



# **COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sexual union will no longer be based upon material conditions, but will be freely contracted in the basis of affection and mutual attraction. The birth of children will cease to be preented by reason of poverty.

Material anxiety being removed, and the race or wealth eliminated, other objects and ambibins will take the place of the personal struggle or individual material existence; since all will mench from the labour of all, honour will be kne, not to the wealthy, as at present, but to make who are skilful and zealous in the common ervice.

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

With the disappearance of the anxious struggle wexistence, which saps the energy and cripples attative, a new vigour, a new independence effective and the same structure of the same structure freedom, greater determination to possess . They will be more exacting in their demands non life, more fastidious as to their choice of vocation. They will wish to work at what they work to order their lives as they desire. Work all be generally enjoyed as never before in the story of mankind.

The desire for freedom will be tempered by <sup>6</sup> sense of responsibility towards the commontal, which will provide security for all.

Public opinion provides a stronger, more meral compulsion than any penal code, and public anion will strongly disapprove idleness and ste

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

> Are You Learning Esperanto? SEE OUR ESPERANTO PRIMER Beginning This Week.

#### Specially Written for Communists.

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

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

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

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

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

### By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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

(to be continued.)

### A BIT OF PAST HISTORY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

1 11 h institution	A SALE REPORT
A blue mark in this space	11月 日本 在大
indicates that your subscrip-	a state and a
tion is now due.	111111111
Increased Postal rates and	Linespie and
the high cost of production	Chine Prints Cold Cold
of the paper necessitate promp	mayment
of the baber mecentrate bromb	e paymente.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

# **REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS**.

The word "Revolution" is upon all lips, and one feels its first vibrations. And, as always, at the approach of great commotions and great changes, all who are dissatisfied with the actual -however small may be their discontent hasten to adopt the title of revolutionaries, hitherto so dangerous, now so simple. They do not cling to the actual régime; they are ready to try a new one; that suffices for them.

This affluence to the ranks of the revolutionaries of a mass of malcontents of all shades, creates the forces of revolutions and renders them inevitable. A simple conspiracy in the palace, or of Parliament, more or less supported by what is called public opinion, suffices to change the men in power, and sometimes the form of Gov-But a Revolution, to effect any change whatsoever in economic order, requires the agreement of an immense number of wills. Without the agreement, more or less active, of millions, no revolution is possible. It is necessary that everywhere, in each hamlet even, there should be men to act in the destruction of the past; also that other millions remain inactive, in the hope of seeing something arise to improve their future condition

And it is precisely this vague, undecided discontent, which is very often inconscient, surging in the minds of men at the eve of great events, and that loss of confidence in the existing order. which permits true revolutionists to accomplish their immense task—the Titanic work of reconomplish structing, in a few years, institutions venerated for centuries. But this is also the rock upon for centuries. most revolutions split and become ex-

heroism there; shabby antipathies and personal trace of daring in economic questions—the energetic work the revolution will requir intrigues alongside of great self-sacrifice; when, tribune, who, to resist the invasion made use of those of its children who desire to give

those who yesterday gloried in the name of revo-lutionaries hasten to pass into the ranks of the defenders of order; the general commotion, the instability of struggling institutions, the in-security of the morrow fatigues them soon. They fear, on the one hand, that the slight alterations that have been effected should sink in the tempest and they do not perceive that the that have been effected should sink in the tempest, and they do not perceive that; the smallest change in economic institutions implies already a profound modification of all concep-tions of society, and that this can only be brough about after much larger changes; and, seeing the counter-revolution approach, they hasten to conform to it. Popular passions, sometimes coarsely expressed, cause them aversion; still more so the shabby passions of leaders. Soon more so the shabby passions of leaders. Soon servants—particularly their servants, because they have had enough of the revolution and run duchesses were at Coblenz—while blackgna

they have had enough of the revolution and run to join those who call for rest and peace. Among such, the past recruits its most ardend defenders, all the more so if (hey have sustained slight losses. They hate those who endeavour to gerous for being able to seize upon previous revo-lutionaries and to put them to the service of the past. They dare in a manner in which the re-cetion would not dear without them and these reactions. strike precisely those who sap more deeply the ing the years1789-93 by millions of foundations of the ancient institutions and desire persons-work which caused France to be to advance afresh towards the future.

These persons become the Robespierres and four years previously.

from its enemies during a period of struggle; but it is necessary to note that the historians of who will soon be our enemies. We shall the past have done their utmost to throw into chaos all ideas of these facts. show to revolutionists the immense task have to accomplish to inform them of the tr haos all ideas of these facts.

in fact, the institutions of the past fall, and new ones are designed with difficulty in the midst of continual changes—where the great majority of

#### BY PETER KROPOTKIN

November 26, 1921

1792, quite a different nation to what she

St. Justs who guillotine the "mad ones" under pretext of saving the revolution, but in reality to check it. Friends of revolution cannot be distinguished strate the necessity of distinguishing well before When a revolution takes place, overturning the established outlines of daily life; when all good and bad passions flash forth freely and are seen on the housetops; when weakness and great devotion are side by side, poltroonery here, heroism there; shabby antipathies and personal intrigues alongwide of great self-service under the self-service

#### THE LOGIC OF TO-DAY. By "WOBBLY."

various Theses governing the Communist Party, and most criticisms have been answered by the stereotyped reply " Iron Discipline "; but today the issues are becoming more momentous as the period of revolutionary travail draws near, o momentous, in fact, to allow the partot-cry Discipline "to prevent a rigorous and con-tructive criticism being indulged in by the rank and file

quota of intellectuals, draws nearer to the un-conscious masses. Doubtless that statement will draw a sigh of relief from the Big Boss Com-munists, but sorrowfully they will reflect, on investigation, that the unconscious mass are irresistibly drawn to any idea or organisation which plays upon their sentimentality or their

valve of criticism has been closed and as the pressure of the rank and file grows more and fidence of the masses.

of the industrial movement. One can under-stand the old Socialist parties neglecting this roots important weapon of the working class, composed as they were of the sentimental and the Marxian and treacherous leaders; the Trans-

and its hatred of all reactionary and reformist lined force, and the industrial one with its

Many criticisms have been levelled at the arious Theses governing the Communist Party, and most criticisms have been answered by the national sections of the Third International may in the national sections of the Third International may in the national sections of the the national sections of the Third International may in the national sections of the the natio dition that they are allowed freely to criticise neck, and to attack these Unions means the and, at the same time, assert their own integrity. On no account must any secession, from the Communist standpoint, be allowed; yet we are astonished to find that this same Communist Party allows the reformist Labour Unions—who ank and file. Every day, the Communist Party, with its uota of intellectuals, draws nearer to the un-onscious masses. Doubtless that statement will raw a sigh of relief from the Big Boss Com-munists, but sorrowfully they will reflect, on nvestigation, that the unconscious mass are Negline and file. Party allows the reformist Labour Unions—who govern the reformist Labour Party—to affiliate to the Red Trade Union International. It allows Communists to accept official positions in the reactionary Trade Unions, WITHOUT any qualification whatsoever, save that the C.P. can recall these same individuals, unless, like willigms of the Tranengert Warkers, and Cock qualification whatsoever, save that the C.P. can recall these same individuals, unless, like Williams of the Transport Workers, and Cook of the Miners' Federation, they act ridiculously and refuse to be recalled. The C.P. allows chich plays upon their sentimentality or their twarfed conception of themselves as a class. The swing of the pendulum has turned and nay eventually reach the other end marked "Reformist Social Democracy." The steam with the out-of-date rules, to reform these Unions, in order, say they, "to gain the con-fidence of the masses." Why not be logical and apply the same

Thrice Blessed Masses that you can force the

composed as they were of the sentimental and eventually treacherous leaders; the Trans-port Workers, with their "Order-of-the-Red-Banner Williams"; the N.S. & F.U., with their rebels "bored" right out; the Dockers in a similar position—oh, what a kaleidoscopie policy ! Shake it gents, and you get a different view every time! Contrast the two policies: und its hatterd of all reactionare and vefore it labour and pseudo-Socialist organisations. It jurors and rag-time dancers flashing across the ±9 14s. 6d.

maintains that all bodies wishing to work along pages of the Communist. Note the deadly Communist lines must submit to the dictates of the Communist International. Its conclusions its knees—to brush away the little pests

Why not be logical and apply the same tr ment to the Industrial as to the Political for The astounding feature of the Communist The astounding feature of the Communist its iron discipline! would mean real sacrifice and work ; but it

ardour if it were carried out effectively. The result of the shilly-shallying on the trial field is the cause of the workers leaving Unions, in disgust and in a fog, to wander ost sheep with no fold to go to

# Dreadnought " Development Fund. er £8, F. Lawes 4s. 6d., Communist ertsmonth) 10s., Tom Anderson £1

# mber 26 1991

### The Language Barrier.

y International Congress, delegates ex-lf only there were no language barrier elves and our comrades; if only we rnational language

slation of speeches into many lanransition of specches into many fail-s most tedious; the spirit of the discus-te interest of the delegates. largely rs in the process. Moreover, the trans-isk is a difficult, almost an impossible most able translator cannot reproduce nality of the speaker, the wealth of gument, the expressive emphasis of

t would be impossible to transith any degree of completeness. In with international comrades, and organisation are i, the language barrier is still more

small nationalities whose language the big countries will not learn, the need national language has become so vital f their Governments are actively Esperanto, teaching it in the sting that their officials shall know Esperanto and Ido are rival claimants n of the international language, and not wish to judge between the rival we think we are right in saying that ntists have secured the larger body in this part of the world.

of an international language, vantage of an international language, invented to meet modern requirements, much more easily learnt than the old hich have grown up through ages of velopment. Ordered simplicity sy to understand and never departed mplify the work of the student.

### Learn Esperanto.

# resent here the first instalment of an o Primer which will appear weekly in muns, and which has been specially or Socialists by James Leakey. rimer will contain readings chosen for ability for use in Socialist schools and

ecially commend it to the schools for

ian youths and children. Primer will be published in book form

### AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

#### LESSON L

English word THE is LA in Esperanto, ced LAH, like the note in tonic solfa. ct, for the vowels in Esperanto you can sound of RE, MI, FA, SOL, and never the U is pronounced like double oo in

s is to repeat FA, RE, MI, SOL,

the following words, carefully prog the vowels, as above

patro, the father. La patrino, the mother. La filino, the daughter. , the son. knabo, the boy. La knabino, the girl. vo, the nephew. La nevino, the niece. onklo, the uncle. La onklino, the aunt. koko, the cock. La kokino, the hen.

r that every letter in Esperanto distinctly sounded; in knabino, the k sounded, knabeeno will be approximately pronunciation, sounding K well. great importance, as it is necessa onalities to pronounce alike : above all. nouncing I like eye, but like EE. lose who wish seriously to learn it, it is that they should make a little book letter of the alphabet to each page, and m at the right page each English word an, with the Esperanto word against it,

orm a vocabulary, to be used during

NTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY. Now you will see that all adjectives end in A. bona, good. granda, large. malgranda, small. plena, full malplena, empty, malvera, untrue. era, true. nova, new. malnova, old. juna, young. maljuna, old (in age). longa, long. mallonga, short

One of the aims of Dr. Zamenhof, a Polish Jew and Doctor of Medicine, to whom we owe the invention of Esperanto, was the simplifying and shortening of the vocabulary-the feminine shortening of the vocabulary—the teminine ending INO makes a great saving of words; in-stead of uncle and aunt, cock and hen, we have the final O into INO.

Again the saving is effected of a great number eches are untranslated, or barely of adjectives, by the prefix MAL, reversing their meaning.

As we proceed, we shall find a humber only of devices, resulting in an immense economy of labour to the learner, and making the Esperanto beld there, to hear the experiences of a comrade who had lived in East London, who was known who had lived in East London, who was known As we proceed, we shall find a number of such

The letter Y is not used in Esperanto; it is

EXERCISE I. Pronounce carefully and translate into

English : La bona patro. La patrino kaj la filino. Jes, la malbona knabo. La maljuna onklino. La onklo kaj la nevino. La granda kokino. La malgranda knabino. La juna nevo. La vera

It is advisable after writing out this exercise in English, to translate it back into Esperanto, and then correct it by the text in the lesson.

THE WATSON LIBEL CASE

A PROTEST. It is difficult to imagine why Mr. Watson brought his libel action against the Duke of amberland, for he seems to have gone out any to lose the case, and to provide evidence in support of the Duke's statements, of which he professed to complain.

Mr. Watson says that other meetings were In providing such evidence, he made, if the reports which are given by the *Daily Herold*, *The Times*, and other newspapers are correct, a number of misleading statements which are unfair and injurging to the workers' Socialist Federation, but no Russians were present. There was no but no Russians were present. There was no unfair and injurious to persons in our own and secrecy whatsoever about these members' meet other movements. If Mr. Watson's statements in the witness pox are at all like the reports he made to the police, the latter were certainly most dangerous. if goes which were advertised in the Workers' Dreadnought. The perfectly lawful gatherings at Kingly Street have been made to appear something mysterious and illegal by Mr. Watson's references to them in Court. Injury may be done to persons who have done nothing at all, by comradely. For any person in the movement to such insinuations, and we regard such insinuation as betraval.

box are at all like the reports he made to the police, the latter were certainly most dangerous. It goes without saying that they were most unmake such statements as some of those made by W. F. Watson in the course of his libel action is, in our opinion, a betraval of comrades and of the

say nothing; one thus avoids arousing the an-tagonism of others; but, in the interests of the movement, we consider it our duty to express our opinion strongly and plainly. & Let us turn now to the question of Sinn Fein : Sinn Fein could supply him with several hundred men, trained in the use of arms. It is well that he did so. It is obvious that the Workers' Committee movement and the proletarian movement generally is altogether distinct from that of Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein is officially as much op-posed to the rise of the working class as the We shall deal first with Mr. Watson's statement that he was meeting Russian Bolshevik emissaries. This statement appears to have been volunteered by himself in the witness box, quite

volunteered by The seems to have been anxious without reason. He seems to have been anxious to assert that he was in contact with emissaries of the Soviet Government, though that could not possibly help his case against the Duke. He even drew from Mr. Knight, of the defunct London Workers' Committee, the statement that Russian courier came to the Committee's offices view that it was a necessity for the interests of his movement to take the initiative in disour own part, that either the memories of Messrs. Watson and Knight have betrayed them, or solving the union between Ireland and some impostor has misled them. Britain

We are satisfied that no emissaries of the a have noticed that the nouns all end in O. Workers' Committee

### THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

We invite the attention of our readers to Mr Watson's statements regarding his alleged meetings with Russian Soviet emissaries at No. 1, Kingly Street. We quote from The Times

The plaintiff, asked by Mr. Hogg to give the address of the meeting place in London of the Workers' Committee and the emissaries of the Russian administration—which he had declined to give on the previous day-now said that it was 1, Kingly Street, near Piccadilly. He said that he wished to make a formal pro test that the address had been drawn from him in cross-examination. He added that many meetings were held, but that he was only present at two, and both of those took place at Kingly Street. On August 6th there was secret meeting with Russian couriers. The facts in regard to 1. Kingly Street are as

follows

to many of us, and who had been to Russia and returned. Only a few comrades, known to be replaced by the letter J, which is pronounced like the English Y: JES in Esperanto, means YES, no secret business was transacted, no plans for the English 1: JES III English. and is pronounced Yes, as in English. KAJ in Esperanto means AND, and is pro-a gathering to receive information. Questions were asked, and just the kind of information im-were asked, and just the kind of information imactivities, which we were trying to place before the movement and the public at large. Only those whom we regarded as trustworthy, genuinely interested comrades, were invited, be-

be unnecessarily harassed by the authorities, wer it thought that he was addressing public meet-ings, since the Government had taken up an attitude of hostility towards the Soviets.

Mr. Watson's statements in the witness box suggest a plot, or something unlawful. There was nothing of the kind. He had no right, however, to divulge the fact that a meeting was held in this place, because he was invited confidentilly, and he did not obtain the permission of

ally, and he did not obtain the permission of those concerned before doing so. The meeting was held in a room over a restaurant, which was hired for the evening. I may say that the then proprietor of the restaurant has retired from business

### Sinn Fein.

As a principle, yes, certainly !' " Russian Soviet Government had any dealings with Mr. Watson, Mr. Knight, or the London impossible for the British Shop Stewards "to (continued on page 6.)



#### THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

# Workers Breadnought Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Afl Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor

Business Communications to the Manager: Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240,

## SUBSCRIPTION: Dont Free 3/3

THREE MONTHS (13 weeks)	***	LOBI	FICC	010
SIX MONTHS (26 weeks)		**		
ONE YEAR (52 weeks)	•	18		13/-

Vol. VIII. No. 37. Saturday, Nov. 26, 1921

#### IRELAND.

The question of war, or peace, with Ireland is still in abevance

It seems that Ulster is being asked on what conditions she will accept an all-Ireland Parlia-ment, and apparently she is replying that she does not want an all-Ireland Parliament, and if she did, she would insist on getting the same re-presentation for her small handful of people as is given to all the rest of Ireland. The Ulsteren show no inclination to accept an all-Ireland Parliament.

If they were to accept it, there is not, we think, any guarantee that Sinn Fein would con-cede any of the points which the British Government declares essential.

Some people think that Sinn Fein has said : "Give us an all-Ireland Parliament and we will accept your other terms." We do not think that Sinn Fein has made any such concession; we think that Sinn Fein is fencing with the Government; trying to discover ho much can be secured without itself giving anything away.

The Government, of course, is holding to the things it cares for, and bargaining with the things it does not care for. The Government and, of course, especially the Unionists in and out of the Coalition-are unwilling to quarre with Ulster, because Ulster has strong support all over the Kingdom; at the same tin question of a separate North of Ireland Parliament is not so interesting to Unionists on this side of the Channel as to those in Ireland.

But all this manœuvring on the question of an all-Ireland Parliament is as likely as not a plan originated by Lloyd George to make an appar-ently large concession to Sinn Fein, in order that when Sinn Fein rejects the Government terms on what are really important issues, the Government may say: "See, these truculent Irish refuse peace, in spite of the great conces-sion which we and Ulster have made them; they are to blame, and not we, for the inevitable

Ulster is afraid that acceptance of an all-Ireland Parliament may be taken as a precedent, even though the acceptance be only a manœuvre to make it easier for the Government to blame Sinn

The statement made by Sir Laming Worthington Evans, as to the things he and his Unionist colleagues in the Coalition Government will not tolerate, shows conclusively that there has been no offer either of Independence, or complete Dominion Home Rule to Ireland.

I will not agree to any settlement of the Irish question which does not preserve the supremacy of the Crown. I will not agree to any settlement which does not keep Ireland within the Empire. I will not agree to any settlement which does not leave the British Navy the sole guardian of the shores and the seas of Great Britain and Ireland. I will not agree to any settlement which does not make Ireland pay a fair share of the debt and of the for will I agree to any settlement that requires the coercion of Ulster to assent

The fiscal question he did not mention; but

War with Ireland remains much more probable than peace. Amongst the many evidences of this fact are the news that an army is being secretly organised in Belfast, and the manner in which the news has been received by the British authorities. The Irish Bulletin reports that the Royal Irish Constabulary of Belfast has instructed its officials that the Government is considering "the desirability of obtaining the services of the best elements of these organisations, and has

" decided that the scheme most likely to meet, the situation would be to enrol all who volunteer and are suitable into Class 'C,' and to form them into regular military units. "The force is intended as a military one,

only to be called out in grave emergency to act in a military capacity

" They will not of necessity be utilised for local defence, but may be drafted to any theatres of operations within the six counties." This can mean only one thing : that the British Government expects to go to war with Ireland on the side of Ulster.

Meantime, in the Conference and the pro-Meantime, in the conference and the pro-tracted negotiations, they are merely casting about either for a means of keeping things as they are, without war, or for a method of gulling the British people into acquiescence in war with

When the Government goes, as Austen Chamberlain said, "'to the mothers for their sons, to the wives for their husbands,," it wants to be able to make them believe that war is the only alternative.

#### British Labour still on the Fence.

Official British Labour continues to play a cowardly and contemptible part. The Joint Council of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Executive has just issued a manifesto which

Should the present Conference fail, Labour will continue to demand for the Irish people whatever Constitution for Ireland the Irish people desire, subject only to two con-ditions — that it affords protection to minorities, and that the Constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace to Great Britain—a policy which has been accepted by Irish Labour."

What do these conditions mean? Do they mean anything, or are they merely an appeal to gallery of the thoughtless?

If they are to be taken to imply what they would in the mouth of the ordinary politician, then this is the translation of these obscure phrases; phrases which a Labour Party ought hamed to use; for, of all parties Labour Party should obey the duty of using plain anguage which every working man and wo can understand.

#### LABOUR PARTY STATEMENT.

" Protection to minorities.

#### PROBABLE MEANING.

The handful of people in Ulster to be given equal power with the rest of Ireland

### LABOUR PARTY STATEMENT.

" The Constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a naval or military menace to Great Britain."

#### PROBABLE MEANING.

Ireland to be kept within the Empire under the control of the British Army and Navy, and debarred from making independent alliances with other countries

We challenge the Joint Committee to say what t means by its obscure phrases, and we urge all workers to make it their business to secure an open declaration of policy from, the Labour leaders. In our opinion, they are prepared to support the Government in the event of unless the war be thoroughly unpopular-in that case they may pause. Those who want to prevent war should en-

deavour to get the Labour movement committed to the support of the Irish Republic, and should that by no means necessarily infers that any concessions have been made in that direction. Yet such concessions would no f, with Sinn men and women who actually carry on the work of this country to resist the war. Ster.

THE HOUSING SHORTAGE IN GERMANY.

November 26, 1

### Bu A. Irvine

The housing question is as acute in Germa as here, and solutions of the problem put forwa the middle-class-Socialist Govern differ little from the panaceas of ernment, and respectable, cool-headed (n say cold-hearted) Labour leaders.

More Production " (the ten hours 'Thrift '' (lower wages), the private init of manufacturers stimulated by high pro They ration garrets and cellars, award a b

ing subsidy of over five milliards from pockets of the proletariat to the bosses of building industries, "standardise " all and door latches, advance very slowly t towards compulsory letting, set up Govern departments (salaries of officials assesse from 800 to 800 milliards, of Government entatives from 225 to 300 millions, ad Government expenses of 225 to 300 millio that for housing bureaus alone). They mend a tax on housing luxury, etc., connection with the Latter, the Büzerz says: "On April 30th 1921, the Saxor savs : Independent Socialist) Ministry of rior promulgated an order on th the luxury tax on dwellings which might as a guide to local officials, and should into consideration at once by the munic Imagine with what pleasure the classes would read the following :

"What is to be held as (housing) lun uncertain, and varies according to time and cumstances.

#### The following is in leaded type:

But housing luxury is to be disting from housing refinement. It cannot be t of a luxury tax to lower the standard of efinement, of health and comfortable that has fortunately been attained portions of the population, and that is noral value and economic importance." And so, you members of the uncul

refined masses, if your children's moral de ment suffers from the crowding into one re infants, adolescents and adults, of bo where privacy in the performance functions is impossible, and decency survive under conditions by a miracle ber that, though housing conditions ducive to moral refinement would be to you, they are a necessity to your and it would be highly undesirable th house-room should be curtailed to give

Should the housing accommodation of however, all due allowance being m "cultured" standard of living, b luxurious, " the Ministry considers the of 50 marks (please bear in mind the prevalue of the mark) for the first, 75 marks cond, 125 marks for the third, and 200 for each further taxable room, in regul portions, is not excessive.'

No, I shouldn't say it was, for a "Soci Ministry

In certain places an attempt to bousing shortage has been made by I Building Guilds and direct labour. H H there a cut has been made at the profits; but it is easy for the capitalist to these efforts, and many guilds are brought to the verge of bankruptcy.

The State railway in Bavaria has alread the trick of a specially slow delivery o materials for Workers' Guilds. In add coal for the brick kilns, the iron for ev atch, every nail, has to be obtained from S

It is impossible to create Socialist oases desert of Capitalism, and the only soluti problem of how to satisfy the workers' Germany, England, all over the work destruction of Capitalism, the sweepin side of all who, misnamed "employers o have the power to prevent us from ourselves in the direct supply of o whether for food housing, clothes, hing else necessary to human existence. November 26, 1921.

## THE VULTURES.

eaders may recall that some few months . Sadler, a British Minister of Religion, o these columns complaining that the Soviets had robbed him of his Russian is, and insisting that the capital he had in Russia should be repaid to him. plained to him that to saddle the Republic with the debts incurred Czarist régime would be to cripple it, dd to the difficulties of the people g through to reconstruct from the chotic of the old régime and battling with We showed that if the Russian worker e burdened with the payment of inter-ne old capitalists, Russian and foreign. Id still be the prey of capitalist exploitaif they were to attempt to repay the ated debts, the cost of doing so would rushing one, even if spread over a

Sadler, consumed by selfish thoughts, see that his duty in the interests of was to forego both the principal and ends he had invested in Russia. He with the international usurers in de-g either the repayment of his capital, or ed payment of the interest

not know whether he took any active the interest of securing the repayment y; whether he sent in claims through the overnment, and so on; but we know rinciple he did not withdraw his claim ds and labour of Russia's workers, and oiced that claim through the columns paper. In principle he cannot separate rom those who have endeavoured to ssia under the yoke of the old Capitalits commitments till he is prepared to his own share in the spoils and the He preaches love and brotherhood, yet ranged himself amongst those who cry : mancipation of the Russian workers from of Capitalism has caused us to lose the had bought upon them; therefore ist be forced back under the yoke of

surers of all countries who lent money st Russia have combined in a great hostile ainst the Workers' Republic. Their , far-reaching influence procured the ntervention and blockade, the Polish boycott of Soviet Russia, that still con-They fought, and fight, both openly and y bomb throwing and assassination, by They plotted to blow up bridges, that ng off the means of food supply, whole ulations might be starved. Hear René d, the noted French war correspondent, etter to President Poincaré :

allude to a private meeting held at the Consulate-General of the United States ugust 23rd or 24th (1918) . . . the nul-General of the United States, Mr. the and our own Consul-General were . I learnt that an English was arranging to destroy the railway across the Volkoff, before the station of Now it requires but a glance at the to see that the destruction of this bridge d mean the complete starvation of Petro-Moreover, the author of the ect stated himself all the gravity of the uences of such action. agent added to this that he had already oted to blow up the bridge of Tcherez, which, as far as the provisioning of gad is concerned, would have the same as the destruction of the bridge of

This paper could be filled many igh! over with well authenticated examples plotting. ssian proletariat was faced, when they

power, with a gigantic, an im-task, the task of supplying some vast population of peasants and with manufactures, industrial transport in a land where tools, and the means of transport were acking.

eds of the Russian peasants and prolehad always been notoriously under-supplied; Czarist Russia had had the possibility of

" GERMINAL " will publish the best work by Teachings of the Twelve Apostles," an early the best novelists, poets, playwrights and drafts-men who are looking forward. Christian book, declares. Suppose we try this method! Teach the three The contributors to "GERMINAL" will evils of exploitation by landlordism, and by limited companies (73,000 exist), and by the include . state-army. H. R. Barbor; Cornelia Barnes; Maurice Then organise a non-violent strike against all Becker; Amy K. Browning; Herbert Cole; Robert Dell; James Waldo Fawcett; Richard three at once. Privately each one must control the appetite of sex, and use it only to produce Fox; Edward Garnett; Hugo Gellert; Wilfrid Wilson Gibson; Henriette Roland offspring who are healthy, and desired. Wilfrid Wilson Obson; Henrette Roland Holst; Sylvia Pankhurst; Grace Potter; Ludovico Rodo; Christopher St. John; Joseph Southall; Austin O. Spare; Bertram M. Stevens; T. Sweetlove; Eric Verney; Charles W. Wood; Henri Barbusse; H. D. Harben. Marie Stopes does not urge an end to childbearnig, but to the bearing of weakly and un-desired offspring. She stands for "Radiant Motherhood," the title of one of her books.) Abolish the use of alcohol, which now wastes

£1,000,000 each day; £400,000,000 a year! 1,000,000 each day; £400,000,000 a year! "GERMINAL" will be published in December, By these spendid and non-violent methods, we at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. Its price in bring a change in men's outook, and we can will be 1s. monthly. bring in a new social order. Orders for " GERMINAL " should be sent in as

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

and self-gulling hypocrisy :

DEAR EDITOR-

procuring supplies from all the industrial poulations of the world. Such supplies were absolutely cut off from the Workers' Republic. Moreover, the counter-revolutionary armies early seized the richest coal and oil fields and cut off Central Russia from the sources of cotton and other raw materials, and the richest corn lands. The proletariat of Russia must therefore face

Its impossibly-vast productive task, handicapped in every direction and, moreover, must send from its ranks soldiers for the Red Army, fighting the revolution, and workers to rebuild the factories, bridges, houses destroyed again and again by the counter-revolution. All this must be done by the industrial workers, suffering under an actual shortage of food and clothing, and enduring every kind of personal hardship. The task was too great. Little by little, the

power of resistance and revolutionary enthu as worn down, in this direction and that. One section after another found the position of bare equality in such a period of shortage too hard to bear : section after section claimed and got special privileges-making the lot of the unprivileged still harder. Capitalism, ever intriguing, with hostility, with pretended friendship, ever fight ing, ever bringing pressure to bear, secured concession after concession—so Soviet Russia ceased to progress : took the backward path : allowed Capitalism to enter her borders with swift strides, to take her workers, little by little, back under its yoke; to thrust everyone back on his own resources; to fight for personal ad-vantage over his fellows; abandoning 'he ideal of general security provided by the principle that all should share alike from the common store; abandoning 'the principle that each shall work for all and all for each.

Now in the midst of this mournful tragedy, this failure to establish Communism; a failure which, however, is only temporary, for Com-munism is coming as assuredly as day follows night; now, whilst the international usurers flock as vultures to the tortured body of Soviet Russia, tearing from her flesh all possible profit

rears-November, 1917-1921-and has failed to

destroyed the greed of exploiters, which now emerges. Force cannot do it.

Force excites others to revenge. Whether it be Parliamentary armed force, or "Commun-ist" force, the result is the same. Greed still curses the world, in Russia, as elsewhere.

Is there no other way? "Resist not the evil man by forceful revenge" (Matthew 5, 39). "Love ye those who hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy," as the free lives of health and joy, amid scenes of Yours faithfully, GILBERT T. SADLER.

PUTNEY.

Dr. Sadler, who grumbled because the money he thought safely invested in Russia was appar-ently lost through the Revolution of the Russian workers, forgets the plight of the workers in this country, who toil as they always toiled for their capitalist masters, but who, because their master's trade is bad just now, are starving, even whilst working, as a South Wales miner writes to us this week.

### THE COMMUNISM OF THE SPRING.

I love the Communism of the Spring,

Who knows no poor and neither sells nor buys, But scatters broadcast all her merchandise In every land her courier-comrades sing A world-wide anthem, and rejoicing bring

Her countless gifts that Private Enterprise

(Thank Heaven!) is powerless to com-With profiteering combine, trust, or ring.

-R. H. L., in Melbourne "FELLOWSHIP" for September

### GERMINAL

### A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF MODERNITY

They who portray life in art, the writers and the draftsmen, have the moulding of the minds and manners of their fellows.

More than the politicians and the teachers of ethics and morals, the story-tellers make men's habits of thought and belief, their outlook on the broad and general, as well as on the intimate and particular things of life.

Reading a novel, the average man and woman Russia, tearing from her flesh all possible profit in the hour of her weakness; arises the voice of Dr. Sadler, in his uncomprehending foolishness and self-gulling hyporrisy :--

The story-tellers are given a high place in EAR EDITOR— State-force in Russia has been tried for four ears—November, 1917-1921—and has failed to the tempte of numan endeavour, they are failed to brought to mankind knowledge which has modified the whole of life and sent civilisation the temple of human endeavour; they are ranked years rovember, 1917-1921 and has failed to produce a true Communism, but only an en-forced bread rationing, and that for a time. Force, even to "terror," has been tried, and Trotsky now tries to uphold the "terror" he

he great place in social estimate is that they are creators of thought and social habit, assistants But all this has not changed men's hearts, not in the task of civilising humanity.

The average story-teller gains an easy popularity by echoing prevailing ideas, by subtly telling people that their present ideals are completely right, and that they need not trouble themselves to consider new ones.

" GERMINAL " comes to tilt at outworn standards and conventions in all fields, to set up new ideals, to assist in preparing minds and hate habits for the new times.

The war has shown us the stupidity of States. Force fails: and ever must do so. Try faith: faith in that deeper Infinite Life, whose will for us is Reason lit by Love, to create

#### THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

November 26, 1921.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

No Free Right to Strike for the Workers in Russian Private Industries.

**Restan Private Industries.** The Moscow trade union paper *Trud* declares itself in the matter of strikes in industries leased to private enterprise, and says that in Soviet Russia, where the proletariat and the State form a whole, the strike may only be used as a weapon in the most exceptional cases as a number of other means of reaching their ends are at the command of the workers. The tribunals, the authority of the unions, and com-pulsory measures of the State should ordinarily be a sufficient protection in conflicts with the employers. A strike may, in any case, only be begun with the consent of the competent highest trade union au-thority.

consent of the competent highest trade which are therity. The All-Russian Trade Union Council has worked out a project for regulation of the position of the workers in private industries in accordance with which factory committees shall be instituted as sec-tions of the trade union concerned, and maintained at the expense of the employer. The workers and officials in private industries are subject in full degrees to trade union discipline; all decisions as to the protection of workers that are valid in State industries must also be strictly observed here, and special commissions to be provided in the factories are to watch over this.

#### English Naval Plans.

**English Naval Plans.** The paper Op/uia, which appears in Jassy, reports that the English will erect a naval base at Galatz in a short time so as to control the mouth of the Danube, which will be internationalised. An English admiral has arrived in Galatz for this purpose.

#### Washington and War on Russia.

Washington and War on Russia. Rosta, the official Soviet Russia news service, wired: "We learn from a reliable Warsaw source, that Marshal Foch, who at present is on a trip to the United States, is carrying on active propaganda there in favour of an immediate military intervention in Soviet Russia. In an interview with President Hard-ing, Foch attempted to persuade him that the mere existence of Soviet Russia was a constant menace to the political equilibrium of Europe and to its economic reconstruction. At the same time we learn that the French delegates to the Washington Con-ference have received instructions to champion the intervention idea at the Conference." The "Altered Conditions" following this statement occurs the following passage:--

The "Altered Conditions" following this statement occurs the following passage:— "At the seventh Provincial Party Convention, he pointed out that the former economic policy was one of bitter attack upon the fortress of capitalism, and that this attack had ended with failure. In answer to a question as to whether the former policy was a mistake, Lenin replied that the wish to take the capitalist position by storm was no mistake. Only the application of the old methods in the present altered conditions could be considered a mistake." What are "the present altered conditions?" Does Lenin expect a large-scale foreign invasion? British East African Government Officials to

Mutiny. A mutiny against the British Imperial Government official is expected in British East Africa. The mperial Government has decided to permit Indian settlers to hold land. This has stirred up the race pride and self-interest of British settlers to boiling point, and encouraged by a prominent British official they now threaten to rebel against the Im-perial Government, and to arouse the natives to robel with them. These self-same "patriots" are cager for the extermination of Sinn Feiners and Indian Home Rulers. Mutiny.

#### Australian Miners' Wages.

The Arbitration Court is expected to reduce miners' wages at the close of the year.

#### Reaction's Big Plan in Queensland.

The "Pastoral Review," one of the most authora-tative organs of Australian Big Business, has out-lined the future policy of the reaction in Queensland.

- Large immigration, in the belief that a flood of workless people from the mother country will break the independence of the Australian

- Abolish proference to Irrade University, would be pro-sent exhabilish by Act of Parliament.
   State railways to be sold to wheever will buy
- (5) Land grants to be granted to anyone who in-
- vests money in new railways. (6) All Government Gusiness concerns to be stopped. (7) Indentured Black Labour to be imported for the high wet bulb temperature area in the

the hear were blue temperature area an the arth. This posicy has emanated from the Tory Pastors-tists' Union. The Tories hope to defeat the Labour Government and then immediately to put this policy into force through a Government of their own mak-ing. It must be admitted, however, that even if the Labour Government remains on the Treasury Bench the Tories will probably have their way, for the present period of trade depression and surplus Labour. Inclitates all reactionary movements. Austitulia and New Zealand have long been the prove that working-class conditions may be greatly improved, within the ambit of capitalism, and that State Socialism may be gradually introduced. Aus-

tralia and New Zealand have been moving backward, and not forward however, for some time, and should this new capitalist policy triumph the instability of any Reforms, so long as capitalism remains dominant, should be clearly apparent even to the Reformists. News from Holland.

News from holland. On October 30th the Communist Workers' Party of Holland (K.A.P.H.) was definitely established on a conference at Arnhem. A decision was taken to issue a weekly organ, De Communistische Arbeider (The Communist Worker), which will probably appear this month. Da Kommunist, organ, of the sec-(The Communist Worker), which will probably appear this month. De Kommunist, organ of the sec-tione Enschede of the C.W.P.H., and De Roade Vaar, organ of the Amsterdam groupe, will then cease to appear. The C.W.P.H. will join the Communist Workers' International (4th International), combat Parliamentarism, trade unionism and work, for the foundation of revolutionary workshop organisa-tions

Parliamentarism, trade unionism and work for the foundation of revolutionary workshop organisa-tions. Since November 1st the metal workers of the most important centres of industry in Holland are on strike owing to an attack on their wages from the employers' side. Some 18,000 men ceased work. This is only the beginning of a general struggle against capitalism here. One need not be a prophet to foretell that the metal workers will be defeated unless the entire working-class of this country pre-pare for a life-and-death struggle. The opportunist struggle, and do not feel inclined to wage war on the capitalist, hence their opportunist, struggle, and do not feel inclined to wage war on the trade unions, however, fear this struggle, and do not feel inclined to wage war on the capitalist, hence their opportions. Were all ower the country, as happened in 1920, during the transport strike. We do not douts that, another defeat will a tast break the power of the trade unions, and clear the way for the Revolutionary Workshop Organisations. To seven millions. On Saturday, 6th November, the purpose of organising the unemployed as in England. Steps will be take to arrive at a national organisa-tion of unemployed. The Committee will at once apply to all revolutionary geniations in the country of all too thion of any complex as in England. Steps will be take to arrive at a national organisa-tion will lead to the general attack on the Dutch and we shall not ful, of course, to push them on the rish way. Wunkcop, leader of the opportunist section of the stat, the main business of the right way. Wunkcop, leader of the opportunist section of the stat, the main business of the right way. Wunkcop, leader of the opportunist section of the state show has the powers hal the right way. Wunkcop, leader of the opportunist section of the main the firsh specils of that vast land. Life and we shall not full of course, to push them on the right way. Wunkcop, leader of the opportunist section of the state has the thiks it.

#### "The Government should find the Money."

### GOVERNMENT FINANCE-GLOOMY PICTURE.

CLOOMY PICTURE. The Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons the day before it rose that the Budget has not realised expectations. It estimated:--Ordinary Revenue, \$1058,000,000. Extraordinary Revenue, \$158,000,000. Ordinary Expenditure, \$974,000,000. Extraordinary Expenditure, \$65,000,000. Leaving a balance of \$177,000,000. Of this balance it was expected that \$97,000,000 would be absorbed by subsidies to the railway com-panies in connection with the Government control of the raiways during the war, and expenses con-nected with the coal stoppage. This estimate had been exceeded by \$20,000,000.

**£97,000,000 for Coal and Railway Kings and £5,00£,000 for Unemployed.** Compare the vast sum of £97,000,000 spent directly to indemnify capitalists and to protect capitalists

with the paltry £5,000.000 doled out to the de of the unemployed! And even this £97,000

of the unemployed! And even this £97,000,00 not enough! The remaining £80,000,000 of the surplus i intended to spend on sinking fund charges other words, the repayment of National £20,000,000, as we have just seen, was stopp that: it came down to £60,000,000, but that al: the £80,000,000 disappears altogether, revenue than was anticipated will be secured fr stamp duty, the excess profits duty, and other s The revenue of next year, says the Chance the Explorement will be much less than the ... of next year, says the C will be much less than the Exchequer, will be much less the interest on the American debt

Conference is therefore secret. There is little doubt that both British and Amer-capitalism considers Japan has too large a power China, too many preferential opportunities for c turing the Irish spoils of that vast land. I Northeliffe, in Pekin, has been professing greats pathy for Chinese independence, and his pa denounce the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which Japan more power in China than he thinks fit. The metarage of decising Chinese freedom mode

capitalist class, in co-operation with the employed, and we shall not fail, of course to push them on to the right way.
Wynkoop, leader of the opportunist section of the first international, is working hard in Parliament for the renewal of commerce between Russia and that fat, close-fisted capitalists here. He recently delivered a specefin in the House of Commons, of which we here quote some phrases as example:—
"The renewal of commercial relations with Russia is also in the interest of the proletariat. In the first place, it is of international importance that the Soviets should come in contact with the whole world. Moreover, trade with Russia is of great importance to relieve the depression now prevailing in buints. The well-known factories of Philips at Eindhoven (Holland) entered into an agreement with the Soviets the vell-known factories of Philips at Eindhoven (Holland) entered into an agreement with the Soviets the supply of 1,200,000 (electric) lamps. This is glee order would have give met with the approval of my Park, we must make capitalism still more disastrous that is already, that we must increase the unemployment, is already, that we must increase the unemployment is already, that we must increase the unemployment, is already, that we must increase the unemployment, and so co."
The Greenment should find the Money."
"The Government should find the Money."

# includes— includes— Large immigration, in the belief that a flood of workless people from the mother country will break the independence of the Australian workers. Report of the Arbitration Acts, abolition of the basic wage and price fixing. Half the the initial flood the money to drain their mines and make them profitable again. Capitalists always are flourishing they refuse all interference. WATSON'S LIBEL CASE.—Continued from page take the initiative in dissolving the union betwee Ireland and Britain." The Irish have alread taken the initiative. Watson's absurd admin taken the initiative. Watson's absurd admin taken the initiative in the price fixing. because he had alleged a connection betw Watson's propaganda and Sinn Fein.

We cannot too emphatically express our that no person in the working class movement worthy to be called a comrade who accepts me from, or enters into relations with the p We trust that this sordid case will be a wa to all who may feel any temptation in

We observe, however, that it is disgraceful t the Duke of Northumberland, for the purposes reactionary propaganda—or any propagand should have been supplied with confidential formation by Scotland Yard.

The Weekly Dispatch reports that Sco Yard, to clear itself from the charge of wasti money by paying Watson for false informatio is about to hold an inquiry into the case.

May the inquiry be Public!

#### RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

COENCEPT FOR REVIEW. PIONS AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA. Nichol. S.L.P., 50, Renfrew Street, Glas-Gives some interesting items of informa-many great people who have made a istory. The argument is that a middle or a training and upbringing is not neces-nieve greatness or to serve the revolution. the majority of people belong to the poor and from the majority of the people have any geniuses, many inventors, many pioneers. trainage to have plenty to eat in childhood heation the best of its kind; but there sorts of education. Nevertheless, this is by to ride to death. Shakespeare, whom cates as of working-class origin, may have Bacon, Marx was of well-to-do family, es of the nobility. We must not scorn the at the schools can teach till we are able to sorts the oblight. We must not scorn the at well to go to the medical schools. r siys that grammar and mäthematics are unimportance to the revolution, but mathe-used in many practical problems that the will have to tackle when it comes to the Communist community, and even poor need not be too coldly scorned. Never-is undoubtedly true that comrades who the education of the workshop are as to the echools. The former will, in s, make the better revolutionaries, for it edily true that the mass of the professional classes find their temporary immediate posed to the profestian revolution, and, eaking, the working-class must emancipate TIONS AND THE INTELLIGENTSIA.

point we are emphatic, experience of litical methods and policies cannot help except in so far as such experience may abhorence of the capitalist system.

and "I and objects of the floor, bested against credentials being granted to the American delegates, claiming that they about the name of the secretary of that Another claimed to represent a minority in of L., and if all were going to represent es, and all claim representation, ' well, ows where we'll get to.'" ILLU delegate, as his organisation only 250, was admitted in a counsellative capa-as a fratemal delegate. He was not per-speak. The same thing happened to the delegate from the same body, which is, e, more numerous.

met with so often in Germany that they talist law is tantamon apelled to build their new organisation, sible for the system.

**:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::** 

BRITISH SECTION FARTY. Dear Editor,—There are three points in your criticism of our election policy; you say:— (1) Local boards have no power to solve unem-ployment, and small power to alleviate. (2) For Socialists to attempt to administer capi-talist faw is tartamount to making themselves respon-talist faw is tartamount to making themselves respon-tartamount to tartamount to tartam

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT



<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

agriculturists, possess quite enough means in the for, of income and capital to cover all the financial re quirements of the State.



### THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

#### THE ONLY WAY.

Things are going from bad to worse, Mr. Workman. You starve when you are un-employed, and many of you are not far short of starving when you are working. Some of the miners, in fact, have nothing left to take home to their wives when they have paid the wages of the bare they even at the work of the work.

miners, in fact, have nothing left to take home to their wives when they have paid the wages of the boys they employ, at the end of the week. Things are going from bad to worse, indeed! Your Union cannot do much to help you; unemployment amongst its members has depleted its funds, and perhaps a strike or two in which its members were beaten. Meanwhile, the employers are still cutting down wages. Some of you are determined to strike. We shall see a number of desperation strikes presently. The Trade Union officials say there is small chance of success. They are right. Why?"

Partly because the workers do not strike together. The London 'busmen are talking of striking. Are they arranging that if they do, the tube men will strike at the same time? If they do not, the strike will be lost before it begins; experience ought to have taught you that, Mr. 'Busman.

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

" Is there any way out of the difficulty?"

Yes, Mr. Workman.

" What is it?"

Change the system-put the workers in power.

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

" How?"

Organise. " How?

Get together all the workers in your shop who want to do it; let them call all the w Get together all the workers in your shop who want to do it; form a series of committee for your industry, built up from the workshop basis. Let the organisations in all industries unite in one big revolutionary union. When you have the means you will be able to act. But re-member you cannot do anything with an organisation of people who do not want to do anything. Only allow those to join who have made up their minds to put the workers in control.

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT A THE WORKERS DREADAOUGHT BOOK SERVICE. 152, FLEET STREET (Entrance first door on left in Bolt Court from Fleet Street.) Open Daily, 10 am. to 6 p.m. Saturdays. 10 am. to 1 p.m. We are anything our with gaut book your desire.

We can supply you with any book you desire, new or second-hand, from British, Colonial, or foreign publishers. Give us all particulars you foreign publishers.

have, and send a deposit. By buying books from us, trade discount is transferred to propaganda.

At our office you may consult publishers' cata-logues and place your order for any book not in tock.

If you order by post, you must add, on the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price at current rate of exchange.

#### WE CAN SUPPLY ! and Pas amla

Books on History and Economics.	
Creative Revolution (E. & C. Paul)	8/6
Whitherward? Hell or Eutopia (Victor	1
Branford George Borrow and his Circle (Clement	2/6
George Borrow and his Circle (Clement	-
King Shorter)	7/6
King Shorter) Africa and the Peace of Europe (E. D.	
Morell) The Fruits of Victory (Norman Angell) The Intellectual and the Worker (Philip	2/-
The Fruits of Victory (Norman Angell)	3/6
The Intellectual and the Worker (Philip	
Kurinsky)	6d,
Industrial Unionism and Revolution (Philip	1
Kurinsky)	6d.
Kurinsky) Modern Science (Leo Tolstoy)	2d.
An Appeal to the Young (P. Kropotkin)	2d.
Gold, Prices and the Witwatersrand (R. A.	
Lehfeldt)	5/-
Origin of Poverty, and Formation of the	
Lehfeldt) Origin of Poverty, and Formation of the Village Community (J. St. Lewinski, D.Ec.Sc., Brussels)	1 Sector
D.Ec.Sc., Brussels)	8/6
The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions	
in Great Britain during the Nineteenth	
Century. (L. C.A. Knowles, Litt.D.).	
432 pages. Cr. 8vo	6/6
The Industrial History of Modern England.	
(G. H. Perris). 603 pages	8/6
The Inequality of Incomes in Modern Com-	
munities (Hugh Dalton, M.A.). 8vo	10/6
The Working Life of English Women in the	10.0
Seventeenth Century. 8v	10/6
Civil War in France (Karl Murx)	3/-
A.B.C. of Communism (Bukharin)	2/9
Communism (Eden and Cedar Paul)	6d.
A History of Trades Councils, 1860-1875	
(Cicely Richards)	1/-
Red Europe (Frank Anstey)	8/8
Economic Consequences of the Peace	-
(Keynes)	2/-
Social Theory (G. D. H. Cole)	4/6

arge Stock of Russian Literature.	
assia Before and After the Revolution	
(S. Carlyle Potter)	1/-
e Defence of Terrorism : A Reply to	
Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky)	3/1
viet Russia as I Saw it (Sylvia Pank-	
hurst)	2/
e Red Labour Union International,	
Vols. 2, 3, 4	9d
e International Labour Movement, Vol. 2.	9d
Postage 2d. ortra.	

Novels, Poetry, etc., with a Communist Tendency

Songs of Labour (Rosenfeld)	3/-
Samuel Butler's Workseach	
Erehwon; Erehwon Re-visited.	
The Way of all Flesh: a Novel.	
The Note Books of Samuel Butler.	
Justice and Liberty (G. Lowes Dickinson).	3/-
Factory Echoes (R. M. Fox)	
The Red Dawn (Albert Young)	6d.
The Fool Next Door (N. D. Douglas)	
	2/-
The Good Hope: A Play in 4 Acts, by	
Herman Heigermans. English version	01
by Christopher St. John	2/-
The East I Knew (Claudel)	3/-
Jack London's Novels, 2/- each.	
The Night Born. Mutiny of the Elsin	ore.
The Jacket. The Red One.	
The Road. Michael, Brother of	Jerry
The Human Drift. When God Laughs.	
The House of Pride. Moon Face.	
The Valley of the Moon. The Strength of the S	trong.
The War of the Classes. The Iron Heel.	
John Barleycorn. The Scarlet Plague.	
White Fang. Revolution.	
Love and Life. Etc.	
	21-
Looking Backward (Edward Bellamy) paper	81

Looking Beyond. A Sequel to "Looking Backward" (L. A, Geissler) ...... paper / 6 Cloth 8/-

- A Sequel to Looking Backward (Richard Michaelis) ...... pape

Michaelis) paper The Spy (Upton Sinclair) prison Impressions (Clarge Gilbert Cole) ..... Works by Anatole France (Translated into English) 2/-

PAMPHLETS EVERY WORKER SHOULD HAVE.

- THE FINNISH REVOLUTION (O. Kuusinen).. 3d. Showing the fallacy of attempting to ob-tain Communism through Parliament. The REVOLUTION TO-MORROW (L. A. Motler) 2d.
- A worker's view of how the Revolution will come about.

November 26, 921.

1

- SELF EDUCATION OF THE WORKERS (A. Lumacharsky)
- 24.
- 8d

- All MERCENT COMMUNICATION FACTS ABOUT COMMUNICATION FRAME IN AN INTERVENTION OF COMMUNISM IN AN INTERVENTION (H. M.
- practice. THE COMING REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN (H. M.
- CoMING REPORTAGE Emergy) eals with "What is Capitalism," "What is the State," "What the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Means," "Is a Re-volution Necessary ?" The lot post free for 2s. 3d. Deals

COMRADE NORAH SMYTH will speak on her periences in Russia. Organisations should app by letter to 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

THE EDITOR is "at home" in the Drea Office, 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, Sunday in the month from 4 to 6 p.m. the last

#### THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The Preliminary Committee of the Workers' nunist Party is prepared to enrol members. by letter only to Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Street, London, E.C. 4.

#### **'LEFT WING' COMMUNIST MEETINGS**

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26TH, treet and Grundy Street, Poplar, 3.30 p.m Chrisp Street SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3RD, Wren Road, Camberwell, 6 p.m.

#### JUST OUT NEW EDITION COMMUNISM AND

THE FAMILY KOLLONTAY'S SPLENDID PAMPHLET

### Price - 4d.

Tells what everyone wants to know about life under Communism. Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions From WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT Office,

152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

To British Workers (with map explaining Soviets' working system ..... 2d.

#### For Embroidery

SOVIET ARMS TRANSFERS. Excellent quality, will not crack

2d. A SHEET. Containing two copies of the Arms, one 4 in., to other  $2\frac{5}{4}$  in. in width. Embroider the Soviet Arms on your blouses, hand-kerchiefs, cushions and collecting bags. Additional sizes to order.

# ADVERTISEMENTS.

### DENTISTRY.

For Satisfactory Teeth see F. ALDRIDGE, Communist, 44 Waterloo Road, S.E.1 10 per cent. Discount for Comrades.

#### SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS-1d. a Word.

EXPERIENCED Housekeeper desires situation. Go references. Apply Box 10, Workers' Dreadnoug Fleet Street.

- HELPERS WANTED.—Comrades with time to sp for clerical and other voluntary work in *Dreadnought* Office, and for paper selling other work outside, are requested to write to Manager, Workers' Dreadnought Office, 152, F Street, E.C.
- LECTURE ON "Shakespeare's Greatness Capit Propaganda." By M.I.C.P. For dates and te apply K.M., 33, Silver Crescent, Gunnersbury,
- Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fie Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by 8. Out at 10, Wine Office Court, Flest Street, London E.O. 4.

Advertise your Wants in the "Dreadnought," Deal with our Advertisers and mention the Paper.