The Grief and Glory of Russia.

VIII. No. 21

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6TH, 1921

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

BY RIGHT AND REASON—NOT BY FORCE.

Right not might, by reason not by force: at is the ideal towards which humanity working. Of course, we all look forward desirable end.

at the world is very savage still, and capitalist system, the system that mains the Haves as rulers of the Have Nots, naintained entirely by force; the display orce, the threat of force, when necessary use of force. We are environed by the of force, and all around us is the mation that the rule of force adminisd by the Capitalist State is just, necess, and permanent in the sense that it something that always must remain. It is even the tacit assumption that rule of force is not force at all, but passive compulsion of general consent, spite of the Army and Navy used for pulsion of the home population, as well abroad; the police force in all its aches, the constables with their truncts, the racks of rifles that have lately at lated with the t into the police stations, the detectives lead-weighted sticks and rifles in the pocket, the warlike Royal Irish Con-

ne overthrow of all this force arrayed The overthrow of all this force arrayed support of capitalism is a tremendous k, a task that only gigantic movements the people can render possible. We do not wonder that when we quail before immensity, as all who realise it must all at times, some should fancy these are to be the voice of conscience telling on to do all things only by consent, not take his wealth from the rich unless he e it; not to bind the strength of the ong unless he surrender it.

ailing the Revolution.

when the Russian Revolution broke out swept all before it, apparently with so the ease, so little danger or conflict; arently with the general consent and lause of all the governments and peose of Europe, then a shout of approval gout from the Socialists of all kinds approved. parently

he Herald Group takes Action.

The Herald Group takes Action.

Here in England George Lansbury and the Daily Herald group bestirred themselves, and presently convened an informal meeting, at which foregathered all the Herald young men with their enthusiastic brotherly airs and intellectual voices, led by their big man Lansbury; big Robert Williams, the platform fire-eater of the Herald-cum-industrialists, the oratorical diplomatists of the J.L.P. with their most cautiously orthodox Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden (they were Members of Parliament then with their seats to consider), and the B.S.P.ers pale from the dusky, airless offices of Maiden Lane, E.C., Fairchild, Albert Inkpin and the rest, besides a bunch of pacifists like C. G. Ammon, and a few carefully selected women. Somehow we also were included in the invitation to the preliminary conference where strange new lights were seen flaming ruddy on the horizon and the air seethed with the steps of the oncoming masses who would arise with amazing speed to establish Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. The International Social Revolution was on the point of knocking



at Britain's door, and it was important to insure that the proper people should float on its shoulders into power.

The National Executives of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. were the first, and apparently the most legal claimants to office. They had formed the United Socialist Council, and if the masses should make a revolution it would clearly be their duty to allow this body to control them. That was obviously the view of the United Socialist Council.

But the Herald also put in a claim, and the Herald young men urged that a revolution must not be monopolised by a clique: people of all shades of opinion must be given a chance to come in and control it. Obviously it would never do to leave out the Herald and George Lansbury and Robert Williams, and the other buoyant brotherly big men in whom the Herald young men place their faith. place their faith.

place their faith.

So it was arranged that Workers and Soldiers' Councils should be set up according to the latest Russian formula. There should be a provisional committee of thirteen members at that small meeting to make perfectly sure that the right people should be on it. A further thirteen could be elected more democratically later on.

So they were appointed, the leaders of the British Soviet Revolution—for they were out for Government by Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in those days, you know. Here is the list:—

George Lansbury.
Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.
Philip Snowden, M.P.
F. W. Jowett, M.P.
Robert Smillie.
Robert Williams. Charles G. Ammon.
W. C. Anderson, M.P.
E. C. Fairchild.
H. (Alexander.
J. Fineberg. Tom Quelch. C. Despard.

To GEORGE LANSBURY & L. T. SADLER

Mrs. Despard's name was selected last of all in the list. The woman was chosen as an afterthought. "We must have a woman!" The original number had been twelve Eyes were turned anxiously in several directions, and they rested more than once on the not unwilling Mrs. Snowden; but someone mentioned Mrs. Despard, and the politeness of the gathering could not venture a contest around that venerable figure.

So events moved on to the Leeds Conference. We had always our doubts of these thirteen enthusiastic revolutionaries, but they had no doubts of themselves. Oh, none whatever! The revolution was coming: the workers and soldiers would certainly make it, and these bold leaders would certainly not shrink from leading those who would undoubtedly do the work.

In the meantime the manifestoes were a

Leeds Conference was held; what an orgy of enthusiasm! Delegates flocked from all parts of the country, filled all the available lodgings, and even commandeered the rail-way trains to sleep in. It seemed a veritable breaking of the bonds. When the conference was over, we found that nothing definite had been done. We had not even elected the requiring helf of the executive. elected the remaining half of the executive. Nevertheless, we were all out for the Revolution; there was no doubt about that.

The provisional committee issued a manisto. Here is the greater part of it:

WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL. Manifesto to District Conferences.

Manifesto to District Conferences.

The memorable Leeds convention will remain a landmark in our democratic history. Masses of our people have been stirred deeply by the glorious Revolution achieved by the men and women of Russia. Caring for democracy and the Labour cause, with the triumph of which is bound up the triumph of world-wide peace, they have preserved the instinct of freedom through years of repressive and coercive laws. The time has come for organised common action, and for a general advance.

The Work and the Spirit

The Work and the Spirit.

Workers and soldiers are achieving a common power. If justice is to be secured for all soldiers and their dependents, and if freedom is to be won for all workers, they must join forces. These reasons led to the creation of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. In accordance with the resolutions passed at Leeds, the Provisional Committee desires to indicate, in broad outline, to the local organisations something of the task ahead, and the spirit in which it should be undertaken.

The Russian Lead.

The Russian Lead.

Not in any narrow or exclusive sense, we desire to cultivate close alliance and solidarity with the Russian democracy. They have given fresh courage to all struggling against bureaucracy and despotism and toward liberation. Every people must work out their own salvation in their own way, with such industrial and political weapons as may be available. The Russian workers have pointed the way towards the healing of nations and a new Internationalism, and it is the manifest duty of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council and all its branches to proclaim

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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Increased Postal rates and high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment.

BY RIGHT AND REASON-Continu

A communism to the secretary, adaphi, London, W.C. 2.

The Bearts that Qualled.

Already the first breath of Government Disapproval was meeting "The Break of Revolution," but still hope ran high; for a space, for an all too little space: it was soon to fade. District conferences were announced, mobs organised by the capitalist press attacked them; the provisional committee could find no offices; no landlord would accept their tenancy; the Government announced its hostility to the movement. So the hearts qualled of those who had meant to lead the Revolution, and they began to shuffle out. The thirteen district representatives were elected by proportional representation through the post, because the conferences which were to have appointed them had been attacked. When we district representatives arrived we found a dying council. Lansbury's hopes were fled and the fire of his enthusiasm vanished, he was too busy to attend, and could hardly spare space in the Herald for the council's announcement. The LLP, representatives, a little more tenacious of their reputation for faithfulness and responsibility were almost too busy to come: they came still.

We have explained to Dr. Sadler that for a Communism. Ommunism considers the gradual repayment of capital is to under communism. Commun

You do not quite grasp the other aspect of my complaint: riz., the use of force by Lenin. He has forcibly despoiled local landowners and capitalists by the Red Army.

This was force applied not by the A because the Army was not needed, but the Red Army.

Russian Revolution, to welcome genuiaely the dawn of freedom in that land, we must strengthen in our own country the movement toward political and industrial emancipation, and take a firm stand against all forms of exploitation.

The Breath of Revolution.

The present hour, heavy with destiny and fate, with new mighty movements in the making, with

Dr. Sadler complains that the Red Army has been used to despoil local landlords and capitalists. He objects to the use of

in Holloway prison borrowed some money on security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed for money she parted with the security to put into the business she had inherited from her father during her husband's absence in China: Being pressed the money of the ending of landlordies to produce the woney of the land

other forceful measures employed State. Whether the minion of the wears a black coat or a wig and go blue or a khaki uniform, is indifferent vided he possesses the power of compu

and communications to the Boest Norman State of the Boest Norman State of the Boom of Revolution.

The Breath of Revolution in the air, does not call immediately for programme-building, but when the full Council of 26 is assembled, and with the mandate from the Movement in the country, a full statement of immediately mandate from the Movement in the country, a full statement of immediate aims and objects will be forthcoming. Great principles are needed, and all statement of immediate aims and objects will be forthcoming. Great principles are needed, and all should be inspired by the love of freedom, the harted of tyranny. In all this, there is work lying ready to hand.

The Doom of Rulers.

Bussia demands that democracy must rule, since the guilt and doom of rulers have been traced in the blood of millions. We are at one with Russea in stricing for a people's peace.

The Provisional Committee or The Workers' and Lenin acknowledged this.

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Eusia domain the modern provided the security for her deigner with the denotricity in the landlord: it is a matter of opining the farm buil

announcement. The J.L.P. representatives, a little more tenacious of their reputation for faithfulness and responsibility were almost too busy to come; they came estill, but they came exceedingly late. The B.S.P., long accustomed to wait cap in hand upon Hyndman and his coterie, were too timid to proceed without the important personages, and so hours would pass whilst the remmant of the committee sat fuming with impatience, and yet any attempt, and we made many, to proceed with the business was met with a stony silence.

Finally the committee met promptly one day, and we arriving, for once a little late, found that in a few moments it had dissolved itself and was no more.

The opposition was too great, the response from the workers too small, the time still unripe, said the council. Ail that may be true a thousand times; but they who formed that Workers' and Soldiers' Council are to-day in a curiously inconsistent position, to Soviets, and to ought but conciliation and constitutional progression for the ending of the capitalist system.

Dr. Sadler's Argument.

its own force, the Red Army, to protect Russian people and enforce the laws their Soviet Republic. The Soviet decreed the ending of landlordism:

were able.

If this plan prevailed in all the capitalist companies — 73,000 are registered in Britain—it would soon change the social system: for many investors have already been repaid, by rent, interest or dividends, what they invested!

The Public Trustee made the woman a bank rupt and sold up her goods. The Governor of Holloway brought her the key of her empty shop and a document stating that she had been made bankrupt.

The Public Trustee made the woman a bank rupt and sold up her goods. The Governor of Holloway brought her the key of her empty shop and a document stating that she had been made bankrupt.

Continued on page 8.

RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BEFORE 1905.

Social Revolutionists and Social Democrats.



LUNATCHARSKI-MINISTER FOR EDUCATION.

International as too revolutionary. And it is a grim joke that the two leading sparits of their terrorist fighting organization, especially after the arrest of Gershuni, were the two supermen of spydom and white-guardism—Azev and Savinkov. This is the

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

By MAX STRIPIANSHI

his views, and his theoretical system, which brought forth a rather voluminous literature, was often called a combination of Marxian, Blanquist, Bakunist and Syndicalist elements. He and his adherents founded a number of groups ("Makhayevtsy") in Petrograd, odessa, Warsaw (and Cracow, on Austrian Polish territory), concentrating their activity mostly among the unskilled workers and the unemployed, whom they urged to come out with immediate concrete demands addressed either to their employers (higher wages) or to the Government (to provide immediately work for all unemployed). According to them the working-men were always ready to fight, if only the object was obviously in their interest, such as higher wages or providing of work for the unemployed. The further development of this struggle, assisted and organized by a secret organization, was to bring about a decisive clash between the whole working class, using the weapon of the general strike, followed by insurrection, and the forces of the Governmont. The outcome was to be the dictatorship of the working class which, however, in Machajski's view, was somewhat different from the conception commonly prevailing since 1917.

This group was not very successful in ifs activities. Most of its members were soon arrested and dispersed. Some of them are at present active in the Communist movement. Machajski himself after the November Revolution (the latest news of him reached us in 1918), admitted that part of his predictions had not come true—viz, the Bolsheviki had turned out to be better than he expected. And he was not sorry.

Anarchist Tendencies.

On the opposite pole, although likewise appealing

Anarchist Tendencies.

protection of directly. From feedalism to propogation with "west "west come in a particular and a propogation of the travel of the control of

Workers Dreadmought

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Vol. VIII. No. 21. Saturday, August 6, 1921.

HALF THE PEOPLE KEEPING THE OTHER HALF.

The plea of the Poplar Labour Councillors for the equalisation of London's rates is not a Communist or revolutionary one: it is purely respectable Reformism to which many a rigid Liberal will agree. Nevertheless, assuming that the Poplar Labour men stand to their guns and go to gaol for their principles, we offer them our congratutions, and cordially hope that they will get political treatment at Brixton. Nevertherese, should they get it we shall remember regretfully that their zeal for prison reform and their sympathy for other political prisoners, as well as for the other offenders, would have been greatly enhanced had they gone through the ordinary mill.

Mr. Lansbury's protest that the political prisoners are the control of the R.I.C.; here is the crux of the control of the R.I.C.; here is the crux o

Mr. Lansbury's protest that half the people of Poplar are keeping the other half is as serious an indictment of the capitalist system as could be delivered.

Half the people are keeping the other half mainly because the other half are unemployed. They are not wanted by capitalism, and since they cannot legally be killed off they are maintained on the lowest

to provide. Some of them are 'bus workers, and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus in going to and from our work, and plead with the conductor to let more than five of us hang on to the straps. Some of us go short of clothing, boots and food, coal and gas, and workers in all these services and gas, and workers in Poplar. The houses in Poplar and gas, and workers in all these services are unemployed. The houses in Poplar borough are falling down through age, neglect, and original poverty of construction, and if amongst the unemployed of the borough there are no builders, plumbers, carpenters or joiners, some of them might be carpenters or joiners, some of them might be trained in these crafts if only the capitalist system could be swept away. Under Communism there will be an abundance of work for all: a shortage rather than a surplus for all; a shortage rather than a surplus of labour, firstly because since all will live in comfort and plenty, consumption will be greatly increased. Thus there will be a much larger call for labour than at present.

Secondly, all workers will have abundant leisure for study, recreation and rest; the working hours will necessarily be reduced.

Out-of-works, you are not wanted in this system; because it is a system in which consumption is kept low by keeping the mass of the people in a state of chronic want.

Therefore change the system!

MOVING ON

of Labour Co

For	Amsterdar	n			1.572	votes
For	Moscow				1,327	votes
A Rev	volutionary	Trade	Union	Comm	ittee a	vill act

UNEMPLOYED.

Robert Warwick, aged 60, lay on the railway at Peterborough and allowed a train to run over him because he was penniless and hungry.

Four men, three aged more than 70, and one aged 29, were found ill from starvation in London during the holidays and removed to infirmaries.

Puel Supply.

The collecting successfully in Soviet republic.

"No Socialists the holidays and removed to infirmaries."

OUR SYMPATHY.

We tender our sympathy to the relatives of the Comrades, delegates to the Third International, who lost their lives in the Russian railway accident, and to the movement which will suffer the loss of their

HYNDMAN ON THE DOWN GRADE.

A resolution on Ireland was adopted, which is more advanced than any adopted by the Labour Party, and than the official policy of the Labour Party and its Parliamentary group.

A RECKLESS RECTOR.

Even the wilest of politicians is liable at times to depart from the realm of illusion into that of fact. It is hardly surprising, therefore, to find that Mr. Bonar Law, who is not exactly a Machiavelli, was recently guilty of a serious breach of professional etiquette.

employed. They are not wanted by capital sinds, and since they cannot legally be killed off they are maintained on the lowest possible rations by the people capital finds it profitable to employ.

Though the work of half the people is refused the community is actually short of the services the workless are accustomed to provide. Some of them are 'bus workers, and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and daily we fight for a place in the 'bus and the profit of the fight for a place in the 'bus and the profit of the fight for a place in the 'bus and the profit of the fight for a place in the 'bus and the profit of the Glasgow University. Whether the sense of his new dignities, combined with the plaudits of the gilded youth of St. Andrews had temporarily turned his brain, it is impossible to say; but certain it is, that the Right Hon. gentleman was moved to make the following remarkable confession:—

"Whatever may be in front of us, I have had, with the Prime whether the sense of his provided youth of St. Andrews had temporarily turned his brain, it is impossible to say; but certain it is, that the Right Hon. gentleman was moved to make the following remarkable confession:—

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To tell the truth, we had always suspected that these crises in the nation's history were not quite as desperate as they were made out to be at the time; but scarcely hoped to have our suspicions confirmed in so unmistakable a fashion from so authoritative a source.

what ponderous humour:—

"One of the disadvantages of public life in a democratic country, is the part which the limelight apparently [!] plays in securing success. That part is not so great as it seems. The political leader must understand the people, with whom power rests [winks from the undergrads] and he is tempted to play on their weaknesses, but this does not go as far as is often supposed.

"No man can secure the confidence of the House of Commons or of the country, unless he has gained a reputation for disinterestedness and sincerity. The only way such a reputation can be retained is by the actual possession of these qualities."

A very consoling doctrine for the heroes of the "New World," "Hang the Kaiser" and "Make-Germany Pay" election; but what do the recipients of their disinterested sincerity think about it?

Accounts must be paid monthly. Returns only accepted if sent in when account is due.

Mrs. Brimley 10s., Dr. Polorteer £1, Friet S. Robinson 4s., W. J. Braddock 14s. 6d.

NEWS FROM SOVRUSSIA.

"No Socialists Wanted."

rine dapanese government has forbidden the cipation of any Socialists in the Vladivostok ernment."

Convention of the Baltic States.

of the current year.

Tribute to Tolstoy.

Government decree instructs People's Education Commissariat, acting through duly appointed cu todian, to preserve Yasnaia Poliana as a nation. Tolstoy Museum and educational centre, maintainintact the entire estate with all buildings and revently protecting the great thinker's grave. A agricultural land adjoining the estate to be hande over to the Tolstoyan Communist Industrial group governing it autonomously in accord with People Agriculture Commissariat.

White Lead.

Agriculture Commissariat.

White Lead.

Captain Bowyer complained that the proposal the International Labour Conference at Geneva abolish the use of white lead in painting because is so harmful to the workers engaged in it mean the closing down of lead manes in Austra Burma and Rhodesia. Trade comes before human in capitalist eyes. He asked that the British reg sentatives should stand up for the use of potson white lead against the world. At the Marmet B Carriage Works, Letchworth, ten persons are ployed in the painting department: five cases lead poisoning are officially reported amongst it this year. The firm decided to discontinue the of lead paints in May.

RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BEFORE 1905.

RUSSIAN MOVEMENT BEFORE

Continued from Page 3.

much akin to French Syndicalism. H
munist-Anarchism for him soon beca
"program minimum," and he was abou
to a purely philosophical Anarchism,
arrested and condemned to eight ye
labour. After escaping from Siberia,
New York, determined to withdraw fro
good, when the Russian Revolution of
him to return again to his country,
frequent contributor to Russian Comm
and it is most likely that the old-tir
the two Anarchist hereiarchs, Grossman
Novoyirsky, has come to a close, now
both working for the Soviet Governm

The Maximalists."

The Maximalists."

The Maximalists."

The Social-Revolutionists also gave birth to current that already in 1905—1906 was advocain the Social Revolution. It was at first only a opposition within the party, the main controver being, if we are not mistaken, the question of it agrarian terrorism (terrorism against the big land holders) and the armed attacks for expropriating government money for party purposes. The officiparty, bent upon its respectability, was against the two forms of terrorism, and recognized only it killing of obnoxious government officials. Finall that opposition founded a separate party calling that their revolutionary activity was bent upo immediate conquest of the maximum program, is Socialism itself. One of their first theoretician was Engene Lozinsky, a writer of great learing an ability, who later embraced the gospel of Machajsk This party stands out among all other terrorisgroups that ever existed in Russia, through it almost incredible daring with which they, in larg groups, organized their terroristic attacks against the leading officials or the property of the Governmen Most of them perished in the unequal struggle. was their name (Maximalists) that was attached to years later, after the March Revolution of 1917, by the bourgeois press to the Bolsheviki.

Among the present champions of Social Revolution Russia it was strangely enough the then Mensher Leon Trotsky who at that time, after the downla of the Russia it was far distant, but as the task of the actual moment. This stand, of course, separated him from his former associates; he formed among the Russia Social Democraty a class by himself. No would that he joined the Bolsheviki, who had alway formed the left wing of the Russian Social Democracy, when during the war they took the stan that in the course of time made them the party of the Social Revolution.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

THE GRIEF AND GLORY OF RUSSIA.

packed with mixed audiences, with their speakers gorth, and the hour has been past midnight, hist mottoes and portraits in colour adorned the In the Anarchist-Communist Hall I saw a go of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, loobs, were frequent, and outside the buildere big sign-boards bearing the name and lars of the organisation responsible for running Job."

literature, Bakunin's works and the writings Anarchists were prominently displayed in shops, and at least three Anarchist published weeklies, and one monthly were obtaintly for Anarchists suppression.

It is in Prison.

It is in Prison.

the Eagle.
the story, "against" the Anarchists, visit to the Kremlin, I went in company others to see a very fine Museum which to the famous Christchurch. We were ably a comrade who, to let him down manned a little. He was a strong antiangle as the same of the same pointed to the large bronze Eagles lying in the snow. "See those," he said; "that of thing the Anarchists did: they smashed they could." Now, as a matter of fact, arowed policy of the protetariat in Russia. Budin, to give an explanation of certain matters are made and emblems of the old regime. They

gl capitalist newspapers have from time given considerable sympathy—and space—tales of Bolshevik tyramy towards the st movement in Moscow. A forged statement the limit of bolshevik tyramy towards the st movement in Moscow, which finds full space for reprosentations on the Historian and the state of the Moscow, in full sympathy with the Company and collecting, for the Museum of the Historian architst Movement in Moscow, in full sympathy with the Company are collecting, for the Museum of the Historian architst Movement in Moscow, are was sufficient to convince me that no. Capitalism would the same thing be allowed ated. On the big main street, Tyrskaia, to the hour has been past midnight, a motioes and portraits in colour adorned the build-to the hour has been past midnight. A motioes and portraits in colour adorned the build-to the big sign-boards bearing the name and of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, show, we refrequent, and outside the build-to be given bearing the name and of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, show, we refrequent and outside the build-to be given bearing the name and of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, the motioes and portraits in colour adorned the build-to be given bearing the name and of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, the motioes and portraits in colour adorned the build-to be given bearing the name and of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, the motioes and portraits in colour adorned the build-to be given bearing the name and of William Morris. Meetings in these halls, show, we refrequent, and outside the build-to be given bearing the name and the theory of the pattern the propose to reform the walks when I was there. It was here that I go my first lesson as to the depth of power of control that the workers exercise in industry.

The first top we made was at Sysran about 500, about 6,000. A very large market was in full to my first lesson as to the depth of power of control that the world not register the downfall of Art at the hands of the destructi

of the state of th

By HENRY SARA

DELEGATES AT THE COMMINTERN



m left to right, top row—M. Relent (French Syndicalist), Herran (Communist Party, England), General Cushmin (Archangel), Abiloff (Soviet Republic of Azerbajan) A Woman Delegate from Azerbajan, Bill Haywood (I.W.W. of U.S.A.). Second Row—Rosmer (French Delegate and Member of the E.C. of the Commintern), Burian (Czecho-Slovakia), Reichenbach (Communist Labour Party of Germany), Kreibich (German Part of Czecho-Slovakia), Eugen Claussen (Norway)

Colbjörnsen (Norway), Steinhart (Austria-Hungary).

By F. T.

THE CLOUDS OF A EUROPEAN WAR ONCE AGAIN.

By F, T.

During the months of April and May this year the thing over Europe ngain. Whether the first many of the thing over Europe ngain. Whether the first many of the thing over Europe ngain is the second activity with it the final demonstration of control of the first many of the first removed it is difficult to affirm, yet the fact remains that breathlessly the humbring of the interest of the part of the second of the first in the collection of the second of the first in the first of the second of the first in the first of the second of the first in the first of t

By M.I.C.P. ON THE TRAIL OF THE REDS! Dedicated to the Readers of the "Morning Post."

But Mrs. Fitzgerald did not wait for any moshe was out of the office and down the stairs in twinkling:

Once safely in Fleet Street she called the taxi, and was whisked off to Earl's Court, again to venture on the trail of the "Reds."

WHAT'S SHE, THE GRANNY WITH DEMENTED LOOKS?

What's she, the old soul with wild, whispi

And black eyes burning in a pallid face, Her fingers sticking out like waxen spikes Under the long sleeves that engulf her hands? Goes she not tamed among the ordered file, But hither, thither, runneth o'er the grass, Gathers green leaves and tells a chattering tale, Her garments flapping in the frisky wind, Her stockings and her garters round her feet. Now stern the officer to order calls: Pays Gran no heed; but eager rusheth on. To pick a crust from some cell window cast, And childish, fancying pigeons to entice,

Chases their buoyant flight with tottering tre The well-fed Magistrate hath felt no shame To send this old demented granny here.

CONGRATULATIONS.

To Errico Malatesta and Amando Borghi, rele in Milan on July 31st. To John McLean, released in Glasgow in Augus

To Comrades Cook, Dollings and Wells, the Soul Wales Rebels, who are always fighting, on their present. We hope they will suffer as little a possible from their ordeal.

In our endeavours to overthrow an economic system immorably. The intellectual inertia which forms so produced and and untual service, it is essential for the endeavour that it is not on economic grounds alone to we are fighting for revolution. The social revolution was great as a divitives, if the New Order for which he is well as divitives, if the New Order for which he is wince the complex and activities, if the New Order for which he is wince the complex and activities, if the New Order for which he is wince. The more he learns of the complex nature common the complex of the complex and activities, it is self-evident that true morality must used of approbation, than to investigate the bases of a delivery of this sufferings and sceric common relationship of the complex nature common the complex of the complex nature common relationship of the complex nature common that the complex of the complex nature common that the complex of the complex nature common that the present common the complex nature common that the complex nature common the complex nature common that the comm

August 6, 1921.

A man may be both impure and licentious in his private life, provided that his loveless liaison be sanctioned by Church or State. Purity is consulted view of ideas which, given but superprejudiced view of ideas which given but superprejudiced view of ideas which, given but superprejudiced view of ideas which given but superprejudiced view of ideas which given but superprejudiced view of ideas which, given but superprejudiced view of ideas which given but superpr

THE DEBASEMENT OF LOVE. By D. E. MULLINS.

In our endeavours to overthrow an economic system parental vice, makes indignant reply to the pastor who has been shocked at hearing of the kind of life lived by the artists of Paris. He has learnt that is a standing violation of the principles of powerful an obstacle in the path of progressive thought printy—that "irregular minions," where there is much social reform, is a factor to be reckoned with in mutual respect, are incomparably more beautiful.

where the same of the same of

occurrents kill and rob your friends without the skidow of an excuse, though no justification; but the Capitalist Governments, whose action absolves Lenin from any caponsibility.

Dear Editor,—I quite agree with Comrades Staple and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and is likely to be so for some time.

When the Russian Czarist Army crumbled away, the Russian people, in the throes of the debace, alled Lenin to the rescue. Lenin was quite averse of the rescape. Lenin was quite averse of the restablishment of a National Army, and pleaded for peace, but the allied bandsts (the British people of the commant factor) compelled Russia to result of the principles of command maintenance of the Army, and the unnecessary and maintenance of the Army, and the unnecessary suntunance of war, completely dissipate any claim hat the capitalists might otherwise have had. Had awe been no Bussian Army to-day!

When the Lenin government proposed to negotiate of peace, which of course includes repayment of a principles.—Editor,—I quite agree with Comrades Staple and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and Goldberg that the Religious Dope is a very real menace to the Modern Communist Movement, and is likely to be so for some time.

But I think that a very little more thought one of the I th

state of fog, in which no many and refused to gother, and thereby enforced Russia to re-mobilise, to the would consume their capital and render it possible for Lenin either to repay or negotiate any repayment.

Surther, Lenin's group never received either the fail or the Railways it was supposed to have it. The Czar's group had these, and the Czar's group had these, and the Czar's group had these and the Czar's group had these and the Czar's cacesion of Lenin! There is no case against in. I have fivested to come up against facts. The Marnian Dogmas have, to put it at the mildest, been proved insufficient where the was and Industries, and received neither interest repayment of capital, of which I hold the hless scrip, so much waste paper, I might just asily accuse Lenin of robbing me of this.

Doctor says "Capitalism is a great evil!" the body of State Socialists Movements did not at all come out as Marx and Lengel sexpected. The whole vile pack of State Socialists Movements did not at all come out as Marx and Lengel sexpected. The whole vile pack of State Socialists movements did not at all come out as Marx and Lengel sexpected. The whole vile pack of State Socialists and Social, and let us be guided by this living adout us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guided by this living about us, and let us be guide

against Asquith, Lloyd George and the Coalition, with their allied confederates.

Lenin is not guilty!

Yours truly,
B. L. BOWERS.

97, Aireville Road,
Frizinghall, Bradford.

[* It would be more accurate to say against their desires. The Bolsheviki foresaw that capitalism would fight to maintain itself, and knew that Communism must be prepared to resist capitalism's armed attack.

—EDITOR, "Workers' Dreadnought."]

15. Resymment of capital hye, Communist generating the correspondence must now close.—Ed., W.D.]

Clara Cole (Camberwell) writes: "John Brown's article in the week before last is specially fine."

PRISON LIFE.

I had no intention of entering into a "debate" with you, but perhaps you will allow me a few words more.

more.

1.—First, I am not Hon. Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform. That post is in the more competent hands of Miss Margery Fry, to whom I handed over the Hon. Secretaryship of the Penal Reform League more than two years ago.

2.—Your idea of the Probation Officer is perhaps taken from bad examples, of which their are plenty, or from a misconception. Many ex-probationers will give a very different account of the Probation Officer; for they have found him or her a good friend in need. The probation method may be only a tuakeshift to mitigate an evil system, but it introduces a new principle and a good one—namely, friendship in place of repression and retailation. The fact of the Probation Officer being a Court official does not entirely spoil the friendship, if he is the right sort.

3.—Hospital colonies for inebriates, etc., such as I have advocated, are possible under Capitalism, as you would, I think, agree if you had seen the Norfolk State Hospital in Massachusetts.

4.—I have never forgotten that people will nor want the foot that they have been possible that the

Mrs. Ellen Fitzgerald was a woman of about fitty years of age, but looked much younger. Being the wife of a millionaire financier she could afford a Rolls-Rdyce or some such means of transport; she, could dress magnificantly and look attractive, if she had so choren. But Mrs. Fitzgerald's happeness had of late been disturbed by the alarming alegations of her trusted friend, the Editor of "The Mouning Truth." That gentleman, Gregory by name, had made a special point of referring to "Bolshevik and the "British Bolshevik." I'll expose her average belshevik; jewels; oh, the Anti-Christith Codd," "Bolshevik Diamonds," "Bloody Revolution," and the "British Bolshevik." Bloody Revolution," Mrs. Fitzgerald was alarmed; in fact, she imagined

Mrs. Fitzgerald was alarmed; in fact, she imagined the revolution being manufactured; and the horrible article, by now nearly completed. She was remotely related to Sir Bernard Sleuth, the head of the Secret Service; therefore she had it in her blood—and she could not help it. Accordingly, one Sunday afternoon she disguised herself in the attire of a respectable working-class woman, and journeyed forth to try and find out what her great relation had alied to discover, namely, the "British Bolsheviks" nanufacturing revolution.

She proceeded to Fart's Chart State of the country of the men gave the pass-word in an unknown tongue, and they were admitted.

In imagination Mrs. Fitzgerald saw herself as

"Not half!" answered his companion, who was studying a newspaper. "Look here, he says in this paper that the blooming capitalists give us what we earn, I'd like to know who earns £150,000 a year. As Comrade Pankhurst says in the 'Dreadnought,' 'we're robbed'."

"We could see Comrade Pankhurst to-day, she will be at the 'Dreadnought' Office. I should like to ask her a few questions about getting to Russia."

Mrs. Fitzgerald could hardly contain herself with excitement on hearing this, and as soon as the train

failed to discover, namely, the "British Bolsheviks" manufacturing revolution.

She proceeded to Earl's Court Station, and asked for a fourpenny ticket, for which she tendered a ten pound note. The clerk judging her only by her attire, was suspicious of the note, and demanded something smaller. This made Mrs. Fitzgeraid very angry, but bravely bearing this insult from one of the lower orders she searched her pockets for the necessary pence, and snatching her ticket hurried on for her train. She was careful to get into a smoking carriage, as she thought it more probable she might overhear some conversation which would give her the "clue" she was seeking. She entered the carriage, and looking round stealthily, spied a couple of working men in shabby attire sit ing together at the far end, and conversing in fairly loud tones. She heroically dashed down the carriage took the vacant seat opposite them—and listened to their conversation.

"Old Fitzgerald's got the wind up, ch?" said one of the men, "'spect he's got too much to lose, that's why."

"Not half!" answered his companion, who was studying a newspaper. "Look here, he says in this paper that the blooming capitalists give us what we earn, I'd like to know who earns £150,000 a year. As Comrade Pankhurst says in the 'Dread-nought,' we're robbed!"

"Oh, by the way, Harry," said the first speaker,

"We epuld sae Clark entrace admitted.

In imagination Mrs. Fitzgerald saw herself apponent the door and knock. The Chinaman again appeared, and after some delay she was admitted.

In imagination Mrs. Fitzgerald saw herself appeared, and after some delay she was admitted.

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In imagination Mrs. Fitzgerald sa



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE

(By Karl Marx. With an historical Introduction by R. W. Postgate. Labour Classic No. I. The Labour Publishing Co., 6, Tavistock Square, W.C. 48 pp. 3s, 6d. net.)

Labour Fublishing Co., 0, Taristock Square, wee, 48 pp. 3s, 6d, net.)

As a note forewarns us, this volume partly consists of matter reprinted from "Revolution 1789—1906," by the same author, with the addition of two manifestoes issued by the E.C. of the First Intertional in 1870, at their offices in 25t, Holborn (W.C., as in up+o-date fashion the Anthor adds). Comrade Postgate is a painstaking student who is fortunate with his connection with printers. The Pelican Press Booklets are always good.

Although the slavery of the wages system remains, many things political have changed since Marx wrotz, and consequently reprints of his pamphlets or newspaper articles without explanatory notes are likely to be somewhat dry reading, and may also fail to be of immediate educative utility, however much they may satisfy the historical student.

These useful reprints will assist greatly in awakening the attention of workers to the high importance to be attached to anything Marx wrote, and we hope the day is not distant when an English Comrade, uniting with Postgate's diligence, shifty of author and critic, will provide the movement with a critical study of Marx's writings, showing clearly his attitude, not only towards the economic facts, but also towards mere rapidly changing political happenings.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

History of Trade Councils. 1860—1875. By C Richards. Labour Research Department, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. 1s.

Labour Monthly. A magazine of International Labour No. 1, July, 1921. Labour Publishing Company, Limited. 1s.

The Social Expression of the Spiritual Life. B Gilbert T. Sadler, M.A., LLB. C. W. Dance Ltd. 3s. 6d. net.

J. H. THOMAS, MONARCHIST.

J. H. Thomas, in the House of Commons on July 29th, said:—

"The position that His Majesty occupies in this country to-day, is a position second to none occupied by any King in any part of the world.

by any King in any part of the world.

"If the party with which I am associated came into power to-morrow we all believe that His Majesty would accept our advice as he readily accepts the advice of the present Government. (Loud cheers.)

"It is the duty of all in the House to associate themselves with the dignified protest that he makes ... not only in the interests of himself, but in the interests of constitutional government in this country."

We, of course, desire a Soviet Republic. We were under the impression that all Socialists must of necessity be republicans. It is said by some people that the Labour Party has become Socialist now.

BY RIGHT AND REASON—Continued from Page 2.

with fresh meat to one's liking gratis every day, is better than keeping a whole carcas on ice in one's private larder, the need to prevent people from seizing land or other forms of wealth for private hoarding will

When there are not masses of hungry people watching the well-fed and well-to do enjoying a life of plenty, robbery, burglary and such results of the existence of rich and poor will cease. When the world of the enterprising merchant, who is the citizen of a mighty Empire, and whose God is £ s. d., on the one hand; and of the weaker peoples dwelling in rich lands they cannot defend, on the other, has been replaced by a federation of Communist Republics' Armies and Navies will be memories of the past. of the past.

To-day force wars with force, and those in the overthrow of the exploiting system are consenting parties to the continuance of the rule of force.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

THEY ARE TRYING TO STARVE YOU!

TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

The Government has cut down the unemployment

The Government has cut down the unemployment dole.

You go to the guardians for relief.

The guardians are not very generous, but they "" you something.

The guardians give only a little to cach unemployed applicant. Some they refuse altogether, but all the little doles amount to a vast sum.

Up go the rates! The ratepayers are crying out! Up go the reats, too. That hits you, the unemployed, as well as the rest.

At last the rates get so high that the Borough Councillors dare not levy them.

That has happened first in Poplar: it will happen in other Boroughs next.

So the Council gets into debt.

The King "George the Fifth by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith," sends greetings to Poplar Borough Council by order of Lloyd George's Government, the Government that cut down the unemployment dole. The King sends with his greetings two writs: one because the Poplar Borough Council has not paid the money it owes to the London County Council, and the other because it has not paid what it owes to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the latter sum being £7,036.

If the Poplar Councillors go to prison or cave in, then relief by the guardians to the unemployed is going to stop. It will be a case of "no relief to the able-bodied poor."

What will happen to you then?

Some of you will enlist. Some of you will enigrate.

The rest will starve or ——.

Change the system. That is the only way to put an end to unemployment.

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