# FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

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#### TENTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY. LENIN'S REPORT AT A Speech, much commented upon in the Bourgeois Press, given in full.

andid Admissions and Bold Criticism.

fter the speeches of the Fraternal Delegates election of the Presidium at the First ing of the Congress, reports were taken of work of the Central Executive Committee. ade Lenin reported on the political activities Committee. On rising to speak,

as greeted with loud and prolonged applause. Comrades, in my opinion, the most im-ant question of the day deserving our closest ant question of the day deserving our closest ation, is that of the transition from war to e. Probably all of you, at least most of you, remember that we have attempted this trans-several times during the last three and a years; but at no time did we complete it, use the vital interests of international alism are bound up with our failure. I mber that in April 1918, three years ago, d occasion to speak at the All-Russian Cen-Executive Committee, on the tasks confront-us then as if the civil war had practically e to an end when, as a matter of fact, it had just begun. You will all remember, that he last Party Conference, we based all our lations on this transition to peaceful con-tion, assuming that the enormous concess that we made would secure for peace. But that very April, the Polish bourgeoisie, in unction with imperialist and capitalist unction with imperialist and capitalist tries, interpreting our desire for peace as weakness, commenced their offensive for however, they had to pay very dear, in hey had to accept a less advantageous peace if they had accepted our earlier proposals. however, did not secure the possibility of sferring to peace construction, and we again to concentrate our attention to the war with and and the subsequent liquidation of agel. This is what our work for the year consisted of. Again the whole of our was devoted to the tasks of war.

ne transition from war to peace began again n we had succeeded in clearing every soldier stile armies from the territory of the Soviet blic. This transition caused a shock, the ffects of which we have not calculated.

#### The Difficulties of Demobilisation.

The Demobilisation of the Army, which we to carry out in the country and which carried it untold difficulties, has raised problems hare considerably underestimated. Here, very large degree, are the sources of the omic and social crises. Already, at the end st year, I had occasion to point out that one he greatest difficulties that would confront the crisical would be in connection with the in the spring would be in connection with the noblisation of the Army. I must say that that time we hardly realised the full extent of se difficulties. We did not yet see to what exmisfortune which had fallen upon the and later during the previous imperialist and later during the civil war, would tell the demobilisation. The country for years concentrated its efforts exclusively purposes, and sacrificed everything for it, y now, at the conclusion of the war, do cee the real extent of poverty and ruin which, a long period, will compel us to devote our gies merely to the healing of our wounds.

Undoutedly, the Central Committee erred at it did not correctly estimate the diffi-es of this demobilisation, but it must be said, there was no basis for this calculation, for vil war was so difficult, that the only rule 'all for victory on the civil war front.' the observation of this rule and the inthe observation of this rule and the in-ble concentration of effort which the Red



W. GALLACHER. Now serving three months.

Army displayed in the struggle with Koltchak. Yudenitch and others, could we have achieved the victory over the invading imperialists.

#### Errors in Calculation.

"From this basic fact, which determines a number of other errors in the growing crises I would like to pass over to the fact, that in the work of the Party, there were revealed a number of other instances of inappropriate and incorrect calculations and plans. Let us summarise our experiences in such varying fields as the progress of our Polish war and questions of food and fuel.

rapid advance on Warsaw. I will not discuss at this moment whether that was a strategical or a political error; that would it volve us into a too long discussion. In any case there was an and this arcse from and this arose from our over-estimating the superiority of our forces. To what extent this superiority of forces depended on economic conditions, or on the fact that the Polish war aroused the patriotism of even the petty-bourgeois elements, who do not sympathise with Communism, and certainly do not support the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a question too complicated to be discussed now. The fact is that we committed errors in the Polish war.

" If we take such sphere of work as food, we will see here analogous errors. With regard to the corn requisitions and the gathering of the corn duties, last year was much more successful than the previous year. Last year the amount of corn gathered reached 250 million poods. February 1st, it was calculated that we had gathered 235 million poods, when for the whole of the previous year we gathered 210 million poods, which means that for a much shorter period, we exceeded the amount of corn gathered for the whole of the previous year. It turned out, however, that of this 235 million poods, 155 million poods were used up in the first half of the year, that is, on an average of 25 million poods a month. Generally, we have to confess that we were not able properly to distribute our re-

sources when they proved to be better than those of the previous year. We were unable correctly to estimate the extent of the approaching spring crisis, and lent ourselves naturally to the desire to increase the rations of the hungry workers.

" It must be said, however, that even here we had no proper basis for calculation. In all capitalist states, in spite of disorder, in spite of the chaos peculiar to capitalism, there is a basis for calculation in the decades of experience, by which the capitalist states, similar in their economic construction, and varying only in details, could be guided. The investigation and comparison of be guided. The investigation and complete experiences reveals an actual scientific law. We experiences reveals an actual scientific law. We did not have and could not have had a did not have and could not have had a basis for our calculations, and, naturally, as soon as we were able to give the hungry workers an increase of food, we were not able to establish the proper scale. It is clear that we should have only moderately increased the rations and have stored up a reserve for the rainy day that would and did come in the spring. This was an error, the kind of error that is peculiar to all our work, an error which shows that the transition from war to peace would create such difficult problems, for the overcoming of which we had problems, for the overcoming of which we had neither the experience or material to go upon. As a result the crisis became more acute.

"Something analogous to this took piewith regard to fuel. This is the fundamental This is the fundamental question of our economic policy. The transition from peace to war, that transition and economic construction about which we spoke at the previous conference of the Party, and which comprised the main part of our work during the preceding year, could not but be based upon the supply and proper distribution of fuel. Without that, there can be no talk of overcoming difficulties or of re-establishing industry. The conditions in this connection were better this year than last there is no doubt. Previously we had been cut off from the oil and coal regions. victory of the Red Army, we secured oil and coal. At all events, the extent of our fuel resources were increased. We know that the fuel resources at our disposal were greater this year than last. But on the basis of this increase we committed our error, in consuming fuel to such an extent that we exhausted our fuel reserves.

"From what we have experienced, we should

say that all these errors are connected with our rapid transition from war to peace. It turned out that this transition is a much slower process than we imagined. A much greater preparation was required and a much slower pace

"Undoubtedly, the crisis was rendered more acute by the failure of the harvest. I pointed out that our work in the food department during last year gave us incomparably larger stocks than the previous year, but this, in fact, was one of the greatest causes of the crisis, because, owing to the failure of the harvest, resulting in an extreme shortage of fodder, which in its turn treme shortage of teme shortage of rodder, which in sum caused a great mortality among cattle and a deterioration of stock. The food requisition was concentrated in these places where the reserves of corn were not large. These reserves are of corn were not large. largest in the various border republics in Siberia and North Cancasus. But it is precisely in those places that the Soviet apparatus works less smoothly, where the Soviet power is less stable, and where transport is very difficult. It follows. therefore, that we secured an increase of our food stocks from those districts which had suffered from bad harvests, and this led to the agricultural crisis becoming more acute.

such a difficult position that we had no choice. A country which had gone through such a deyou really have no other way of saving your State from the landlords and the capitalists. We could not have acted otherwise under the canditions

"In this connection, there not have acted otherwise under the conditions which the capitalists and imperialists, by their war, imposed upon us. But these circumstances, owing to the prolongation of the war, led to such a deterioration of our agriculture, that the bad by the Council of People's Commissaries, dealing harvest was caused by the diminution of the area cultivated, the deterioration of the means of production, diminution of fertility, and reduction of labour power, etc. The failure of the harvest was tremendous, ye it was better than we expected. The gathering of the food, however, was accompanied by an acute crisis. We must carefully examine this circumstance in analysing our experiences of the past year, and the political tasks we should undertake in the new year.

derable progress. Certainly the Communist International at its first Congress was nothing more than a "proclamation," but now it exists as an independent party in every country, and not only as the advance party. Communism has become the central question of the labour movement as a whole. In Germany, France and Italy, the Communist International has become centre, not only of the Labour movement, but of the whole political life of the whole ountry. It was impossible to pick up a German or rench newspaper last autumn without seeing discussions on Moscow and the Bolsheviki, and now the 21 conditions of entry into the Third International became the central question of the political life of these countries. This is our gain of which no one can deprive us. The international revolution is growing parallel with the growing acuteness of the economic crisis in But if we were to suggest that in a short time help were coming from that quarter in the shape of a proletarian revolution, should be mad, and I am sure that nobody this hall would make such a suggestion. We have learned to understand during the last three years that basing ourselves on an international revolution does no mean calculating on a definite date, and that the increasing rapidity of development may bring a revolution in the spring, or may not.

" For that reason, we must be able to base our activities in accordance with the class relations in our country and in other countries, in order to retain the dictatorship of the proletariat for prolonged period, and in order, if only gradually, to extricate ourselves from the misfortune and crises which have come upon us. Only such an attitude can be sensible and correct.

#### Foreign Relations.

"I will now deal with the question of foreign elations. Up to the Ninth Congress of the Party, all our attention and all our efforts were directed towards securing a transition from a state of war with the capitalist countries, to relations of peace and trade. For that purpose we took various diplomatic measures, and proved victorious against undoubtedly great diplomats. When for example, the representatives of America or of the League of Nations proposed fact which later was exposed in the diplomatic press and literature of the whole world. But uld not be satisfied merely with diplomatic individual production. victories. We must have real trading relations.

"Here again we see that we made no proper calculations, but, on the other hand, we were in ing to a point where commercial relations were Social Revolution and the problems resulting beginning to some extent to develop. The question of trading relations with England arose, structive imperialist war and a prolonged civil but the war with Poland threw us back for a war, could not have acted otherwise than take long period. England was already prepared to the food stocks from the peasantry, even without giving them compensation in any form. We said to the peasants: 'Of course, you are giving your corn on loan to the Labour Peasant State, but you really have no other way of saving your State ment, with the result that the question has, even

"In this connection, there is is the question

with the question of concessions in a form most acceptable to foreign capitalists. By this decree we advanced towards establishing concession relations. The majority of the Central Committee accepted the point of view of the necessity of these concessions, and we will ask you to strengthen it by your authority. This is neces-sary, because we are unable by our own efforts to re-establish our ruined industry without the equipment and technical assistance from abroad. "Help from the Western European countries is coming. It is not coming a fast as we should like, but it is undoubtedly coming. I have already said that one of the greatest factors of the preceding period was the Second Congress of already said that one of the greatest factors of word in technique. In this manner we may be the preceding period was the Second Congress of able to catch up, to some extent at least, to the the Communist International. In comparison with last year, the international revolution has single person who soberly examines our present position can doubt that without this we will find ourselves in a very difficult position, and without the exertion of all our efforts, we cannot make headway. Negotiations with some of the largest trusts have already been commenced. Of course, these trusts, on their part, are not merely rendering us a service. They are doing this only for the sake of colossal profits. Modern Capitalism is not like the Capitalism of normal periods. I makes hundreds per cent, profits by taking advantage of its monopolist position in the world market. Of course, we shall have to pay very dearly. But we must improve our technique.

> On February 1st, 1921, the Council of People's On February 1st, 1921, the council of reopie's Commissaries decided to purchase abroad 18,500,000 poods of coal, and at that time our fuel crisis was already looming. We shall have to make yet greater concessions for the purpose of buying articles of use for the peasantry.

#### The Proletariat and the Peasantry.

"We must realise that in these critical condi-tions we cannot exist otherwise than by appealing to the village and get it to help the city population and to strengthen itself. We must remember that the bourgeoisie is making efforts to arouse the peasantry against the workers. Here we are facing political difficulties requiring that the ruling Communist Party and the leading elements of the proletariat should take the proper

"Then we must consider the economic tions involved. What is the meaning of the slogan of freedom of trade, which is now advanced by the petty-bourgeois elements? It is an indication of the fact that there are some diffi-culties in the relations between the proletariat and the small landowner, which we have not yet overcome. I refer to the attitude of the proletariat to the small property-holders in a country only from the point of view of maintaining tariat to the small property-holders in a country where the proletariat has been victorious and the State. but also from the point of view of maintaining proletarian revolution is developing, but where the proletariat makes up the minority of the taining the small farmers. We must strive to the utmost in this direction. This is the results of the small farmers. population, and the majority s made up of petty-bourgeois elements In a country like that, the population, and the conditions of these petty property-holders into social, collective, and Communal labour. This is theoretically beyond any dispute.

and on this ground, we based a number of our conditions which surrously the conditions which sur America or of the League of Nauous proposate that we should, on certain conditions, cease military operations against Denikin and Koltchak, acts by themselves are not sufficient, that only actual achievements count, and that these conditions of war, now we have to adapte ourselves the sufficient of the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have to adapt ourselves the conditions of war, now we have the conditions of war, now we hav achievements cannot be secured unless we have industry carried on on a large scale, and this industry affords such advantages as would make conditions of war, now we have to adapt oursely to conditions of peace. This question came before the Central Committee, and is closed small producer realise its advantages over connected with that of concessions-it is

"This is the position which all Marxians and

it. The feature which is peculiar to Russ the highest degree, is that we have here a tariat making up the minority, and a consider minority at that, of the population, while overwhelming majority consists of the peasa Besides, the conditions under which we hat usefend our revolution were of such a nature to have made the solution of our prob extremely difficult. We were not in a pos to demonstrate the advantages of large indu for that industry was ruined and dragging a very precarious existence, and it could no reconstructed without imposing various si fices on these very small farmers. We must crease production and so we need fuel, but fuel we must resort to wood, and that that we must count upon the peasant's he In critical times when there is a shortage fodder, resulting in diminution of cattle, peasant is compelled to render assistance t Soviet Government for the sake of that large dustry which as yet has given him nothing. is the source of the economic difficulties we in, and this is what compels us to give consi tion to this period of transition from wa peaceful pursuits. During the war we had to to the peasant: 'You must loan your cornthe Workers' and Peasants' Government. order to enable it to extricate itself from difficult position.' Now, in directing all attention to work of reconstruction, we is bear in mind that we have to deal with the s farmer, the small property-owner, the small ducer, who is working for the market, and continue to do so till large industry has bee tablished and has achieved a complete victo But this triumph of large industry is impossion the old basis. This is a matter which take decades, and considering our lack economic cohesion, perhaps ever more. Till time we will have to do business with this sm producer as such, and the slogan of free tr will inevitably come to the front. Prompted these considerations, the Central Committee cided to raise discussion on the question of stituting the corn requisitions by a definite and to place the question before the Cong to-day for your approval.

#### Corn Tax or Requisition.

"The question of tax or requisition came in our legislation as early as the end of 19 The tax law of December 30th, 1918, impoupon the peasants, tax in kind, which was, h ever, not carried out. The law was accompa a number of instructions, but it was applied. The conditions of war made it im tive that we take from the peasant all they c spare; but this measure is not at all suitable peaceful conditions of agriculture. The pea must have assurance that after having deli a certain amount of grain to the State, he have the rest left for his own household needs

"The whole of our industry was satura with the conditions of war.

"Taking this into consideration, we had undertake the collection of a definite quant of food without taking into consideration effect it may have upon our industry as a wh Now that we are transferring from question important question for us. We must give question of transferring to a tax in kind un Continued on page three.

realised as yet.

Those countries on the Continent of Europe which took part in the War.

Capitalism is not in a position to recover from flects of the war, and displays signs of rapid. Here, the bourgeoisis is incapable of assuring wage-slaves an existence in the framework of the system. The position is this: the bourgeoisie longer being supported by the workers, but it is forced to support the workers. European is are, however by no means inclined to be it with that kind of life. They react by sabotage, antinuous strikes, which certainly, though not g to an improvement in their position, yet tend ten the end of Capitalism.

England and the Neutral Countries of Europe.

The United States of America and Japan. countries are experiencing the full flush of ism, great export of manufactures, investment policy, serious preparations for the new World

Border Countries of the World Economic

Border Countries of the World Economic em; South America, South Africa, Australia and some parts of Asia. time of the war, thanks to transport difficulties countries were freed from the competition European industry and quickly developed industry, entering then on the stage of Big without, however, attaining as yet the stage italism.

ENIN'S REPORT AT TENTH CONGRESS. soberly. If we regard all these events from the

point of view of the class-struggle-and we shall ian government. The proletarian govnever be mistaken with regard to the relations between the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie means of concessions, may secure lf an alliance with the capitalist govern--we see it is a most difficult question, which, the advanced countries. The improve- in order to be solved and to secure the our industry depends upon these alli-without which we will not be able to provictory of the proletariat, demands com-plicated measures, or, to be correct, a whole ong the path towards Communism. On system of complicated transitional measures. The fact that at the end of 1918 we issued a decree with a predominance of peasantry, we on a tax in kind, shows that this is a matter that able to give the maximum maintenance engages the minds of Communists, but that, peasantry. We must secure the possibil-them to work freely. Our revolution is owing to the war, we were not able to carry it out. Under the condition of war we had to ded by capitalist countries. As long as in that position, we are compelled to resort to war measures, but we would be committing a great error if we drew the conclusion that xtremely complicated relations. Crushed tremely complicated relations. Crushed only such measures are possible. In the transi-war, we could not concentrate our attenestablishing economic relations between economic crisis, we must remember that it is easier to carry out the work of constructing a etarian State which has large industry, y ruined, in its hands, and the small who, for the time being have remained proletarian state in a country where large production prevails than in a country where small and who cannot exist without small production prevails. We must recognise the necessity for concessions to buy machinery eing supported by a certain amount of consider this one of the most important and appliances for agriculture, in order that, in of economics and politics for the Soviet exchanging them for corn, we can establish such ent at the present moment. I consider relations between the proletariat and the peasantry which will secure their maintenance under peace conditions." question politically summarises our in the time we concluded the war period ferred last year to a state of peace. riod is so closely connected with diffi-

which are so clearly reflected in the pettyis movement, that one must examine it

Turkish papers published in Constantinople have
to pass a triple censure—the English, the French,
and the Italian.

#### HE CRISIS IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM. By Eugene Varga

velopment (of of following groups :

I Russin

Capitalism, althought not entirely overcome, any case, already mastered. It still exists arm of smuggling, and in the form of peasant but above all in the ideology of the majority arrow-minded mass. Yet the essence of Capithe immediate exploitation of the workers private ownership of the means of production, ed out. In the same way, anarchy in producgenerally speaking, overcome, although pro-coording to plan has not, as a matter of fact, ised as yet.

IF HE WANTS TO STOP-DROP HIM!

The present crisis is characterised by the fact that the normal crisis of over-production in those countries where Capitalism is still "healthy," coincide with the permanent crisis of the capitalist disruption in the countries of the second group. The crisis began in that country which had reached the highest capitalist development, namely, the United States of America. Already in the middle of last year, news began to come through that in that country there were vast stocks of unsaleable goods, etc. In the course of the last decade the United States were changing from an agrarian into an industrial country. The war helped that process enormously. From America the crisis spread to England, where its first symptoms were seen as early as the August of last year. From there it spread over the neutral states of Europe, thence to France, and developed itself side by side with the permanent crisis of Central Europe, into an unexampled world crisis. The deeper causes of this must be sought in the contradictions of the capitalist system of production. The crisis of Capitalism as an order of society consists in the fact that the proletariat is not able or willing to be contented with its present position in life which, through the wastage of the war, has been pressed down to the lowest level. This forms the foundation of the Revolutionary movement in the broad proletarian masses. The latter could only be weakened through improvement in the position of the proletariat, but that, on the other hand, is only possible by way of raising production (the same problem as in Russia). For that reason, the capitalists. The present crisis is characterised by the fact that

is already so far progressed that the raising of pro-duction is a failure. If, after long negotiations, the workers agree to do overtime and production accord-ingly increases, then there is a block owing to lack of coal, waggons, etc., or the achieved result is cancelled by another big strike.

In the groups III and IV, they have succeeded, as a matter of fact, in raising production; the result, however, is no improvement in the position of the workers, but a terrible unemployment and closing down

of works.

The apostles of the Raising of Production have here, once more, fallen into the error of applying to capitalist production that principle which would be in general, correct. In general, it is quite right that the raising of production must have as result the improvement of the position of the workers, and of all members of society. That is literally correct for the present-day Russia; but applied to anarchistic capitalist economics, this principle means over-production, economic crisis, unemployment. In capitalist society, an increase of production means nothing more than that each producer or producing group increases the output of their own products, without in the least inquiring whether these products are in demand.

The economic crisis, going out from America spreading over the countries of Group III, is sharpe more than usually because:—

1. Russia has nearly ceased to come in as a buyer:

2. Even the countries of Group II do not come in as buyers, owing to their low rate of exchange which prevents them from satisfying the capitalists of Groups III and IV. The dollar costs in Poland 700 Polish marks; an English & sterling, over 3,000 marks.

After the war, the strong groups, Groups III and IV, strove to raise the purchasing power of the Group II countries by loans, yet the sums placed at their disposal in this way were simply wasted, because the break-up of their system had already gone too far for them to be assisted in this way.

Finally, the countries of Group V, the border lands f the world economic system, are still less inclined o be buyers, for the simple reason that they are eveloping their own industry.

Thus the campaign for more production ends in a terrible economic crisis, and nothing characterises the position better than the coal crisis in England. All the capitalist-inspired Press at the time of the miners strike, fook the greatest trouble to move the workers to an agreement which should make the rate of pay depend on output. They succeeded, and in December, the output of coal had increased greatly; yet by January already, the coal pits were being closed down one after another. As might have been foreseen, too much coal had been produced.

Organised capital is striving to throw the whole burden of the crisis on to the working class. The fall in prices is only nominal, famous concerns are going bankrupt all the time, yet for that very reason unemployment is growing day by day. This crisis will therefore sharpen the feeling amongst the proletariat and will bring the economic crash from Central Europe to the neutral countries and to England.

#### THE FOOLISH FIFTY.

If fifty men did all the work-And gave the price to five,
And let these five make all the rules
You'd say the fifty men were fools
Unfit to be alive.

And if you heard complaining cries From fifty brawny men, Blaming the five for graft and greed, Injustice, cruelty, indeed— What would you call them then?

Not by their own superior force
Do five on fifty live,
But by election and assent,
And privilege and government
Powers that fifty give.

If fifty men are really fools,
And five have all the brains,
The five must rule as now, we find;
But if the fifty have the mind—
Why don't they take the reins?
CHARLOTTE STETSON.

The Italian Communists will soon start the publication of a daily controlled by the E.C. of the Party. It will be called the "Quotidiano" (the "Daily").

#### OUR COMPETITION.

The closing date of our Pamphlet Competition has been postponed until April 30th.

# Workers Dreadnought

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#### THE STRIKE.

By the time this paper is out of the press, there will be hardly a house where the news had not penetrated; so momentous is the decision. Comments are not needed: the watchword should be: Solidarity.

#### STRIKE DATE FIXED. 10 P.M. FRIDAY.

The Railwaymen and Transport Workers strike at 10 P.M. on Friday.

Mr. Thomas, in making the announcement,

"Many other Unions have sent applications to join in the strike."

#### A WARNING.

Jaded Dame Rumour is about town, giving vent to men's individual fancies and forebodings. We hear stories about this leader and that. Of things happening that a sensible man would know could never occur. Therefore: don't talk, don't 'spout'; don't let yourself be "pumped."
Don't listen to what the other fellows in the bar have got to say. Why, you know it already

As the old woman said: "Put the washing out, and do the thinking job at home." Solidarity, not " gas

#### IN THE "LONDON."

Under a fitful cover—oh, those wicked artists! magazine, a well-connected monthly, with, we believe, a wide circulation, Mrs, Philip Snowden has an article subtitled: "The Tyranny

Illustrated, as the Contents Page explains, with photographs, and drawings by F. Matania.

Photographs and drawings in almost equal

To the delight of the incompetent, who is not able to see which are the photographs and which are the drawings, we see there fashion-plate young Russian ladies frightened by well-dressed bandit soldiers, who, very unbusiness-like, are stealing sausages and jewels and watches without

A Common Scene in Petrograd," depicts two ladies, with lovely faces, Mayfair-dressed, callously looking on a poor child laying in the

ow. The melodramatic effect is there, with utter

disregard to veracity.

When Mrs. Philip Snowden was a rising member of the I.L.P., still a Socialist and school-

mistress, she taught her pupils, we are sure, that Socialism meant a certain regard and respect for

To have condescended that a capitalist paper should embellish her writing with drawing pur-porting to represent facts which actually she did not see happening—is an action contrary to all the principles Mrs. Snowden pretends to profess.

It is an ungenerous, an un-ladylike action; not approved, we venture to say, by Mr. Snowden, and repudiated, we are sure, by all honest

#### DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Carried forward £28 9s, Miss Burgis 3s. 6d, Mrs. imley 10s., Anon. 6s. 10d., Mrs. and Miss Chap-ow £1, Mrs. Clarke 10s., Mr. Cornwallis 1s. 8d., s. Hirst 3s. 6d.; total, £31 4s. 6d.

#### NEW TURN IN AMERICAN LABOUR MOVEMENT.

An "Unemployment Conference" has been called for next Saturday. Eight hundred Labour Unions have been asked to send delegates. All the engineering Societies and a number of the Technical Associations have been asked to participate. What ever does or doesn't happen at this conference, a precedent has been established in the American Labour Movement which is bound to have incalculable results. Behind that call to the engineers is a story of engrossing human interest. It is the —not on the part of some captivating new leader, story of a new vision, a new hope, a new philosophy but on the part of a fast-growing group of the rank and file. BY CHARLES W. WOOD

I was allowed to attend a preliminary meeting on the condition that I would not write a up. I am sure that I violate no confidence in what I am going to tell you. The conference seemed to represent four distinct points of view, points of view which this year can be detected in almost any Labour gathering, but which would not have been found last year, or the year before.

It was the fourth point of view that the whole conference took eventually. All agreed that there was unemployment. When the cash saved by the workers during war wages gave out, what would happen?

to their point of view.

"We've got to educate the workers," declared irrepressible Communist. "We've got to seize opportunity to teach them the science of product asked a veteran Wobbly. The words were swe reasonable, but the attitude was one of uncompilising purpose.

"Look here," retorted the Wobbly, "if we work when the capitalism?" asked a revolutionist.

"Look here," retorted the workers," declared irrepressible Communist. "We've got to educate the workers," declared irrepressible Communist.

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The four points of view were briefly these:

(1) A period of business depression is a time to start up public works. The conference should bring all possible pressure upon the City Administration to begin building.

(2) Unpropleyment is consed by over-production works.

Unemployment is caused by over-production.

The thing to do is to curtail production.

Work fewer hours, go slow on the job making it necessary for the bosses to put on more

them together on the machines.

(3) Unemployment is inherent in the capitalist system, and the only cure is to overthrow the system. Seize the opportunity now and teach the workers the cause of their enslavement and prepare the way for a class-conscious "But the capitalists own the machines," "But the capitalists own the machines," disciple of Karl Marx.

an better."

All these arguments led to the Technical Socieces being asked to send delegates to the coming
onference. The following letter was sent to the
merican Society of Engineers, the Chemical Enineers, the Electrical Engineers, and the State Asociation of Architects and other bodies:—

eciation of Architects and other bodies:—
Fellow Worker,—An important conference on memployment will be held in the auditorium of he People's House, 15th Street, on Saturday, farch 5th, at 3.15 p.m. It is expected that this iill be attended by representatives of 8,000 Labour inions of this city and vicinity, and it is earnestly oped that the various technical organisations will so co-operate. Your organisation is urged to send wo delegates.

Constructive action, not mere talk, is the end night by this conference. The Labour Movement f America is getting a new vision. Unemployment,

Therefore it is with the utmost sincerity that we address you engineers and technical men as "Fellow workers." This is not a time for any battle of opinions, but for the clearest presentation of the industrial facts. You have a special knowledge of the industrial processes. We have the labour power eager to be at work. We are told that business and financial conditions do not warrant a full resumption of mdustry at this particular time; but to us the problem more and more presents itself, not as one of economics but of engineering.

Will you, we ask agani join with labour in this conference? Will you help us work out a practical plan? We appreciate that we are not giving you much time to consider such an important step, but the situation is so craical and the call so urgent that we trust you may find a way to take immediate action.

ment. If they can find a way which is con with business traditions—very well. If on the hand these fool revolutionists are right and ness can't be resumed in the old way—well, beings have got to eat."

MORE COMMUNISTS ARREST!

James Stewart, Midland organiser of the mumist Party, who was remanded without bails werhampton on Friday, will conduct his own fence.

The hostility of the unemployed to his was so great that it was considered advisation in the William of the problem of

April 16, 1921

"Look here," retorted the Wobbly, "if we work when the capitalist can't afford to have quit, we call it a strike, and it's the only we ever knew we had. But if we go to work they can't afford to have us go to work, that volution, and it's the weapon we've got to how to use."

meetings, etc., which were pool-pooled by workers. "Did you ever hear of labour-savin chinery?" asked one. "Well, what does it It means, don't it, that one worker tied up machine has ten times as much power as hin a hall. Let's get them together, but let them together on the machines. Ten thousand in Madison Square Garden have just ten the man-power. But ten thousand men in our fa have a million man-power."

revolution.

(4) We can't take any intelligent action until we find out where we are. We can't start up industry until we know how industry is run. Let us get the facts. Let us consult the industrial experts. Let us arrange a plan, if a plan can be arranged, by which the idle man-power can be applied to the idle equipment and the unemployed set to work to produce the things they want.

"How would you overthinov it?" the fourth group asked of the third; and to those who advocated lying down on the job: "Sounds like good business, but is it good sense? Can we go on getting more by producing less? This was tried an England, but unemployment is growing worse rather than better."

disciple of Karl Marx.

"Let 'em own 'em,' yelled a Wobbly. "I use 'em we should worry. What do I care owns a cigar, so long as I smoke it?"

"Do you know," I asked, "that such a plan to evised?"

"No," was the enswer. "how should I? I'm a plasterer; I'm not an engineer. But if the spreading the thing can't be corrected, it can't be all, and there aint any thing for us to do but led down and starve. But we can't be say that such a plan we want all the industrial brains of the country to the problem with us. up the problem with us. They aint ever it yet. Whenever a crisis comes along va lot about the working class getting toge own the industries; but what good will it to own 'em if there aint no way for 'em run?"

We don't care where an idea comes works. One doesn't have to be a rev

#### MORE COMMUNISTS ARRESTE

Men at Wolverhampton desired to take tions on his behalf, but this was not allow

"BUT TO US THE PROBLEM MORE AND MORE PRESENTS ITSELF NOT AS ONE OF ECONOMICS BUT OF ENGINEERING."

That is the keynote of the invitation. It is a safe guess that few people will detect anything of £200.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. You might have been shot" a Comrade said Magnetic Lenin's modest bearing "Please, Mr. Henderson, take the power" The Viewpoint of Western Industrialism—Twenty-five minutes speech to a tired audience—Chairing Lenin at end of Congress. Most of the delegates were Russian blouses, was held. Looking at the great entrance, against a world of enemies, appear to face the provided freely on application, after a few one sees a mighty staircase. To-day it situation with perfect calm and much humour.

In the great entrance, against a world of chemics, appear to face the days of waiting. These blouses sat less gracefully upon them than on the Russians, most of whom had grown spare and hard by long continued living on bare necessities and by strenuous toil.

Raph delegate was supplied on application with ring on bare necessities and by strenuous toil.

Each delegate was supplied on application with

5,999 roubles to spend.

The Soviet paper money is printed in various bright colours with the Soviet Arms—the sickle and literature. The Russian Communists are d hammer in the light of the rising sun, sur- indeed great propagandists! and hammer in the light surrounded by a wreath of wheat. It bears in six languages the motto: "Proletarians of All Lands Unite!" 5,000 roubles will buy only a the Czar's, Lenin, with smiling face, came quickly forward from a group of men waiting to quickly forward from a group of men waiting to a word with him.

Delegates were also supplied daily with eigar-ettes, matches, and cheroots. Russian tobacco for the pipe, which everyone reviles, and is a light greenish colour, was served out every few days. There were all sorts of attempts to get a and much competition for theatre tickets and

All this, and even the Conference itself, seemed like a vapourous mist through which one must peer to discover the real life of Soviet Russia.

One night, escaping from the perpetual stream of humourous anecdote which fell on one's ears at the Djelavoi Dvor, I went off down the banks of the Moscow river with Borodine, the translator of Lenin's "Infantile Sickness of

Big comets with long tails of light, and frequent shooting stars entrapped half my attention. Berodine talked of his long exile in London, and compared the dull visionless life of a British worker, mentlly starved, though perhaps comparatively well-fed, with the desperate, hungry struggle, lit by tremendous hopes and s that has brought Soviet Russia where it is.

In the great, panelled dining-hall of a mansion, now occupied by Communist workers, Borodine's meagre supper, a little piece of cold meat and a spoonful of rice, had been left waiting.

#### CHAPTER V. The Congress in the Kremlin.

But all this was in the yet uncovered future, when, almost immediately after my arrival at the Djelavoi Dvor, a message came: "Lenin has sent for you to come at once to the Kremlin.'

Commandant wrote out a little pink probusk. The motor car took me over the cobbles to the walls of the Kremlin. The Red Guards, five or six of them, checked the car to examine my probusk, and three times afterwards I was obliged to display it before I reached my destination. Once, later on, when I walked to the Kremlin to keep an appointment with Lenin, I was stopped for twenty minutes at the gate, because I had only the pass issued by the Conference, which was by that time out of date. nable to understand the reason why I was being held up, I ran past the guards with their rifles and fixed bayonets, through the open archway to the telephone on the other side.

You might have been shot," a comrade told

me later.
"What would be the use of shooting me; I could not do any harm?"

and the Throne Room where the Congress

ill-proportioned, but having a certain effective salutary for the Communist Parties which had not vigour. The walls of the corridors and ante-chambers were lined with photographs, posters was One of the American delegates said of

He seems more vividly vital and energetic, more wholly alive than other people.

At first sight one feels as though has always known him, and one is amazed and delighted by a sense of pleasant familiarity in watching him. It is not that one has seen so many of his photographs, for the photographs are not like him; they represent an altogether heavier, darker and more ponderous ma stead of this magnetic and mobile being:

Rather short, rather broadly built, he is quick and nimble in every action, just as he is in thought and speech. He does not wear a picturesque Russian blouse, but ordinary European clothes that sit loosely upon him. His brown hair is closely shaved, his beard lightish brown, his lips are red, and his rather bright complexion looks sandy, because it is tanned and freckled by the hot sun. The skin of the face and head seem drawn rather tightly. There seems to be no waste material to spare. Every inch of his face is expressive. He is essentially Russian with a Tartar strain. His bearing is frank and modest. He appears wholly un-conscious of himself, and he met us all as a simple comrade. His brown eyes often twinkle with kindly amusement, but change suddenly to a cold, hard stare, as though he would pierce one's innermost thoughts. He disconcerts his interviewers by suddenly shutting one eye and fixing the other sharply, almost fiercely, upon them.

I had been sent for to take part in the Commission on English affairs, which had been set up the Third International.

We sat at a round table in the Czar's bedroom. Lenin was on my right hand, and on my left, Wynkoop of Holland, who was translating the German speeches into English. Lenin has a complete knowledge of English: he more than once humorously pulled up Wynkoop for misinterpreting the speakers.

#### Bukharin, Radek, Zinoviev, Trotsky,

Bukharin, Editor of the Pravda, and one of the leaders of the Left in the Russian Communist Party, regarded the excited debaters from other countries with laughing blue eyes. Young and vigorous, he had the expression of one to whom life is full of enjoyment. In brown holland blouse with sleeves rolled up to the elbows, he looked like a painter who has just laid down his brushes. During Committee meetings he is con tinually drawing caricatures of the delegates, but no important point in the discussion escapes him. phases of the changing situation and discarded To-day he drew Wynkoop as a solemn, pompous

amongst the Russians. These men, standing and will therefore coment the largest number of

Zinoviev that he always talks to one as though

During an interview he seems generally bent on hurrying away to another appointment. An indefatigable pamphleteer, he was probably, even then, composing another Thesis; but he was ready to enter vigorously into the dis-cussion and to speak at considerable length when his turn came.

His voice is not musical, but he is evidently a very popular orator.

At the great meeting in Moscow's biggest theatre, which was the final demonstration of the Congress, Zinoviev and Trotsky were the principal speakers. Trotsky received by far the greater reception. Coming from the Polish front, with the fall of Warsaw to the Red Army daily anticipated, he was naturally the bero of the occasion. He spoke without effort, without any shouting, breatless excitement, but with perfect control and ease. Outwardly well-groomed, he had evidently an excellent mental equipment. He proceeded slowly and leisurely up and down the platform, with an ever varied flow of tone but he spoke so long that at length he tired them in spite of their great interest and admiration.

Zinoviev, on the other hand, held the people

to the last and finished amid a brisk round of

At the Commission on private affairs in the Czar's bed-room, Zinoviev sat a little apart from the table. He leaned back comfortably on a soft lounge. Beside him was Levi, of the German K.P.D. The French, the Austrians and others were also represented on the Commission. The Italians, characteristically, were unrepresented because they could not agree on which of their number should represent them. They were nevertheless present in force and took part in the discussion, Bordiga even presenting a Thesis

Obviously Lenin enjoys an argument, even though the subject may not seem to him of first class importance, and though the adversaries may be unskilled. At present he was in a bantering mood, and dealt playfully with the British delegates. The majority of them were objectors to certain passages in a Thesis now under dis-cussion, written by Lenin himself, on the tasks of the Communist Party.

Lenin and the British Labour Party

The passages in dispute dealt with the British communist Parties and declared that they should affiliate to the British Labour Party and make use of Parliamentary action. Lenin evidently does not regard either of these questions as fundamental. Indeed, he considers that they are not questions of principle at all, but of tactics. his opinion, is important enough to cause a split "It was a woman who shot Lenin!"

Radek, who was going to the Polish front in a few days, was also smiling and cheerful, with a to suspect that he has not been uninfluenced by ground with a piece chipped out of it, the road led to the private apartments of the Czar pressed by the absence of strain or excitement which will appeal to the majority of Communists. affiliation to the Labour Party (a question that confound and convert those of us who disagree may presently arise in similar form for decision with its author, and who assert that the Labour by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States), Lenin says :-

Millions of backward members are enrolled in the Labour Party, therefore Communists should be present to do propaganda amongst them, provided Communist freedom of action and propaganda is not thereby limited. When, afterwards, in the Kremlin, I argued

with Lenin privately that the disadvantages of affiliation outweighed those of dis-affiliation, he dismissed the subject as unimportant, saying that Labour Party would probably refuse to accept the Communist Party's affiliation, and that, in any case, the decision could be altered next year. Lenin and Parliamentarism.

So too with Parliamentarism; he dismissed it as unimportant, saying that if the decision to employ Parliamentary action is a mistake, it can

be altered at next year's Congress.

When, however, it is argued that Communists should not go into reformist Labour Parties of bourgeois Parliaments because they may be affected by the environment and lose the purity of their Communist faith and fervour, Lenin replies that after the proletarian conquest of power, the temptation to weaken in principle will be much greater. He argues that those who cannot withstand all tests before the Revolution, will certainly not do so later.

He is for attacking every such difficulty, not for avoiding it: he is for dragging Commun controversy out into the market-place, not closeting it amongst selected circles of enthusi

He does not fear that Communism will be postponed or submerged by the advent to power of reformists. Convinced that reforms cannot cure or substantially palliate the capitalist system. is impatient for the rise to power of the Reformists in order that their importance may be nstrated. When I talked wih him in the Kremlin, he urged that British Communists should say to the leaders of the Labour Party :-

Lenin on Henderson. yet we do not; therefore we cannot at present-take the power. But you, who represent the opinions of the masses, you should take the

In those days, news had come that Councils of Action had been set up to stop Britain declar-ing war on Soviet Russia in support of Poland.

Lenin declared that we should inform Hender-

son that he must no longer scruple to seize power by Revolution, since he and his Party had already committed themselves to that by setting up a Council of Action charged with the work of bringing about a general strike in the event of further war measures by Britain against Russia. Such a strike, as Henderson, Clynes and their colleagues had frequently themselves declared, would be a revolutionary act. The Labour Party was now committed to it.

Lenin said that the creation of the Councils of Action were due to a wave of revolutionary sentithe British masses, which had forced their Labour leaders to take some sort of action. That the declarations of the Council of Action failed to satisfy Communists, and that the Council was inactive, merely meant that the way feeling had not yet gone very far and had largely

The feeling of the masses rises and falls, he argued, in irregular tides; it does not remain at high-water mak. "We in Russia," he said, "seized the power

ment the masses had risen. When they receded from us, we were obliged to hold on till the next wave of feeling brought them back

Lenin argued, that in order to explode the futility of reformism and to bring Communism to pass, the Labour Party must have a trial in office. Therefore British Communists should affiliate their Party to the Labour Party and come affiliate their Party to the Labour Party and come to arrangements with it for the formation of a joint Parliamentary block and the mutual sharing out of constituencies. In addition to the Thesis under debate, Lenin had prepared and had translated, ready for the Conference, a book called "The Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' those in the workers' committee movement.

The Russians insist that the members of Trade Unions must also be won for Communism, for making the Revolution and for building Communism after the Revolution is made.

The Russians insist that the members of Trade Unions of the Copyright Act, 1911 (1 and 2 Geo. 5, Ch. 46). American copyright has been applied for. Provided acknowledgement is made to the Workers Dreadnought, Communist and Labour papers can reproduce for the purposes of propaganda any part of this book.

them in united action. As to the question of in Communism." This book was intended to members till they have joined the I.W.W. or the affiliation to the Labour Party (a question that confound and convert those of us who disagree Shop Stewards' Movement. Therefore they urge Party will in any case come to power, and the British Communist Party cannot dissociate itself too early and too clearly from the Labour Party's reformist policy, and must by no means enter into alliances or arrangements with it. We also assert that Communists can best wean the masses sses from faith in bourgeois Parliamentarism by refusal to participate in it.

Lenin and Trade Unionism.

The passages in Lenin's Thesis on Trade and Industrial Unionism, and Zinoviev's Thesis on Unionism were also the subject of hot debate.

Lenin and the other Russians of his school. regard the Unions primarily as agglomerations of workers providing opportunities for Communists to win the masses for Communism. The dis-sentients, who belong to the highly industrialised Western bourgeois democracies, are unable to detach themselves from the view that an industrial organisation is an organisation for fighting the capitalist employer. Moreover, they are most of them influenced by the view that, if the industrial organisations the workers are developing for themslyes under Capitalism do not actually become the organisations which will admin-ister industry under Communism, they are at least a training ground for preparing the v in the shops to administer Communist indusries on Soviet lines.

Russian Communists and Western Industrialism

The Western industrialists engaged in the daily struggle for existence under Capitalism, feeling the constant pressure of rising prices and the perpetual encroachments and demands of the employing class, regard the old Craft Unions as out of date and inefficient for the task of protecting the workers' interests, and are impatient with the Trade Union bureaucrats who think on the old sectional and palliative lines. The Western industrialists strive to substitute Industrial Unions for Trade Unions, and Shop Committees and government by the rank and file for the

All this seems of small moment to the Russian "Please Mr, Henderson, take the power. Communists. They have abolished the capitalist employer in Russia; and they wish to see him abolished throughout abolished throughout they wish to see him abolished throughout they wish to see him abolished throughout and they wish to see him abolished throughout they wish to see him abolished throughout and they wish to see him abolished throughout a present. .s little merit in securing improved conditions for the workers under Capitalism. They are only interested in the Shop Committees and extra Union organisations, in so far as it can be demonstrated that these organisms develop a revolutionary consciousness amongst the workers. As for the Trade Unions, the concern of the Russian Communists is to make revolutionaries of the Trade Union members, rather than to carry on a fight with them to set up a newer form of industrial organisation which may be more effici-ent in making the conditions of capitalist wageslavery less intolerable

The Russians have sounded the depths of the proletarian democracy, towards which the West-ern industrialists are striving. The Western Industrialists also have discovered that because a man has been a worker in the factory, he does not necessarily remain a democrat when he leaves the bench and becomes a Member of Parliament or a Trade Union official. But they proceed on the theory, in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, that a man must be filled with disinterested and intelligent proletarian solidarity if he has been elected by a shop Committee. The Russian Communists who have I'ved through the Revolution and know how frail a plant is opinion, which depends purely on environment, regard the vague unconscious proletarian solidarity on which the Western industrialists stake their faith, not a driving force, but as material which the forces of conscious Communists may drive and manipulate. The material provided by the rank and file organisation may be more responsive to Communist manipulation than that of the old Trade Unions, because the workers therein are more energetic and politically conscious. But the workers in Trade Unions are also part of the proletariat, and they are more numerous than

those in the workers' committee movement.

The Russians insist that the members of Trade

the Communists to remain in the Unions.

The Russian Communists are realists; they

develop their theories out of their experiences In their revolutionary struggle, they have had to use and to contend with great masses of people. Revolutionaries in countries far from the I lution are apt to underrate the magnitude of the task of breaking down the established order of society and building upone that is new.

The Western industrialists contend that the

Russians are unable to judge the old bureaucratic Trade Union of Western countries, and that they fail to understand how it is interwoven and allied with the capitalist system. Moreover, the British Shop Stewards and the American "Wobbly's" are obsessed by another idea; they distrust the politician who wears a black coat. distrust of the theorist, the scientist, the administrator is only less than their distrust of the capitalist. They insist on control by the manual worker at the bench; they will tolerate no talk of waiting till he is cultured, and they do not believe anyone is to be trusted even under Com-munism, who is not strictly controlled by the rank and file. The Russian Communists who have stuck unswervingly to their posts and their theories, at times in spite of the fickle and impulsive swaying to and fro of mass opinion, are mainly concerned with converting the masses of Society shall be under Communist control. They know that unconscious unawakened masses cannot exercise effective control, therefore the

masses must be awakened.

Whatever the merits of the rival contentions might be, the Theses of Lenin and Zinoviev, and indeed all the Theses and resolutions coming from the Russian Communist leaders, because of their great achievements, were certain to be adopted at this first anniversary of the founding of the

The Russians, although the 60 delegates of their Party had between them but five votes, like the British, could steam-roller anything they chose through the Congress.

We, who were in opposition on certain matters, nevertheless argued our case in thite of the hopelessness of the task, and Lenin argued gainst us, as though our defeat had not been a

The Congress meeting in the Czar's Throne Room the following evening, allowed me to extend to twenty-five minutes the allotted five stupendous task of replying to a Thesis and book of Lenin and innumerable speeches.

The Congress had lasted a month. As the speeches were delivered in various languages and translated, delegates streamed restlessly in and out to an adjoining room, where tables were loaded with slices of bread and butter and sardines, caviare, preserved meats and cheese, and saucers filled with sweets wrapped in coloured papers. Glasses of hot tea were always on hand there. Angelica Balabanova often had to complain that very few auditors were present to hear her translation. Giving but a cursory sketch of rambling ways rendered well and fully the words of those who had anything to say, though she was ill and very tired.

Artists sat amongst the delegates, making drawings of them or roamed about looking for models. Balabanova protested, as she always does, against such portraiture.

On the defeat of the English amendments and of the dereat of the English amendments and the unanimous adoption of Lenin's Thesis, with which, in the main, I am in complete agreement, the Congress ended. The delegates sprang up singing "The International," the Editor of the Italian Socialist paper Avanti! led the singing of the "Carmanol." John Reed and others caught Lenin and though he registed beinted caught Lenin, and though he resisted, hoisted him upon their shoulders. He looked like a happy father amongst his sons. (To be continued)

## INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

April 16, 1921.

The Slaves' Revolt.

The country, as I write, is on the verge of the biggest industrial upheaval in its history. A vash number of the slaves are in revolt against the attempt of their masters to reduce them to a bare subsistence level. The particular section of slaves known as railwaymen and transport workers have in large numbers voted to support the mine-alaves. It remains to be seen whether the Triple Alliance will adhere to its decision to fight together, or whether, now that the testing time has come, they will be demoralised by the lies of the Press.

The need for solidarity among the workers was never greater. Upon the victory of the miners depends the whole future of Trade Unionism in this country. If they are beaten—and unless their allies in the Triple Alliance tand united they will be—there will have been delivered to Trade Unionism in this country a knockout blow from the effects of which it will not recover for many a long year. Indeed, whether they win or not, it is plain that from now onwards the old idea of Trade Unionism will have to decide between two alternatives, namely, whether Trade Unionism is to become totally emasculated and innocuous—a kind of funeral and out-of-work benefit so-liety—utelly unable to maintain even a subsistence fodder level for the workers in the fiercer and licroer commercial competitive era now beginning, or whether they will take on a new role whose aim is the complete emancipation of the workers in the fiercer and licroer commercial competitive era now beginning, or whether they will take on a new role whose aim is the complete emancipation of the workers in the fiercer and licroer commercial competitive era now beginning, or whether they will take on a new role whose aim is the complete emancipation of the workers in the fiercer and licroer commercial competitive era now beginning, or whether they will take on a new role whose aim is the complete emancipation of the workers in the there will have to decide the emancipation of the workers in the manufacture of the

ultimate object behind this has been to render Trade Unionism harmless once and for all. And if the miners are beaten through the weakness, hesitancy and compromising tactics of the present Labour leaders, the defeat and demoralisation of the other big Trade Unions is only a matter of months.

An Internal Danger to Trade Unionism.

One of the gravest dangers to the Trade Union movement is the existence of sectionalism such as that which manifests itself in the separation of the A.S.L.E. and F. This union, although it has decided to assist the miners by a conditional use of the trains, is really a menace to the whole Triple Alliance. Its refusal to come out whole-heartedly on the side of the miners will have a baneful effect on the weaker members of the N.U.R. The fact that a large body of men—railway workers like themselves—are only nominally siding with the miners will act as a very bad example to these weaker unionists. It is time that the A.E.L.E. and F. combined with the N.U.R. against the common enemy.

Thou shalt not usurp the right of men and 27 per cent. of men and 27 per cent. of mone and 27 per cent. of men and 27 per cent. of mone, and 21 per cent. of mone nem, and 27 per cent. of the total number of ment. Party Standing.—Of the total number of ment. Of the October revolution of 1917, 36 per cent. during the period from November 1917 to August 1920 and the end of 1919, 30 per cent. during the period from November 1917 to August 1920 and the case of the value of the case of the August 1920 and the end of 1919, 21 per cent. in August 1920 and 1920 and 41, 31 an

A Fools' Paradise.

During the past few years many Trade Unionists have been living in a fool's paradise. They have been hypnotised into believing that the Trade Unionists were such sound institutions that even their masers had at last come to look upon them as an admittedly legitimate factor in industry. The leaders have been flattered, and banquetted, and pampered with ministerial posts; their decisions and opinous have been listened to by even their opponents with a kind of respect that has led many workers to believe that it only needed a few more tears before labour would be taken over as partiers in the industry of the country. "Labour," they are thought, "is coming into its own, and will be workers—depends upon the result of this fight.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Far East and the English Treaty.

New Uses for Prisons

Bonuses in Kind.

s decided that each peasant who has delivered are than 50 per cent. of his contingent should eive as premium a ration of six months' salt, roleum, and manufactured goods.

Goods for Soviet Russia.

Goods for Soviet Russia.

The Greek steamer Marietta has arrived in Odessa th a cargo of coal and manufactured goods for oviet Russia. An Italian steamer has arrived in ovorossisk with a cargo of copper.

"Machowik" reports that in the territory of the ar East there are stores of tea estimated at about 0,000 pood, which do not cost more than 50 vict roubles a pound. The present crisis in China partially responsible for the impossibility of experimental propositions of the impossibility of experiments and the state of the suppossibility of experiments and the suppossibility of experiments and the suppossibility of the suppossibilit of the tea trade.

or de ca made.

reports that the Military Quartermasters' tment has sent 5,000 unskilled workers and sible officials to Siberia for work in the food.

Commissariat of Health has sent a group of and sanitary officials to Buchara in order their medical knowledge for the benefit of the

End of Martial Law in Petrograd.

in Riga.

The Norwegian Minister of Commerce, Brunn, declares that the signing of the Commercial Treaty between Russia and England has destroyed the last hindrance to the completion of a similar treaty on the part of Norway.

One hundred and two tons of different goods, including saws, telephone material, motors, etc., have left for Reval on the steamer "Heimdahl," from Stockholm, to be sent on to Soviet Russia. The shipment has a value of about 430,000 Swedish crowns.

The Composition of the Russian Communist Party

Trial of the Kronstadt Mutineers.

It is trial of the conspirators who did not such in escaping has begun before the Kronstadt of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the district of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Congress dealing with the social and Darty standing of the Revolutionary 92,902 on 11 per cent. women.

The following groups in percentages represent the social standing of the above number of party members of the Aussian delegate in order that they may be kept informed on the Revolutionary 92,902 on 11 per cent. women.

The following groups in percentages represent the social standing of the above number of party members of the Russian and objects, and also the activities of the Russian and percentages of the Russian and Frade Union International.

Trade Union Dranches have been invited to send a delegate in order that they may be kept informed on the remains and objects, and also the activities of the Russian and percentages of the Party, of which 82,797 or 89 per cent. women.

The following groups in percentages represent the social standing of the above number of party members of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and objects, and also the aims and objects, and the other lamb and properties of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also the activities of the Russian and percentages and also t

Thus workers, craftsmen, and those employed in home industries form altogether 64 per cent. of the

The sex division of the same groups gives somewhat different results. Of working men there are 45 per cent., craftsmen 6 per cent., peasants 15 per cent., altogether 67 per cent. The percentage of women is as follows: Working women 36 per cent., peasantry and crafts 9 per cent., making a total of 45 per cent. On the other hand, where

RUSSIA

Arcement in Georgia

An agreement between the former Georgian Government, and the former Georgian Government, whose shortly follow

Arcement and the former Georgian Government, whose shortly follow

Arm agreement and the Revolutionary Conditions of Contribution and the former Georgian Government, whose shortly follow

Arm agreement and the Revolutionary Contributes of Government and the Revolutionary Contributes of Government and the revolution of the latter occupy Batum. On their part the Bero of the l Tambov delivered should salt,

In the "Ekonomitscheskaja Schian," Stein writes on the question of payment.

In the "Ekonomitscheskaja Schian," Stein writes on the question of payment for the goods which Russia shall give ertificates for the fure delivery of certain commodities which Russia is in the position to deliver. In this way Russia would be able to import at once without having to export all her gold. In any ease, this gold would not be of any great use to the European countries who is of merchandise for Soviet Russia.

Trade with Soviet Russia.

Norwegian Minister

Norwegian Minister

Russia a minister

Ru

created this vast army to act as an empty-valve. During the great world-war, the bourgeois has created this army of Judases, with salaries ranging from £250 per year upwards. This, removing them from the status of the working-class, makes them "safe"—and that's what it is done for.

#### **Provisional International Council of** Trade and Industrial Unions.



#### OUR BOOKSHELF.

RUSSIA IN THE SHADOWS.

H. G. Wells. Hodder and Stoughton

This is undoubtedly a book for Communists, although a Communist, while reading it, may be kept in doubt as to Mr. Wells's real attitude towards the Bolsheviki. The great Revolution in Russia has had a very disturbing effect on the minds of many; so startling an upheaval has been too strong for certain types of advanced thinkers, and their mentality has received a staggering blow from the sheer unexpectedness of events and the bravery and audacity with which they have been tackled by the Bolshevik Government.

Reading Mr. Wells's book gives one the impression that this was the asmosphere in which ha found himself; yet in spite of himself, in spite of his Western prejudices, the book on the whole is a remarkable tribute of praise to the simplicity of attitude, the creative ability and the directness and honesty of the Communist Party of Russia. So marked is this principal acknowledgement of the nobility of the ideals which are the underlying driving force of the revolution that all his criticisms may be said to resolve themselves into custicisms of minor points and side issues.

Neither is the book without some glaring con-

Neither is the book without some glaring contradictions and examples of small-minded carping. Mr. Wells the prophet falls out occasionally with Mr. Wells the pournalist. If the Russian Revolution continues to be a success, or if it finally turns out to be a failure, he will be able to say, "I told you so," by referring to different parts of his book.

so, by referring to different parts of his book. He will dilate on one page about the narrow-minded outlook of the Communists, their indifference to science, art, education and culture, and then on another he tells you of the extraordinary efforts made to salvage the art treasures (Maxim Gorky is the appointed minister for this department), the wonderful travelling libraries, the excellence of the schools and other mighty efforts to which we Communists may point with legitimate pride as things accomplished under difficulties unparalleled in history.

We do not share his tearful lament and his professional pity for the men of science are Russia to any great extent. They have been no worse treated than any other type of worker, and probably the awakened social conscience has taught the Bolsheviki that these men do not possess the exaggerated social value which Wells attributes to them. What, after all, have the scientific professional workers been under modern civilisation but the henchmen of the capitalist class? Have they not provided that ruling caste with #s battleships, guns, bombs, and weapons of oppression and destruction? They have shown the master brewer how to make beer out of chemicals cheaper than from malt and hops; they have taught the textile boss how to make shoddy for the workers' clothing, and the wholesale food merchant how to preserve his doubtful fish and meat by doctoring it with boracic acid and other gentle poisons. Not for the good of the people, but for the profit of the money-

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#### "DEFENCE UNITS." **FORMING**

In the event of a strike spreading over essential industries, evidently there is a sudden arrest in the ordinary routine of social life.

In the keenness of the struggle, those may be forgotten who are less able to protect

Simply to stop production, without taking steps to procure, for those dear to us, the elementary necessities of daily life, would be a one-sided policy, maybe, a fatal one.

The wealth-producers should form "Defence Units" for the protection of the young, of

the enfeebled, of the expectant mother.

In every Metropolitan Borough and in every industrial centre, delegates from Trade Unions' Councils should assemble at the Town Hall and take steps for the allocation and the distribution of food and other necessities for the young, for the helpless women.

The formation of these "Defence Units" is o. first necessity in the present hour. The Trade Unions' Councils, although at the present without great influence, are, we are inclined to think, the working-class body best fitted for the purpose. They represent various trades, and those locally, and are in a position to know the needs of the poor better than anybody else, both from the point of view of the producer and of the consumer.

Officialism and "voluntarism" are good for certain purposes. They are the former to

Officialism and "voluntarism" are good for certain purposes. They are, the former too, the latter too amateurish, in time of crisis.

If you want goods moved about, you go to the carman and the railwayman. Goods are made by the workers in the factories, not by the shareholders at their annual meetings.

It is therefore to the experts in doing things—not talking about them—that the duty comes of forming Defence Units for the protection of life, of the life of the young: a thing far more sacred than property.

maker, has margarine been substituted for butter by these benefactors of humanity. Therefore, some of us besides the Bolsheviki of Russia may have reflected that peasants used to make clothes to wear and food fit to eat, quita successfully, before the era of scientific manufacture. The Bolsheviki have shown so much administrative acumen that before long scientific men in Russia will be employed in real service to the community instead of serving the private interests of profiteers. It is surely colouring the picture too pathetically also when Mr. Wells speaks of the musician (Hazounoff's lack of music paper as one of the woes of the professional class under the Bulshevik regime when we recollect that the great Schubert could scarcely afford paper to write down his immortal harmonies. Class sympathy will go to great lengths if he can score against real Socialism, as witness Mr. Wells's delight that Chalippin the great barstone refuses to sing unless he and his family can enjoy much greater constorts and luxaries than the average worker, artist, actor or technician. It would redound to the fame and credit of this great singer if he gave his services on the same terms as his suffering fellow-countrymen, seeing that the Bolshevik administration is doing its utmost to widen the artists' appeal by bringing the best music, opera, drama, art and literature to the whole mass of the workers. What nobler effort has eyer been made towards a better and more beautiful life for all humanity?

Wells has a low opinion of the Russian peasant on account of his superstitions, his illiteracy, bis

Wells has a low opinion of the Russian peasant on account of his superstitions, his illiteracy, bis worship and kissing of images. It would not be unreasonable for a Russian to retort, "Are you English any different in the mass?" "Does not your British public devour the spiritualistic articles of the Rev. Vale Owen and crowd round "haunted houses" and place "mascots" on its motor-cars?"

Wells, the investigator of education, has to admit in the latter part of his book the excellence of the schools both in quality and extent, though his earlier statements are coloured antagonistically by his prejudice against Marxism and all its devotees. He is not a humourist, but the story of his visit to a school where the children were so intimately acquainted with the great works of H. G. Wells appeals to any one with a sense of humour as a delightful instance of "leg-pulling."

When he attempts to be funny at the expense of Karl Maxx's beard he is a failure. It is so obviously dislike of Marx which produces this cheap and trivial attempt at satire. Ruskin, Tolstoi, Browning, Brahms and a host of other intellectuals wore beards, and they do not seem to have aanoyed Mr. Wells at all; one wonders therefore if Karl Maxx's beard came in useful as a hair-mattress for padding this somewhat scanty book (the last page is 153 and blanks between the chapters are counted in this number) and the price is six shillings.

A frequent question put by the simple-minded

in this number) and the price is six shillings.

A frequent question put by the simple-minded Bolshevik is: "When will the Social Revolution begin in England?" Our author puts this to the reader as a sample of their ignorance of international affairs, but on pp. 54 and 55 occur such sentences as: "The state of affairs we have seen in Russia is only the intensification and completion of the state of affairs towards which Britain was drifting in 1918"; and "For all I know, Western Europe may still be drifting even now towards a parallel crash." "Russia fell into its present miseries through the world-war and the moral and intellectual insufficiency of its rulang and wealthy people (as our own British State—as presently even the American State—may fall)."

On pp. 76 and 77 Mr. Wells can scarcely contain

On pp. 76 and 77 Mr. Wells can scarcely contain himself for glee that Marx's theory of the Social Revolution is all wrong, that it should not have begun in Russia but in the more highly-developed

capitalist countries like England, France and Germany. It was the clash of capitalistic interests in the West and the international character of capitalism which caused the breakdown of mutual trade and economic interdependence in which Russia shared. French and British capital had been cuested in Russia to such a degree that Russia could be included in the list of Capitalist States. That the economic breakdown happened sconer in Russia is no great proof of the falsity of Marx's predictions, as on Wells's own showing a similar breakdown was on its way in England or France if the war had continued somewhat longer, or as it may even now arrive.

On p. 48 we are told that "In regard to the

on p. 48 we are told that "In regard to the intellectual life of the community one discovers that Marxist Communism is wishout plans and without ideas. Marxist Communism has always been a theory of revolution, a theory not merely lacking in creative and constructive ideas, but hostile to creative and constructive ideas, but hostile to creative and constructive ideas. Every Communist orative ideas has been trained to contemn "Utopianism," that is to say has been trained to contemn intelligent planning."

panning.

After all this we are told what wonderful things these Marxists Communists have done, and are doing, in creative planning and intelligent reconstruction. Space forbids further quotation, but if carefully read the book will be found to be, in spite of its pages of feeble criticism, a remarkable tribute to the triumph of the Social Revolution, the truth of Marx's prophecies and the immense abilities of the Bolsheviki. Long live the Russian Revolution and its noble humanitarian ideals!

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