The Irish War.

Areadnought

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1921

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

OUR POINT OF VIEW

What is the difference between ourselves and communist Party?

Our differences are partly of principle, partly

to the second, we believe that we can do work for Communism by continuing the ers' Dreadnought, and we do not admit the of anyone to stop us.

the of anyone to stop us. Moreover, we disire to remain an independent minumist voice. An independent organ is a and against the corruptions, opportunisms and rannies which are apt to attend on Parties, and camies which are apt to attend on Parties, and opecially Parties formed, as the Communist rity of Great Britain has been, from the political conflicting tendencies, brought to-ther by outside pressure and largely composed persons as yet untried in the political struggle. It is described to the practice of putting the best person of the principle, must be shunned consistent that the there who desire to take part in the by those who desire to take part in the ion of revolutionary change. The past conly stretches out its tentacles to draw us to it; constantly strives to clog our minds A high order of mental courage ndependence is necessary to maintain always hard, steep path of the revolutionary. The ortable, care-free official position; the memapt to be amenable and trusting, if only re not asked to leave their groove, or to their minds with new and startling is: all these provide an incentive toopportunism, against which a constant spur

The danger of opportunism, from which an inpendent organ can help to protect a party, is cover inherent in those compromise tactics which the Third International declared itself which the Third International decrared testal its Second Congress in Moscow last year, and which it still remains committed.

We contend that the present policy of the Third ternational is illogical and unworkable, and, her the policy must be changed, or a new force at arise to achieve the workers' revolution outand to make Russia herself a Comist country.

Briefly, the present policy of the majority in the Third International is to secure numerous by striving to combine mutually cong policies

arliamentarism

Third Internatinal declares that ommunism will not come by Act of Parliament, at Parliament is part of the machinery of pitalism, and must be swept away; that the must be estranged from it and induced to the transfer of the transfe d armed power of the workers. Having laid all this down in the most unmis-

able fashion, the Third International goes on declare that Communists, though they must work for reforms through Parliament, must seek election to Parliament.

he only official reason given for this weak clusion is that the election contest and Parprovide effective platforms for Com-oratory, and that the speeches of Com-candidates and Members of Parliament

widely reported in the capitalist press. the Parliamentary speeches of Colonel went unreported after he joined the and the Communist Party, and that it

was only when he was in the dock being tried for his speeches outside Parliament that the Press gave much space to his activities. As for the communist candidate at Caerphilly his speeches not even reported in the Daily Herald. the point is of minor importance; But the point is of minor importance; the speeches of Lloyd George, Churchill, Asquith and the rest occupy column upon column in the capitalist newspapers: we Communists can never be given anything approaching the great and constant publicity in capitalist organs that is accorded to the idols of capitalist politics.

must find other means of reaching the r ear. Yet even were a candidate or popular ear. popular ear. Yet even were a candidate or Member of Parliament entitled to a verbatim report in the entire press every day, how flimsy a reason this would be for insisting that Communist Parties must, of necessity, take part in the political scramble for seats in Parliament; how miserably insufficient a reason for casting the fighting Communist Labour Party of Germany, and many more!

But there are other reasons, reasons not given in Theses, why the Third International de-mands Parliamentary action from the Parties affiliated to it. Two deeply opposed policies are affiliated to it. Two deeply opposed policies are represented by the Communist acceptance or refusal or Parliamentary action.

Those of the sincere and intelligent Communists who decide to use Parliamentary action do so because they believe they can thereby obtain swav over unawakened, unconscious they are not content, patiently, to gather a body of thinking workers, but desire to take a short cut by capturing unthinking masses.

An extreme instance of such opportunism is the decision that the Communist Party should seek affiliation to the Labour Party. Our Russian comrades fail to realise that the present Labour leaders cannot always count on the response of the inert masses in their Unions unless the issue a very simple bread and butter one of hours and wages. If the Communist Party could conceivably capture executive power in the Labour Party, it would have captured a gigantic machine would not move.

When we, who are against the use of Parlia-mentary action, argue that it is contradictory and confusing to declare on the one hand that Parliament is useless and must be destroyed, and on the other hand to urge the workers to put us into Parliament, those who have chosen the way of Parliamentary action, reply that great masses of unconscious workers still have faith in Parliament. Quite so, we answer, then we must undermine that faith; but appalled by the magnitude of the task of creating a body of conscious workers strong enough to effect any changes, the Communist opportunists propose to accomplish the revolution with crowds of unconscious

We, who believe that the revolution can only be accomplished by those whose minds are awakened and who are inspired by conscious pur-pose, have decided to shun the administrative pose, have decided to si machinery of Capitalism.

We have decided this because of the clear, unmistakable lead to the masses which this refusal gives, a lead, surer and more effective, because it is a lead given by action, not merely

We have so decided also because the refusal to compete for electoral seats means the cutting off from us of those weak and self-seeking oppor-tunists to whom seats in Parliamentary and on

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

the local government bodies are attractive be suse of the position they confer upon the holder. So much for our difference on the Parliament

ary question with the Third International, as officially represented in its Theses. Our differences with the Community of the omerany represented in its Ineses. Our differences with the Communist Party of Great Britain go still further, for the British Party does not operate the Parliamentary policy in the destructive sense laid down by the Third Inter-

The British Party has no representatives in The British Party has no representatives in Parliament at present; but it has many repretatives on local governing bodies: the policy of these representatives is not the policy of the Third International Theses. As we have already pointed out, during the coal strike, when the miners were fighting the concerted attempt of the employing class of this country to reduce the working class standard of living, the representatives of the Communist Party in Poplar were responsible for cutting dawn wages of brickresponsible for cutting dawn wages of brick-layer's labourers, painter's labourers, bakers, sewing machinists and others, as well as reducing the rate of Poor Law Relief to the poor and unemployed. Such examples can be multiplied by anyone who takes the trouble to inquire into the doings of the representatives of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the local Boards and Councils, up and down the country. Where, indeed, are to be found Communist Party representatives on local bodies using their position on the bodies in a revolutionary way? Where are those Communists? Let us hear of them. Echo. answering "where?" has long given the only

response to that urgent question.

We do not blame those "Communists" and Labour representatives who do not see eye to eye with us on this matter; we do not accuse them of bad faith or dishonesty. We simply say that they are not operating the policy of the Third International as set forth in its Theses. We exist to point out such facts: we shall continue to do so, and, in so doing, without malice, we shall educate the movement.

In our opinion, the use of Parliamentary action by Communists is illogical, contradictory and bound to lead to the lapses into rank Re formism that we see wherever members of the Communist Party secure election to public odies. These Communist Party members who bodies. These Communist Farty memoers who have been elected to public bodies, are simply trying, like the Labour Party, to secure reforms: they are taking no step to unhinge the capitalist system. Some of them may be more, some less, effective Reformists than the Labour Members, but they are doing precisely the same sort of work, whilst the Communist Party fulminates against all Reformers.

look the matter squarely in the face. We are for Revolution: we have done with Reand, leaving it altogether alone, we concentrate our efforts on bringing people to an understanding of Communism and to a detercontinued on page 6.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Miss Pye was a friend of Miss Mayence, and Miss Pye had just come back from Russia. Miss Pye had been to Russia with her cousin, a concessionaire who had gone over to negotiate with the Soviet Government, a means of making money for himself out of the necessities of the workers and peasants of Russia. Miss Pye's cousin was frankly a money-maker: if he had any politics, they would have been the politics of Capitalist Imperialism; but he was too busy trying to make money, to hold consistently to any political creed. He was usually against whatever Government happened to be in power, whatever Government happened to be in power, and was apt to wax enthusiastic about those occasional stunt politicians who arise into prominence for a brief space, shouting "anti-waste," or any other catch-cry that happens to be the rage at the

Miss Pye had generally agreed with her cousin's views and still did so. At the same cousin's views and still did so. At the same time, she had become a Bolshevik, or thought she had, for Bolshevism had taken her fancy, and the adventurous aspect of the Revolution had aroused her enthusiasm. Had she not been a Suffragette? That predisposed her to sympathy

Miss Pye had gone with her cousin to Russia; she had even attended Bolshevik meetings and conferences there, and had talked with Soviet

Miss Mayence was eager to learn what Miss Pye had seen, and she thought that Mr. Penman would also be interested to hear of Sov et Russia "Of course they have," answere to manage rations I suppose?" said Penman. "Of course they have," answere to manage rations I suppose?" said Penman. "Of course they have," answere to manage rations I suppose?" said Penman. "Of course they have," answere to manage rations I suppose?" said Penman.

Accordingly it was arranged that Miss Mayence and Frank Penman should meet Miss Pye for lunch at the Press Restaurant, in Fleet Street.

The two friends, for by this time Miss Mayence and Penman had drifted into a sustained struck the table. friendship, had looked forward keenly to the meeting with Miss Pye. Miss Mayence had forgotten Miss Pye. Miss Mayence had forgotten which we had a distribution of those masses of the still poorer with the had had the good sense to go to Russia, that she had had the good sense to go to Russia, that she had had the good sense to go to Russia, the masses of the still poorer and the masses of the still poorer and the good sense to go to Russia, the masses of the still poorer and the masses of th argued that she was a woman of high intelligence, in his opinion; he was prepared to receive her views with profound respect. Both went to Miss Pve as to an oracle.

brain a mass of conflicting tags of conversation, a veritable wastepaper basket of exaggerations, curacies, and ill-assorted, uncomprehended

Like most of the casual visitors to Russia, her food and minor comforts: pyock (ration) was the only Russian word she had assimilated.
"The people looked wonderfully well, but I how they live!"

know they were not well," she said. dourly. "I knew they could not be, because I knew what

food they were having."
"What was that?" asked Miss Mayence.

Miss Pye ignored the question and continued:
"What I was sorry to see were the class dis-What I was sorry to see were the class dis-tinctions. I assure you, it is as bad there as it is here: Russia is going right back to Capitalism; there can be no mistake about it. The preference is everywhere given to the bourgeoisie. There is

"Of course, the working people are much less civilised than they are here. You can't conceive how destructive they are. A friend of mine told me of a bourgeois family who had a fifteen-roomed the course of the co taken away from them by the Housing Committee, until they were driven into only one tiny room in the cellar. They begged to be allowed more, but were refused. The ignorant workers who were put into their drawing-room, actually brought their hens with them: imagine it, a beautiful room with a grand piano!"

"Did you see the people?" asked Miss Mayence.

"No, but I was told their name," said Miss Pyee.

"Mo, but I was told their name," said Miss Pyee.

"Mo, but I was told their name," said Miss processed the well-mannered Italian waiter of overcharging her, admitted her mistake without an apology, and curtly swept up her change, leaving nothing for the tip.

She had confined herself strictly to the items browided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecunious art students, who was provided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecunious art students, who was provided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecunious art students, who was provided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecunious art students, who was provided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecunions are lowering rates, and some of those Borough Councils are lowering rates, and some of those Borough Councils rates, and some of those Borough Councils rates, and some of those Borough Councils.

Some of the Borough Councils rates, and some of those Borough Councils.

So they are provided in the two-shilling l

"If there was no place given them to keep bills, their hens, and if they were poor people who had SI

my evenings and my Saturdays for three weeks.'

Miss Pye aggressively turned away from Miss

" A friend of mine works in the Commintern, she said. "She told me how disgracefully the shorthand writers, who took notes of a conference, were treated. They were promised certain payments and then told they could not have them: and they had actually spent the money by then; they had borrowed money to get extra clothes and shoes from the speculators, and they were put in a perfect hole by not getting it."

"Extra shoes?" asked Frank Penman.
"Oh, yes," said Miss Pye; "of course, they couldn't manage with the ordinary food and clothes ration! They were buying extra from the

"Other people have to manage with the

"Of course they have," answered Miss Pye: but these people had been promised the means

to buy extra: they were entitled to it!"
"Perhaps they ought not to have been promised it," said Miss Mayence.

"That does not matter: a promise is a se!" said Miss Pye, her voice raised, as she

"But I thought you complained that things were not equal: I thought you wanted thinsg equal." Penman objected.

nurmuring to herself.
"You can't have equality" Miss Pye Most profound was their disappointment: they found that she brought back in her dishevelled answered Penman, impatiently; " if you saw some of those people live, as I saw them, in their

"Do they live in trucks?" asked Miss May-

"No, I mean when they are travelling: Like most of the casual visitors to Russia, her impressions centred mainly around the supply of food and minor comforts: pyock (ration) was the only Russian word she had assimilated.

But that isn't their home life: that is just travelling under unpleasant conditions. One cannot judge people by that. Even if one could, one must begin some time: if people cannot get comforts, they are obliged to go without them; but when they get them, they soon learn to use them," Penman argued.

children.

coffee was being served to her companions de- machine guns.

THE GERMAN CONTEST.

Lord Beaverbrook, in the Sunday Express of September 18th gives the following graphic picture of Germany to-day :-

" Germany, threatened by enemies frontier, and menaced by raging civil dissenting within, where the central Government threate the Bavarian, which tosses its own three back; the Communists of Berlin organisi Monarchists of Munich, who retort with f zied preparations for the death struggle.

" After that, still in a bewildering compl ity, cross-threat and counter-preparatio Red in White Bavaria, and White in R Berlin, with all factions alike making ready fall on the central Government, even as th fall on each other.

" An army maintained at least to the lin the treaty allows; a police force as strong the Allies permit; hordes of officials in Ministries, splendidly trained material for improvised army—all with high pay and m nificent equipment; the 'Free Corps," we numbers no man can tell; a whole popula openly or secretly arming for a fraticio

"Multiply all this by the number Sovereign States which went to make up the of German Empire, and you have the picture of Germany to-day."

This picture is undoubtedly a true one. Mai of its features will be developed also in the country as Capitalism nears its fall and we a vance towards our own proletarian Revolution

But turn again to this Beaverbrook picture Does it not vividly illustrate how Govern rests on force and is maintained by force, in society of to-day?

Does it not show that the struggle for politic supremacy in Germany will be decided, not speeches and votes but by the practical portions.

and has broken away from the old Trade Uni "You can't do anything with this genera-tion," said Miss Pye; "you must begin with the and to throw themselves into the struggle for "Did you go to the schools?" asked Miss capture of power by the revolutionary proleta ayence.

LOWERING THE RATES.

gant as to indulge in the extra luxury of black coffee, which added fivepence to each of their bills.

She left the Restaurant abruptly, while the coffee was help extraord to her companies the transport under the label old guns, howit machine unserved to her companies the coffee was material, chiefly—ild guns, howit machine unserved to her companies the companies the companies the companies to the strength of the companies that the companies the companies the companies that the companies that the companies the companies that the companies that the companies that the companies that the companies the companies that the companies that

THE FIGHT AGAINST PROSTITUTION.

September 24, 1921.

COMMISSION TO FIGHT PROSTITUTION. y last year, at the suggestion of the Central if the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare, as organised an Interdepartmental Commis-Combat Prostitution.

Inter-departmental Commission considers that men's Sections should show the most active ely interest in this matter, since prostitution ourse which falls chiefly upon the women of opertyless working class. The task of the sections is to begin a general propaganda ed with questions connected with prostitution, is in our interest to develop the revolution domain of the family, to stabilise the relations in the sexes, to approach this question from cross of the working society. We shall dispose in the sexes, to approach this question from cross of the working society. We shall dispose in the sexes, to approach this question from cross of the working society. We shall dispose in the sexes, to approach this question from cross of the working society. We shall dispose the working society. We shall dispose the working society.

nists must openly acknowledge that in the unists must openly acknowledge that in the of the relations between the sexes a great, ched revolution is taking place. But this in has been brought about by the upheaval economic system and in the new role that plays in the economic activity of the workers. At present, in this difficult transition period, he old is crumbling and the new has only utily created, the conjugal relations between eas very frequently assume forms that are my and inadmissible in the interests of the ty. But in all these manifold variety of a forms, found in this changing period, there theless a healthy kernel.

theless a healthy kernel.

not only necessary to fight by practical with the causes that had been handed down om the past, and that still feed prostitution, to support the improvements in housing and tigle against homelessness, against negligent the of children, but also to accelerate the far resolute participation, the crystallisation foundations of the morality of the working fill in process of emergence and formation, e working class is only now consolidating its ship.

BOURGEOIS OBJECTIONS TO PROSTITUTION.

In bourgeois society the prostitute was branded and persecuted not for the fact that she did not engage in productive and useful labour, and not for selling her kisses (two-thirds of the women in bourgeois society sold themselves) to her lawful husband, but for the informality of her conjugal relationship, for the shortness of its duration.

The basis of marriage in hourgeois society was

for the informality of her conjugal relationship, for the shortness of its duration.

The basis of marriage in bourgeois society was its permanence and formality, its registration. This registration was for the object of securing proper inheritors of property. The absence of formality, the short duration of the relation between the sexes,—that is what was despised by the bourgeoisie in extra-marital relations; it was that which was branded with contempt by all the sanctimonious hypocrites, the standard bearers of the bourgeois morality. Can the short duration, the informality, the freedom of the relation between the sexes be regarded, from the standpoint of working humanity, as a crime, as an act that should be subject to punishment? Of course not. The freedom of relations between the sexes does not contradict the ideology of Communism. The interests of the commonwealth of the workers are not in any way disturbed by the fact that marriage is of a short or prolonged duration, whether its basis is love, passion, or even a transitory physical attraction.

The onby thing that is harmful to the workers'

who maintain their sad part, so intolerable in the Workers' Republic.

But is this defining element sufficient to make it punishable by law? In the Inter-departmental Commission the culpability of prostitutes, for prostitution, that is, for "purchase and sale," was rejected. There remained only to be decided the point that all persons wandering in the streets and deserting from work should be assigned to the disposition of the Commissariat of Rocial Welfare, and thence sent out, either to the Sections for the Distribution of Labour Power, of the People's Commissariat of Labour, or to courses, sanatoria, hospitals, and only after a repeated desertion by the prostitute; in other words, after evidence of malicious intent to desert, the individual should be subject to forced labour. There is to be no special culpability attached to the prostitutes. They are in no way to be segregated from the other bodies of deserters of work. This is a revolutionary and pregnant step, worthy of the first Workers' Republic of the world.

practically no results.

second form of prostitution, highly developed stremely extensive in bourgeois capitalistic set, also assumes a great variety of forms in marry (in Petrograd there were from 6,000 or segistered prostitutes before the revolution, is as a matter of fact more than 50,000 women actually practising prostitution). Prostitution clied by the Soviet office employees, in order ain, by the sale of their caresses, boose that to the knee; prostitution is recorded to by 30 of families, working women, peasant women, ire out after four for their children and sell bodies to the manager of the rations division der to obtain from him a full bag of the singular of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitution care and the prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control office. And there is an onal form of prostitute of the control of the c

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY.

The Central Organ came out clearly and resolutely against this conception of the matter. If it is proper to permit hunts for prostitutes, it follows that similar hunts should be made for such lawful wives as are existing on the means of their husband and are of no use to the state.

Such was the standpoint of the Central Organ, which was supported by the representatives of the People's Commissariat of Justice. If we take the factor of desertion from labour as the defining element of the crime, we shall have no other outlet; all the forms of desertion from labour will be rendered equal by the same punishments.

The factor of conjugal relations, of a relation between the seves is eliminated. That factor cannot serve as the defining element of a crime in the Workers' Republic.

BOURGEOIS OBJECTIONS TO PROSTITUTION. In bourgeois society the prostitute was branded

The only thing that is harmful to the workers' collectivity, and therefore inadmissible, is the element of material calculation between the sexes, whether it be in the form of prostitution, in the form of legal marriage,—the substitution of crassly materialistic calculation for gain, for a free association of the sexes on the basis of mutual attraction.

This factor is harmful, is inadmissible will cut a breach in the feeling of equality and solidarity between the sexes. And from this standpoint we must condemn prostitution, as a trade in all its shapes and forms, even that of the legal "wives," who maintain their sad part, so intolerable in the Workers' Republic.

But is this defining element culticat to the workers' required to the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its problem there are growing healthy, joyful, and free relations between the sexes. A new generation is prostive to the relations between the sexes. A new generation is proposed to the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its problem there are growing healthy, joyful, and free relations between the sexes. A new generation is proposed to the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its domain of the forgo

HOUSING IN NEW ZEALAND.

	V	Weekly Rents.		
	4 rooms.	5 rooms.	6 rooms.	
Auckland	13/8	18/1	21/7	
Wellington	14/6	18/7	22/5	
Christehurch	11/8	15/11	21/2	
Dunedin	11/8	14/6	18/7	
Cases of Overcrow	ding			

Workers Dreadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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WE CONTINUE.

Impressed by the importance of maintaining an organ of independent Communist opinion, we have determined to make a renewed effort to keep the Workers' Dreadnought in being, and

The issue at stake in the controversy between ourselves and the Communist Party of Great Britain, is whether the Communist ideal is to be associated with the soulless and narrow tyranny of small-minded persons in office.

WASHINGTON.

At Washington the Powers are to discuss the limitation of armaments on land and rea, and rules for controlling new agencies in warfare

lutely barren.

The great Powers will also discuss their oppressive exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific and of the Far East. The object of the the carcasses of their victims.

They will also discuss Siberia, where they want to get a foothold, and whilst they are in consultation they will doubtless make further plans

From this disarmament conference, in which the Labour Party is pleading to take a share, rivers of blood will flow and mountains of dead

Woe unto you, O hoary monster, Capitalism. slaughter at your bidding in many lands!

GERMAN GENERAL ON BOLSHEVISM.

General Ludendorff, when interviewed by a representative of the Paris Matin, said:—

"I consider, as I have frequently declared in detail, that the Bolshevik Communist danger is greater than is supposed in Western Europe. A successful fight against Bolshevsm is impossible so long as the greater European nations remain hostile to each other. deliverance of the Russian nation will only be possible when the great nations of Europe unite to solve the problem."

Will they unite at Washington?

SOVRUSSIA V CAPITALIST REITAIN

Lord Curzon has addressed a Note to the Soviet overnment, complaining of the breach of the Trade Agreement by Sovrussia, accusing Sov-Russia of anti-British propaganda in India, Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey, including: direct instigation of Indian revolutionaries, in which the Soviet representative in Berlin is in-volved: anti-British action in Persia: support of the Turkish National Government at Angora and offer to help it with money and arms: the refusal of Kemal Mustapha to approach the Entente Powers is attributed to Sovrussia: anti-British activity in Afghanistan, a promise of £100,000 a year to Afghanistan, the direction of Jemal Pasha's tampering with the tribesmen of the

The lepty of Sortias will doubles be that whatever may have been done was done by the Third International, which is an international political organisation, independent of the Soviet Churchill's cousin, Mrs. Claire Sheridan, he

charing that the Third International is "practically identical with the Soviet Government."

Meanwhile Tchitcherine has sent a Note to

the Entente Powers protesting against the French plot to use Poland and Roumania to fight Sov-

So come charges and counter-charges. The matter is plain: the lamb and the lion cannot lie down in peace together; fire and water will not blend, nor can Communism make alliance with Capitalism, Only an armed truce, constantly violated on both sides, could possibly esult from trade or other agreements between Sovrussia and the capitalist Powers.

There is no permanent peaceful half-way house the road to international Communism

Powers would make the payments of the foreign debts contracted under the Czardom a condition of granting famine relief to Sovrussia. If that ndition were satisfied, others would follow.

Says The Times :-

We have consistently protested against we have consistently protested against the action of the Government in negotiating with the Bolshevists as being at once immoral and futile. Ministers themselves have repeatedly admitted its immorality."

That is how those who vested interests in maintaining Capitalism regard Sovrussia and Communism: the deaths of a few million famine victims are negligible compared to the preserva-tion of Capitalism, in their eyes. If by leaving those famine victims to perish they can strike

Can anyone doubt that?

Is anyone surprised that it is so?

Meanwhile, with all the talk of "Famine in Russia," do not forget the famine in Britain.

Three hundred thousand people in insured trades have been out of work so long that they have exhausted the 22 weeks of memploynent benefit, and now they can get no mor Remember, hosts of people are workless who were not eligible for that 22 weeks' unemploy-

One hundred and fifty-six people stood in the lock in Liverpool the other day, arrested as the result of one little brush with the police at one unemployed demonstration: and unemployed demonstrations and these little brushes with the olice, are taking place all over the country every

IN THE GRIP OF THE CAPITALIST.

The American capitalist, Washington B. Van-erlip, who recently published in Asia an account successful concession hunting in Russia. pected for gold in Kamchatka and large portions of Siberia ending in the Behring Strait The British firm which employed him to prospec for it "staked a fortune on my expeditions," he says. That fortune was lost for he found no gold worth exploiting. He discovered, however, other valuable things, especially concerning oil, and that information he kept to himself. So nxious was he to keep his knowledge that he seems not to have committed it to paper. but took the precaution, as he says, "to tell my wife certain compass bearings on the Kamchatkan coast by which the oil areas might be located, and once a year she repeated these bearings to me se that my knowledge of Kamchatkan resource might not by any mischance die with me.

After the crushing of Denekin, Vanderlip decided to secure those oil-fields from Soviet Russia: poor, hard-driven Soviet Russia, struggling with the slough of primitive corruption in which Czarism had left her.

" Litvinoff was delighted at negotiating with American capitalists, and during the entire month frontier, and an attempt to establish a bomb of August last year, the wireless buzzed daily factory at Kabul.

The reply of Sovrussia will doubtless be that laid them before the authorities in Moscow."

Soon there was a rift in the lute: Vanderlip wanted a piece of Soviet Russia, rich in coal and il and fish, and he wanted in that piece of Soviet issia to re-establish Capitalism.

In his own words: "American capital, I ed, must be accorded in Russia the sam reatment it receives in America, or capital co not be induced to exploit Russian res

Lenin's arguments, on the other hand: " wen aimed at breaking down my objections to mitting in the concession any of the forms of workers' control that are being tried out in Soviet

After long weeks of discussion, the negotia-

t'ons were broken off. Then:

"At ten the next morning the message came
to my room that our stipulations regarding labour ere granted-practically in toto

Vanderlip had won: he gets the portion of Siberia lying between the 160th meridian at the Arctic Ocean. Behring Strait and Behring Sea for eighty years, and for eighty years he we establish there the labour conditions he please

The civil administration remains in the hand of the Russian Government. Over open within the concession, no Government sion of doctors and sanitary experts fo specified number of workers—guarantees required in all civilsed countries. In probability coolie labour from China and K will be used with an American technical staff.

RELIGION AND COMMUNISM.

Religion is the opiate of the people, sa ne Russian Communists, inscribing th motto upon their public buildings.

The Bolsheviki are right—religion attache the people to the old tyrannies with man

Religion preaches the unimportance this world, and its conditions; and call for the concentration of hope and energ upon existence after death. The great mai trend of the religions, because they are moulded and administered by a privilege this world, for contentment with o hardship. Bow your neck under oppr on and neither rebel, nor complain: sh thus your obedience to God, and you w be requited in the world to come. This the teaching of religion.

So much for the spiritual bonds with which religion binds the people. The churches have forged for them also innumerable earthly fetters.

The church is a main pillar of reaction ansbury is well-known as a religious m out the workers who are regularly connect with the churches in the constituency represented in Parliament are in the ma-nis opponents. Why? Because the acti-cies of the churches are directed again rim. The churches are for the establish er; for the rich against the poor. Bot established church and the dissenting ies have their roots in capitalism: the finance, organise and maintain the drawn from the employing classes. The chile Lansbury preaches religion whene e speaks, and makes of the Daily Here hat some Socialists have curches organizarish Magazine," the churches organize poor against him at the mothers' mergs, the men's P.S.A.'s, the children organization of the programment the programment of inday schools. They regiment the ainst him, partly by telling them urch which can save them from the wrat come opposes his views, or the views those with whom he associates, which the declare to be impious. But they use at me time a more substantial pr little doles of money, the blankets, secondhand boots and clothing, the second churches keep their grip upon the poor.

THE IRISH WAR.

indications point to the re-opening Irish War at an early date, though sly both sides shrink from the horsponsibility of declaring renewed

ned impossible for either side to n the negotiations for the claim ilable demands was so strongly

the Government's determination Ireland within the Empire, as a the British scheme of dominion, itish navalism declaring that Ire-Britain's gateway to the Atlantic, diplomacy protesting that Ireland of be set free to make alliance, perialism determined that the f the Empire shall not be reduced, manufacturers desiring that Ireland emain a market for manufactured

in and the blood of freland's martyrs, a Catholic dislike of Protestant domina that he can afford to be seen any of the Irish tax payer pay the war debt, the ambitions of of would be officials, and, most practicular to the desire of the Irish class to make Ireland a manufactured, and to achieve this by means ffs which shall bar out manufactured from abroad, and especially from the British war debt; they leave the British in control of Ireland, they do not allow the Irish to nurse their industries by Protection as Sinn Fein desires and intends; they do not exempt Ireland from the British war debt; they leave the British in control of Ireland, they do not give Ireland to purchase only Irish made and to purchase only Irish made

The Indians, visionary and animated by great spiritual fervour, seek to bar out British goods by a voluntary boycott More materialistic, more modern and sceptical, Sinn Fein fights for the power to coerce

sim from fights for the power to coerce its people into supporting home-made wares. Lloyd George, on the one hand, Sinn Fein on the other, hold power by pleasing their supporters. Sinn Fein has the keener, less eagerly gulled body to satisfy, for its support is of a more popular character than that of Lloyd George, who depends upon the capitalists, who operate the press, and are usually able to govern the minds of the people through it.

of the people through it.

Lloyd George can make no compromise not agreed by his capitalist backers; Sinn Fein must take care to hold its public in

face of a host of jealous rivals.

When Arthur Griffith, the tactical leader a market for manufactured of Sinn Fein, the hope of the would be Irish manufacturer, the man of prudent character who stayed at home whilst others fought and died in Easter week, was appointed an egotiator at Inverness, it seemed that Sinn Fein might be willing to risk a compromise if the power to stimulate Irish industries by Protection could be safeguarded. Lloyd George's demand that Sinn Fein shall acknowledge the rule of King Fein shall acknowledge the rule of King Fein shall acknowledge the rule of King George as a preliminary to the negotiations be out of the Empire, stood Irish shows that he considers he has the situation and the blood of Ireland's martyrs, well in hand, as far as the British public.

rated. Vested interests in Britain do not like to make any concession, but they are aware that these terms do not substantially interfere with their power. Therefore the Times says that "Lloyd George has done the sight their in the sight was a substantially interfere with the sight them." right thing in the right way British vested interest do not wish to make any further concessions. On the other hand, the terms are such that, as they stand, without further re-adjustment, Sim

Fein cannot accept them without tremend-ous loss of prestige.

It is almost impossible for Sinn Fein to accept the terms because of its backers; it is almost impossible for the Government to offer better terms because of its backers; yet both sides shrink from re-opening the

Lloyd George would make a very adroit move were he to refuse further responsibility, and declare for a general election, in order that the electors might re-enforce his authority or put someone else in his

Those tools of reactionary imperialism, the illustrated papers, are at present making a hero, almost a god of Lloyd George: a while ago Asquith received their cordial attentions: now they concentrate on Lloyd George and treat him each base here. George and treat him as though he were representative of the nation, so that to the sheep-like reader it seems a patriotic duty to support him. It is probable that vested interests which have often considered throwing over Lloyd George in favour of another ool now regard him as a useful implement for dealing with Ireland and the unemployed. If a general election be called they will probably back him again under these

If a general election comes the Labour Party will increase its vote considerably; that will be all to the good. The sooner the Labour Party gets into power, the sooner the workers will understand the futility of Parliamentary Reformism; the The value of the terms is greatly over- nearer we shall be to a change of system:

THE MASTERLESS DOG. Translated by Charles Wharton Stork from Swedish of Hjalmamr Soderberg

are two kinds of dogs: dogs that have and dogs that have none. Outwardly ence is not material; a masterless dog fat as others, often fatter. No, the lies in another direction. For dogs, is the infinite Providence. To obey a his way, and concerns himself about Yet, on the instant that his master corner and his bone and his companions.

wing where, mourned him long; but passed and nothing occurred to re-

an died, and after he was dead no one after his black dog. The dog mourned one and bitterly. He did not, however, that he had ever had a master. He forgot that there had ever been a time when he would not have the head ever been a ti there has been a time when he would not to die on his master's grave, because and know where it was; possibly, too, he was at bottom a young and happy the was at bottom a young and happy and happy and that there was still someoutwardly, he got along fairly well. He lived as a dog lives: he stole a good meal now and then, and got beaten, and had love affairs, and lay down to sleep when he was tired. He made friends and enemies. One day he thoroughly thrashed a dog that was weaker than he, and another day he was badly handled by one that was stronger.

up the acquaintance; then continued his journey; then all at once he would sit down and scratch himself behind the ear with intense energy. all this is out of his canine head more and his course drove the hucksters out mple; for he knows that there is but that he must attend to. So, forgetting business manner he would proceed on his way and vanish around the corner.

g whose master died without the dog's how, and who was buried without the dog's without noticing it.

Then there came at last a gloomy evening. It of his master, he forgot him. He no was wet and cold, and now and then there came a shower of rain. The old dog had been all day on perceived the scent of his master's foot-in the street where he lived. As he rolled on a grassplot with a comrade, it often ed that a whistle pierced the air, and in astant his comrade had vanished like the Then he would prick up his ears, but no

wont he walked and sniffed, now to right, now to left. He took an excursion in at a gateway, and when he came out, had another dog in his company. Next moment came a third. They were young and sportive dogs that wanted to entice him to play, but he was in a bad humour, and furthermore the rain began to sleet. Presently a whistle pierced the air, a long and sharp whistle. The old dog looked at both the young ones, but they paid no attention; it was not one of their masters that whistled. The old masterless dog pricked up his ears; he was conscious of a strange feeling. Then came a fresh whistle, and the old dog sprang irresolutely first to one side and then to the other. It was his master that me and the side that was whistling and he must follow! Again, badly handled by one might see him run out along his master in his thoughts atte of the day, nor does he always follow his master's heels. On the contrary, he is about of his own accord with business- about of his own accord with business- about of houses, and does not be always follow is master's heels. On the contrary, he is about of his own accord with business- thing important to attend to; smelt, in passing any dog that he met, but was not eager to follow any dog that he met, but was not eager to follow and missiently as better.

Early in the morning one might see him run out along his master's street, where out of habit, he mostly continued to resort. He always ran straight forward with an air of having something important to attend to; smelt, in passing any dog that he met, but was not eager to follow any dog that he met, but was not eager to follow as metally as better.

When did it happen, yesterday, or perhaps only a little while ago? What did my master look like, and what sort of a smell had he, and where is he, where is he? He savang about and sniffed at all the passers-by, but for the third time, somebody whistled, sharply and insistently as before. Where is he then, thought the old dog, in what direction? How sprang about and sniffed at all the passers-by, but spring about and sinied at all the passers by, but none of them was his master, and none wanted to be. Then he turned suddenly and bounded along the street; at the corner he stood still and looked around in all directions. His master was not there. Then he went back down the street at a gallop: the mud spattered about him and the rain dripped from his fur. He stood at all the corners, but nowhere was his master to be seen. Then he sat down on his haunches at a street-crossing, stretched his shaggy head towards the sky, and howled.

Have you ever seen, have you ever heard such a forgotten, masterless dog, when he stretches his neck towards heaven and howls, and howls? The other dogs slink softly away with their tails between their legs, for they cannot comfort him and they cannot help him.

HJALMAR SOEDERBERG.

mination to discard Capitalism, and replace it

by Communism.

We know that the breath of Parliamentary intrigue, the breath of the Parliamentary intrigue, the breath of the Parliamentary Committee Room, the entire atmosphere of the House of Commons and the jugglery of political parties of Commons and the jugglery of political parties there, is antagonistic to the clean white fire of revolutionary Communist enthusiasm. Comrades who have not, like ourselves, come into close and wearisome contact with the Parlamentary who have not like ourselves are the active working-class Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists, who form the backbone of those movements, and who rally round them the rank and file of the workshops when feeling runs red enough amongst the masses to dispose the masses for action. machine, who have not Lobbied and sat in the

the I.W.W.; the decision to expel the German Communist Labour Party for forming new revo lutionary Unions: these things display the same hesitant fear of shutting out anyone, the same policy of roping in passive, unawakened masses, that has dictated the use of Parliamentary action.

The Russian leaders who have largely ergineered the Third International into its op-portunist decisions, refuse to recognise the signi-ficance of the persistent tendencies of the workunmistakably in the highly, industrialised Western countries. We see in these countries a riangular struggle between three forces.
Firstly, the employers; secondly, the Trade
Union leaders backed by unconscious masses; thirdly, the smaller body of awakened workers. The real struggle is between the employers and the awakened workers; the Trade Union officials, vacillating between the two, occasionally pulled nearer to the side of the conscious workers by the unconscious masses growing restive under economic pressure.

The awakened workers, finding the power of passive assent of the unawakened masses, who far outnumber the awakened, proceed to form new organisations. The merit of these new organisations is that they are manned by those who have joined them with a definite purpose and a desire for change, and are operated by the rank and file. Therefore, instead of being composed, like the Trade Unions, of inert masses, brought in by the pressure of custom and the attraction of the friendly benefits, they are composed of

These rebel organisms, at war with the old Trade Unionism, cannot be combined with it: to make them an official part of the Unions is to make them an official part of the Unions is to destroy them: they exist as a protest against Conservatism in the Unions. They are an effervescent force, spasmodic and uncertain, sometimes merely revolting against hard conditions with no more than a fugitive purpose, but nevertheless representing the high-water mark

From friends and opponents of Communism there is much talk of Revolution but, after all, our paramount need is to make Communists.

What proportion of the British population knows what Communism is?

of class-consciousness and discontent in the version of Communism; in its ideals for Com workshop. They are the forerunners of what, munism? some day, will break out spontaneously to form the Soviets. They will function in times of crisis and they will die away, as the English Shop Stewards have now died down, almost to the point of extinction. Their more conscious elements are the active working-class Socialists,

tain the Communist and Anarchist organisations and guided by the Communist and Anarchist organisations themselves, if any of them are strong enough to lead in the crisis. The Unions like the miners', in which the rank and file have obtained most power, and in which advanced thought has a hold on the largest proportion of the membership, may perhaps swing into line after the Revolution has been precipitated by unofficial action; they will not precipitate it.

To state this is not to follow mere imaginings: Russia herself, and Germany, with greater, more prolonged emphasis, have proved this to be the

Smillie and Hodges, Thomas, Henderson and Robert Williams may perhaps rush in to capture the Revolution when it is made, and may perhaps succeed for a time; that depends on whether there is a Labour Ministry at the moment of the outbreak, and upon a number of other considerations. In any case, it is certain that neither the Trade Unions nor their officials will actually make the Revolution. The Revolution will be a coup d'état by the conscious Communists and the turbulent rank and file.

It is essential that the Communist Party should not be a large confused mass of incoherent ments honeycombed by Parliamentary and Local Government place-hunters, by people who believe that "Parliamentary action will do it," and by those who have come into the Party merely because they disliked the intervention against Soviet Russia.

The Communist Party can only help to precipitate the Revolution, and, more important, to nake the Revolution, when it comes at last, a

The Need to make Communists.

What proportion of Communists agrees in its are able to do it.

When we come to discuss closely wh Communism, and how shall we make Commists, we find that the differences of opinion tween Right and Left Communists are and far reaching upon these two Parliamentarism and the Trade Unions. again proves the need for perpetual study, and exchange of views in the Comm

Why we joined the United Communist Party

when have not. Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on the dealth of the Labour Party, houlding the near confidence of its creator, the honest and true man, Keir Hardie, whose spirit was broken by its failure, its wholly inevitable failure; we say from the deplits of our consciousness: never again!

Oh, young body of earnest Communists (if such, genuinely and truly you are) break with the part and its traditions, do and dare for your faith, take not that road.

The Parliamentary contest belongs to the politics of Capitalism; the politics of Communist man must forge new weapons, must find new paths. Do not cling to the skirts of the dead past, Go on without fear to seek the future.

Trade Unionism.

The difference of policy between the Communists who place their faith in numbers rather than in consciousness; is evidenced in other muters than that of Parliament.

The difference of policy between the Communist who place their faith in numbers rather than in consciousness via evidence in other muters than the British Communist Parly should affiliate to the Labour Parly, for forming the properties and political, or non-political complexion, that are willing to join 1, as well as a soff Shop Stewards and Workshop Communisted and political, or non-political complexion, that are willing to join 1, as well as of Shop Stewards and Workshop Communisted and political, or non-political complex We were strongly urged to throw in ou with a United Communist Party, and

the excommunication of the Left Wing.

The Russian Party itself is being s for Lenin, in a recent speech, which just reached this country, announces that "Workers' opposition is leaving the Ru Communist Party."

The German Communist Labour Party K.A.P.D., held an International Conference Berlin, on September 11th, of Communist

But the Communist Cause advances; do movement and must displace the old to

THE SUPREME INSULT.

That a piece of ground at Forest Hill (bout 200 yards by 20 yards, which at p it such a height as to be useless for the of burials, be levelled and made useable fuent. (Motion brought forward at Camberw f Guardians, September, 1921. This mo

But speedily think of a better plan

For starving souls than a grave, the ghosts will rise and bury the Board CLARA GILBERT CO

TRADE BOARDS GOING.

From friends and opponents of Communism there is much talk of Revolution but, after all, our paramount need is to make Communists.

What proportion of the British population knows what Communism is?

It is a long time since we began telling readers that the Trade Boards were doomed are doomed, because this is the era of the interpolation to the very lowest subsistence level, at the unemployed are swarming in the stretch of the community of the very lowest subsistence level, at the unemployed are swarming in the stretch of the community of the very lowest subsistence level, at the unemployed are swarming in the stretch of the community of the very lowest subsistence level, at the unemployed are swarming in the stretch of the community of the very lowest subsistence level, at the unemployed are swarming in the stretch of the community of the comm

THE UNEMPLOYED AND POPLAR COUNCILLORS.

the Home Secretary, refuses the Poplar Councillors, or even First Division treatment. The says; convenient law !

rement, of course; but we say him as an obedient servant of ver of capitalism.

ider that the blame for the conrisonment of the Poplar Coun-uld be laid at the door of the prities on the Borough Council not rally to the support of d refuse to levy the rate as done. At Tottenham the other

employment are as usual futile. emember the failure of the Muni-

our unfortunate comrades realise eir hardships are an inevitable acand wage earners.

Mayors' jaunt to Inverness to see George is a method of weakness; incils have a stronger weapon in ands if they choose to employ it: sing the administrative machinery their hands to make the Govof the country benefit the workers, g up to Inverness to badger Lloyd the sort of thing to which the s, possessed of neither political, nor military power, were obliged but the suffragettes used the of annoyance and personal terrorism ch more forcibly than the Mayors y intention of doing. The Mayors neillors have a simple and powerof embarrassing the Governi-y refuse to take it. Thereby ve their fneptitude and half-hearted

who put the Labour Councillors should bring pressure on them to em up to the scratch. But if the continue levying the rates let

ber that whatever is done by the s will only be done as a result ssure by the workers and workless

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

From a Comrade with results.

Dear Comrade,—As a result of your expulsion from the British Communist Party, I have this day notified the Secretary of the Birmingham Branch, where I am a registered member, that I have resigned from the Party on account of the damnable autocratic actions of the E.C. of the Party.

Fraternally,

Parkfield House,

Fraternally,

Parkfield House,

Fraternally,

Parkfield House, Sutton-on-Sea, Lincolnshire.

From Herman Gorter, Amsterdam, Holland.

will not rally to the support of and refuse to levy the rate as has done. At Tottenham the other deputation of unemployed waited upon ouncil urging it to come into line peoplar, and, moreover, to spend all oney it raises for the relief of distress, the Government to do the rest and it of the muddle as best it might. Touncillors decided, however, merely as a resolution of admiration at is action. By that resolution the ham Councillors admitted their own like.

Government's proposals for dealing unemployment are as usual futile.

unemployment are as usual futile. all remember the failure of the Muni-Housing Bonds; now the Government sees Municipal Unemployment Bonds. The local authorities cannot raise large is for unemployment or for any other see; therefore the absurdity is apparent the Government offer to pay half the test on the loans and half the sinking charges for half the term of the loan, his not to exceed fifteen years. Even a miserable and pettifogging grants are offered for utility work, which the fails would undertake in any case, but ye for non-revenue producing works he would not otherwise be carried out. The Government proposal is thus not a relieving one, and it is of no use to unemployed, because, even were they failed in attempt at the time of the Housing is, when money was much more easily of them. Communists must strive take our unfortunate comrades realise to their agitation: it is a life, and deather to them. Communists must strive take our unfortunate comrades realise continued the proposal is thus not a their agitation: it is a life, and deather to them. Communists must strive take our unfortunate comrades realise continued the term of the Muniple of the Morker's Academy.

I wish to convey to you my deepest regret in respect of the recent action of the Executive of the C.P.G.B. in expelling you from the Executive of the c.P.G.B. in expelling you from the rake.

I wish to convey to you my deepest regret in respect of the recent action of the Executive of the C.P.G.B. in expelling you from the rake of one down when you were due for instant arrest under the Cat and Mouse Act, you made a literation began an oration, and at the end of the apidress you called upon your comrades the end of the apidress you called upon your side, each of us took hold of one of your arms, and then all Mouse from the Police. A commade and myself, who were standing nearest to you, made a literation began an oration, and at the end of the apidress you called upon your side, each of us took hold of one of your arms, and then all Mouse from th

This letter was addressed by Comrade Norsh Smyth to the Chairman, Bow Branch Communist Party, 141, Bow Road, E. 3.

NORAH L. SMYTH

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry, And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity And purest faith unhappily forsworn, And gilded benour shamefully misplaced, And right perfection wrongfully disgraced, And strength by limping sway disabled, And art made tongue-tied by authority, And folly doctor-like controlling skill, And simple truth miscall'd simplicity And captive good attending captain ill:

Tired with all these, from these would I be gone, Save that, to die, I leave my love alon

-SHAKESPEARE

FROM A LABOUR COUNCILLOR.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Intellectual and the Worker." By Phillip Kurinsky. 10 cents. Published by the Workers' Educational League, Modern Press, Box 205, Madison Square, New York, U.S.A.
Industrial Unionism and Revolution. By Phillip Kurinsky. 10 cents. Published by the Modern Press, Box 205, Madison Square, New York.

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From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE, 152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

THE SYSTEM.

You are a worker, rising early each morning with the reluctant pain of rising when the frame is still unrested and the tired eyes shun the light; you dress quickly and earry your seanty breakfast with you, for now you have hardly time to take a bite. You go to the jarring noise of the factory, the overcrowded machinery, the monotonous toil. You would like to be free, but you would rather be chained to the bench as you are, than free, like that brother of yours, an outeast, who wearily tramps in search of work, hungry, with boots that are broken and clothes every day shabbier, that brother who dreads to go home, because they are hungry there.

Your employer has a small, struggling business; his face has lately grown more lined than yours, his eyes more auxious: he wears a black coat, and his hands are cleaner than your hands; but to-day he has less money than you, because he has no money at all: he has less than no money; he owes more than he has: his plant is already mortgaged to others; he has pledged it to get the means to carry on a little longer.

When his business is smashed; when the mortgagees send in the brokers, you will have lost your job, and for 22 weeks you will go to the Labour Exchange and collect the unemployment dole; after that you will plead with the hard-faced Poor Law Guardians, or go round with gangs of other workless people, beseiging Boards and Councils. When his business is ruined and all his creditors have rushed in upon him, your employer will borrow a little something from his friends, not much, for they know that he cannot repay them. He will slip down fast, faster even than you. You may meet him soon at Rowton House, or on the Embankment, hoping the relies will not much him on. police will not move him on.

That is the system: life is hard just now. You and your employer, unless you are working for a big trust, are both feeling these evils acutely. Yet it is not the earth and its fruits that have failed us, only the social system: if there is drought and famine there, elsewhere there are abundant harvests: the sea gives its fish without stint, though the exorbitant freight charges make it unsaleable; the workers with wealth-producing hands are pleading for work, though they are refused the right to produce for the common storehouse.

And yet, fellow worker, you uphold the system; and your employer, the small man, whose lot is even more precarious than yours just now, upholds it with all the fervour of his anxious soul, and reads the Daily Mail, and cheers the King and sports his Union Jack on Empire Day, if he can afford to buy one.

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