The Labour Party in Poplar.

Areadnoug

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

VOL. VHI. No. 14.

SATURDAY, JUNE 18th, 1921

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

BUILDING THE CITY OF TO-MORROW.

(An Extract from "Monsieur Bergeret a Paris," by Anatole France of the French Academy and an adherent to the Communist International.)

Mr. Bergeret said to his daughter: "I have committed a sin: I have given alms. In mg a penny to Clopinel, I have tasted the meful joy of humiliating my kind. I have nited to the odious pact which assures to the age their power and their ing their power and their weakness to the k; I have sealed with my seal the ancient uity; I have contributed to that which has this man with but half his soul."

You have done all that, father?" asked line incredulously.

Almost all that," replied Mr. Bergeret. sold fraternity to my brother Clopinel by humiliated him; for almsgiving degrades I have humiliated myself in havhe who receives and he who gives. done wrong.

I don't think so," said Pauline.

"You don't think so," replied Mr. Bergeret, because you have no phlosophy, and you do know how to draw from an action, which is cent in appearance, the infinite consequences inports. This Clopinnel has induced me to alms. I have not been able to resist the ortunity of his complaining voice. I have ad his thin neck without a collar; his knees, ed his thin neck without a collar; his knees, at the trousers strained by too long usage, have dered like the knees of a camel; his feet, at end of which the shoes go with open beaks, a couple of ducks. Seducer! O dangerous pinel! Delicious Clopinel! Through thee my teemy produces a little baseness, a little me. Through thee, by means of a halfpenny, we constituted a particle of evilness and uglis. In transmitting to thee this little symbol. . In transmitting to thee this little symbol wealth and power, I have ironically made a capitalist and have brought thee as a guest out honour to the banquet of society, to the thout nonour to the banque or secret, it stivals of civilisation. And immediately I felt was myself one of the powerful ones of this orld; one of the rich, in comparison with thee; mable Clopinel, exquisite mendicant, flatterer! mm rejoiced, I am puffed up with pride, I am plaisant in my opulence and my grandeur. O Clopinel!"

"Execrable practice of almsgiving! Barbarous

"Ancient error of the bourgeois, who gives a alfpenny and thinks he does good, and who hen believes himself quit in relation to all his thers, by the most miserable, the most clumsy, most ridiculous, and the stupidest, meanest of all that are possible of accomplishment from point of view of an improved distribution of th. This custom of giving alms is incompat-with beneficence and an abortination to

'Is it so?" asked Pauline eagerly.

S.

m.

"Is it so?" asked Pauline eagerly.

"The giving of alms," pursued Mr. Berteret, "is no more comparable to beneference than the grinning of a monkey resembles he smile of La Gioconda. Beneficence is as intenious as almsgiving is inept. Beneficence is vigilant, and proportions its effort to the need, is is precisely this that I have not done towards my brother Clopinel. The very name of beneficence awakened the gentlest thoughts in the lender souls of the century of philosophers. It has been thought that this epithet was created has been thought that this epithet was created by the good Abbot of St. Peter's. But it has an earlier origin, as it is already found in the works



AMRITSAR THE SECOND

of old Balzac. . . . I admit that I do not find in this word 'beneficence' its original beauty; it has been spoilt by the Pharisees, who have used it too much. We have in our present-I admit that I do not have used it too much. We have in our present-day society, many establishments of beneficence day society, many establishments of beneficence—pawnbrokers,* insurance societies, mutual benefit clubs. Some few are useful and render service. Their common vice is that of arising from the social iniquity they are appointed to reform; that of being contaminated medicaments. The universal benificence is that each one lives by his work, and not by the work of others. Apart from mutual co-conception and solidarity all is from mutual co-operation and solidarity, all is vile, shameful and barren. Human charity is the joining of all mankind in the production and sharing of the fruit of toil.

"It is justice; it is love, and the poor are more apt in its practice than the rich. What rich men ever exercised the charity of the human race men ever exercised the charity of the human race as fully as Epictetus or Bernard Malon?† True charity is the gift to all of the labour of each one, it is the harmonious gesture of the soul, that empties itself, like a vase full of spikenard, and pours itself out in good deeds; it is Michael Angelo painting the Sistine Chapel; it is the Members of the National Assembly, on the night of August 4th; it is the gift, overflowing in its happy abundance, the money running pell-mell with love and thoughtfulness. Nothing is ours but ourselves. One gives truly only when one but ourselves. One gives truly only when one gives one's work, ones soul, one's genius. And this magnificent offering of his whole self to all mankind enriches the giver as much as the com-

"But," objected Pauline, "you could not give love and beauty to Clopinel. You have given him what was more suitable to him."

"It is true that Clopinel has become a de graded creature. Of all the good things that may give pleasure to a man, he has a taste for none but alcohol. I knew it by his smell of brandy when he approached me. But such as he is, he is our creation. Our pride was his father; our

iniquity his mother. He is the evil fruit of our vices. Everyone in society ought to give and to receive. This one has not given enough, un-

doubtedly because he has not given enough, in"He is lazy, perhaps," said Pauline. "What, indeed, shall we do, that there may no longer be the poor, the weak and the lazy? Do you believer that people are naturally good, and that it is society which makes them bad?"

"No, I do not think that men are naturally good," replied Mr. Bergeret. "I see, rather, that they arise painfully, and little by little, from original barbarism, and that they organise, from original barbarism, and that they organise, only at the expense of great effort, a justice uncertain and a precarious good. The time is still far off when they will be kind and beneficent towards each other. The day is distant when they will make no more war between themselves, and when pictures of battles will be hidden from sight as immoral and offering a shameful spectacle. I believe that the reign of violence will endure a long time yet, and that violence will endure a long time yet, and that still for long will the peoples rend each other for trivial reasons; for long will the citizens of the same nation furiously snatch from each other the means of existence, instead of sharing them equitably. But I also believe that people are less ferocious when they are less miserable; that the development of industry produces, in the long run, some softening in manners, and I have learnt from the botanist, that the hawthorn, transplanted from a harsh to a fertile soil, changes its thorns into flowers."

"There you are! You are an optimist, father! I always knew you were!" cried Pauline, stopping in the middle of the pavement to fix for a moment upon her father the regard of her dawngrey eyes, full of soft light and morning freshness. "You are an optimist; you work with enthusiasm to build the city of the future. That is just what you do. It is beautiful to construct, together with the people of goodwill, the new republic." the new republic.

Mr. Bergeret smiled at this word of hope, at those eyes of dawn.

"Yes," said he, "it would be beautiful to establish the new society, where each one would receive the price of his toil."

"That will come, will it not. ' asked Pauline, not without simplicity.

And Mr. Bergeret answered, with a tone of gentleness and sadness in his voice.

"Do not ask me to prophecy, my child. It was not without reason that the ancients considered the power of seeing into the future to be the most fatal gift that a man could receive. If it were possible to us to foresee what will happen, there would be nothing left to us but to die, and perhaps we should succumb, struck down by misery and fear. One must build up the future as the weavers do their tapestry—without seeing it."



^{*} Run by the French Government. They are supposed to benefit the poor. They provide revenue for the State.

[†] Benoit Malon, a printer's apprentice at the time of the Paris Commune, in which he suffered. He blecame one of the ablest Social writers of his time, published several books and started a Socialist

"My daughter," replied Mr. Bergeret, "1 think that he will consent to disappear. He is already much diminished. Idleness and the love of rest dispose him for the final fading away. He will easily return into nothingness."

"I think, on the contrary, that he is fully WORLD CONFERENCE of the IRISH RACE

"It is time that he has his joys. To him, it is delicious to swallow the poisons of the taproom. He will disappear with the last public house. There will no longer be wine merchants in my republic. There will be neither buyers nor

never be dried up without the other. We are only happy because we are unhappy. Sorrow is sister to joy, and their twin breaths as they pass our heart-strings, make them resound harmoni-ously. The breath of happiness alone would give forth a tediously monotonous sound like silence. But to the inevitable ills, to those ills, at once vulgar and august, which result from the human state, there will no longer be added artificial evils which result from our social condition. Men will no longer be deformed by iniquitous toil of which they die rather than live. The slave will come out from the galley, and the factory will no longer devour human bodies by the million.

'This deliverance I expect from the machine. Machinery, which has broken multitudes of men, will come gently and generously to the aid of tender human flesh. The machine, at first cruel and hard, will become good and genial, a friend. How will it change its soul? Listen: the spark that rushed out from the bottle of Leyde; the small, subtle star which, in the last century, revealed itself to the wondering physicist, will accomplish this prodigy. The unknown, which has itself be vanquished without letting itself be known; the force mysterious and captive; the intangible seized in our hands; the docile thunder, bottled up and divided amongst the innumerable wires that cover the earth with their net: electricity, will bring its force, its assistance anywhere it is wanted. In homes, in rooms, at the hearth, where the father, the mother and the children will no longer be separated. It is by no means a dream. The hideous machine which now in the factories destroys flesh and soul, will become domesticated, familiar and friendly. But it is nothing, no it is nothing that the pulleys and gears, the cranks and the flying wheels become humanised, if man retains a heart of iron.

"We desire, we expect a change still more marvellous. A day will come when the master, rising to moral beauty, will become a worker among the enfranchised workers; when there will Big industry, like the old aristocracy, which it replaces and imitates, will have its Fourth of August. It will abandon its disputed profits and its menaced privileges. It will become generous when it feels it is time to do so. What does the master say to-day? He says he is the inlligence and the leading spirit, and that with-

Thus the father and daughter conversed as out him the army of the workers will be as a Thus the father and daughter conversed as they went. Before the square of the Rue de Sevres, they met a beggar solidly planted on the pavement.

"I have no more money," said Mr. Bergeret.

"Have you sixpence to give me, Pauline? This hand bars my path. Even in the great expanse of the Place de la Concord this hand would stop me. The outstreetched arm of an unfortunate result. bronze statue, he was the soul of the work. The price that he received, either from the prince or from the statue, he was the soul of the work. The price that he received, either from the prince or from the citizen, he used to put in a basket, which was hoisted by a pulley fixed to a joist of the workshop. Each worker untied the rope in his workshop. Each worker untied the rope in his workshop. Each worker untied the rope in his turn, and took from the basket according to his needs. Is not the joy of intelligent production enough in itself, and should his advantage free the master from the obligation to share profits with his humble co-workers? But in my republic there will be no more profits, no more wages, and everything will belong to every

in my republic. There will be neither buyers nor sellers. There will be neither rich nor poor, and each one will enjoy the fruits of his work."

"We shall all be happy, father?"

"No, the holy pity that produces beauty of soul would perish at the moment when suffering died, and that will not be. Moral and physical ills. constantly fought against, will continue without cease to share with happiness and joy the empire of the earth as the nights succeed the days. Sorrow is necessary. It has, like happiness, its profound source in life, and the one can never be dried up without the other. We are

world war and destroyed in me all living hope, because then Socialists fought against Socialists. I recovered, however, from the blow, and when the U.S.P.B. (Independent Socialist Party of Germany) arose, I joined it, working and fighting; nothing was too difficult for me, because I believed that I hads truck the right path. Soon I was again in doubt, and I realised that for freeing my class from all want we must carry on a ruthless fight against the ruling class, and just this the U.S.P. kept putting on one side. When the question came of linking up the Left Wing of the U.S.P. with the Communists, I was one of thes first to take the step. Now I am a Communist, and feel more than ever how painful it, is to have so little knowledge with which to serve my class. In May, 1920, I was put on the list of the U.S.P.D. for the Constituent Assembly. Now I am a member of the Fraction of the V.K.P.D. in the Volkstag of the Free State of Danzig.

TO MINERS' WIVES.

Well done, miners' wives. You are showing solidarity. We hope that some of you will write

ASK YOUR COALITION MATES ABOUT I

What do its supporters say to the fact the Lloyd George's Government published last we a White Paper purporting to be a Treaty between the Passian Soviet Government and Sinn Fo

now that the thing turns out to be a fabrication Mr. Winston Churchill once tried to expl

R. J. STAPLE.

To the Editor of the Workers' Dreadnought.

therefore say that all persons claiming to immists and refusing to accept— (1) The Materialist Conception of History,

Green Lanes, London, N. 4.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

to us and tell us what you think of the class war to-day.

J. Bernstein.—Thanks for gift and good wishes to-day.

J. Bernstein.—Thanks for increased order for Drenought. We want more sellers like you.

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and .9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Flest Street, E.C. 4.

Street, E.C. 4.

THE REVOLUTION.

ery day the Socialists are heard to exclaim:

June 18, 1921.

ssary steps to be taken to ensure success, correct relation of a political body to an insociety, and all other matters of importbe coldly decided upon—"When the
ion comes."

The position is paradoxical. It must reduce
wages in order to pull down prices which must
be reduced because of the export trade. But

of the movement in these later years; if money had a low purchas the young, about the books we have half —so, over our bitter or ale, coffee or tea, we in wise and awed tones about "When the Debt's increases taxation.

majority of the people to vote for Socialism; ther is cheerfully in building up phantom rkers' Committees, and yet another is tarious and secretive. All are waiting for magic day, "When the Revolution comes."

They are unconscious enemies of Socialism; building up phantom ment stock. Money lent when prices are dear appreciates if repaid when money buys more.

In the face of its adversity the Committee of Socialism; building up phantom ment stock. Money lent when prices are dear appreciates if repaid when money buys more.

to resist the Revolution.

BE ACTIVE.

By FRED TYLER.

The workers have their masters at their mercy, When the Reyolution comes!" but they do not know it. The Government stumbles, and rights itself when Labour stumbles.

In order to save itself from discredit, the Government must meet its liabilities.

deanwhile, another coffee, another dance et. We take a seat in the corner of the part of the war old we talk about the decadwhich was incurred when prices were high and money had a low purchasing power. The reduction of prices, and consequently income, including wages, therefore (because of the National

Whilst the need for reducing prices is acute, e comrade sincerely believes in converting high taxation militates against the reduction.

ney are unconscious enemies of Socialism; faces a hostile and sullen working class, which Revolution is here, here in our midst. The does not want Communism and does not believe s of the social war are being fired every day. in it, but wants the impossible—a fwing wage aristocracy and the commercial classes are under Capitalism. Could a more remarkable ing the workers in the final fight. They situation be conceived? Small wonder that the v, and we know, that the wage-war is but a Government has started the Revolution. It is ow, and we know, that the wage-war is but a mouflage of the fundamental issue.

Labour is smitten in the face; its hesitating takes Capital confident. The Revolution has the Labour, it is openly flaunting E.P.A., and by its actions it is inciting the masses to revolt. It is arresting the Communists, a very unwise move; it is openly flaunting E.P.A., and by its actions it is inciting the masses to revolt. The Government wants a trial of strength with Labour, and it, fortunately, cannot see that the Revolution it has commenced will be its grave.

Novements are full of life-force; they are propagated to resist the Revolution.

et the Revolution goes on, a great blundering se of events, screaming aloud the incompetwill emerge a people servile, or a people free. .

TO WOMEN.

SEDITION.

The White Terror! Capitalist Madness!

The true nature of the Government, which is he E.C. of the Capitalist Class, is at last revealed. The truth which we have told the workers, time upon time, is coming—and has come.

The White Terror is in operation. Whenever, he workers touch or endanger the existence of he god of capitalism—private property—the capitalists go MAD; it is from this god, which is far mightier than the god of your churches, that they draw their power. Destroy that god, and you will have also destroyed their power.

In their madness, comrades, the upper caste know

will have also destroyed their power.

In their madness, comrades, the upper caste know no law, religion or morality, king or country, wife or child, friend or relation, when the sacred rights of their god are touched. Death is the penalty if you touch these rights; prison is the penalty if you touch them.

It has been death in Germany, Hungary and Roumania; and it has been, and is, prison in Britain, America, and Georgia, the utopia of the reactionary I.L.P. Soon it will, if necessary, be death in these latter countries also.

To-day every man and woman, old or young, who dares to preach Communism, is thrown into prison. Why? Because the god of capitalism is in danger. Not merely have Communists been arrested, but also several militant members of the Miners Federation.

The arrests and imprisonment of Communists in

Instorical knowledge of the moreonent, enthusias and for the Communist aims and a large measure of the working women in the revolutionary class field. These three qualifications must be possessed by every Communist woman, and be used to the utmet. It is not enough to belong in a formal way to the W.K.P.D. (United Communist Party of Germany) and to attend its meetings and conference. The active Communist woman must rather be active everywhere.

Very many of our sisters will answer: "I have as little time and opportunity for active work. This excess cannot hold good now save in quite exceptional cases. There are one was a supplied, and then the battle is nearly over the meaning in house-keeping. All actual questions of the day are being considered and tested from the Communist point of view. The knowledge acquired sediscussed with the other members of the family he daily Press plays an important part here. Yours care the real Communist cell, these woman orders the amburger "Volkszeitung," as well as the "Kommunist point of view. The knowledge acquired sediscussed with the other members of the family he daily Press plays an important part here. Yours the real Communist cell, those when we have and the proportion of the day are being considered and tested from the Labour movement, so that lack of time can no longer be glandly a grant point of view. The knowledge acquired sediscussed with the other members of the family he daily Press plays an important part here. Yours the real Communist feels throughly Everything in the factor of the day are being considered and tested from the Labour movement, so that he country in the factor of the day are being considered and tested from the Communist point of view. The knowledge acquired sediscussed with the other members of the family he daily Press plays an important part here. Yours the real Communist woman orders the adversarial properties of the day are being considered and tested from the Labour movement, so that he can be a factor of the day as the "Kommunist and the pr

Demonstrations.

They must also protest against the measures of the employers for lowering wages, keeping in mind the ideal, namely, to abolish the present evil system. They must do this by huge demonstrations. One only needs to bear in mind the imperior of bear in mind the interests of the prolectariat.

Political events should be constantly watched by cur comrades. The military events in Upper Silesia and Bavaria, etc., the closing together of all the reactionary elements into a match of the poisoned Press of the bourgeoiste, and on the poisoned Press of the bourgeoiste, and one reformist S.P.D. (Bocalaits Party of Germany), and the opportunist U.S.P. (Independent Socialist try) papers, which adapt thmselves to circumsuness without considering the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interests of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interest of the work glasses. It know a woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interest of the communist woman in Hamburg who, by structum and the interest of the massive and revolvers to do this by huge demonstrations. The mission in the ideal, namely, to abolish the present evil system. They must do this by huge demonstrations. One only needs to bear in mind the impeaning risk of the interests of the communist out of the factories, but the Communist out of the factories, but the Communist watched by our commandered mills of khief they have demonstrations. The mind the interests of the employers for lating the

Workers Dreadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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WATCH THE EAST!

The Press has been lately full of rumours as COMRADES,to a new war in the East, arising from the conflict between Greece and Turkey, into which "Workers' Dreadnought" in a precarious finan-Britain might be drawn. Lord Rothermere, last Monday, in the Daily Mirror, was calling:

"Stop the Coalition's New War!"

He demanded :-

"Are we going to war with the To-day the circulation is rising steadily, but

On the same day, the Daily Express, in its largest headlines, was declaring that it had prevented Britain being dragged into the new Greco-Turkish war!

We do not think the British Government dare face another extensive war at present, but we know that it is constantly seeking opportunities to extend the power and territory of British Capitalism, to thwart the growth of Communism and to injure the Russian Soviet Government because it has hoisted the Communist Red flag. The British Government will continue to go as far as it dare in furthering such objects. Therefore, anything may happen; we are always living beside a powder magazine, which has always the gosephility of an explacion.

We urge you to push up quickly the circulation. Hayed you and curse than you were free, sloves than pit pon you to France to and Mesopotamia. Said coursel, that of the property of the circulation which has always the government. As we have not, we are dependent on your efforts. possibility of an explosion.

The latest capitalist move against Soviet Russia continues, though scarcely a word about it has appeared in the Press, and The Times has even the extensive of attempted to explain it away as a move by Wrangel and Semenoff, disapproved by Japan.

The Rosta Wien publishes a statement from Moscow, June 7th, stating that the Soviet Government will be compelled to send troops to the aid of the far Eastern Republic, and is in a positive and in a positive donation to the "Dreadnought," in order that urgent liabilities may be met. tion to render this aid. From Chita, a Rosta that is to meet the urgent needs of the day; telegram of June 4th, states that the Japanese attack began by the disarming of the military escort which was bringing counter-revolutionary conspirators to prison. The Japanese disarmed the Vladivostok City Militia. Nevertheless Japan officially denied all participation in the rade, as mentioned in a previous issue, we have telegram of June 4th, starting of the military attack began by the disarming of the military escort which was bringing counter-revolutionary conspirators to prison. The Japanese disarmed the Vladivostok City Militia. Nevertheless Japan officially denied all participation in the events. An Odessa wire of June 5th reports that the Ukrainian counter-revolutionary Skoropadski is also becoming active; is endeavouring to call together all Ukrainian reactionaries, and to the future and with reference, to the proposals made to us by friends and compades, as mentioned in a previous issue, we have decided, in order to place the paper on a solid and satisfactory basis, to form a "Dreadnought Publishing Company." This Company will be responsible for the publication of the "Workers" Dreadnought" and will maintain it as an inde-Italians to secure financial help. Counter-revolutionary activities are also reported from

All these reports indicate the tendency to prepare public opinion for something. Watch your news. Remember there are deliberate liars at work in Helsingfors, Stockholm and Paris, to say nothing of London."

Capitalism fights unceasingly in the International Civil War, against Communism and the in regard to this scheme.

THE MINER'S BALLOT.

The Daily Herald says :-

"We do not feel it is any business of ours to recommend to the miners how they should I want those who think the "Dreadnought" vote. . . . Whatever decision they make on Wednesday, it is they and theirs who will bear whatever results follow from the ballot."

Real and the post and will do good work in the past and will do good work in the future, just to realise that I am not overstating the position.

We do not agree with this view. We believe It to be the mission and duty of a newspaper dealing with Labour questions, to express its opinion in all such matters, and especially in a great struggle, such as that of the miners, which effects the entire working class.

We consider that the owners' terms should be rejected, and that the whole working class should line up in solidarity against them. The miners are voting as we go to press. We await, with all the world, the verdict, though we do not share be more than a little stage in the great class struggle, which shall end in the abolition of classes and the triumph of the Communist ideal.

FROM THE EDITOR.

Lord Rothermere, cial position, due to a sequence of causes inevit— Mirror, was calling: able in the production of an advanced paper.

During the first months of my absence, the circulation had fallen, but it was already slightly rising when I returned.

Bolshevists again through the Turks, whilst simultaneously negotiating trade matters with not quickly enough, and, since the income does not at present meet expenses, the publication of Krassin, the Bolshevist delegate in every week's issue means a serious loss. Beside that there are old debts incurred for printing which must be wiped out.

The paper has weathered many storms.

During the war we were raided again and During the war we were raided again and again; we were chased from printer to printer by the Government, and so, losing our paper ration, we were compelled to pay up to 1/4 per lb. for the very worst quality of paper—paper which would not have been worth 1d, a lb. before the war! Still we survived!

With an effort we shall survive now!

Will you get local newsagents to stock the

Will you see that it is on sale at all meetings

Will you get your friends to take it?

Will you get posters shown?

That is to meet the urgent needs of the day;

negotiating with the English, French and ians to secure financial help. Counter-revoonary activities are also reported from
nuania.

ays Rosta:—

"All these reports indicate the tendency to repare public oning on for something. We take

pany, and the shareholders will have a voice in the management on the basis of one share, one vote. I should be glad to hear at once from comrades

The situation is really urgent. The existence of the "Dreadnought" is actually at stake. It was only by great devotion on the part of its

it continued during the past months.

E.P.A. AND FREE SPEECH.

June 18, 1921.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

AFTER HALF A YEAR.

At night the trees in Victoria Park shake with et rustling over the Old Ford Road, giving ammer fragrance, in spite of the gas lamps ag below them, and the smoke-grimed, jerry-houses opposite. Still gleams the subdued of the night sky on the canal's dark waters. ber shapes of the houses and factories on inks withdraw themselves into the velvet des in wistful beauty. Quiet are these ets; this working world sleeps early. Over whole great city, night casts a warm, deep

ut in the daytime, London is frowsy. The in the park is worn away by teeming foot-They are tired, still sleepy workers who work in the early mornings.

ose Bond Street women, with lips rose dolly faces, look faded and dull, like jaded as girls. In Holloway gaol, we were dressed Dutch peasant women, with small white s, and skirts so bunchy they made ok round and stiff like barrels. Now, outside, own clothes once again, we catch sight selves reflected in some shop window, and r whether we can really be wearing as full as conventional usages demand. But a at those passers in short and flimsy gardoes more than reassure.

the Horse Guards, the soldiers still wear breastplates and bits of fur, always away for actual war, and still they weary iselves and their horses by useless standing uard in useless niche.

vning Street and other Whitehall approaches Sovernment buildings are guarded still by wooden barricades erected against the Sinn scare months ago, when the busy rumour round that the Irish rebels would charge in massed motor cars upon the ruling s of the British Empire, scattering death them, by the playing of machine guns. coardings are faded and weatherworn. They the license from the Corporation of the of Westminster permitting their erection anintenance till the 28th of June. By such forms as this license from the dold gentlemen of Westminster, the British racy salutes the ghost of democratic Govern and, whenever it is not troublesome, the scale of constitutional sanction upon the seal of constitutions are seal of constitutions as the seal of constitutions are seal of constitutions as the seal of these sould little hovels: the standard little hovels: t

eigthteenth, and pictures of many nationalmany centuries, many subjects, people the room. On what plan the picture-hangers working it is impossible to discover. Art is along in marshy and neglected backwaters to heart of the greatest Environment of the greatest Enviro

Guides were drilled, and in smart blue sees, saluted the Union Jack in the sunshine.

parents and children is made a great warularising propaganda, whilst here around the otaph. lie fresh flowers fading for the men both the war we were told would end if the war that Allied Capitalism declared been won. When one thinks of the glories ancient Greece, one says that the Cenotaph is a block in the roadway; when one reaches Bank and sees there another Memorial, one hankful to Lutyens for what he has not done. Commercial Road is thronged with people many races, and children swarm on the ground the dusty side roads a Watney Street are mingled, in equal on the solution of the men here who've come from Epsom! And if they don't go away now, the police'll come and drive them away! Talk about the Empire; it's a disgrace!"

There are men here who've come from Epsom! And if they don't go away now, the police'll come and drive them away! Talk about the Empire; it's a disgrace!"

The unwanted crowd walks quietly and unmurmuringly down the slope and out through the gates. Shabby and tired, they are, for the most part, young and fairly vigorous men.

Watching them outside by the public house, leaning against its walls, are the unemployed of an earlier period, the unemployable of to-day. So grind the Mills of Capitalism and wage slavery in the Empire City.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

FROM HOLLOWAY TO LONDON



BACK TO THE GOOD OLD TIMES .- The Liberator.

numbers, the dark-eyed Hebrew children, plump-limbed and olive-skinned, with the paler and thinner Cockneys. The Watney street church is not crowded like Westminster Abbey.

It is Manday black Manday to which the

Its walls are painted in many colours, in echoes of old Byzantium, its choristers sing with clear, sweet voices; yet it does not attract the people in from the Jingy streets. Six white robed men conduct the service; eight white robed choristers beside them, two lay attendants keep the doors—sixteen souls in all—and the congregation numbers also sixteen.

go the girls and women who work in the factories and warehouses by the river side.

For an hour the crowd of men has been grow-

are housed. The new-washed har, the reshived frocks, reveal the patient toil of careful mothers, who flag not, however hopeless may be their surroundings. Even in that most dark the embossed paper on the has been coated roughly with amateurish has been coated roughly with amateurish has been coated roughly with amateurish front of the houses facing it, some little girls are front of the houses facing it, some little girls are playing in white silk dresses, flimsy silk of the darker tints lying underneath, looking oddly and impoverished. The pictures are bled strangely; the fifteenth century jostles eightheenth, and pictures of many national-

craving for beauty that still survives in the starved souls of their mothers.

The very poor slouch past in Commercial Road and beside them go the prosperous, well-fed, and unimpassioned. Henry IV is told he would die in Jerusalem; his end was stended by that suggestion. Therefore, by ental suggestion, we can prepare ourselves to ceive the word of God! Strange argument, ading nowhere.

In Hyde Park, yesterday, hundreds of little in Guides were drilled, and in smart blue resses, saluted the Union Jack in the sunshine. British grocer, as he comes out of the fish restaurant with his red-faced wife, and brushes past the haggard woman with broken boots whooffers him little white roses which nobody will brushed brushes are erushed together, standing on tiptoes, with starved souls of their mothers.

The very poor slouch past in Commercial Road and beside them go the prosperous, well-fed, and she bourgeoisie; the stout men with their gold chains; the stout men with see who is strongest, who is stradiest, who will best "pay" had the can buy whom he will, and the cards

congregation numbers also sixteen.

The children play in the roads, their parents watch them from the doorsteps.

The people enjoy only the pleasure of having nothing to do. There is scarcely a book, scarcely to to the search of the scarce of the scarce

"Don't you think it worth trying for it this

"'I'm waiting till I see some of my own men going, the 'C' men; then I'll run over. Look, there they go!" And so he runs.

The fat man perched up there against the railings has plenty of men to choose from. They are crushed together, standing on tiptoes, with

Tune 18, 1921.

ain and Soviet Russia.

Ordered out by an N.U.R. Representative. Will the Labour Party Emancipate the Workers?

The following article is by a staunch Socialist worker of many years' standing, well-known in Poplar.

I am driven to take up the pen, to try my hand at such work. I do so because I believe that a large number of the dispossessed are of the opinion that the modern political. Labour Party will emancipate them. I am not sure that is true, their hopes might be smashed. By their actions ye shall know them, because actions speak louder than words, and the attitude adopted by the Labour Party on the Poplar Board of Guardians, where it has a large majority, shows quite clearly what this Party will do if it gets into power. In my opinion, its actions towards the unemployed, or at least, to one of them, have been contemptible, mean, and deserving of strong reproach.

The facts are as follow:

An unemployed man with wife to support. anylied for help from the Roard of Guardians.

The unemployed man answered that there was told to appear before the Committee on Monday, June 6th. He did so.

He was ushered before the Committee, the Chairman addressed him: "You are asking for help?"

He was ushered before the Committee, the Chairman of which was Mr. E. J. Kelly, N.U.R.

The Chairman addressed him: "You are asking for help?"

He replied in the affirmative.

Chairman: "You have two children, a son ad adaughter, living with you at home; what wage do they take or earn?"

Again the unemployed man pointed out that what the children earned was no concern of his, and again he refused to answer the questions.

In the usual bombastic manner of the modern political. Labour Party would be to with the usual bombastic manner of the modern political. Labour Party would be to dividual, and one would have thought that problemed dividual, and one would have thought that problemed in the life of an individual, and one would have thought that problemed in the disposacion of the Chairman of which was Mr. E. J. Kelly, N.U.R.

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The facts are as follow:

An unemployed man with wife to support, applied for help from the Board of Guardians. He had been unemployed three weeks, and had received no unemployment benefit, either from the State Insurance or from his Trade Union, the N.G.W.U. He is not blaming anyone for the delay; but found himself without the wherewithal to maintain his wife and self. The rent first property of the server is 12/9, per week; the unkeep of of his house is 12/2 per week; the upkeep of Friendly Societies, Insurances and Trade Union is 3/- per week. As a last resource, he appealed to the Guardians of the Borough of Poplar (Majority, Labour)

The unemployed man replied: "What about it? Let me ask you a question?"

cause us no surprise. The policy of the Lab Party is not to abolish the capitalist system, to reform it. It is impossible to emancipate workers within the capitalist system: the Lal Party does not recognise this fact, Its programme is a tepid Reformist one which the Liberal Party might easily adopt and indeed will adopt, in the near future. Members of Boards at Guardians, whether Labour or otherwise, as handicapped by the fact that if they help the recognitive many the party of the Most of you are aware that when you appear before such bodies you have to answer a number of questions framed by the capitalist class, before you are entitled, in the opinion of the Guardians, to receive any help. Permit me to say that it is time that a new precedent should be set up by the wage-earning class. This unemployed man attempted to do this. He has two children living with him at home, and both earning their subsistence. He was asked by the relieving officer or clerk, what wages the was not asking for help for his children.

He was granted the sum of seven shillings and elevenpence in food on Friday, June 3rd, and the real extraction of the first terminal to the property of the care of the Labour of the class making efforts were away all vestiges of capitalist cruelits.

He was granted the sum of seven shillings and elevenpence in food on Friday, June 3rd, and the manufacture of the first terminal terminal

dominating role in Lettland in the same in Poland. ttes have been formed in r into business relations

and the mines of Basheev with a view of ang them as concessions.

"Isvestia." notices that Japan is beginning to orient towards France in its politics. In the future Japan will no longer follow England who has recognised as the consular institution for the Visas for Russia.

"In its relations to Soviet Russia Japan cannot go with America are not very friendly. The Japanese military representative in French are not very friendly. The Japanese military representative in the harbour of Petrograd with a cargo of one of herrings. As the ship passed the Cronnecrage it was greeted by the Russian sailors tag salutes and music. The steamer left he on May 18th. The arrival of the Germaner "Adler" which is bringing home prife war is awaited every hour.

The Mining Academy in Moscow, which has just celebrated its second anniversance was a first proper to the Russian patriots.

According to Reports which the number of Japanese troops Coast territory amounts to 91 00 orient towards France in its politics. In the future Japan will no longer follow England who has recognised as the consular institution for the orient towards France in its politics. In the future Japan will no longer follow England who has recognised to 100,000. The Anglo-Ja shortly become a fact. Japan support the Russian Japan cannot go with America are not very friendly. The Japanese military representative in the relations between Japan and America are not very friendly. The Japanese military representative in the relations between Japan and America are not very friendly. The Japanese military representative in the relations to Soviet Russian officers were present. He stated that Japan will no longer follow England who has recognised to 100,000. The Anglo-Japanes troops Coast territory aniounts to 91 00 orient towards France in its politics. In the future Japan will no longer follow England who has recognised to 100,000. The Anglo-Japanese troops Coast territory aniounts to 91 00.

the on May 18th. The arrival of the Germaner "Adler" which is bringing home prider of and sailing vessels have arrived. The resemble resem

ers Dramatic Art.

By T. Islwyn Nicholas.

Our Task.

Physical Culture.

A Message from the Third.

CHURCHILL COMING ROUND.

COMRADE MALONE, M.P.

Congratulations! We hope that you will soon be in the thick of it again!

VENGEANCE!

Three boys were, at the Glasgow Sheriff's Court, sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a Borstal institution for stealing 4 lb. of chocolate. So heavily the "Haves" take vengeance on the young "Have Not's"!

OUR BOOKS.

Comrades are asked to note that we have a number of books on Russia that we are clearing

out at reduced prices.

In some cases there are only single copies which are shop-soiled and are therefore marked at half price.

who wishes to have a library of reference for Russian and Communist activity and thought; but as the supply islimited, comrades should lose no time in applying.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT. German Reparation.

Under the German Reparation (Recovery) Act goods imported from that country direct into England have to pay His Majesty's Customs 50 per cent. of their value. Up to the 2nd inst. the amount thus collected with a \$P.O. enclosed for his annual sub. to "W.D." and we will let him know, offhand, who is going



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE COMMUNIST PRES

eder this heading we shall comment upon and study the periodical Conimunist Press of other countries. Although these publications are mentioned here at random a few every week, this column may prove useful to Conrades desirous of getting in touch with Comrades abroad, at the same time it will show the importance and the spread of our movement.)

I.—THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST. Official Organ. Editor: C. W. Baker.—119, Rawson Chambers, Rayson Place, Sydney.

The current issue, No. 18, contains, amongst other things, an article by J. T. Walton Newhold on The End of the British Empire; the reply of the resolution of American Socialists concerning affiliation to Moscow and Moscow's entting reply inviting the workers to leave the said party; the resolution passed by the American Friends of Freedom for India, etc.

This issue also contains a suggestion for a National (Australian) Newspaper of a rather Utopian character. The signatories of this proposal, after having analysed with acuteness the present position of the Capitalist Press, propose the foundation of a daily, pounded by the Government, with a cable service of its own, pledged to give fair play to all ophices worth considering and governed by an Editorial Commission free from political control. To believe that a Government publication could be unbiased and reliable is to ignore one of the essential and fundamental principles of Communism, that is that the State—viz., the Government—is the Executive of the ruing classes and therefore always opposed to the emancipation of, the workers, even with a Labour Party in power.

THE TIME TO WORK.

Times are hard: trade is bad: unemployment grows. The employing classes turn on the wo.kers and beat down their wages. Prices are

wo.kers and beat down their wages. Prices are still high for what one would buy; but the poor who turn to the pawnshop to tide them over their pressing difficulties, find that prices are all too low when one comes to sell.

It is uphill work doing propaganda. There are risks; D.O.R.A. still runs, and the E.P.A. claims many victims. But the Government is doing our Communist work when we go to prison; it is spreading the good seed of Communist propaganda far more swiftly, far more extensively than we in our present numbers could spread it. than we in our present numbers could spread it.

Therefore, though we regret the period of in-action, the loss of vitality entailed which falls upon those comrades who go to prison, we and know that their sacrifice is not vain, but

The hardship of the times, to us who work for Communism, does not arise so much from imprisonment and the risk of it; these we faced with full knowledge of their inevitability, when we joined the lists of those who strive for the Communist Republic.

No, it is not the persecution of the Government No, it is not the persecution of the Government that makes our task a hard one; it is the apathy of the unconverted masses, the flagging of comrades who weary for the golden age to come at once, and the hard financial strain. We are in the capitalist system, all of us; it crushes us, grinds us in its mills. In our effort to do propaganda, we bear its brunt, as every worker feels in his daily life. As the working-class mother worries over the problem of buying bread for children, so the price of paper and printing and children, so the price of paper and printing and postage wears us down.

postage wears us down.

All the comrades who sell Communist papers and pamphlets, who take an active share in the propaganda, feel the weight of the economic depression, as a two-fold burden. They feel it, all of them, in the needs of their daily lives, in the difficulty of maintaining the bare upkeep of the physical body, and in the difficulty of selling the enlightening, hopeful, necessary word of Communism to the masses of workers, hard pressed to maintain existence in these hard times.

But the hard times are the times when our Cause makes headway, for these desperate days of want are teaching the need for a change of

system, with a force the words of most ardent,

most eloquent prophets could never give.

During the war, we struggled to open the eyes of men and women who flourished in physical well-being upon the slaughter of their fathers. crowding the factories, working in feverish haste to keep going the great fire of ammunition, in to keep going the great fire of ammunition, in-which the most cherished inmates of their house-holds were speedily done to death. Big wages for all the family, and the banishment of the spectre of short-time and unemployment that haunts the lives of the workers, were potent, too potent factors in steeling their hearts against us when we tried, with our little Communist sheets, to oppose the vast, all-surrounding influence of the Capitalist press, theatre, cinema, church and school.

Now, in the days of adversity, the workers weary of Capitalism, but know not with what to replace it. They do not even conceive that it is possible to replace it. They fail to realise that possible to replace it. They fail to leafise that the world is always changing, that human society is constantly developing, that mankind has grown up from the Stone Age to this stage, and that there is hope, nay, there is certainty, that we shall pass out of this cruel world of competition. of poverty and riches, to the days of general plenty, of safe security for every member of the human family.

you are out of work. Comrades king short The struggle is Comrades, you are working short hard: it is almost b Yes, but you have time, precious time, popportunities to go to our fellow-workers, to tell

opportunities to go to our fellow-workers, to ten them of Communism, to bring them into the ranks that will work for it. Comrades, you say it is difficult to sell the papers: the workers think the 2d. too much to pay in these lean and hungry days. Yes, it is true, and that increases all our difficulties; but one cannot accomplish the Revolution without

Where the papers and pamphlets cannot go. the spoken word must be used. It happens, also, the spoken word must be used. It happens that we have been hoarding for months, the returned copies of the Workers' Dreadnought, that come to us from the newsagents.

So long as they last, we can let you have these back numbers if you will send for them and put

them into the hands of those who will use them.
It happens, also, that there is quite a large stock of Communist pamphlets at the *Dread-nought* office in Fleet Street, which can be sold off at low rates for propaganda work.

off at low rates for propaganda work.

"I do not feel wilding to help you to continue publication of the Dreadnought, as it advocates an economic policy which I consider would ruch the Nation. I advocate Individualism as opposed to Socialism. I need hardly say that I entirely disapprove off the prosecutions of yourself and other Communists. Those prosecutions are as silly as they are wrong. I greatly admire your foreign policy and opposition to the absfully wisked attacks on Russia and practical blockade of that country. I also greatly admire the courage with which you advocated peace during the war, when you risked your life at the hands of a murder us mob as well as prosecution by a bloodthirsty Government."

So writes Arnold Lupton, a brave man, who, though he is old and his health is frail, went to prison for his faith during the Great War.

Arnold Lupton is a brave man, but he does not believe in Communism. not understand it. Probably his consideration of it is clouded by prejudices aroused by the doctrines of the old-fashioned State Socialists,

who are really not Socialists at all.

But does Arnold Lupton (do other men and women of good will, who love their fellow human beings), desire the Capitalist system to continue? Are they content with life as it is

Let them go down to the docks and see the unemployed fighting for jobs; men whose parents denied themselves in order that their boys might be apprenticed to good trades, fighting for chance to do a little rough labouring work.

Let them go down to the slums and see the children deformed by malnutrition.

And let them walk round the deserted streets of the great cities in the night time and discover in the shrouded doorways, the old, penniless women, who crouch there with empty pockets and empty stomachs, hugging themselves with their weak and palsied arms.

Do they desire these things? Do they desire

to have the responsibility of maintaining them

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