-interest of British settlers to boiling point, and encouraged by a prominent British official they now threaten to rebel against the Imperial Government, and to arouse the natives to rebel with them.

Australian Miners' Wages.

The Arbitration Court is expected to reduce miners' wages at the close of the year.

Reaction's Big Plan in Queensland.

The "Pastoral Review," one of the most authoritative organs of Australian Big Business, has outlined the future policy of the reaction in Queensland. This includes—

- (1) Large immigration, in the belief that a flood of workless people from the mother country will break the independence of the Australian workers.
(2) Repeal of the Arbitration Acts, abolition of the basic wage and price fixing.
(3) Abolition of preference to Trade Unions at present established by Act of Parliament.
(4) State railways to be sold to whoever will buy them.
(5) Land grants to be granted to anyone who invests money in new railways.
(6) All Government business concerns to be stopped.
(7) Individual Black Labour to be imported for the high wet bulb temperature area in the north.

This policy has emanated from the Tory Pastoralists' Union. The Tories hope to defeat the Labour Government and then immediately to put this policy into force through a Government of their own making. It must be admitted, however, that even if the Labour Government remains on the Treasury Bench the Tories will probably have their way, for the present period of trade depression and surplus labour facilitates all reactionary movements.

Australia and New Zealand have long been the pride of the Reformists, their favourite examples to prove that working-class conditions may be greatly improved within the ambit of capitalism, and that State Socialism may be gradually introduced. Aus-

tralia and New Zealand have been moving backward, and not forward however, for some time, and should any Reforms, so long as capitalism remains dominant, should be clearly apparent even to the Reformists.

News from Holland.

On October 30th the Communist Workers' Party of Holland (K.A.P.H.) was definitely established on a conference at Arnhem. A decision was taken to issue a weekly organ, De Communistische Arbeider (The Communist Worker), which will probably appear this month. De Kommunist, organ of the section Enschede of the C.W.P.H., and De Roodde Vaan, organ of the Amsterdam group, will then cease to appear. The C.W.P.H. will join the Communist Workers' International (4th International), combat Parliamentarism, trade unionism and work for the foundation of revolutionary workshop organisations.

Since November 1st the metal workers of the most important centres of industry in Holland are on strike owing to an attack on their wages from the employers' side. Some 18,000 men ceased work. This is only the beginning of a general struggle against capitalism here. One need not be a prophet to foretell that the metal workers will be defeated unless the entire working-class of this country prepares for a life-and-death struggle.

The Revolutionary Workers' Organisation in Holland. It is calculated that in the coming winter some 150,000 men will be out of work in a population in seven millions. On Saturday, 5th November, the local unemployed of Amsterdam held a meeting, where a Workless Committee was formed for the purpose of organising the unemployed as in England. Steps will be taken to arrive at a national organisation of unemployed. The Committee will at once apply to all revolutionary organisations in the country for assistance. We sincerely hope that their agitation will lead to the general attack on the Dutch capitalist class, in co-operation with the employed, and we shall not fail, of course, to push them on to the right way.

Wynkoop, leader of the opportunist section of the Third International, is working hard in Parliament for the renewal of commerce between Russia and the fat, close-fisted capitalists here. He recently delivered a speech in the House of Commons, of which we here quote some phrases as examples:—"The renewal of commercial relations with Russia is also in the interest of the proletariat. In the first place, it is of international importance that the Soviets should come in contact with the whole world. Moreover, trade with Russia is of great importance to relieve the depression now prevailing in business. The well-known factories of Philips at Eindhoven (Holland) entered into an agreement with the Soviets for the supply of 1,200,000 (electric) lamps. This agreement was examined and approved (in Russia), and the goods were found to be superior to the German make. This single order would have given work to these factories for a year. I may say that this would have met with the approval of my Party, for we do not share the anarchist point of view that we must make capitalism still more disastrous. What it is already, that we must increase the unemployment, and so on."

This little "great man," who classifies himself among the "Creators of the Revolution," no longer suffers from the "infantile disease" since he went to Moscow in 1920. He is now a politician of "realities." At any rate, if he were not such a cunning politician he would certainly show a remarkable efficiency as a commercial traveller.

"The Government should find the Money." "The Government should find the Money." Cornish mineowners keep up their demand that the Government shall find the money to drain their mines and make them profitable again. Capitalists always demand State aid when in difficulties, but when they are flourishing they refuse all interference.

Watson's Libel Case.—Continued from page 6. take the initiative in dissolving the union between Ireland and Britain." The Irish have already taken the initiative. Watson's absurd admission, however, helped the Duke to win his case, because he had alleged a connection between Watson's propaganda and Sinn Fein.

We cannot too emphatically express our view that no person in the working class movement is worthy to be called a comrade who accepts money from, or enters into relations with the police. We trust that this sordid case will be a warning to all who may feel any temptation in that direction.

We observe, however, that it is disgraceful that the Duke of Northumberland, for the purposes of reactionary propaganda—or any propaganda—should have been supplied with confidential information by Scotland Yard.

The Weekly Dispatch reports that Scotland Yard, to clear itself from the charge of wasting money by paying Watson for false information, is about to hold an inquiry into the case. May the inquiry be Public!

GOVERNMENT FINANCE—GLOOMY PICTURE.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons the day before it rose that the Budget has not realised expectations. It estimated:— Ordinary Revenue, £1,968,000,000. Extraordinary Revenue, £158,000,000. Ordinary Expenditure, £974,000,000. Extraordinary Expenditure, £65,000,000. Leaving a balance of £177,000,000.

Of this balance it was expected that £97,000,000 would be absorbed by subsidies to the railway companies in connection with the Government control of the railways during the war, and expenses connected with the coal stoppage. This estimate had been exceeded by £20,000,000.

£97,000,000 for Coal and Railway Kings and £5,000,000 for Unemployed. Compare the vast sum of £97,000,000 spent directly to indemnify capitalists and to protect capitalists

with the paltry £5,000,000 doled out to the dependents of the unemployed! And even this £97,000,000 was not enough!

The remaining £80,000,000 of the surplus it was intended to spend on sinking fund charges or, in other words, the repayment of National Debt, £20,000,000, as we have just seen, was stopped off that; it came down to £60,000,000, but that is not all; the £80,000,000 disappears altogether. Less revenue than was anticipated will be secured from the stamp duty, the excess profits duty, and other sources. The revenue of next year, says the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will be much less than the present. The interest on the American debt has been postponed three years; but will begin next year. That will be a considerable charge—£50,000,000 a year. He hoped his reference to the debt to America would not be "made the occasion of any discussion of inter-allied indebtedness. It does not conduce to the friendliness of feeling between the great Commonwealth of the U.S. and ourselves to discuss the matter at all at present."

WASHINGTON. The Disarmament Pretence.

How far from indicating any tendency in the direction of disarmament is the Washington Conference was shown by Mr. Balfour's suggestion that instead of a 1st year's naval holiday there should be a limited annual replacement of obsolete ships to keep the armament firms at work. France's insistence on maintaining her 800,000 soldiers and Poland's 600,000, is another proof that disarmament is not even contemplated as a remote future possibility by the capitalist powers. The French statement that these armies are required for use against Germany and Russia is true enough—against the German Soviets and Russian Soviets!

The people do not know what the powers have decided regarding the East, because the Conference went into secret session, precisely that the people might not know what their governments were doing. As the main purpose of the Conference is really the exploitation of the East, the main business of the Conference is therefore secret.

There is little doubt that both British and American capitalism considers Japan as too large a power in China, too many preferential opportunities for capturing the Irish spoils of that vast land. Lord Northcliffe, in Peking, has been professing great sympathy for Chinese independence, and his papers denounce the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which gives Japan more power in China than he thinks fit.

The pretence of desiring Chinese freedom made by the Powers are wholly hypocritical; the Powers destroyed the Chinese democratic revolution, financed the dictator Yuan, who broke the power of the new Chinese Parliament by murder and terrorism. The Powers still support the Northern Government, which has a President and Cabinet, but no Parliament, against the Parliament of the South, which they refuse to recognise.

At Washington the Powers are discussing whether to let China sink more deeply into financial difficulties till a crisis is reached, or to lend further sums to the autocratic usurpers of the North, in return for which the Powers will demand large security and the right to supervise Chinese expenditure. Japan and America are China's largest creditors; Japan, because she seeks territorial expansion; whilst America, till lately, has not cared for it, has hitherto been far the more aggressive in her treatment of the unfortunate debtor. What step is taken by the Powers will be in the direction of the further subjugation and exploitation of China and the crushing of all democratic tendencies within her. If America is to be given the larger share of the spoils in China; then Britain will claim compensation in some other field. Capitalist diplomacy is not changed one whit, in spite of all the talk that arose during the war.

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RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

REVOLUTIONS AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA. By Jack Nichol. S.L.P., 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow. Gives some interesting items of information about many great people who have made a mark in history. The argument is that a middle or upper class training and upbringing is not necessary to achieve greatness or to serve the revolution. Quite so; the majority of people belong to the poor and lowly, and from the majority of the people have sprung many geniuses, many inventors, many pioneers, and an advantage to have plenty to eat in childhood and an education the best of its kind; but there are many sorts of education. Nevertheless, this is not a hobby to ride to death. Shakespeare, whom the author cites as of working-class origin, may have been Lord Bacon, Marx was of well-to-do family, Lenin comes of the nobility. We must not scorn the sciences that the schools can teach till we are able to substitute something better. If one wants to be a doctor it is as well to go to the medical schools. The author says that grammar and mathematics are of relative unimportance to the revolution, but mathematics is used in many practical problems that the proletarians will have to tackle when it comes to administer the Communist community, and even poor grammar need not be too coldly scorned. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that comrades who have had the education of the workshop are as valuable to the revolution as those who have had the education of the schools. The former will, in many cases, make the better revolutionaries, for it is undoubtedly true that the mass of the professional and upper classes find their temporary immediate interests opposed to the proletarian revolution, and, broadly speaking, the working-class must emancipate itself.

As to one point we are emphatic, experience of bourgeois political methods and policies cannot help communists, except in so far as such experience may deepen their abhorrence of the capitalist system.

THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Has published an interesting report by its delegate to the Red Trade Union International Congress in Moscow. From this report we call the following amusing and instructive passages:—"Names of the proposed members of the Presidium were read out; and the Chairman asked if anyone objected to any name on the list?"

"The representative of the North American Lumber Workers' Industrial Union objected to a representative of American Federation of Labour being appointed to Presidium, claiming that he represented nothing else but a group of reactionary, pure and simple, craft unions, and therefore should not be allowed to sit on Presidium."

"Hans Reinstein (official translator): 'The comrade who has just spoken represents a small fraction of the labour movement of the northern part of America. I want to tell you, as secretary, that the comrade refused to explain to us the principles of his organisation. Credentials Committee decided to grant him an advisory voice, but no vote. Realising that there was no information about the importance of this organisation, he protested in the name of the Canadian N. American organisation which he represents against the appointment of Comrade K— to the Presidium.'"

"Lozovsky: 'We will vote. Any objection?' It must be remembered that some members of the Congress officially represented their organisations, whilst others were merely members of certain organisations coming as individuals without mandate. The W.I.I.U. report does not make this clear, but certainly the American Federation of Labour "representative" was no representative, but an unmandated individual. The A.F. of L., as our readers are aware, is the organisation of which Samuel Gompers is the head, an organisation which still boasts that its members belong to both capitalist parties, and that it takes no side in politics. The A.F. of L. is more reactionary than the Trade Union Congress of more than 30 years ago."

The North American Lumber Workers' representative, on the other hand, was probably a duly accredited delegate of his organisation.

Later on:—"Comrade W—, I.W.W., America, got the floor, and protested against credentials being granted to most of the American delegates, claiming that one represented nobody but themselves, that one represented the Labour Council of New York, and he 'doesn't know the name of the secretary of the body.' Another claimed to represent a minority in the A.F. of L., and if all were going to represent minorities, and all claim representation, 'well, God knows where we'll get to.'"

The W.I.I.U. delegate, as his organisation only numbered 250, was admitted in a consultative capacity only as an External delegate. He was not permitted to speak. The same thing happened to the American delegate from the same body, which is, we believe, more numerous.

There is another interesting passage:—"Comrade B—, Germany of the economic organisation, which is the industrial expression of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, declared that he wanted to get out of the old bodies and construct new ones along industrial lines; the policy of nuclei operating in trade unions was dangerous, as they always discovered that the 'borers had been within' got flung out, and that experience had been met with so often in Germany that they were compelled to build their new organisation,

the total membership of which was now 250,000. He questioned the report's correctness in regard to Germany, where, he said the R.T.U.I. Bureau was scarcely alive." The German comrade is also reported as saying:—"The Russians were committing a serious mistake in trying to impose their tactics on the rest of the world. If the E.C. sought to dominate congress then he asked them to go ahead, but his organisation could not be dominated."

Comrade Lozovsky rose to draw attention of congress to a resolution drawn up by the B— group, Germany, and signed by the syndicalists of France, the I.W.W., and the Spanish syndicalists, asking that the R.T.U.I. refrain from taking any action against these organisations, as any action taken against them of the nature proposed, namely, 'that they disband,' would hamper the revolution in these countries, as these elements within their respective countries were the most revolutionary, declaring they were with the R.T.U.I.; but if the R.T.U.I. were not going to allow enough of scope they were going to form 'nuclei' within the R.T.U.I. This resolution was strongly condemned by Lozovsky, who declared that these undemand tactics were stabbing congress in the back. At this juncture a scene took place, the B— group jumping on the platform and assuming a threatening attitude. Chairman proposes that a vote be taken on the question, 'that the B— group be censured, and asked to be disciplined.' Vote taken, and motion carried."

As the W.I.I.U. delegate justly observes Zimoviev has written:—"Already in the pre-revolutionary epoch two tendencies were fighting for supremacy in the international labour movement—

- 1. The organisation of labour unions according to the professions;
2. The organisation of labour unions according to industry.

The first form was advocated by the opportunists, the second by the revolutionary Marxists."

Yet the present policy of the R.T.U.I. is to discountenance the formation of what it calls "ideal unions," and to endeavour to carry favour with and come within the old reactionary craft unions.

The R.T.U.I. and the Comintern itself is thoroughly illogical in its attitude towards its favourite "boring from within" policy where Italy is concerned. The W.I.I.U. report says:—"Comrade B—, Italy, was given the floor, and declared that Moscow didn't understand the internal situation in Italy. They wanted to work for the R.T.U.I. but the Italian work could be done within the Amsterdam International for Moscow than outside of it, saying that in Italy the workers approved of their attitude."

"Comrade Lozovsky replied to him, asking why they were here with a vote, and still remaining with Amsterdam. 'They (the Italian comrades) say they stand for the dictatorship of the Proletariat in a word, but not in the deed.' They were in legal marriage with Moscow, but living Amsterdam. It was peculiar that at the start of congress we got telegrams from the Italians warning the congress to be held in Reval or Stockholm. How could we have done any such thing? It was plain that the Italians didn't want the congress to take place. He criticised them for their indecision and uncertainty, saying that before they could break Amsterdam by remaining inside, Amsterdam would break them. The Italian workers were all right, but the leaders were all wrong. It was now a question of Moscow or Amsterdam, not Moscow and Amsterdam."

"The most amusing incident of the congress was that Tom Mann was put up to lecture the Italians on behalf of the Presidium. Evidently he felt his equivocal position, for this is how his observations are reported:—"He was disappointed with them, as they in England had always looked on the Italians as the foremost proletarian fighters in Europe. He counselled them to go back and get their affairs in order. He was sure they would come out on top?"

This is amusing from Tom Mann, who remains in the Labour Party, and would still be General Secretary of the Engineers had he not been superannuated, Tom Mann has one foot at Amsterdam and the other at Moscow; he is the last person to criticise the Italians for being in the same position.

* W.I.I.U. Executive Council. 3d.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A. H. (Carmarthen) writes: "Unfortunately I am working in the South Wales coalfields, I need not say more. Your articles in the Workers' Dreadnought prove you are well aware what we are going through down here. The majority of us are worse off than the unemployed; they are starving without working; we are working and starving. When, oh, when, will the workers wake up?"

BRITISH SECTION INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY.

Dear Editor:—There are three points in your criticism of election policy; you say—

- (1) Local boards have failed to solve unemployment, and small power to alleviate.
(2) For Socialists to attempt to administer capitalist law is tantamount to making themselves responsible for the system.

(3) For a Socialist to sit on a Borough Council is the same in principle as to accept a seat in a capitalist coalition government.

With these three foregoing statements we unequivocally agree. As to No. 2 we point out also that as we stand for the negation of its administration, logically, do not stand for its administration. We are in entire disagreement with your opinion that Socialists should take no part in elections to Parliament or to local governing bodies.

The revolution can be preached in the open, the Ballot, a conquest of civilisation, is being used by us to obtain endorsement for the revolutionary act of taking and holding of the means and instruments of wealth production.

A declaration at the polls for Social Revolution, together with the organised workshop strength, would rule reaction out of court, and speedily out of action. Without the might of the workers organised industrially into a Socialist Industrial Union, as represented in this country by the Workers' International Industrial Union, without such might the Socialist would be impotent.

The Ballot, therefore, admits of a peaceful solution to the social question, and to ignore such would be stupid.

In reply to your question: "Would the B.S.I. S.L.P. send one of its members to take charge of the police, the army or the navy for the Lloyd George Government, and thus assist in maintaining the order and security of the Capitalist State?"

We reply, No! Yours fraternally, L. GORDON, Nat. Secretary. 15, Forth Street, Edinburgh.

STINNES—WATCH GERMAN CAPITALISM.

It is said in many quarters that the great German capitalist, Hugo Stinnes, is endeavouring to bring about the bankruptcy of the German State. He is certainly endeavouring to avoid the payment of any great taxation which might befall upon his fortune if he kept it all in Germany, and to increase his power in every direction. He owns vast property in many countries: he has £1,000,000 in the Montab Gessellschaft Italy, £100,000 in the Swastian Metallurgical Society at Greinetz. He has formed the Pro Montana at Zug in Switzerland, bought several newspapers in German-Austria, acquired concessions in Chile, established factories in South America, is considering the purchase of the Cornish mining dumps, and has bought quantities of South Wales coal for his continental enterprises. He has put £540,000 into the Prague Municipal Gas Works.

Other German capitalists are taking similar steps to increase their power and avoid taxation of profits, and have acquired interests in Swiss, Italian, Spanish, Baltic States and other industrial and mining concerns.

GERMANY. The Political and Economic Situation.

By our Special Correspondent. In capitalist society it is everywhere the same. Whenever the Governments of the ruling class find themselves pressed to the wall and are in fear of a political catastrophe owing to the untenable economic position, then they call in their devoted and well-tried cat's-paws, the Trades Union (mis)leaders and Socialist political tricksters for their assistance in the awful, inevitable calamity.

In Germany the capitalists of the whole world—including the German capitalists themselves—are celebrating their great financial orgy at the expense of the working class, more than before! The Entente capitalists insist upon their pound of flesh on the basis of the London Ultimatum. For the present the demand amounts to about 112 milliards of mark. Including this enormous amount the German State Treasury shows just now a deficit of about 161 milliards of mark. The Minister of Finance declares that it is quite impossible to raise the bulk of this amount by taxes and duties, although this Socialist-Centre Government is well aware that the war profiteers, that is to say, the large industrialists and agriculturists, possess quite enough means in the form of income and capital to cover all the financial requirements of the State.

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THE ONLY WAY.

Things are going from bad to worse, Mr. Workman. You starve when you are unemployed, and many of you are not far short of starving when you are working. Some of the miners, in fact, have nothing left to take home to their wives when they have paid the wages of the boys they employ, at the end of the week.

Things are going from bad to worse, indeed! Your Union cannot do much to help you; unemployment amongst its members has depleted its funds, and perhaps a strike or two in which its members were beaten. Meanwhile, the employers are still cutting down wages. Some of you are determined to strike. We shall see a number of desperation strikes presently. The Trade Union officials say there is small chance of success. They are right.

"Why?"

Partly because the workers do not strike together. The London 'busmen are talking of striking. Are they arranging that if they do, the tube men will strike at the same time? If they do not, the strike will be lost before it begins; experience ought to have taught you that, Mr. 'Busman.

"You said: 'Partly because they do not strike together'; is there any other reason?"

Yes, Mr. Workman, it is a very big reason: it is because we are in a period of world-wide trade depression; there is a slump in buying and selling; therefore the capitalist is not in a hurry to produce goods; therefore he does not care whether he employs you or not, Mr. Workman; and if you won't work cheaply, he prefers that you should starve.

"Is there any way out of the difficulty?"

Yes, Mr. Workman.

"What is it?"

Change the system—put the workers in power.

"How?"

The workers must take control of the industries, the Government, and the forces that maintain the Government.

"How?"

Organise.

"How?"

Get together all the workers in your shop who want to do it; let them call all the workers in your factory, town, district, industry, who want to do it; form a series of committee for your industry, built up from the workshop basis. Let the organisations in all industries unite in one big revolutionary union. When you have the means you will be able to act. But remember you cannot do anything with an organisation of people who do not want to do anything. Only allow those to join who have made up their minds to put the workers in control.

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