

Japan and the Revolution.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
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THE CAERPHILLY ELECTION.

There is to be a three-cornered contest in Caerphilly, in the South Wales coalfield. The Labour Party and the Communist Party are running rival candidates. The contest will be exceedingly bitter.

The attitude of the *Daily Herald* is illuminating because it must be remembered that the *Daily Herald* is supposed by some people to be a Red paper, a Left Wing paper, even a Bolshevik paper to which Third International money has been offered because its profession of Redness and of Socialism were taken seriously over there in Moscow.

The *Daily Herald* has come out in open and strong opposition to the Communist Party candidate. There is no longer any doubt that the *Herald* must be taken as voicing the views of the officials in power in the Labour Party on questions of policy where the official caucus intervenes.

The *Herald's* opposition to the Communist candidate was first displayed by its special correspondent, who declared that the Communists should come into the Labour Party as an integral part, and offer their candidate to be chosen or rejected by the Labour Party. The *Daily Herald* correspondent here overlooked the fact that the Labour Party has refused the Communist Party's application for affiliation, both nationally and to the local Labour Parties. Only if they were affiliated could the Communist Party become an integral part of the Labour Party.

The *Daily Herald* correspondent, in the *Daily Herald* way, made an effort to keep a foot in both camps (one must not offend the Reds, you know; circulation, circulation) by praising Bob Stewart, as a "good fighter," "everyone respects him" and at the same time coming down heavily against his candidature: "It is very strongly felt that this is no time to divide the ranks of Labour, especially in view of the fact that whoever is adopted would be bound to vote Left on any question of public importance, or of special importance to the miners."

What a weak, false argument for supporting reactionaries! It reminds us of the plea that Socialists should support Liberal candidates in order "not to split the progressive forces."

As for the pretence that whoever is elected will be bound to vote Left, the fact that a Right candidate will be chosen by the Labour Party is a proof of the absurdity of that assumption. Moreover, the cases of G. N. Barnes, repudiated by the Gorbals Labour Party, and Roberts, repudiated by the Norwich Labour Party, shows how easily a Member of Parliament snaps his fingers at those who put him there when he goes over to reaction!

But all that is merely the work of the special correspondent.

On August 8th, the *Daily Herald* came out against the Communist Party candidate in a leading article. Here are the most salient passages:—

"In our movement there must be wide diversity of thought as to method, and sometimes it may be divided on questions of principle. But at this moment we think everything, except absolute essentials, should be put on one side in order to defeat handsomely the Government's nominee."

"We desire this for the sake of our own people here at home, those millions whom Lloyd George and his Parliament of hard-faced men have so grievously betrayed."

"The same call comes also from our comrades abroad. So long as the Coalition is in power Russia



BILL HAYWOOD, U.S.A.

is not safe, nor indeed is any revolutionist anywhere safe. We want Organised Labour to realise that the millions in Russia are starving because the failure of Nature has been accentuated and made worse by the callous, brutal policy of boycott and open war which Lloyd George and his Government have waged against the Russian people. To drive this lesson home, unity, above all things, is needed.

"Caerphilly can, by giving a thumping Labour victory, send a message of good cheer to the toilers at home and of goodwill and fellowship to our comrades in Russia and throughout the world."

The name of Stewart is not mentioned in the leading article, and the statement, under the photograph of Morgan Jones, that "the seat will also be contested by the Coalition and by the Communists," shows that the Communist candidate is to be thoroughly cold-shouldered by "Labour's Own Daily."

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It is important to note that the *Daily Herald* claims to speak on behalf of Soviet Russia; the phrases are subtly worded: "The same call comes to us from abroad. So long as the Coalition is in power Russia is not safe," etc. The inference is that the call to ignore and boycott the Communist candidate, in the name of unity, comes from Soviet Russia; but, of course, it would not do to more than infer that, for repudiation from Moscow might follow.

The Caerphilly situation is one that gives food for stimulating thought. What would have been the policy of the Communist Party at Caerphilly had the Labour Party accepted its affiliation?

COMMUNIST PARTY v. LABOUR PARTY

Would it have contented itself with putting up its nominee in the Labour Party caucus, and on his rejection in favour of an anti-Communist reactionary, would it have joined in supporting the anti-Communist reactionary, as the *Daily Herald* advises?

Or would the Communist Party have persisted in running its own candidate, in spite of its affiliation to the Labour Party? If it did that, it would be expelled; that is certain.

Is this running of Communist candidates adopted to force the Labour Party to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party, or does the Communist Party intend to persist in running its own separate candidates? If the latter be the accepted policy, the repeated requests for affiliation to the Labour Party are not to be taken seriously. The Communist Party would do well to decide which way it is going.

And what is our position?

Our position remains clear and consistent: you are all aware of it. We say: do not affiliate to the Labour Party or enter into compromising alliances within it; stand aside: let it get into power and prove its uselessness and powerlessness. Stand aside warning the workers that the Labour Party cannot emancipate them, because it is merely reformist and will not sweep away the capitalist system when it gets into power.

We say, further, that the best propaganda that Communists can do at this juncture is to let the Labour Party continue with its effort to become "his Majesty's Government," and to tell the workers that all such shams must pass; that the way to emancipation is through Communism and the Soviets.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE WITH FAMINE

In order to help the hungry the Soviet Government has authorised the Red Cross to do all it can to relieve the distress. The Red Cross shall: 1. Purchase drugs, food, and fodder at home and abroad and distribute them among the sufferers. 2. Distribute the goods and money in the possession of the Red Cross among the sufferers. 3. The Red Cross has the right to make use of all means of transport without payment. 4. Erect food centres wherever necessary. 5. Give the population medical aid. 6. Make collections where desired for the benefit of the sufferers.

The Red Cross will work jointly with the Russian Relief Committee, which is sitting in permanence in the Kremlin, and jointly with this committee, form committees abroad and collect funds.

The committee has been given the right to conclude agreements at home and abroad, and to place orders for goods without any control on the part of the State. The committee is merely required to give the all-Russian Central Executive Committee an account of the moneys expended. All government institutions are obliged to show the greatest helpfulness towards the relief committee.

A decree of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee orders that all State institutions as well as the larger Party organisations are to send one person to the relief committee out of each five hundred members.

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LITERARY COMPETITION.

Subject: THE MEANING OF COMMUNISM AND AFFILIATION TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The essays sent in for this Competition are, on the whole, far too long, too rambling, and quite lacking in that clarity and simplicity which was especially asked for.

The writers have gone to considerable and highly commendable pains in this direction, but greater brevity would have enhanced the value of their work.

The Man from Jupiter. This essay shows a failure to understand what Communism is, and contains several grave errors.

It says: "Economic equality will be based upon a reasonable classification of the individual, upon the nature of the work, as well as the faithfulness of the worker."

This passage is wholly wrong in principle, for under Communism economic equality will be an absolute right, not subject to qualification or reduction.

In the next passage the writer refers to rates of wages, but wages under Communism will be abolished. That is essential to Communism, under which the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the books we read, and so on, will not be measured out to us: we shall have the use of all these things what we need; we shall never be stinted in our use except by an actual shortage of any commodity, and all the resources of the community will be organised to insure that there shall be a scarcity of nothing.

The Comrade who wrote this essay seems to have confused the State Socialist reforms introduced in Russia with what will happen under Communism; but Russia is not Communist yet. The Russian Communists, Lenin, Bucharin, all of them insist upon that fact. Says the Man from Jupiter:—

"Communism gives to the mother 8 weeks' holiday before the birth of her child, and 8 weeks after at full pay."

That is not Communism; that is merely the temporary makeshift set up in Russia. Communism gives to the mother, as to everyone else, all she needs for life.

The Man from Jupiter suggests a six-hour day, but the Communist work-day will be less than that.

The whole conception outlined by this essayist is that of State Capitalism and not Communism at all.

"Early in the Morning." This essay also is too long. It has many good points, but covers too wide a field. It contains good expositions of "History and the Worker, Bluffing the Workers, the Meaning of Crises," "The Weakness of Labour," etc.

Too little space is devoted to Communism itself, and the exposition is by no means adequate. The Chapter "Communism, Women and the Family," is exceedingly good.

Redhead. Redhead's essay is also too long, and covers too wide a field. It deals rather with "what Communism is not" than with what it is. It is an excellent description of the evils of capitalism, but not an exposition of what Communism is and of the programme of the III. International. It is, however, full of excellent passages well worthy of reproduction.

Derby. Derby, as he says, is in "deadly earnest," but his pages are an earnest plea for Communism, not an explanation of it.

"1917." 1917's essay is one of the longest—a book not a pamphlet! It has six chapters, the two last, entitled, "Communism" and "Ways and Means," are long enough to make an ordinary-sized pamphlet. This essay is in many ways exceedingly good and forceful, but it does not keep to the point.

Mary Ruby. Mary Ruby leads off effectively in an original style:—

"You cannot get a house in your country without paying rent."

"You cannot get a loaf of bread in your country without paying profit and rent, as well as the cost of flour and labour."

The essay contains a surprising number of useful facts, but it does not tell us what is Communism. Indeed, Mary Ruby has headed it, "World War or Else the Communist International. Other essayists could learn lessons in conciseness of statement from Mary Ruby, who is inclined to go to the other extreme—but the essay is a list of glaring facts, not an explanation.

Plymouth. Plymouth's essay is attractive: it observes shrewdly:— "We need that simple pamphlet. That there is anyone in the movement able to write it is quite another thing." This essay has considerable breadth of vision, and reveals a Communist spirit in its author, but it does not meet the test set.

X.Y.Z. X.Y.Z. leads off clearly with a definition of Communism from the concise Oxford Dictionary. Some essayists have evaded even a bare definition of Communism. This essay is comparatively short, but its style is rather verbose; therefore its 4,000 words

give a very incomplete presentment of the subject. Still it covers some essential points not dealt with by any of the other essayists.

Pencaitland. Pencaitland's essay does not begin well. Its first section, "The Problem stated," is incomplete and ineffective. The second section, "Present Productive Powers," is good. The third section, "The Capitalist System," requires some revision, but is satisfactory in the main, and commendably free from unnecessary detail.

The section on "Communism" is good, so far as it goes, but incomplete. The comparison between capitalism and Communism is also good.

This essay ignores the second part of the subject, the Third International: its conclusion, is rather weak. But it is the best attempt to deal with the subject set that has been sent in.

M.I.C.P. This essay is again rather too long, because M.I.C.P., whilst in part applying himself to the very difficult task of clearly explaining what is Communism, has, to a certain extent, run off on side issues, like all the other essayists except Pencaitland and X.Y.Z.

The Verdict. Pencaitland, M.I.C.P. and X.Y.Z. are the only three essayists who have really applied themselves to solving the problem set, M.I.C.P. and Pencaitland have come nearest a solution, but neither essay seems to us to fulfil adequately the general need for a simple pamphlet clearly explaining "The Meaning of Communism and Affiliation to the Third International."

A satisfactory result might be obtained by the collaboration of M.I.C.P. and Pencaitland, with a few hints from "Early in the Morning" and X.Y.Z.

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