

gain and if possible increase its productivity, and also to establish economic equality by the adoption of some simple method, whereby each Communal member can freely interpret his or her needs?

Turning again to Capitalist Society we find the greatest difficulty of the capitalist is to dispose of his products. This difficulty of finding markets is due to the enormous ratio between the surplus exchange value and of the products produced by the producing workers, and the exchange value paid to them as wages. In other words, not only are the producing workers unable to purchase but a small amount of the products of their labour, but the whole of capitalist society, with its millions of parasites, State officials, armies, navies, and non-producing wage workers, cannot absorb the product. Thereupon stagnation of trade and unemployment results until the glutted markets are relieved of the surplus.

Should anyone still be doubtful of the capabilities of man to produce under modern conditions, let him reflect upon the fact that for at least three years of the European War three-fourths of the populations of capitalist Europe, Great Britain, and America were engaged either as workers in the organized production of munitions of war or as combatants organized to consume them. Let him reflect upon the enormous masses of wealth produced by labour and literally thrown away in that mad struggle between the contesting ruling classes, and he will doubt no longer that within the Co-operative Commonwealth wealth can be made to flow like water!

Therefore, taking into consideration the productivity of man only as it is to-day, and also seeing that during the transitional period of the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism a definite standard of subsistence based on capitalist values and a definite number of working hours must be established, we are justified in stating that the following conditions could at once be adopted and would provide for the immediate needs of the whole population.

(1) A working day of six hours. i. e., 36 hours per week.

(2) A subsistence grant to all adults, represented in capitalistic values, of 7 pounds (\$34) per week.

And in addition a sliding scale of subsistence grants to the parents of children up to five, ten, and fifteen years respectively, and a subsistence grant to both sexes over fifteen and under 21 years of age.

The equalised standard of subsistence is reckoned in capitalist values for these reasons:

1st—It is essential that all individuals shall be able to gratify their wishes in realising the use value of the products of industry. Thus the progress of invention is unretarded and the human mind so varied in its likes and dislikes, is not compelled to adapt itself to some uncongenial environment of food, clothing and shelter, whose finality of horror is that determined by the capitalist class for the producers of their wealth. Accordingly it is necessary—at any rate during the transitional period—to fix a distributive value on the product, based on the cost of production in labour time from the source of the raw material to the finished product. Eliminating from this cost the expenses of transport and administration, the cost of production would be:—Raw materials and depreciation and repair of machinery, tools, etc., and factory and subsistence grant to workers of £7 per week of 36 hours labour.

2nd—The whole of the surplus products of the Communal Industries would be available to support those workers who will function as factors in distribution and the public services, the aged, infirm and sick, and the maintenance and education of the rising generation.

It must also be remembered that large numbers of non-producing workers, who do not function in production or distribution under capitalism, yet are fed, clothed and sheltered will, within Communism, be absorbed into its industrial life.

Taking all the foregoing factors into consideration, the production of the communal industries would be increased fourfold as compared with Capitalism, and the proposed subsistence grant of £7 per week would have a corresponding distributive value reckoned in capitalist terms of at least an income of £700 per annum to every adult member of the community.

Distribution of Currency Notes

The subsistence grants would be in distributive notes of decimal values or of the present monetary system. As already pointed out their use would enable each communal member to acquire any desired product, and also enable the Communal Industries to place a cost of production on their products. The cost of production value would also enable the Central Departments to arrange the necessary credits for the importation of goods of foreign origin and the exportation of certain surplus products of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The wives and mothers of families (who would also receive the subsistence grants of their children), the

aged, infirm and sick would receive these distributive notes from the Communal Note Department.

The adult workers would obtain them from these departments upon presentation of a voucher received from their units of industry.

These notes do not function as money. Under Communism, goods are not produced for sale, but for consumption, therefore the communal distributive notes do not represent exchange values but distributive values.

The Communal Industries

By industry is meant the entire work of the Commune essential to its existence.

Each unit of industry, factory, mine, workshop, agricultural district, fisheries, etc., would be managed in the communal interests by a workers' committee appointed by the workers within that unit.

Each division of industry appoints a Council elected by its workers for the following purposes:—

1st—To apportion the orders received from the Central Supply Departments amongst the units of that industry according to their capacity for production.

2nd—To requisition the necessary labour for each unit according to its requirements from the Central Labour Department, who in turn requisition the District Councils and in turn the Communes.

3rd—To safeguard the workers' lives and health.

4th—To manage the Industrial Colleges founded for education and research work, and invention in their industry.

The Proletarian Dictatorship

We turn from the discussion of the principles and methods of the Soviet Republic to an equally important subject, viz., the ways and means of getting it.

The present position of the working-class is as follows:—

Politically they are ruled by the mechanism of law and order established by Capitalist Society for that purpose.

Economically, owning neither land nor capital they market and accept the wages and conditions imposed by its fluctuations.

With the exception of certain "Labour" Members of Parliament, who take their seats and impotently await the proposals and legislation of their masters, with the exception of their Trade Union fights with the employing class (fought singly, and either beaten in detail or getting concessions granted which have not in any way interrupted capitalist progression), the working class has never yet, as a class, attempted the fight, not merely against the capitalist, but against the system that produces him.

With the downfall of the ruling classes of Russia and the Central Empires, their position to-day is even more perilous than at any time during the war. Obviously the Government could not prolong its existence for another two or three years, its plea of national necessity existing no longer. Yet the economic problems created by the war could not wait, and the possibility of a Parliamentary election occurring at a period when these problems had become acute has compelled the oligarchy to act even against the advice of some of its most faithful adherents.

They accordingly dissolved Parliament, and selecting their nominees under the label of Coalition, they calmly inform the working class that these protectors of the rights and liberties of democracy await their franchise!

Their objective is evident. By hook or crook the oligarchy is determined to control political power. In doing so it is compelled to show openly at last that Capitalist Society is governed and controlled by a small ring of very wealthy capitalists who govern through a Capitalist Dictatorship in the interests of capital and not by the democratic votes of the people of Britain.

Yet, in order to establish a Soviet Republic, it is essential for the working-class to possess the political control over society that will enable it to abolish the capitalist mode of production. In other words the working-class must become the ruling class, and through a period of time—the transitional period—sufficient to establish firmly social and economic equality, it must function as a Proletarian Dictatorship over the whole of society and bend it to its will.

At present, at any rate, the capture of Parliament is impossible, for the working-class have no Parliamentary organization and the oligarchy will use every method to delay its formation; nor can Industrial Socialists, if elected, do anything: completely under their domination, Parliament acts and reacts solely to the will of the oligarchy, who directed its legislation.

Also it has been shown that Parliament will not function within the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Accordingly, to bring about a Proletarian Dictatorship, the working-class must form its own political machine on the same basis upon which it will form the Co-operative Commonwealth, viz., the administration of industry.

There is another factor in the present situation.

Millions of the workers have been conscripted, and although regarded by their masters as future industrial workers, they are still organised as part of the capitalist military machine. As members of the working-class, they function in its political machinery, not as workers in industry, but as soldiers of the army.

Therefore, the methods to be adopted by the workers of Britain in their struggle for emancipation is that adopted by the revolutionary proletariat of Europe.

The Formation of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils

These Councils have two objectives. The first is to construct the machinery for the control of industry; the second is to function as the masters of society.

The Workers' Councils have their embryos in the Shop Steward Movement and the Industrial Unionists Societies.

They can be formed as follows:—

The workers in each industrial unit of workshop, mine, agricultural district, etc., form a Workers' Committee. From these committees and Socialist organizations and committees of unemployed workers of a locality, say a Parliamentary constituency, is formed a Workers' Council, and from this Council delegates are elected to a District Council and Industrial Executive.

The soldiers form their Councils similarly within their units. Wherever situated they consult with the Workers' Councils, and the methods and details for taking over the control of society are discussed and adopted.

Throughout the whole of industry, throughout the ranks of the armies, the workers perceive that the war has shaken the pillars of Capitalist Society to its foundations. Faced with the economic chaos resulting from the transference of State-controlled industries producing munitions of war, to the capitalist industry producing goods for the market, the working class already perceives in the near distance the spectre of poverty which will presently stalk through their ranks. The capitalist oligarchy seek to reorganize their system. Compelled by the exigencies of the war to centralize the control of industry, they have so developed the means of production that it threatens to overwhelm them: either through the lack of raw materials, as at present, or later on, through the immense mass of products they will throw on the markets.

What are their chief proposals to their workers?

To return to the old methods of peasant holdings and allotments, thus chaining up the worker to a pitiful existence on the land, and incidentally providing cheap labor for the capitalist farmer, whilst within the industrial cities the glut on the markets is to be met by beggarly pittances of State relief to the unemployed worker.

These are the measures they propose at a time in the history of mankind when his knowledge of production can make wealth to flow like water!

Truly the capitalist class is bankrupt in intelligence and ideas. Their further control of society is inimical to its fullest welfare. As a ruling class they are obsolete. They must step aside and accept the new condition produced by the means of production.

The working class alone can solve the economic problem. In their ranks are the skill, technique, and ability for organization which shall cause the machinery of production to work smoothly for the benefit of every member of society. Prevented by their position as an exploited class from competing in the mad struggle for individual gain, they have not the lust for wealth and power which is so marked a trait of the capitalist class. Society is safe within their dictatorship. With the downfall of capitalism the necessity for exploiting new markets and new lands exists no longer. Thus the long series of wars and the conflicts of dynasties and peoples come to an end and mankind enters into a new and glorious era.

The capitalist class accuses the Communists of fomenting industrial discontent and class warfare. It is true, the Communists everywhere endeavour to show their fellow workers their true position in society. What the capitalists really desire is that they, as a class, should dominate society, whilst their passive, obedient wage-slaves produce their wealth and humbly receive the crumbs that fall from their tables.

Accordingly, they conspire to continue their domination. Meanwhile their press brazenly affirms that of all societies, capitalism alone is the best and the only possible.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their aims." They openly declare that only the abolition of Capitalism will end the poverty and degradation of the working class.

Workers and Soldiers of Britain: form your councils!

Let your watchwords be:
Social and economic equality! The land and the instruments of production for the people!

A Soviet Republic for Britain!
All power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils!