

# Kropotkin on Revolution.

# Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
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VOL. VIII. No. 37.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26TH, 1921.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

## COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(to be continued.)

### A BIT OF PAST HISTORY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then the storm of popular wrath broke loose.

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

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

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Things are going from bad to worse, Mr. Workman. You starve when you are unemployed, and many of you are not far short of starving when you are working.

Things are going from bad to worse, indeed! Your Union cannot do much to help you; unemployment amongst its members has depleted its funds, and perhaps a strike or two in which its members were beaten.

"Why?"

Partly because the workers do not strike together. The London 'busmen are talking of striking. Are they arranging that if they do, the tube men will strike at the same time?

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

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

"Is there any way out of the difficulty?"

Yes, Mr. Workman.

"What is it?"

Change the system—put the workers in power.

"How?"

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

"How?"

Organise.

"How?"

Get together all the workers in your shop who want to do it; let them call all the workers in your factory, town, district, industry, who want to do it; form a series of committee for your industry, built up from the workshop basis.

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Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, and printed by S. Corio at 10, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

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