

# Communism v. Reforms.

# Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
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## "FREEDOM."

These verses were read by Albert R. Parsons to preface his address to the Court at Chicago in 1886. Parsons and his seven comrades were hanged for their Anarchist faith.

Toil and pray— The world cries cold;  
Speed thy prayer, for time is gold.  
At thy door Need's subtle tread;  
Pray in haste! for time is bread.

And thou plough'st and thou hew'st,  
And thou rivet'st and sewest,  
And thou harvestest in vain;  
Speak, O, man; what is thy gain?

Fly'st the shuttle day and night,  
Heav'st the ores of the earth to light,  
Fill'st with treasures plenty's horn;  
Brim'st it o'er with wine and corn.

But who hath thy meal prepared,  
Festive garments with thee shared;  
And where is thy cheerful hearth,  
Thy good shield in battle dearth?

Thy creations round thee see  
All thy work, but naught for thee!  
Yea, of all the chains alone  
Thy hand forged, these are thy own

Chains that round the body cling,  
Chains that lame the spirit's wing,  
Chains that infants' feet, indeed,  
Clog! O, workman! Lo! Thy meed

What you rear and bring to light,  
Profits for the idle wight,  
What ye weave of divers hle,  
'Tis a curse—your only due.

What ye build, no room insures,  
Nor a sheltering roof to yours,  
And by haughty ones are trod—  
Ye, whose toil their feet hath shod.

Human bees! Has nature's thrift  
Given thee naught but honey's gift?  
See! the drones are on the wing.  
Have you lost the will to sting?

Man of labour, up, arise!  
Know the might that in thee lies,  
Wheel and shaft are set at rest  
At thy powerful arm's behest.

Thine oppressor's hand recoils  
When thou, weary of thy toil,  
Shun'st thy plough thy task begun,  
When thou speak'st: Enough is done!

Break this two-fold yoke in twain;  
Break thy want's enslaving chain;  
Break thy slavery's want and dread;  
Bread is freedom, freedom bread.

## PANIC IN VIENNA.

By Else Feldmann.

For some weeks past our city seems as though under the spell of demons. In the fashionable quarters we see in the shop windows the most splendid things of an unheard-of luxury unfolded before our astonished eyes. Viennese artisans have always excelled in small arts, but now they are surpassing themselves. Those trifles which are made now and put into the windows for sale are like beautiful dreams. And there are people enough to buy them—American buyers, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutch, and Norwegian people. Motor-cars and electromobiles dash through Kärntnerstrasse and Graben, the elegant quarters of Vienna.

Foreigners alight from their motors, laughing and talking in their mother tongue. They look at the beautiful things exhibited in the windows, and when they see something they like they go in and ask the price. On receiving the answer they hasten to calculate—they have all become excellent calculators—and their hearts jump with joy, for the amount is small in their own money. Then they pass on to enter into another shop, where more attractions are waiting them, until exhausted by shopping and sight-seeing, they take at last a rest in a fashionable dining-room, where dainty dishes and fine drinks will restore and animate the body. There is music, too, in the dining-room—in Vienna there is music everywhere—a sweet, erotic music, which makes us forget the end of all these things, destruction, disease, and death, natural consequences of excessive pleasures and debauchery.

During the night, too, there is plenty of pleasure for the foreigner. In Vienna are many women who are driven to make a business of their attractions. The foreign money draws fresh women into the trade every night: women and young girls of the middle classes who have become proletarians, daughters of teachers, professors, officials, and physicians; but more of these women come from the poorer suburbs. It is a grotesque sight to see the characteristic bloodless faces and rachitic legs of suburban cellar dwellers in fashionable dresses and silk stockings beside their newly acquired American, French, or Italian "friend."

It is extremely sad to see these women of the night who, under their silk chemises, are hiding diseases; women who wash themselves in real French perfumes (a small bottle of which costs a quarter of a million of Austrian crowns), in order to hide the smell of putrefaction of their poisoned body. The dancing devil of banknotes suffocates them; the exchange is their sanctuary. The list of quotations their prayer-book.

And in the shadow of the creatures with dehumanised faces on fat and idle bodies there is hopeless misery: tuberculous, under-nourished, exhausted, and desperate people, who can scarcely live, in spite of the high and daily increasing index keys according to which their salaries are raised. There is no longer an eight-hour working day. People are obliged to work day and night, and sacrifice their health, lungs, and nerves. Moreover, there are the people who cannot obtain any work; those who must exist on a small pension; those who are incapable of working; the sick ones and cripples, of whom every day a lot will starve and die from exhaustion. Charitable institutions for children must be closed, there being no money to buy provisions. The professional classes are suffering

unheard-of misery: eminent learned men, artists of universal fame, professors, teachers, and physicians are applying for free tickets to the popular kitchens. The great municipal asylum, where formerly vagabonds used to find a shelter, has now been made accessible to students of the Vienna High Schools.

In the well-organised relief offices for tuberculous people, one of which is in every district, the most important medical instruments are lacking, there is no money with which to buy thermometers; feverish and blood-spitting patients are sent home with an aspirin tablet. The only large hospital for tuberculosis, that of Alland, near Vienna, which was closed a year for want of the necessary funds, was re-opened some months ago, but only 400 patients can be admitted, though there is room for 2,000. The prices are so high that working people are no longer able to pay them.

From time to time we still get considerable sums from abroad; they serve to purchase food and distribute it in parcels of 10 lbs., once a year, among the great numbers who are in need.

As to bread, the most popular means of subsistence, it has become a luxury. One loaf now costs 4,500 crowns, this price being only fixed for a week. The price increases daily, just as the price of dollars and other foreign money increases in relation to our falling currency.

When wandering through the miserable dwellings of Vienna working-class suburbs, and looking at the nearly starved, emaciated people, the enervated and apathetic men, worn-out women, and wretched children, one is at once terrified and astonished, and one asks how these people exist, and how do they get their food, since many are not included in any "collective treaty" and "index key" of wages? How will these children be enabled to grow up, to find food, and go to school, when a loaf of bread costs 4,500 crowns, and their parents have no money to buy it?

While Viennese and international foreign merchants are acquiring antiquities and modern objects of art, and are spending millions of crowns on these luxuries, starving children are put into prison for having stolen a bit of bread.

Is it the power of civilisation which prevents one from taking that of which others have robbed him?

## SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

(WRITTEN BEFORE THE POLICY OF REVERSION  
TO CAPITALISM WAS INSTITUTED).

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

"There is a vast mass of information in this book . . . and those interested in Soviet Russia will find much that is interesting amongst the mosaic of impressions it contains. . . ."

—Daily Herald.

### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

AUNT SARAH.

By TOM ANDERSON.

Aunt Sarah is now an old woman: she is past sixty. She is a washerwoman—that is, she goes out by the day and washes the clothes of the petty bourgeois. She is a wonderful woman is Aunt Sarah. Why am I writing of her? She sent me a little article for Proletcult on "The Home." It is a beautiful human article to the girls and boys; and Aunt Sarah is a washerwoman—not a princess—just a washerwoman, living in a slum in a one-apartment house. I once asked at a meeting whether a washerwoman is made of the same material as a princess, and the audience laughed. The proletarian has a great conception of a princess. She, to him, is very, very wonderful; something so wonderful that he cannot explain it to you. Of course, when he was at school in his or her first lesson-books there was always a story of a prince and a princess: a beautiful princess with golden hair and a long flowing white silk dress with diamonds and rubies in her golden hair, and she lived in a castle, and her father was the king. And the prince came to woo her on a beautiful white charger, dressed in gorgeous raiment, with a lance in his hand and a polished helmet on his head. The prince killed frightful giants and wild beasts in his conquest of his love of the princess; and then he won her, and he kissed the princess, and they lived happy ever after.

That, then, is not a washerwoman's life, and so the proletarian laughed when I asked the question. In reply to the laugh, I said a princess is not the same as a washerwoman: her feet are made of silver, and gradually as you go up the leg they become gold—and when you go further up they are diamonds. If you will look at the neck of a princess—even our present Princess—you will see that she has a string of pearls round it costing more than all the washerwomen in the world will earn in their lifetime.

Then the proletarian looked serious, and I said her lover gave her a present of one carpet, which cost £12,000.

A man in the audience said: "What would she do with it?"

I said: "Put it on the floor—£12,000 on the floor, 'Henry,' for one room. 'Henry,' you would never sleep if there were £12,000 on your floor."

"Henry" was knocked out; the sum was too great for him—£12,000! A princess, a washerwoman.

What is a washerwoman? I did not require to ask that question. The proletarian of Glasgow know what a washerwoman is. In a greater or less degree every woman of the working class in Glasgow is a washerwoman. They may not go out to wash, but they are all washerwomen.

Aunt Sarah, then, is a washerwoman. She lives in a single-apartment house. She has had children—three boys and two girls—but they are away out in the world trying to get a living. Her husband was killed in the pit twenty years ago, and Aunt Sarah, from that day to this, has been a washerwoman.

But you ought to see Aunt Sarah's single apartment. It is a little palace. The first picture that strikes you as you enter the house is one of Karl Marx; he is right in the centre of the mantelpiece. To his left is Prince Kropotkin, then William Morris, then Michael Bakunin, a big card of the "Ten Proletarian Maxims," and along side of them is this text: "Love your neighbour as yourself."

Aunt Sarah has no one staying with her now—only a few books to keep her company. She is like all the other parents of the working class who go back to the abyss of poverty after their children leave them. They manage to struggle along when their children are all with them, but as they slip away, one by one, the struggle to live becomes harder and harder, and the old folk go down and down, and many go to the Workhouse.

It is a sad sight to visit our Workhouses, or Poorhouses, as they are called in Scotland, and to look at the old people. They were once young, and full of love and joy; they played

with their children, and had a good home. But not now; they are in the Poorhouse. They are in the lowest abyss to which the human can go; they are dead, and live no more. They only eat food, waiting for the day when God shall call them home.

Aunt Sarah has not come to that, nor will she ever. She is a washerwoman; and as long as she is able to wash she will live and fight, for she is a grand fighter. She said to me the other day: "Tom, if I should be laid aside I am going to slip quietly away. The neighbours will see me buried, and I know you or some of the comrades will come and sing over my grave, and so I am happy." Aunt Sarah is only a washerwoman!

ESPERANTO. EKZERCO No. 13.

Kiel vi ĉiuj veturis tien ĉi?—Kelkaj el ni venis piede, sed aliaj loĝas malproksime, tial ili veturis trame, omnibuse, vagonare aŭ bicikle.—Ĉu ni venis aŭtobicikle aŭ aŭtomobile?—Neniu.—Kial?—Ĉar tia vojaĝado estas multekosta.

VORTARETO.

Table with 4 columns: aliaj, ĉiuj, iu, kelkaj, others, all, anyone, some, kiel?, how?, nienu, no one, proksima, near, but, that kind of, tiel, therefore, veturi, to travel by vehicle, vojaĝi, to make a journey.

Ĉiuj, kelkaj, and aliaj are plural in form. Mal indicates "opposite," so malproksime—far away.

Multekosta, much-costing—i.e., dear. Note the adverbs ending in e—trame, by tram; omnibuse, by bus, etc.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

La eltrovo de Ameriko, la ĉirkaŭpaso de a Promontoro, malfermis fresan teron al la supreniganta kapitalistaro. La orient-india kaj hina komercejoj, la koloniigado de Ameriko, interkomercero kun la kolonioj, la kreskado de la rimedoj de interŝanĝo kaj de komercaĵoj ĝenerale, donis al komercero, al marveturado, al industrio, antaŭenpuŝon neniam antaŭe konatan, kaj per tio donis ankaŭ al la revolucia elemento en la ŝanĝiĝanta feŭda socio rapidan disvolvigon.

THE LLANO COLONY.

DEAR EDITOR,— To promote the practice of Communism in daily life, beginning with the means at present available, striving to create others, and extending the practice as rapidly as conditions permit, until complete Communism can be realised." So runs a Communist manifesto published in the "W. D."

Letters have appeared in your columns directing attention to the Llano Co-operative Colony at Leesville, La., U.S.A. It has been asked how far this colony is Communistic. Perhaps the following passages from a diary which appears weekly in its stimulating publication, The Llano Colonist, may explain:

"A Kansas comrade asks: 'Why do we use Colony coin for use in paying for meals, and have other necessities free?' The main reason is because we have not yet reached the point where the call of the heart and head is greater than the stomach. During our first few years of existence people (poor working people) wasted shoes, clothes, food, and other necessities, just as if they were so rich that their supply was unlimited. This enormous waste of material nearly broke the colony. After coming down here we made a weekly allowance to each individual that would permit them to feed and clothe themselves from their allowance. Later our people lost the idea of 'dressing to kill' or trying to out-do each other, but came to see that the right thing was to conserve; so we just lopped off the cash for clothes, and trust each other to get only what she or he has to have. We make no charges for personal service such as shoe repairing, laundry work, etc., but we have not reached the stage where all will go to the hotel or cafeteria for their meals. Now, we pay each enough cash to permit him to supply food at home, eat at the hotel or cafeteria just as she or he desires. Some day women will not work at home; they will all do the colony work and let the cooks cook, and those who prefer to 'keep house' will keep all our houses neat and clean, as an occupation. When we all reach the stage where we live in complete co-operation, even at the table, then we can abolish the wage system entirely. Just a little further along the road, brothers, and the wage system is out at Llano. The American people are

the most wasteful people in the world, but we are learning to conserve in everything we can, and it means more progress for complete co-operation."

The mission of the Dreadnought is to create Communists. It realises that Communism cannot be imposed by a bureaucracy, that our task to-day is one of education. The Llano Colony has gone far—it will yet go further. Its goal is pure Communism, and what it has already achieved is of considerable interest to us who have the ideal of Communism at heart.

The colony has eliminated the rent, profit and interest basis of capitalism. It has worked out an alternative basis of equality of opportunity, equality of income, and equality of ownership—with decided Communistic leanings. Members are asked to accept the principle of the golden rule, not desiring those things which others cannot have on the same terms.

The standards of the commercial world no longer operate. Members do not seek to "rise above their class" and exploit their fellow-workers. They choose the work they most desire, but are willing to go where the call is most urgent if it is found necessary to concentrate labour. How wide are the activities engaged in the following list of industries will show. Apiary, auto-garage, building department, brick-making plant, blacksmith shop, butcher shop, broom factory, crate-making factory, chicken farm, dairy with about twenty milking cows, etc., herd of thoroughbred Holstein heifers, goat ranch, hog ranch, with several hundred Duroc-Jersey hogs, sweet potato storage houses, dressmaking, grist mill, handle lathe, hotel, hospital, library, steam laundry, land clearing, fruit orchards, print shop, peanut butter factory, magazine and weekly newspaper, candy show and theatre, wagon-making shop, handy kitchen, shoe shop, harness shop, and many other smaller concerns.

Then the farms and gardens provide the bulk of the living for the colonists, the farmers specialising in sweet potatoes, sugar cane, peanuts, corn, beans, peas, etc., while the gardens provide greens and garden produce for the table the year round.

Only stockholders are employed on the colony. A board of directors is selected each year by the stockholders, which board in turn selects a general manager. He selects his foremen for the various industries, and each is selected carefully according to his ability to do the work and to direct the men. There is no economic differentiation for the managers.

When the day's work is done at 4.30, each colonist has an equal opportunity to improve himself along many lines, such as music, vocal training, languages (including Esperanto), science, agriculture, orchestra work, dancing, and other diversions. Psychology and mental science classes are a regular feature. The educational system for the children is very much on Montessori lines.

The colony numbers nearly 300 men, women, and children, and has great opportunities of further development. Five thousand acres are now owned, and another fifteen thousand are to be procured at the earliest possible moment.

What is being done at Llano should, it seems to me, receive the consideration of Communists in this country, and any publicity they are able to give this experiment along decided Communist lines.

ERNEST BARDSTOW.

BRISTOL UNEMPLOYED SAY "NO EMIGRATION!"

Bristol members of the unemployed movement and of certain trade unions have taken the initiative in opposing the new campaign to emigrate numbers of the surplus unemployed to British oversea dominions. Under the new Empire Settlement Act, the British and Australian Governments are granting money to men in England to enable them to pay their fare to Australia, and soon the same arrangement will be approved by other Dominion Governments. This campaign is especially significant, coming before the winter's approach, and at a time when the trade union movement in this country has been seriously weakened by the official element deliberately chilling what little ardour may be left in the workers to fight to maintain decent conditions.

Everywhere the official element of the dockers, for instance, is now playing one port off against another by telling the men that though they in a certain port may like to strike against the wage-cuts, other ports will not help them. Even the Daily Herald contributes by occasional reports to this game of deceit.

The Bristol unemployed make a strong "No-emigration" appeal, asking workers not to go till the Australian unions officially advise the British unions it is a good time for the workers to emigrate there. The text of the statement published in Bristol is as follows:

WORKERS! WHY EMIGRATE? AUSTRALIA, where you are now asked to go, HAS 50,000 UNEMPLOYED.

If these men cannot be guaranteed work at a living wage, how can you be guaranteed such work? Australian workers, just as you, are faced with a united bosses' wage-cutting movement. Sixty-seven trade unions at Sydney have just been called to a conference in order to organise resistance to that wage-cutting.

Workers of Bristol! Employed or unemployed, you can only be guaranteed work in Australia if (Continued on p. 8)

FAKING FINGER-PRINTS TO FRAME UP CASES.

(Copyright 1922 by Defense News Service.)

Catch—if there is a legend, which has gone around the world with the sun, that finger-prints found on the objects are indisputable proof that that object was touched by the hand with which those finger-prints tally. The legend is in books authorised by scientists; it is pronounced gravely.

But this cherished belief is a bubble to be broken. Beyond all question, finger-print evidence can be faked, according to Albert H. Welde, lately a laboratory worker in the photographic department in Leavenworth penitentiary. Among his duties there was the task of developing and photographing latent finger-prints found on articles supposed to have been used in the commission of crime.

In an exclusive interview with the Defense News Service, Welde explodes the whole theory of infallibility as applied to the finger-print system. "Finger-prints not only are forgeable," Welde declares, "but may be forged much more easily than any signature, while their detection is practically impossible."

He tells of a false "expert report" on the alleged impossibility of faking finger-prints which was made for Leavenworth to William J. Burns, chief of investigation for the Department of Justice; and of manufactured evidence used in a train-robbery trial in Oklahoma.

Welde was in Leavenworth as a prisoner on a war charge, his sentence having recently been commuted by President Harding. When he entered the prison he was assigned to the department of photography and finger-print work because of his skill in a related field, that of jewellery engraving, which demands a delicate technique. He turned his hand readily to his new responsibilities.

Welde's declaration that finger-prints can be forged is based on numberless successful experiments made by himself to that end. Someone in California has made similar experiments, he says, but the Government's highly paid experts are loath to admit the possibility of successfully affixing any man's fingerprints to an article the man has never seen, much less handled.

"In March or April of this year," Welde explains, "William J. Burns wrote from Washington to Special Agent Renoe, chief of the finger-print bureau at Leavenworth, and asked for an honest opinion on this subject. I had a hand in preparing that opinion. I voiced the observation that we were faking finger-prints with eminent success daily in laboratory experiments."

"But that fact was not permitted to go to Burns. Under specific instructions, another prisoner and I denied absolutely that finger-prints could be forged—denied the possibility of doing what I had done so repeatedly and could do any day.

"An unfounded fear of having an established theory loses its weight, the fear of losing a comfortable and impressive job, the evanescence of a pleasant way to make money, are doubtless the causes of such dishonesty.

"Finger-prints serve well in another way. As a means of proving identity, as a system of registration, they are unsurpassed. But as evidence in court, finger-prints are utterly worthless, and I am willing to demonstrate the truth of my assertion at any time and in any place.

"I happened to learn that finger-prints could be forged through this incident: "Some time in November or December, 1921, a flask was sent to us in which train robbers in Oklahoma had carried nitro-glycerin. We found several latent finger-prints, developed and photographed them, and forwarded flask and pictures to the proper authorities. A few weeks later an official named Murphy came from Oklahoma and announced his intention of staying with us for a few days in order to prepare the finger-prints we had found on the flask for use at the approaching trial.

"This man entertained us with a story that was open to suspicion. He claimed that friends of the suspects had upon some occasion proffered him a cigarette. While smoking it he became unconscious, and when he regained his senses he found that the flask and other objects pertaining to the case had disappeared.

"He showed me a photograph of a finger-print, claiming it was a print made by me and forwarded to him. I saw at once that this was not true, as this print evidently had been taken from a mechanically retouched plate. He spoke about it to my superior, Mr. Fisher, the record clerk, who stated that he, also, had seen it, and believed the negative to have been retouched.

"The Oklahoma official was with us for almost two weeks, incessantly photographing, re-photographing, and enlarging the plate for reprints. Retouching a finger-print negative is clearly illegal; whatever legitimate work can be done to such a photograph can be done in a few hours.

"Fisher and Renoe were both called upon to give expert testimony at the trial in Oklahoma. Upon returning, both stated that the prosecution had not made a very good showing. Fisher agreed that our opinion regarding the retouching of the photograph had been correct, as the prosecution had been compelled to admit this retouching, and that print consequently had been discredited as evidence.

"They had left Oklahoma before the trial was concluded. Within a few days the defendants in the train-robbery case also came to Leavenworth, having been found guilty. Each was sentenced to serve twenty-five years.

THE GREAT GRAB IN RUSSIA.

Reports from the Delta News Agency, Peking, China, disclose the struggle for wealth proceeding in Far-Eastern Russia. A "prominent Russian fish merchant" returning from Kamchatka reports that sable hunting this year is above the average. The price of a sable is 200 to 350 gold roubles.

"An American firm, Hudson, has suffered great losses from the competition of another American firm, Swenson, which has collected 3,500 sable skins, and from the Japanese." The Japanese firm, Nihonoh, has acquired from the counter-revolutionary General Meikuloff the right to collect furs on Komandor Island.

The Japanese are striving to take possession of mining districts in the Okhotsk region they are trying to seize the gold mines.

Japanese intoxicating liquors are in the market, and many deaths from excessive drinking have been registered.

Mr. Smith, chairman of the Inter-Allied Railway Commission, as a result of close acquaintance with the Japanese military authorities during three years in Siberia, recently stated in the New York Times his opinion that Japanese promises to evacuate Siberia would not be realised.

Mr. Salaskin, chairman of the Nijni-Novgorod Fairs Committee, under the Czar, is helping to organise the fair under the Bolsheviki—alas, poor Communism!

"I venture no opinion regarding their guilt or innocence, but I do know that a deliberate attempt was made to obtain a conviction on manufactured evidence, to understand that a large reward was offered for apprehension and conviction of the guilty."

"The suspicious activities of the Oklahoma official while working in the Leavenworth laboratory caused me to begin experimenting with finger-prints, and I found little difficulty in counterfeiting any print and transferring it to any article susceptible of bearing a natural print."

"It is a very simple process, a combination of the process in use by photo-engravers and engravers of jewellery and silverware. I have repeatedly submitted specimens of my work to experts who were never able to distinguish the genuine from the fraudulent. I myself cannot tell them apart, except by a very elaborate process which necessitated the active assistance of the individual whose finger-prints were under examination."

"Framing up a suspect through finger-print evidence is very simple. The first requisite, of course, is a true copy of the finger-print of the person to be framed. If he happens to have a prison record, the imprint may easily be obtained from the files of the prison bureau, either at Leavenworth or Atlanta.

These two prisons, to be sure, do not furnish copies of their records to all applicants, but State and county institutions, more especially private detective agencies, are much more accommodating."

"If we consider that we cannot possibly fail to leave impressions on every smooth-surfaced article we happen to take into our hands, that we cannot read a book and turn its leaves without leaving latent prints, readily made visible by development, the ease with which another man's finger-print may be obtained will be clear."

"Suppose that we have in our hands a finger-impression taken by an operative. The medium used is printer's ink, and the impression is made on white paper, thus showing the papillary ridges in black. A photostat copy of the same size is made. This reverses the colours and gives an image in white on a black background."

"Then a negative is taken from this, and light is permitted to shine through it on to a sensitised copper plate. The plate is developed and baked. After etching lightly we obtain a copper die showing the original ridges etched or engraved into the metal. These lines are slightly greased, and a piece of smooth paper, moistened, is pressed into them by rubbing with a burnisher."

"Thus we produce a paper transfer, such as is used by every silverware engraver for transferring a letter or monogram from one article to another. This paper transfer is an exact replica of the skin of the finger from which the original print was taken. If we press it against any surface capable of retaining a genuine finger-print, it will leave thereon a mark which cannot be told from one left by the touch of the finger itself."

Welde's revelations concerning the finger-print identification system recalls the fact that Thomas Jennings, negro, was convicted of the murder of Clarence B. Hiler in Chicago ten years ago on the strength of finger-print evidence. Jennings was hanged on February 16th, 1912.

The finger-prints and the finger-prints alone, convinced us that Jennings was guilty," one of the jurors said afterwards.

Invention of the finger-print identification method is widely credited to the Bertillon brothers, though they had nothing to do with originating it. Even the Chicago Tribune, which boasts of its accuracy, asserted, when Dr. Jacques Bertillon died in July, that he had invented the method.

In Europe the finger-print system was devised by Sir Francis Galton, of England, in the early 'nineties and was put into actual use by Sir Edward Henry. As late as 1893 the Bertillons scoffed at the system as impracticable, but subsequently adopted it. There is another claim, however, that Juan Vucetich, in Argentina, had made successful finger-print experiments before Galton, and that Vucetich made his first identification in this manner in 1891.

THE REACTION IN RUSSIA.

It is reported by Rosta that the Soviet Supreme Metal Committee of the Soviet Government has made a contract with the Westinghouse Company for the construction of parts of Westinghouse brakes at the Westinghouse Company's works at Yaroslavl, in Russia. The price are to be those of 1913, with a 62 per cent. increase. The Supreme Metal Committee of the Soviet Government undertakes to see that everything required for the order shall be supplied. The Soviet State will supply the Company with materials, for which the Company will pay.

What a foudababout confusion is being developed by the new-old economic system! The Soviet State possessed the works as a result of the Revolution; it hands the worker over to a private company—sells raw material to the private company, and buys the finished product from the private company. Where is the reason in this?

O Reaction, thou hast won many victories, but the greatest of thy victories is that thou hast made Communists believe that the way to secure Communism is to re-build capitalism in the hour of its weakness!

THE REACTION IN RUSSIA.

"Since the new economic policy not a book nor a newspaper find their way into the village. People read absolutely nothing. At first they felt as if something were missing, but now they have become used to it and want nothing. Only some of the older peasants regret that the reading-rooms have been closed, and that there is no way of getting paper for cigarettes."—Neroda in Izvestia, Feb. 5th, 1922.

"The old pre-war, pre-revolutionary village is coming back. Once more the youth is drinking. Once again there is wild hooliganism, quarrels, fights, knifing, broken heads, sides ripped open, murders, as if all the cultural work done in the village by the Revolution had been wiped out."—Izvestia, Feb. 4th, 1922.

U.S. MINERS' STRIKE.

Nicholas Radivoeff, a miner, who is acting-chairman of the I.W.W. Executive, charges the officials of the U.S.A. United Mine Workers' Union with gross betrayal of the miners in the Cleveland Settlement Conference with the employers. He declares that the settlement, and none of the most important companies of the miners after a strike of four months, and says that the victory which was in the grasp of the workers has been handed over to the employers. Only 10 per cent. of the output of the settlement, and none of the most important companies are parties to it. In reply to those who protest that the old scale has been maintained, he answers: "The old rate is a small price to pay for resumption. It is a bribe for the surrender of that splendid solidarity which had marked the strike, and it is scheduled to prevail for less than eight months." He continues: "One thing the Cleveland Conference ought to settle definitely is that the U.M.W. officialdom cannot be made to function on behalf of the membership. When the point was reached where it had to function nationally, it did function—for the employers. To all intents and purposes, the U.M.W. officialdom is a department of the employers' organisation.

Besides this inherent defeat in the organisation itself, it is entangled in the web of the craft system and is in the deluded position which accepts and acts upon the presumption that the employers and mine workers have a common interest. The mine workers should know better by now. In spite of the affiliation which they have preserved for years with the American Federation of Labour (Gomper's organisation, the equivalent of the British Trade Union Congress), they found themselves standing alone in the momentous struggle ever thrust upon organised American working men.

"No industrial support was volunteered, and organised workers on every side were compelled by the officers of their craft unions to render aid to their enemies by holding aloof from the mine workers' cause. When Samuel Gompers refers to the coal and rail strikes as family quarrels between Capital and Labour, the miners are well qualified to pass upon the merits of his statement."

AN ANTI-PATRIOTIC ESPERANTO INTERNATIONAL.

The second Congress of the Senneca Socio Tut-monda (World "Unnational" Association) took place in Frankfurt-on-Main from August 12th to 16th. Two hundred and twenty delegates from twelve countries were present, and Romain Rolland was honorary president of the Congress. Among the organisations represented were the Arbeiter Union, the International Federation of Arts, Sciences, and Letters. The object of S.A.T., as the Association is familiarly called by its members, is to eradicate the spirit of nationalism and to foster the non-national spirit. It is not an ordinary political organisation; it aims at placing the international language Esperanto at the service of the proletarian revolution. Just as commercial men use the international language for their commercial purposes, so class-conscious workers must use it for proletarian aims. Hitherto congresses have scarcely deserved the title of international congresses, because only those who are polyglots could effectively take part in them. At the international congress of S.A.T. all the members present spoke the same language. The congress debates will be reported in the Senneca Renue, the official monthly organ of S.A.T. (is obtainable from Bes, 6 Windermere Avenue, N.W. 6, 6d. post free). S.A.T. in its organisation divides the world into sectors and ignores nationality.

# Workers' Dreadnought

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## A GROWING MENACE.

We draw the serious attention of our readers to the following passages which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on September 1st:

"FASCISTI FOR BRITAIN?"  
"SPECIAL CONSTABLES ON PERMANENT BASIS."

"HOME OFFICE HOPE."  
"LEGISLATION TO BE INTRODUCED."  
(From a Special Correspondent.)

"There are nearly 18,000 special constables at present enrolled in the Metropolitan area, 15,000 of these being 'Metropolitans' and the rest belonging to the City of London.

"It is now proposed to secure the necessary legislation to place them on a permanent basis. Pending this, the present statutory provisions and Orders in Council will remain in full force.

"The Secretary of State had hoped that it would be possible before Parliament rose to introduce and pass the proposed Bill. but the state of Parliamentary business rendered this impossible.

## "Lessons from Italy."

"In short, we are able to have a Fascisti— which will not be to the liking of the advanced Labour members—and if the Italian method of suppressing tumults, riots, or felonies is not all that it should be, there is no doubt about the good work the Fascisti have accomplished in conjunction with the recognised officials at Milan, Rome, and elsewhere in Italy. Fascists have even "done their bit" away from their native land.

## "A Fine Record."

"The British force has got a fine record behind it for courtesy, civility, and sound judgment, and given a permanent official 'job of work' may be relied upon to maintain its high reputation.

"The Metropolis has led the way in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the thousands of 'specials.'"

"And now the 'specials' are to come into their own.

"Commandant W. M. Allen, C.B.E. (staff officer to Sir Edward Ward), who has taken great interest in the London 'specials' throughout, will be able to look back upon his labours with some degree of satisfaction."

Those of our readers who are inclined to discount this as a mere Tory newspaper stunt should observe that the *Manchester Guardian*—Liberalism's most serious and temperate organ—in a leading article on the Fascisti the other day, largely condoned the acts of the Fascisti in Italy, and seriously discussed the advisability of such a force. On the whole, it decided that though, when unofficial, such forces are "convenient" for Governments to use, it is best to place them under official control.

## The U.S. Labour War.

The attack of the United States Government on the right of the railway shopmen to carry on their strike by the old accustomed methods is a further sign of the need for the One Big Revolutionary Union, ever ready to carry the fight into new channels. The injunction which the Federal Court at Chicago has granted against the strikers has been secured by the Department of Justice. It prohibits strikers from picketing, peacefully or otherwise, and from loitering near the exits and entrances of railway property. It forbids them "to conspire or agree to hinder

the railways in the transport of passengers, property, or mails." It prohibits encouragement by letter, by word of mouth, or in any other manner, any person to leave or refrain from entering the employ of the railway. It prohibits the issuing of any statement or public instructions to the members of the union organisations to induce them to do or say anything which would induce any railway employee to leave work. The use of the union funds to further any act forbidden by the injunction is made an offence.

The injunction virtually makes strikes illegal. There is talk of a general strike by way of protest; but, with Gompers in control of the unions, that is not to be expected.

## Austria's Tragedy.

The American Minister "deems it advisable, in view of the critical situation in Austria, to dissuade Americans from coming to Vienna except on business and other urgent matters."

The state of affairs, as vividly revealed in the article which we publish on our front page, has long been one of the crowning scandals of international capitalism. A letter to a comrade, received the other day, tells of a skilled workman toiling incredibly long hours and able to procure with his wages only the cost of bread for his family. The Vienna Workers' Council is passing resolutions of protest because the Government has decided to permit shopkeepers to accept foreign money instead of Austrian. This means that people who can only tender Austrian money often go unserved. Resolutions, however, are useless. Have the Austrian workers the spirit and energy to act?

## Profiteers in Berlin.

Dividends of 30 per cent. for companies dealing in food, clothes, and other necessities are common in Berlin, where starvation stalks abroad owing to the great rise in prices. Capitalism stands ever more heavily condemned, but the people hesitate to end it. Yet unrest is growing: when will the outbreak come?

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Now that the Italian Socialist movement is reduced to extreme weakness, the Right Wing Reformists have left the Party to join in coalition with the capitalist parties.

In spite of the hard times through which the Italian movement is now passing, our comrades there should take cheer in the fact that, purged in the fire of adversity, it will arise again freed of the opportunists and self-seekers.

## SOME FACTS ABOUT FOOD.

During the War the growth of cereals in countries outside Europe was increased, because Europe under war conditions could not keep up Europe's pre-war production. The following table shows the growth of acreage under wheat during the War in millions of acres in other than European countries:

	Pre-war.	War period.	Post-war.
Argentina	15.2	17.9	13.9
Australia	6.4	12.5	9.4
Canada	8.0	17.3	23.3
India	27.7	35.3	28.6
U.S.A.	64.4	60.4	62.4

It will be observed that the acreage under wheat was everywhere reduced at the close of the War. In explaining this fact, Sir Henry Rew, K.C.B., former Secretary to the Ministry of Food, and Chairman of the Allies' Wheat-Purchasing Committee, says in the *Manchester Guardian* survey on "Reconstruction in Europe":

"The break in prices which characterised 1921 must react upon acreage, and conditions are at present tending towards insufficient world supplies if the harvests to be reaped within the next few months should be unfavourable."

Notice that whilst agricultural workers in every country are unemployed, whilst in every country workers are short of food and famine is raging in Eastern and Central Europe, the acreage under wheat has been reduced because prices have come down. Such tragic incongruities are inherent in the capitalist system.

Sir Henry Rew further observes that for some years no supplies will be forthcoming from Russia and South-East Europe. There is no doubt, however, he says, that these sources of supply could be replaced. He adds:

"The widening of the wheat belt in the United States by 100 miles would provide enough wheat to feed the United Kingdom. . . . If wheat were grown in Canada on only one-fourth the land suitable for it, the crop would suffice to feed three times the population of the United Kingdom. The Dominion Royal Commission reported that it had been computed that there were 200 million acres in Australia suitable for wheat growing. . . . But neither Capital nor Labour will be forthcoming to make a permanent extension of the corn-growing area, in view of the certainty that at some unknown but not far-distant date supplies from Russia and South-East Europe will again be on the market and within easier reach of the purchasing countries."

Note again that production is deliberately checked for commercial reasons.

The average pre-war yield of bushels per acre of wheat in the main wheat-producing countries was as follows:

Russia, European	9.47
" Asiatic	9.32
Rumania	15.48
Bulgaria	14.20
Argentina	10.53
Australia	11.88
Canada	18.40
India	11.66
U.S.A.	18.52

It will be observed that the Australian yield per acre is almost double that of the Russian, whilst the English yield is more than thirty bushels per acre, an average which could be greatly increased. With proper cultivation, the yield of all these countries could be made at least as high as the present British average.

## OUR GROWING CIRCULATION.

As our circulation is growing, you will sometimes find that copy of the *Dreadnought* sold out. Place a regular order with the newsagent to avoid disappointment. Write to us for your copy when you fail to get it.

# Communism v. Reforms.

MISTAKES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRELAND.

The Communist Party of Ireland, Third International, through its organ, *The Workers' Republic*, puts forward a programme for an Irish Republic. This programme is not a Communist one: we urge the Irish Communists to withdraw it and put forward a genuine Communist programme in its place.

## Non-Communist Programme of Irish C.P. REQUIRING REVISION.

1. Ownership and control of all the heavy industries by the State for the benefit of all the people.
2. Complete ownership of the transport system by the State—railways, canals, shipping, etc.
3. State ownership of all the banks.
4. Confiscation of the large ranches and estates without compensation to the landed aristocracy, and the distribution of the land amongst the landless farmers and agricultural labourers. Election of joint councils representative of these two classes to distribute and manage the land. Abolition of all forms of tenure and indebtedness either to private owners or the State. Cancellation of all debts and mortgages.
5. Establishment of all-round eight-hour working-day.
6. Control of workshop conditions to be vested in a joint council representing the workers, trade unions concerned, and the State.
7. Municipalisation of all public services, trams, light, heat, water, etc., and free use by the workers.
8. Compulsory rationing of all available housing accommodation, and the abolition of all rents.
9. Full maintenance for the unemployed at full trade union rates.
10. Universal arming of all workers in town and country to defend their rights.

The above programme should be changed for the following:

## Communist Programme.

1. The abolition of Dail Eireann and the present local governing bodies.
2. The summoning of the Soviets composed of the workers in industry, on the land, in transport and distribution, and domestic work, to arrange for the practical work of carrying on and ministering to the needs of the people, by co-operative effort. The working hours will be decided by those who are doing the work in conformity with necessity and inclination.
3. The abolition of all private property in land, and in the means of production, distribution, transport, and communication.
4. Closing of banks and abolition of money.
5. Free use by all of the common products and possessions according to need and desire. In case of scarcity, equal rationing of what may be scarce, the common effort being directed to overcoming the scarcity so that rationing may cease.
6. The abolition of unemployment, parasitism, and overwork, by all members of the community joining in doing a share of the necessary work of the community.
7. The throwing open of all educational facilities to all, and their very great extension and development.
8. The building up of Communist ideology and ways of life, and the abolition of all forms of buying, selling, and barter of goods and services—a great task, in which the Russian effort has largely failed.
9. The preparation of Ireland to maintain itself without intercourse with capitalist Governments and capitalist trade, and to hold out as a self-contained, self-sufficient community until the people of other countries become Communist. Such isolation is inevitable to a country which becomes Communist, since capitalism will not assist in the maintenance of a Communist community.
10. Encouragement of Communists in other countries to bring to Ireland such raw materials and manufactured articles as she may lack, and to give also their personal service if required.

Preparation and equipment of the Communist Commonwealth to withstand Capitalist attack from without or within.

Where the C.P.I. Programme is Unsound.

In demonstrating the unsoundness of the C.P.I. programme for an Irish Republic (a Workers' Republic even the C.P.I. surely cannot call it), it should first be pointed out that the programme does not include the abolition of capitalism and private property in land, although all Communists are agreed that the workers cannot be emancipated within the capitalist system. The programme is, therefore, purely a Reformist one, not differing widely from that of the British Labour Party.

## Is it a Moscow Programme?

It should be observed that the C.P.I. is working in close conjunction with the C.P.G.B., and has an office in the C.P.G.B. premises at Covent Garden. The question therefore arises as to whether this unsound reformist programme is a hastily-drafted, ill-considered production of the small Irish Party, or whether it is a Moscow product, framed with the deliberate purpose of falling into line with the Reformist parties at any price. Any steadfast and well-informed Communists still remaining within the Third International should give their serious attention to this problem.

## A Fabian Scheme.

The proposals for the ownership and management of industry are on truly Fabian lines. They appear in clauses 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 9. It should be observed that under this scheme the State would remain, as at present, and would own "the heavy industries, and railways, canals, shipping, and other means of transport. The municipality would own the trams, light, heat, water, etc. As it is specifically stated that there would be free use of these services, we take it that these services, but not other services, are to be supplied without payment.

The phrase "free use by the workers" suggests that certain poorer persons called "workers" would not pay, but that other persons would pay for those services; but perhaps this is not intended.

Is it intended that the payment for the "freely used" municipal services should be through the rates, in truly Fabian style? Most probably that is so, for money would remain—note the provision for State ownership of all banks in clause 3, and trade union rates of wages, clause 9.

Housing, apparently, would pass into State or municipal hands, because clause 8 says:

"Compulsory rationing of all available housing accommodation and the abolition of all rents."

Immediate building of free housing accommodation to meet the needs and in accordance with the desires of the people ought certainly to be added to any catalogue of slogans; for the rationing of existing property could never produce satisfactory results.

## Private Enterprise Remains.

Certainly the supply of food, the first essential need of mankind, and apparently the supply also of clothing and many other necessities, would remain a source of private money making under this vague programme of half-measures.

Thus in this C.P.I. Republic we should have, as at present, private enterprise catering for certain needs, the State catering for others, and the municipality catering for others. Some of these services would be supplied without direct payment, like the upkeep of the roads, the lighting of the streets, and the assistance of the Fire Brigade to-day, and like the water, for which people whose rates are included in their rents, do not realise that a separate rate is paid—a rate which, by the way, is rising considerably.

Under the C.P.I. plan the State and the municipality might provide more services than at present, but private capitalism would remain, and with it the social classes and social inequalities of the present day.

## Fallacy of Workers' Control under Capitalist or State Ownership.

Clause 6 stipulates that there should be control of workshop conditions vested in joint councils of the workers, the trade unions concerned, and the State.

This is a hotch-potch borrowed from the Russian compromise and a host of tinkering reformist programmes. It recognises the conflict of interest of the workers *versus* the State, and *versus* also the trade unions. How can the existence of the trade unions be justified if they do not adequately represent the workers? What need of other representation would the workers have if they formed the trade unions, and if the unions adequately represented them? What is meant here by the term worker? We presume the actual workers in the shops gathered together in shop councils on Soviet lines are here indicated. Such Soviets or councils, linked industriously and nationally, should replace both the trade unions and the State, in our opinion.

The system of workshop control, by workers, State, and trade union representatives, in State-owned industries would give the actual workers no more freedom, no more real control than do the Whitley Joint Industrial Councils of employers and employed.

In the last analysis, whatever promises may be given in regard to workers' control of industry are worthless; so long as the actual ownership and control of the purse are in the hands of the private employer or the State. In this case it is only control of workshop conditions that is suggested. To control workshop conditions whilst an employer controls wages and finance is a practical impossibility. The Italian workers who accepted such a worthless compromise as the price of evacuating the metal factories found to their cost that workshop control under an employer is not worth accepting. The war-time production committees and Whitley Councils should surely have taught this lesson.

## The Wage System Maintained.

The existence of money and the wage system, which is to be retained (see clause 9), inevitably mean unequal wages, a grading according to existing bourgeois standards, and the lower remuneration of the manual worker and the so-called unskilled.

The co-existence of capitalist industry and its ramifications dictates within narrow limits the remuneration and status of the wage-worker who is employed in State and municipal enterprises. Everyone knows that the man whose wages are paid by a private employer protests with the taxpayer and ratepayer against any considerable raising of the wages of those who are employed in State and municipal services.

The standard aimed at by the drafters of the C.P.I. programme may be judged from the demand for an eight-hour day in clause 5, and that in clause 9 "for full maintenance for the unemployed at full trade union rates." Things would be little changed if these proposals were put into effect.

## The Peasants and the Land.

The position of the land workers is dealt with in clause 4:

4. "Confiscation of the large ranches and estates without compensation to the landed aristocracy and the distribution of the land amongst the landless farmers and agricultural labourers. Election of joint councils representative of these two classes to distribute and manage the land."

This clause shows a slavish imitation of the Russian method, but the result of the practice in Ireland must of necessity be less satisfying than it has been in Russia. The cutting up of all the land of Ireland would still leave Irish land hunger unappeased. Rosa Luxemburg was, perhaps, the first of their actual supporters to make a definite attack upon the land policy of the Bolsheviks at the time of their seizure of power in October 1917. It was during the summer of 1918 that Rosa Luxemburg wrote the critique of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevik policy therein, which was recently serialised in the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and will be shortly published by us in book form. Rosa Luxemburg there expressed the view that the policy of cutting up the land of Russia into small peasant holdings, the produce of which each man would privately own and privately sell, would be disastrous to the Revolution, and would create

for Communism, instead of a few large opponents' millions of small ones.

The facts have justified Rosa Luxemburg's opposition to the project in a thousand directions. Ossinski, Russian Commissar of Agriculture, reported as follows to the ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in 1921:

"Our peasants," he said, "are making everywhere the most colossal efforts to clarify their relations to the land and to their neighbours, to do away with the confusion which—we must be frank about it—the Revolution has not decreased but increased, because our redistributions in 1918-19 did not establish any regular land arrangements. To do so was beyond our means, and as a result we still have a dreadful scattering of strips, a narrowing of strips, continuous divisions and redivisions, and complete instability of land relationships."

Professor Max Sering, of Berlin University, observes that the 1917 Revolution actually served to hasten the transition which was taking place in Russia from the common ownership of peasant land to private ownership of the land. The Czarist Stolypin legislation of 1906 and 1910 had already undermined common ownership through the village commune: the first land law of the Revolution, though it declared for socialisation of the land, in fact established small peasant ownership. It is true that the Revolution hastened the break-up of the large estates and extended the land in peasant hands. A Polish authority states:

"The agrarian reform on which we have embarked, and which in the end will result in the breaking up of the big landed estates, gives rise to fears that even the present reduced area under sugar-beet will not be maintained in future. The breaking up of the big landed estates is more likely to result in a diminution than in the expected increase of agricultural production. The peasant is inclined to cultivate crops other than beet-root, as this requires an excessive amount of labour. The big land-owners used to grow it because they themselves partially owned the sugar factories."

The great land-owner does not perform the excessive amount of labour: he pays labourers to do the work. The smallholder has only himself and his children to turn to: it is natural that he should refuse "an excessive amount of labour" when other and easier methods of maintaining himself are possible. The peasant, on his tiny holding, cannot afford the labour-saving devices which are owned by large-scale producers: he cannot afford the drainage and other improvements that are required. A Polish authority states:

"Throughout Poland the small farms produce 10 to 15 per cent. less than the large estates. In the eastern borderlands the difference is still greater. . . . The difficulty of importing the necessary stock and implements for the creation of many thousand new farms is very great at present, and has undoubtedly checked the demand of the peasants for the immediate redistribution of the whole land fund in accordance with the original scheme."

Though the Russian peasants are said to have secured 80 per cent. of the farm equipment when the great estates were broken up, that equipment, of course, lost much of its adequacy when it came to be distributed amongst a large number of small holders, even though they might lend it out to each other. In 1921 the minimum need of the Russian villages was for three million new ploughs and the repair of as many more, for over a million sowers and hundreds of thousands of harrows, rakes, and other implements; not 20 per cent. of that need has been met.

But let us turn to France, where small proprietorship is of long standing. On November 3rd, 1913, there were in the whole of France excluding Alsace-Lorraine, 7,520,922 owners of 13,444,226 landed properties; 33.09 of the cultivators were working-owners, 45.77 wage-earners, and 21.14 non-owning farmers. Compere Morel formerly High Commissioner for Agriculture, writes in the Manchester Guardian Reconstruction survey:

"Our agricultural production has remained stationary for thirty years, while in the same period it has about doubled in Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Switzerland, and Germany. . . . Our grain crops average 12.5 quintals to the hectaire; Germany's, 21.6; Denmark's, 22.9; and Belgium's, 25.2. The proportion is even greater in the case of potatoes: France, 80.06 quintals to the hectaire; Hungary, 272; Denmark, 296; Holland, 307; Germany, 307.4; Belgium, 514.1."

If the desire of humanity is to farm in separate little patches, instead of on large cooperative farms, well and good; society must meet that need. Let it not be thought, however, that to cut the land up into small holdings, privately owned, privately worked, with their produce privately sold in competition, is an easier and more practical solution than that of common ownership of the land and the working of it in groups, with the aid of all the resources of the community for any development requiring a special effort.

So long as the produce of the land is to be bought and sold, there can be no Communism, not even State Socialism. So long as money is in circulation and profits can be made by trading, the evils of capitalism will remain, and must go on growing. Have we not seen the return

to Russia of the old barbarous customs—inheri- tance, patent law, rent, interest, and profit, and all the other capitalist methods of mis-managing production and distribution, and of surrounding it by useless toil?

Parliament or the Soviets?

Observe further that the State referred to in this C.P.I. programme, which would own the heavy industries and give a share of workshop control to the workers, would remain the capitalist State. It would remain the capitalist State, because capitalism would remain, and because it would be organised just as the capitalist State is organised to-day—through Parliament, under the special Irish name, Dail Eireann.

Observe that the C.P.I. programme makes no mention of Soviets, which were considered one of the crucial points in the Third International programme when first the Third International emerged.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE NEW STAR CHAMBER.

One of the pet superstitions of the man in the street, who thinks that the age of superstition is past, is his belief in the liberty of the Press. He little suspects that when in train, tube, tram, bus, or eating-house, he pours over his Daily Express, the things that most concern him are being seditiously concealed from him. He reads that an American has lost his sight through writing the Lord's Prayer on a pin's top; that the Premier has been singing hymns in his very own native land; that Lord Mene- big's cough is better; that the Prince of Wales has found a hunting-box for the forthcoming season; or that a man has remained in the air for three hours in a motorless aeroplane; but in spite of daily doses of this food for infants, the man in the street retains a vague notion that he would miss something of public interest if he did not read the paper. He does not yet understand that the responsibility of the modern Press is not to the people who buy the papers, but to the interests which advertise in them.

That this is so was proved once more by the recent food-poisoning tragedy at Lechlair, when eight persons died after eating potted "meat" sandwiches. It was of vital importance to the people that the name of the firm responsible for the manufacture of the poisoned paste should have been published, but it was suppressed by the newspapers, one and all, in a most masterly way. Perhaps the head of the firm is a recently created peer, knight, or O.B.E., in finance and politics; almost certainly he is a large advertiser in the various Daily Expresses. The relatives of the eight victims of this gentleman's potted "meat" must rest content with the fact that, while the Press preserves its conspiracy of silence about him, "underwriters at Lloyd's are issuing policies to hotel and boarding-house keepers to cover them against legal liability in regard to guests under similar circumstances." That is a much better "issue" for the vested interests, than the issue of a summons against the poisoners by our wonderful Ministry of "Health."

Not only are the vested interests in potted death going to be allowed to continue to poison the people, but other vested interests are ready immediately to seize on this new opening for business in insurance. Everybody but the unfortunate consumer is to be protected—the manufacturers of the stuff by a well-engineered silence in the Press, and inaction on the part of the Ministry of "Health"; the vendors by enterprising underwriters. Our civilisation is a network of these pernicious vested interests, and they gag the Press quite as effectively as any censorship of the past ever succeeded in gagging it. There needs no eighteenth century Grenville to fetter the Press by issuing injunctions against it at a time when the withdrawal of requisitions for advertising space answers the same purpose.

But what would John Wilkes say to a twentieth century North Britain controlled by, and run in the interests of, its advertisements? The man who established the right of the Press "to criticise the conduct, not of Ministers and Parliament only, but of the Sovereign himself," would turn in his grave at the spectacle of a Press afraid to expose and denounce the conduct of a manufacturer of poisoned ham and chicken paste. And Milton, author of the "Areopagitica," that great remonstrance against licensed and gagged printing, what would he say to the new Star Chamber set up by the vested interests for the suffocation of truth in the Press?

S. H. S.

Russian Soviet Constitution.

An Imperial Document.

3d.

From THE DREADNOUGHT PUBLISHERS 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from last week.)

The flow of industrial growth spreads, however, not only East; it moves also South-East and South. Austria and Hungary are rapidly gaining ground in the race for industrial importance. The Triple Alliance has already been forced to protect themselves against German competition; and even the dual monarchy has recently seen the sister-nations quarrelling about customs duties. Austrian industries are a modern growth, and still they show a yearly return exceeding £100,000,000. And the excellence and originality of the machinery used in the newly reformed flour mills of Hungary—supplied with elevators and sorting machines, and working with steel rollers under beams of electric light—show that the young industry of Hungary is in the right way, not only for becoming a competitor to her older sisters, but also for bringing her share into our knowledge as to the use of the forces of nature. Let me add, by the way, that the same is true, to some extent, with regard to Finland. Figures are wanting as to the present state of the aggregate industries of Austria-Hungary; but the relatively low imports of manufactured ware are worthy of note. For British manufactured goods Austria-Hungary is, in fact, no customer worth speaking of; but even with regard to Germany she is rapidly emancipating herself from her former dependence.

The same industrial progress extends over the Southern peninsulas. Who would have spoken ten years ago about Italian manufactures? And yet—the Turin exhibition of 1884 has shown it. Italy ranks now among the manufacturing countries. "You see everywhere a considerable industrial and commercial effort made," was written to the Temps by a French economist. Italy aspires to go on without foreign produce. The patriotic watchword is, Italy all by herself! It inspires all the producers. There is no single manufacturer or tradesman who, even in the most trifling circumstances, does not do his best to emancipate himself from foreign guardianship. The best English and French patterns are imitated, and improved by a touch of national genius and artistic traditions. Complete statistics are wanting, so that the last statistical Annuario resorts to indirect indications. But the rapid increase of imports of coal (2,920,000 tons in 1884, as against 779,000 tons in 1871); the growth of the mining industries, which have doubled their production during the last fifteen years; the increasing production of steel and machinery (nearly £3,000,000 in 1880), which, as use Bovio's words, shows how a country, having no fuel nor minerals of her own, can have, nevertheless, a notable metallurgical industry; and, finally, the growth of textile industries disclosed by the net imports of raw cottons, and the number of spindles having nearly doubled within five years\*—all these show that the tendency towards becoming a manufacturing country capable of satisfying her needs by her own manufactures is not a mere dream. As to the efforts made for taking a more lively part in the trade of the world, who does not know the additional capacities of the Italians in that direction?

I ought also to mention Spain, whose textile, mining, and metallurgical industries are rapidly growing; and I hasten to go over to countries which a few years ago were considered as eternal and obligatory customers to the manufacturing nations of Western Europe. Let us take, for instance, Brazil. Was it not doomed by economists to grow cotton, to export it in a raw state, and to receive cotton goods in exchange? Twenty years ago its nine miserable manufactures could boast only of an aggregate of 385 cotton manufactures, and of them have already 40,000 spindles; while altogether they throw every year on the Brazilian markets more than thirty-three million yards of cotton stuffs. The regular decline of the British imports of

cottons into Brazil (from £3,498,000 in 1880 to £2,475,000 in 1885) is better explained by the growth of those manufactures than by the protective duties. And if protective duties count for something, can England enforce free trade by her guns on all refractory nations, when she is unable to convert to the free-trade policy even her own colony, Canada? Nay, even Vera Cruz, in Mexico, under the protection of customs officers, begins to manufacture cottons, and boasts this year of its 40,200 spindles, 287,000 pieces of cotton cloth, and 212,000 lbs. of yarn!

But the flattest contradictions to the export theory has been given by India. She was always considered as the surest customer for British cottons, and so she has been until now. Out of the total of cotton goods exported from this country she used to buy more than one-quarter, very nearly one-third (from £17,000,000 to £22,000,000, out of an aggregate of about 75 millions). But things have begun to change. The Indian cotton manufactures, which, from some cause not yet fully explained, were so unsuccessful at their beginnings, suddenly took firm root. In 1860 they consumed only 23 millions of raw cotton. In 1877 the figure increased nearly four times, and it has doubled since, reaching 184 million pounds in 1885-6. The number of manufactures has grown from 40 to 81; the number of spindles increased from 886,100 to 2,037,055, the number of looms from 8,537 to 61,596; 57,188 workmen were employed on the average day, and 1,454,425 tons of cotton goods were manufactured. The export trade in cotton twist has more than doubled in the last five years, and we read in the last "Statement" (p. 62) that what cotton twist is imported is less and less of the coarser and even medium kind, which indicates that the Indian mills are gradually gaining hold of the home markets; the jute manufactures of India have grown at a still speedier rate. In 1882 they had 5,660 looms and 85,000 spindles, and employed 42,800 persons. Two years later (1884-5) they had already 6,926 looms and 131,740 spindles, giving occupation to 51,900 persons, and therefore we saw that while India continued to import yearly the same amount of British cotton goods, she threw the same year on the foreign markets no less than £3,635,510 worth of her own cottons. Of Lancashire patterns 33 million yards of grey cotton piece goods, manufactured in India, by Indian workmen, by English and Indian capitalists. The once flourishing jute trade of Dundee has been brought to decay, not only by the high tariffs of Continental Powers, but also by Indian competition. India exported jute stuffs to the value of no less than £1,543,870 in 1884-5. Nay, it is not without apprehension that the English manufacturer ought to see that the imports of Indian manufactured textiles (cottons, jute stuffs, silk, woollens, and coir), which were £461,086 worth in 1881, have now reached the value of £667,300. At any rate, she is a serious competitor to British produce in the markets of Asia, and even Africa. And why should she not be? What should prevent the growth of Indian manufactures? Is it the want of capital? But capital knows no fatherland; and if high profits can be derived from the work of Indian coolies whose wages are only one-half of those of English workmen, or even less, capital will migrate to India, as it has to Russia, although its migration may mean starvation for Lancashire and Dundee. Is it the want of knowledge? But longitudes and latitudes are no obstacle to its spreading; it is only the first steps that are difficult. As to the superiority of workmanship, nobody who knows the Hindu worker will doubt about his capacities. Surely they are not below those of the 91,611 boys and girls less than thirteen years of age who are employed in British textile manufactures. Organising capacities may have been at fault at Calcutta and Bombay for several years; but these capacities, like capital, go where they reap most profits.

(To be continued.)

\* The net imports of raw cotton reached 291,680 quintals in 1880, and 594,118 in 1885. Number of spindles, 1,800,000 in 1883, as against 1,000,000 in 1877. The whole industry grew up since 1859. Net imports of pig iron from 700,000 to 800,000 quintals during the five years 1881 to 1885.

THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED.

(One of many MSS. written in Barlinnie, Glasgow.)

CHAPTER II.

(Continued from last week.)

And Cromwell; who dare say that this trampler on a king's usurped authority, this man of uncultured eloquence and vulgar vision, sometimes even of crude humour, was a first-rate man? The Charles whom he beheaded was, indeed, first rate; but not Cromwell.

What of the figures that played their part in the Great French Revolution? The more third rate their avowed and acknowledged rank, the less their regal pretensions and flirtations, the greater their place in history.

Mirabeau, who aspired, after one glorious moment of audacious challenge, to save and to serve a tottering throne—where ranks he? Roland and Lafayette, who sought distinction as first-rate men—where rank they?

Danton, though but a political and not a social revolutionist, was admittedly third rate. Looms he not in the pages of history great and glorious, the very genius of the revolution through a terrible period of storm and crisis?

Robespierre is almost great. But the love of power is upon him and the desire for first-rateness grips him. He aspires to be the Republic itself, the first man of the new world-power. Vanity denies him third-rate greatness, and he grows more contemptible the more he swells.

But see Jean Paul Marat, the people's friend. Here is the man who has cast aside fame and distinction for the love of truth, and then for love of the people. To his contemporaries and to flashy bourgeois historians he is the most third rate of all the national leaders of the great French Revolution. Since then, to all future generations, he is being revealed as the greatest of the known men of France of the revolutionary period.

And there were others—of whom history has taken scarce a glimpse, whose names are rarely mentioned, yet great communal leaders, men of the despised and hated sections, of the Cordelier's Club, so much greater than the Jacobins; men whose thoughts are being considered only to-day, and whose wisdom will be accounted unto the glory of man to-morrow.

Pass we to the struggle for political liberty and social freedom inspired in Britain by the Great French Revolution. Contrast the third-rate men who published Thomas Paine's writings in defiance of State proscription and punishment with the first-rate men who sought to suppress them in defiance of liberty and the common weal. Contrast the same third rate with the politicians who hesitated, wanting liberty yet fearing despotism, and labelling their timidity "Constitutionalism." Is there any doubt as to who are immortal? Richard Carlile, his shopmen and shop-women, against Carrington, his place-men and place-women. "Pearly" Wilson, who was hanged one hundred years ago on Glasgow Green, against the Judge who sentenced him, and the Crown that executed him, for demanding universal suffrage. Then on to the hungry 'forties with the Chartists gaoled and martyred, and down through the Commune period to the Socialist and Communist pioneers. All are found to be third-rate men. It is known to all, even to the persecutors, that such third-raters shall live and inspire mankind when the statesmen who sought to silence them, the attorneys who accepted mean huge fees to prosecute them, and power's mean tongues of first-rate flashy splendour, are forgotten.

First-rate men are grand and mortal—as grand and mortal as the Roman Emperor. Third rate are simple and immortal—as immortal as humanity, as simple as truth. Their fame is eternal. They are the birds of the storm that sweeps away tyrannies grown burdensome. From age to age they fail and triumph until the crisis of their failure shall triumph at last and the era of freedom be realised through the growth of their martyrdom down the ages. They are the words incarnate of human progress. Their names define epochs. Their faith is the light of the world, the quick of the peoples.

(To be continued.)

## The Football Boycott.

"I, for one, am prepared to institute a boycott. In these strong terms Mr. Amber, a Portsmouth member of the A.E.U., offers his support to the demand for a reduction of the price of admission to 6d." So says the *Daily Herald*, the Labour Party paper.

The *Herald* goes on to record, very solemnly on its front page, fellow-worker, that the aforesaid Mr. Amber has not missed an English Cup Final since 1904. Jim Larkin's sentence of five to ten years' imprisonment found a place, inside, fellow-worker, but Mr. Amber's fine record at the Cup Finals was sure of the front page in "Labour's only daily."

"If all else fails," there will have to be a boycott, says Mr. Amber, and the *Herald* is quite of the same mind. It proudly records that the bold idea originated with Portsmouth No. 1 Branch of the A.E.U., and was taken up by the Portsmouth Trades Council; and now all the Trades Councils in the country are to be circularised, in order that "pressure" may be "brought to bear from every quarter."

What a great movement we are in, fellow-worker; what "boys of the bulldog breed," who never, never, never shall be slaves, we are! Are we not *talking* of organising a boycott of football matches to bring the gate fee down to sixpence?

Under Communism, fellow-worker, we should not have to pay at all: some of us would like to see a boycott or an action to bring that about, but it would be a bit more difficult than Mr. Amber's sixpenny boycott.

Some of us began the football boycott, fellow-workless, purely for lack of pence: we shall not be able to spare even sixpence to see the show. But our boycott was not a display of that strong self-denial that Mr. Thomas and Mr. Hodges will display when they march past the gate with their pockets full of money, manfully refusing to enter till the workman can pass in for sixpence.

We should like to see a boycott of that sort, fellow-worker, if it were carried out on a widely extended field. Our boycott of the gate for lack of pence is not self-denial, fellow-workless; it is denial imposed by the bosses, who do not require our services at present.

The noted characteristics of the bulldog breed are showing up rather tamely amongst the unemployed who are taken out of London early each morning to toil on the Southend Government road. Although they are Britons, they are certainly abject slaves.

They get £2 13s. 2½d. when they work a full week on the road, but they seldom get a full week, so their pay works out at considerably less than that sum.

A thousand of them go by train to the road from Liverpool Street Station each morning. Some of them have to leave home at 4 a.m. to catch the train, and it is fifteen or sixteen hours before they return at night.

They are not allowed to travel by any ordinary train, fellow-worker; they must not rub shoulders with ordinary passengers. Poverty is a disease, 'tis said: perhaps the Government is afraid that Lord Tomnoddy might catch it, if he happened by any chance to be in a third-class compartment with some of the unemployed.

It is safest to keep the unemployed in a special train, fellow-worker, in case somebody might be shocked at the sight of so many poverty-stricken men.

Rain or fine, fellow-worker, the special train carries the unemployed to their places on the Southend road; but if it rains they are not put to work when they reach their destination. What is more, they are not paid.

The special train does not return to take them back to London till five minutes to six in the evening, even though it is evident that no work can be done that day.

So the unemployed wait till night, watching the rain and the passing trains that could take them back to London. A thousand men, fellow-worker; they wait all day, without enough shelter to cover them, without any means of heating their food: they wait and watch the rain, although they know they will not be paid for the wasted day!

Once, fellow-worker, they tried to get home by an earlier train. They reached the station platform at one o'clock, but their railway tickets were taken from them and not returned till the time for their usual train; so they waited and watched the trains that came and went, and, having no tickets, made no attempt to travel.

These unemployed men, fellow-worker, were undoubtedly abject slaves. Will you write along to Mr. Amber and get him to arrange some kind of a boycott on their behalf?

You might also mention to him the case of the Norwich unemployed who went on strike against a six-days' test, a six-day working week, and a shilling a day for hard labour on the roads, which they have to walk seven to ten miles to reach. Could Mr. Amber see his way to bring pressure from every quarter, in the shape of a boycott of some sort, to deal with that?

There is another little matter on which I should like to ask your opinion, fellow-worker: Do you think that the strikers of the trams by the tramwaymen which Mr. Bevin is talking about will really make a difference if the bosses persist in the 12/- reduction?

Do you think if the tramwaymen strike, all the transport workers will join them? Do you think the strike will be the signal of a general boycott of capitalism by the workers?

Get busy with that workshop organisation, fellow-worker; get busy with that One Big Revolutionary Union.

### ANATOLE FRANCE BANNED.

The works of Anatole France, the genial Communist satirist, the most unconventional novelist of modern times, have been banned by the Vatican.

Have you read them?

The following books of Anatole France, finely translated, may be obtained from the *Workers' Dreadnought* Office, 2/4 each, post free:

Penguin Island.  
The Red Lily,  
The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard,  
Monsieur Bergeret in Paris ..... 7/6  
The Human Tragedy ..... 1/-

### HAVE YOU READ?

*The Conquest of Bread*, by Peter Kropotkin, 2/-. The best book on Communism as it will be when it comes, and on the scientific possibilities of realising it.

*Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, by Peter Kropotkin, 2/-. On the science of feeding the people under Communism.

*The Ancient World*, by Osborne Ward, two volumes, 12/6 each. The history of the working-class movement from the earliest times. Tells you of strikes under Pharaoh in Egypt and in early Greece and Rome. Tells of the Communist life led by the Greek slaves, and the Industrial Union Communism of the early Christians.

KARL MARX:	
Eighteenth Brumaire .....	3/6
Capital (3 vols.) .....	36/-
ERNEST UTERMANN:	
Revolution and Counter-Revolution .....	3/6
Marxian Economics .....	7/6
MYERS:	
Great American Fortunes (3 vols.) .....	30/-
MORGAN:	
Ancient Society .....	7/6
UTERMANN:	
The World's Revolutions .....	3/6
KARL KAUTSKY:	
The Class Struggle .....	3/6
Ethics and Materialist Conception of History .....	3/6
CAHN:	
Capital To-day .....	10/-
JACK LONDON:	
The Iron Heel .....	2/-
MAXIM GORKY:	
Twenty-six Men and a Girl .....	1/-
ANTON CHEKHOV:	
The Kiss, and Other Stories .....	1/-
SAMUEL BUTLER:	
God: Known and Unknown .....	1/-
BAUDELAIRE:	
Poems in Prose .....	1/-
ERNEST POOLE:	
The Harbour .....	1/-

SYLVIA PANKHURST:	
Soviet Russia as I Saw It .....	2/6
Writ on Cold Slate .....	1/4
EDWARD CARPENTER:	
Desirable Mansions .....	4d.
You can obtain all these at the <i>Dreadnought</i> Bookshop, 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.	

### RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

All Books Reviewed may be Obtained from the *Dreadnought* Bookshop.

*Our Enemy the State*. Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., LL.B. A plea for an unarmed Commonwealth of friends trained to live by Reason, Love, and Freedom (C. W. Daniel, 3/6).

*Against the Red Sky*. A novel by H. R. Barber (C. W. Daniel, 7/6). The story of a young man who took part in a proletarian revolution in London. We have not succeeded in discovering how the revolution was organised, or what resulted from it, but perhaps our readers may be more successful.

*Menschewiki und Sozial-Revolutionäre*, published by the Third International in Berlin, price 6d.

*Der Terror der Georgischen Menschewiki*, published by Third International, Germany, 6d.

*Die Ergebnisse der Germeser Konferenz*, Third International, Germany, 6d.

*Neue Enthüllungen über die Partei der Sozialrevolutionäre*, Third International, Germany, 2d.

### WELCOME THE INDIAN SOCIALIST.

We have received from Bombay the first copy of *The Socialist* of India, the first avowedly Socialist paper yet published in India, we are informed. The editor is S. A. Dange. "Probing at the Root" is the motto of this paper, which seems to have set boldly out on that policy. Why the paper is printed in English, how it can hope to reach the great masses in a foreign language, we do not know; perhaps the editor can enlighten us. The matter contained in the paper is good. Our welcome to the Indian *Socialist*.

### THE LABOUR SPY.

A survey of industrial espionage, by Sidney Howard, based on the report under the Cabot Fund for Industrial Research. An interesting compilation of documentary evidence on this question, including letters from detective agencies to employers, advertising what they are able to do in providing blacklegs and armed guards, breaking down the formation of unions, preventing or breaking strikes, detecting disaffected workers, and so on. Some actual reports of spies to the agencies which employ them are also given.

### BRISTOL UNEMPLOYED—cont. from page 2.

*blackleg wages*. This is proven by the fact that at this moment, when emigration to the Dominions is being pushed, wages in the Dominions are being cut.

If you go to Australia you will weaken the trade union fight for decent conditions for the workers out there. The bosses will triumph.

### STAY AT HOME!

You fought to maintain this country! Demand now that this country shall keep you! Don't be forced by the bosses from your own land!

Some of Lysaght's men are returning from New South Wales, refusing to accept low wages. Others with their families are in a serious plight. Don't blackleg on the Australians. Make this land fit for heroes to live in! Workers! look before you leap! Always consult the Australian trade unions officials before you emigrate!

### COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Willesden Branch open-air meetings, Sunday, 7.30, Manor Park Road. Secretary, A. Jarvis, 95 Minet Road, Harlesden, N.W. 10.

Clapham Common, Sunday, September 10th, 6 p.m. Sylvia Pankhurst speaks on Communism.

Forest Gate, Woodgrange Road, Saturday, September 9th, 7 p.m., N. Smyth and A. Kingman, on Communism.

### DEBATE

between  
Sylvia Pankhurst

and

T. A. Jackson, editor of the *Communist*,

on

"The United Front,"

at

The Grove, Hammersmith,  
Thursday, September 7th, 7 p.m.

### DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £275 6s. 1d. Per E. F. Dean, 5/- (monthly); E. Bairstow, 2/6 (monthly); F. Brimley, 10/- (monthly); C. Hart, 3/- (monthly); M.E., £1; J. Leakey, £1 1s. 7½d. Clapham Common Collection, 8/2½; W. J. Paul, 11d.; A. H. Holt, 5/-; I. A. Cahill, 10/- (monthly). Total for week, £4 6s. 3d. Total, £279 12s. 4d.

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