God the Known and Unknown by Samuel Butler.

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The Truth about the Fascisti.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

Daily Herald, the Labour Party with unexampled treachery to the f the workers, and to all that makes of the workers progress, has attempted to whitewash the ite Terror of the Fascisti, which holds in its grip to-day

Hamilton Fyfe, the editor of the who ought to be sent to the Herald. political, observes: "Whether of the workers in this country is not very
"He further declares: "It is imble not to feel a certain amount of ad-tion for this man who has organised what lls a bloodless revolution." Then he to oppose the violence of the Com-

Hamilton Fyfe is not alone in his sugn that though the Fascisti have made of violence they are rather splendid people, that their final triumph has been a bloodone. Bloodless it has been, in so far as ictims have succumbed to superior force, ed man obeys the order of when he finds himself covered

veral powerful revolvers.

is the truth concerning the Fascisti the Italian Proletarian movement which were created to fight? At the close of War the Socialist Party was the dominant the amongst these Italian workers. The and was strong and virile. In each had its People's House, combining techalls, library, theatre, dance halls, cate, urant and hotel. The co-operative ties were powerful and closely linked the Socialist Party, as were the Trade as which also provided technical instrucin a large variety of trades. character of the movement, movement, with its fine dings and splendid equipment, was far and comparison with anything we have in ountry. The widely-read Socialist Party, "Avanti," had a fine printing plant in and in Turin, where several weekly and ily organs and first-class colour printing

' had a much larger circula-Avanti the "Avanti" had a much larger circula-n, than the "Daily Herald," without any thaids as betting tips and sensational news coloured by Socialist bias; it was a definite italist paper and a power in the land. It I the confidence of the average man in the crkshop, and as the multitudes streamed the from the factory it was the "Avanti" to one saw them snatch from the waiting wishoy and open to read as they hurried ing the street.

ng the street

workers were profoundly im-Italian ssed by the Russian Revolution. The avanti 'gave an enthusiastic support to Russian Revolution and the Soviets, and the Bolsheviki in the early days of their er, and the "Avanti" was moulding the and the "Avanti" was moulding the of the workers who read it so widely. n the walls of the industrial cities, Turm Milan; one saw chalked up the slogans of profetarian revolution, with "viva" the ation and Lenin, who was regarded as its

The Trade Union leaders, whatever their titate opinions might be, were obliged by be sentiments of the rank and file to do lip errice, at least, to the international prole-

tarian revolution, and the coming revolution in Italy. D'Aragona, when he came to address the Southport Labour Conference in the summer of 1919, declared that the only ques-tion at issue was not whether, but when the revolution would come.

the annual Conference Socialist Party, in Red Bolognia, in the autumn of 1919, the old Reformist leaders, Turati, Treves, and Modighani, were left with only a handful of followers, and the centre party of Serrati and the "Avanti" received an enormous majority over the Right, whilst anti-Parliamentarians had a substantial

The Serrati faction declared for revolution on Russian lines, for the Soviets, and for the abolition of Parliament; but this faction was determined to use Parliament in the mean-time, and they refused to split the Party, by excluding the Reformists, who were opposed to making preparations for the clash of actual force with Capitalism, which the revolutionaries declared inevitable, and which, as events proved, was soon to come to pass.

The question of whether the moment had

come for direct preparation for the coming struggle, and the setting up of the Soviets, was hotly argued; but, at this juncture, Lenin, on behalf of the Russian Communists, wrote urging the Italians to go, not to the Soviets, but to the elections, and declared that the Italian revolution should be delayed on the score of the unreadiness of the proletarian

the score of the unreadness of the proletarian revolution in France and Britain.

Shortly afterwards Lenin proceeded to, attack the Serrati faction for not expelling the Reformists; but the Serrati faction desired to retain the Reformists just because they feared to split the votes of their supporters and to jeopardise their Parliamentary success by expelling these popular Parliaments. success by expelling these popular Parliamen-

The followers of Lenin's policy presently obtained the upper hand, and Serrati was placed in a minority; but the Parliamentary policy remained dominant, and, as events the movement did not develop proved, the movement did not develop apacity to meet the forces of Capitalist capacity Capitalist violence which were soon to face them.

In 1920 the employers in the metal indus-

tries attempted to lock out their workers; the workers, organised in their shop committee movement, proclaimed the Soviets in the workshops and occupied the factories.

The employing classes believed that the proletarian revolution had come, and that resistance was unavailing. There is abundant resisfance was unavailing. There is abundant evidence of that to-day. Many and many a business man has since confessed that he then saw no other alternative, and not a small number were even willing to try the experiment as an escape from the post-war anxieties that have befallen the trading community in the trade depression holding Europe in its

At every stage the Soviet movement had been obstructed by the opposition of the leaders of the Trade Union Movement and by the older Socialist leaders.

The metal workers had arisen spontaneously; they had placed barbed wire round the factories, and machine-guns on the roofs, and other workers were rising to join them. Engineers, seamen, and others were giving Engineers, seamen, and others were proof of their solidarity; rural workers

rising in squads of 20, 50, or 100,000, to seize

The Anarchists approved and supported the movement; but the Anarchists, with their newly started daily, the "Umanita Nova, were without the organisation to cope with the situation; it was not they, but the Socialists, who had the ear and the confidence of the great masses. And what did the Socialist Party, in which there were still the Reformists, Turati, Modigliani and Treves, as well as Serrati and Bombacci, the Marximalists and Bordiga, who had been given a seat on the executive as representing the Parliamen tary abstentionists'

The great Socialist Party held aloot from the struggle and turned it over to the Trade Union leaders of the Italian Confederation of Labour

The Socialist Party's Resolution.

This was the resolution issued by the Party in order that its policy might be known in this hour of crisis

Between the Party and the General Confederation of Labour there exists a pact of alliance which neither body desires The executive of the Party, in view of the necessity of the struggle, accepts the decision of the National Council of the General Confederation of Labour, and proposes to assist the movement without interposes to assist the struggle the state of the vening, reserving to itself the right even-tually, should the occasion arise, owing to

a change in the political situation, to take control of the movement."

The occasion of which the resolution spoke had arisen, but the Socialist Party had failed to realise it, and proved itself incapable or dealing with it.

Resolution of Socialist Members of Parliament.

And what did the Parliamentary representa-ves of the Socialist Party do? They asked tives of the Socialist Party do Parliament to be summoned. This is the

resolution they adopted:

"Believing that this struggle which arrests the national life cannot be fully settled without the assistance of Parliament, which must be seized with the professional control of the profession of the pr found meaning of this movement, which found meaning of this movement, which is the clear condemnation of a system which, even by the merciless exploitation of the workers, cannot increase production, de-mands the immediate convocation of Parprompt and radical measures, which, through the requisitioning of the factories, and their control by the workers, would prepare for their direct administration in the interest of the community.

How the Workers were Betrayed

And what did the Trade Union leaders to whom the Socialist Party had left the revolution? They led the workers into an absurd bargain, by which a Commission (on the Sankey plan, which was used here to side track the miners) was formed of twelve track the miners) was formed of twelve members nominated by the General Con-federation of Labour and twelve members of (Continued on p. 4.)

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

The high cost of production of the paper necessitates prompt payment.

with roses in our hands like the "three noble

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Frank Penman's life at the College was

He was finding it a precarious struggle, and now he had caught the "flu" and lost his spectacles. Truly a serious combination of ills. He would not be able to buy any more spectacles till Spotters had paid for those drawings he delivered the other day; and how long would that be? Moreover, the illness might prove even more disastrous than the loss of the spectacles. How long would it

He wished himself back with Mrs. Roseshe was a good sort, with all her faults, and would have stood him in good stead now. She would have made him a bit comfortable, the bill till Spotters' money came.

a better light and more room for his work. He had only been able to afford his studio at the expense of everything in the way of comfort, and he paid the greater part of his sub-stance to the profiteers who quadrupled the rent of the room when they put in a studio charing twice a week and for the rest he them; lonely, unpractical and preoccupied as

He was lying there now in the shadow. The dismai black curtains were almost closed, partly because the light hurt his eyes, partly because he felt too weak and dispirited to rise

He had wanted a north light for his work. t he yearned for a glimpse of the sun to-day. The patch of sky that was all he could see of the outer world looked dazzling. The sun must be shining on the other side of the house. the gloom here, and the revivifying warmth that would touch him if the sun would only

There was only a long blank wall and a woodstack to be seen from the window, unless one climbed on the sill: one could see the tops of trees then, with their delicate, bare branches silhouetted against the sky, a few ovely yellow-green leaves still clinging to nem. What marvellous beauty in the lines those branches! He thought of them with a dim pleasure; but his head ached, and his hot; he felt as though there were

something; but how can I pay for such things? It's all through going without a fire: trying to economise. What a poor fool I am!"

Gnawing anxiety tormented him.

"What shall I do if I'm going to be seriously ill? There's only Spotters' money outstanding, till I get more work, and support of the standard of the seriously ill. The protectors and support of the seriously in the serious serious and the serious serious and the serious serious and the serious seriou pose I'm not fit to do it? The spectacles and the gas bill will make a big hole in Spotters

noney without counting the arrears of rent. '
His restless eyes would not close, though his body seemed held in lethargy. He had a curious feeling of weakness and vacancy in His gaze dwelt coldly upon his He saw only their faults, which eemed to mock him

How had he ever hoped to do anything? It would take years of study and effort for his art to mature. How could he hope to achieve anything worth doing without money the cost of his daily bread and the exorbitant His efforts seemed tragic in their He thought of his years of early struggle, how he had won scholarships to pay for his training, always studious and im And what was he now-a maker of pictorial advertisements, loathsome disfiguring things, whose very purpose he

His opinions had separated him from his fellow-students, kept him from joining any artists' set and being discovered by some patrons who might buy his pictures and give him material assistance in doing serious work. The thought of being a hanger-on of rich people was repugnant to him; but where

was he drifting? What end could there be to his present existence but a frittering away of his undeveloped capacities? He mouned and tossed in his excited weakness.

Then he wondered whether it were not men imagination that he was ill and his back ached; whether he would not feel just as usual if he got up and worked. How absurd it was to lie there idling, now that he had no work on order, now that he could devote himself still, and turned away from the big, scarcely touched canvas, surrounded by studies, which irritated him. Yesterday's newspaper lay unread beside him. He ought not to try his eyes, but he must have distraction, eyes or no He glanced at the sheet

Two months for sleeping out.' Eight living in a cowshed: terrible plight

of man who owns four houses.' ' Cripple's forty-mile tramp. Long walk to answer a sixpenny charge . . . travelling on G.E.R. without a proper ticket . . To get up to Court he tramped ployed. 40 miles through the night... When he arrived ... police-station . . . dead beat arrived . . . police-station had to be given food . . fined B/excess fare only 5id. . . . Magistrates made a collection for fine

Fresh Air Dreadnought: a giant plane mounting a 75-millimetre field-gun.

It is a nightmare," he grumbled, and thrust the paper aside.

He thought he was toiling uphill along a ough country road. He was tired, so tired that he hardly seemed to move in spite of His limbs seemed to be tangled something heavy and hot. There was a burning ring of pain round one ankle, and his back ached. But the sky was beautiful: it was a spring day, like that on which he went adventuring to Surrey a year ago. . . .

He saw a big white house with red roof and shining walls He would have entered, but he was falling. A smiling woman wearing a gay flowered apron appeared in the doorway, and held out her hand to him. He eemed to float into the house beside her.

Somehow he found himself in bed in a large white room with windows on either side, through which the sun was shining. There was a bright fire burning, and on the manter-piece were brightly coloured vases of red and ellow primulae. The beautiful woman with he flowered apron stood smiling beside his ed and offered him a basket of fruit. A er woman, wearing a wreath of flowers, rought in a breakfast-tray. They poured out offee and cream, and, lifting a silver cover, handed him a plate of bacon and eggs.

I haven't any money," he protested, fearthat he might be incurring some penalty for being here under false pretences.

They laughed, and asked him: "What is

He could not answer. When he had eaten, the younger women wearing the wreath of flowers asked

He said: " I want to decorate the walls of great buildings.'

"Then of course you understand plastering," she said. "Will you help the plasterers at the new concert hall to-morrow? You must rest to-day.'

'I'm sorry,' he answered, "I don't unand that sort of thing

' I should have thought you would have known all about plastering. I don't see how you can do frescoes if you don't; but, of course, you help with the work: what do you she asked again.

I make advertisements." he answered

What do you mean? " she asked.

I make the horrid posters they paste upon walls to advertise pills and musterd and whisky and collars and ties: gaudy glaring things that disfigure the walls!

What do you do it for?

Their smiling faces melted from his gaze, He woke with a start at the postman's sharp

Was it Spotters' money? he thought. He summoned his flagging energies and limped bare foot to the door.

Two letters; he brought them back to bed

Notice that the gas would be cut off if bill not paid in three days. Notice to quit from the landlord on account

f non-payment of rent.

It was hopeless, quite hopeless. He was cold, and his head ached so much that he buried his face in the bedclothes to stifle his groans, asking himself what he had ever lone to deserve his misfortunes.

THE SYMBOL AND THE REALITY.

Madonnas! See Madonnas! in their gilded frames so fine

are costly, they are treasured, when in paint or carven shrine.

To see Kings, and Popes, and people, kneel in adoration deep painted face on canvas, is enough to

make one weep When live women, the originals, are dying, crushed and weak

With the red blood coursing hotly over thin and hectic cheek. On the marble steps of churches slept the mother and her child,

And the many rare art treasures which inside had me beguiled

Rose to mock me while the women were for. gotten and in rags.

Madonnas! See Madonnas! they are fainting on the flags.

CLARA GILBERT COLE

REVOLUTIONARY LEFT-WING COMMUNIST GROUP (COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY) OF RUSSIA.

PROPAGANDA FUND. October 18th, 1922.

To the comrades who contributed to the above fund Deur Comrades _

We have learned through the organ of the English section of the Communist Workers' International (Fourth), the "Workers' Dreadnought," you have sent us some money for the printing of our propaganda material for the development of Left-Wing Communism in Russia and the whole East.

We do not want to thank you ordinarily for your support, but we want to express our warm feeings towards your perceiving of the necessity of Left-Wing Communist propaganda in Russia. You, comrades, have done your international duty; you have proved your international solidarity, and we are sure that you did not help us in order to receive our thanks afterwards, but to know that the little money which, due to the high English value, has resulted in starting already the necessary work of propaganda. You may be sure that the Russian comrades and sympathisers who will read the pamphlets and leaflets which will be printed, when also other comrades of your country and others do not fail in their efforts to support the poor Russian workers, will be very proud to know of your aid, and it will be of an effective influence on them, that English comrades gave their mite to propagate the tactics of the Communist Workers' Parties (not to be mixed up with the social democratic reformist "Communist" Parties), the only groups who stand still for the revolution, in spite of all and everything.

We very much hope that your example will be followed and your help continued.

You understand your international duty; make also your fellow-workers understand it, and maintain the flag of pure Communism with us, for us, for all! Yours with thankful greetings.

> REVOLUTIONARY LEFT-WING COMMUNIST GROUP COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY) OF RUSSIA.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £307 1s. 51d. P. Cau therley, 2/6; A Friend, £10; Putney E.T.U., 5/-; Lilian Gallagher, 2/6; Norwich Comrades, 5/- (monthly); J. Hill, 2/6. Total for week, £10 17s. 6d. Total, £817 18s. 114d. ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS FROM PRISON.

Translated by M. Campbell.

(Continued.)

November 4, 1922

Wronke, May 19th, 1917. How lovely it is here now! Everything is becoming green and bursting into flower. The chestnut trees are clothed in their lovely new foliage, the current bushes have their little yellow stars, and the ornamental cherry trees with the reddish foliage are already in blossom too, and it won't be ong before the black elder shows. se Kautsky, who came to visit me, gave me as a parting present a bunch of forget-me-nots and pansies, and I have planted them out myself! Two little round clusters nd a straight row in between, planted alterwith forget-me-nots and pansiesblieve my eyes, for it is the first time in y life that I have done any planting, and we met with an immediate success. Just Whitsun I shall have such a lot of flowers

There are now a number of new birds about here; each day I get to know one that had never seen before. Ah, do you remember that time we were in the Botanic Gardens early in the morning with Karl, when we neard the nightingale, how we also saw a great big tree that was still without foliage covered with masses of little radiant white flowers? We were at pains to know that it could be, as it was obvious that it vasn't a fruit tree, and the blossom was rather rare. Now I know: it is the white ather rare. Now I know: it is the white diminutive young leaves. The full-grown leaf of the white poplar is, as a matter of fact, white only underneath, on top it is dark green; but the young leaves are covered on both sides with white down, and scintillate the sunshine like white flowers. One of nese big poplars stands here in my little garden, and all the singing birds prefer to perch upon it. On the day in question you oth came to see me in the evening; do you passed the time in reading something out and when it was getting on for midght, as we were standing there to say goodyo—a heavenly jasmine-scented air was owing in through the balcony door—I gave ou one more piece, that Spanish song I like

se praise to Him through whom these worlds

How excellent He made this span increasing, He made the ocean's endless deep repose, He made the ships that glide across unceas-

He made you paradise of calmed radiance, He made the earth, dear—and thy counten-

ance! ... Ah! Sonitschka, if you haven't heard that ansfigured by the music of Hugo Wolf, don't know how much glowing passion lies behind the simplicity of its last phrase. Now, whilst writing that, a big bumble-bee

eep buzzing. How wonderful in that profound joy in life that lies in this self-satisfied tone which vibrates with diligence and the warmth of summer and the perfume of

Your ROSA.

Wronke, May 23rd, 1917. Your last letter of the 14th inst. had reached me when I sent mine off. I am very glad to get into touch with you again, and would like to send you to-day my best wishes for a happy Whitsuntide! "Whitun, the charming festival has come round, 's how Goethe's "Reynard the Fox" begins. It is to be hoped you will have rather a good time. Last year it was Whitsun when we vent with Mathilde on that glorious excursion Lichtenrade, where I gathered some ears of corn for Karl and the wonderful branch of birch catkins. Evening found us still on the move, walking across the heath at Suedende

on my light muslin dress. But in spite of the sunshine and warmth, my little birds are breeding, the hens sitting on the nest and the cocks up to the neck in work providing food for themselves and their mates. And they prefer to build their nests out in the open suffering, and you ask, what is it all tor. my little garden now; only now and then an intermezzo from the nightingale or a clog one more warble from the chaffineh: my sure in the state of the chaffineh: my sure in the state of the chaffineh: my sure in the state of the chaffineh: my sure in the world its forms. What are blue-tits in the world for? I really don't know but in the world garden warblers. garden warblers no longer show themselves at Just once a distant blue-tit suddenly and Zizi ba comes floating over the wall quite casually passed the time of day to me, and it affected me very much. The blue-tit hanging about in the vicinity of my window, came along with them up to the window, and Yesterday I suddenly heard the Zizi ba' repeated quickly three times, and then it remained silent. I felt a thrill pass right through me, that hasty distant call meant so much to me, a complete little history of bird-life. It was, I take it, that the blue-tit was dwelling upon the beautiful hours of courtship in early spring, when there was nothing to do all day but sing and seduce, but now you have to fly about all day catching flies for yourself and the family, therefore just one reminiscence: "I have no time—yes, indeed, it was grand—spring will soon over-Zizi ba-Zizi ba-Zizi Believe me, Sonjuscha, a little birdcall like that, carrying, as it does, so much meaning, makes a profound impression upon me. My mother, who considered the Bible, along with Shiller's Works, to be the supreme source of wisdom, firmly and stedfastly be-lieved that King Solomon understood the language of the birds. At that time, with all the self-importance of my fourteen years and the superiority of a modern schooling in natural science, I ridiculed this motherly naiveté. Now I am myself like King Solo-mon: I understand the language of birds and beasts. Of course, it is not as though they used human words, but I understand the most diverse shades of mood and sensations that find expression in their utterances. only the crude ear of an indifferent person always hears one and the same thing in the song of a bird. If you love animals and try to understand them, you will get to know the great variety of ways in which they express themselves—that is, understand their language. Even this general cessation of song after the commotion of early spring gives me to know that if I am still here in August, which in all probability will be the case, all my friends will return to me and look for something to eat at my window. already rejoicing at the prospect of seeing my coal-tit, who is a special friend of mine.

Sonjuscha, you are embittered because of my long imprisonment, and ask: "How does it come about that some people feel authorised to pass judgment on other human beings? What is it all for? "Excuse me, but I had to laugh out loud when I read that. In one of Dostojevski's books "The Brothers Karathere is a Madame Chochlakova, who is in the habit of posing just that kind of question, and in her perplexity she appeals in turn to each one of the company, but before

women of Ravenna. Here the lilac, too, is now out in flower already; it came out to-day. It is so hot that I have had to put to-day. But the lilac is a modest estimation, has been going on for something like twenty thousand years, is based upon the "Judgment of mangradually giving up singing and becoming almost completely dumb. They are all so very busy evidently with the business of life possible. Evolution must advance further

there are such things and experience a sweet comfort when suddenly from afar a fleeting

when you think I see things with the ou know, is not a native bird like the ness of an impartial observer. My inner common tit, and is not with us till about the equipoise and my sense of well-being can, unfortunately, be put out of joint at the merest shanging about in the vicinity of my window, was soon busily singing its droll "Zizi ba," of mine asserts itself and I am struck dumb. but with such a pronounced drawl that it Literally, Sonitschka, in that case I cannot sounded like the chafing of naughty children. get my lips to frame a single word. For instance, these last days I was in such high the same way. Then it disappeared with the others at the beginning of May, to build its nest somewhere or other in the open country. For weeks I neither saw nor heard it any in two, and what should happen but that my serene cheerfulness was changed into the more. Yesterday I suddenly heard the friendly greeting coming from the other side of the wall that separates our yard from some other prison grounds, but so completely altered, just a very short "Zizi ba—Zizi ba—altered, just a very short "Zizi ba—Zizi ba—altered, just a very short "Zizi ba—zizi ba—zi my despair with a mute stare. After all, it is only too seldom that I am tempted to speak; for weeks on end I don't hear my own voice even, which, let me add, is the reason why I have heroically resolved not to let my used to sprightliness and plenty of life; sne likes me to sing and laugh and have a game of touch with her through all the rooms; with me here she would indeed become morose am leaving her, therefore, with Mathilde Mathilde is coming to see me in a day or two, and I hope that will then brighten me up again. Prehaps Whitsun will be "the charming festival " for me as well. Sonit-schka, be in good spirits and don't worry, it will all turn out all right, believe me. My kindest regards to Karl. With fond embraces

Your ROSA.

Many thanks for the beautiful little picture

THE URQUHART AGREEMENT.

We are glad that the Agreement between he Russian Soviet Government and Mr. Urguhart, of the Russo-Asiatic Company, been withdrawn by Russia. We wish we could feel confident that it will not presently renewed. Apparently the withdrawal is a protest against the refusal of the British dovernment to assent to Russian participation in the forthcoming Conference regarding Asia Minor and the Straits. We regret that those in power in Russia have not entirely as an ignominious capitulation to Capitalism. Concessions of this kind are like going to a usurious money lender: the concessionaire derives great and permanent benefit, whilst those who grant the concession lose their real wealth and obtain in return but temporary and inadequate relief. not wonder that the shares of the Russ Asiatic Company should have jumped from Asiate Company should have purple 1/6 to 12/6 on news of the Agreement. That the shares have fallen only to a little under 9/6 shows that hope of renewing the Agreement is still lively in the Capitalist

POVERTY.

Bite ye the dust; in anguish bite the dust, For ye are poor, and, poor, must suffer so As only suffer they who were forgot When fortune shared her mercenary doles

Workers Breadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE OUTLOOK.

The Labour Party has issued its election programme. It is not a Socialist programme, such as the old Radicals might have

Taxation of Land Values, which a eral Government had made a beginning a before the War.

Nationalisation of mines, as recommended by the Sankey Commission and promised by the Lloyd George Government,

Nationalisation of the railways, which members of the Lloyd George Government

capital levy on fortunes over £5,000. not make much difference. The need not fear it.

Increase in Death Duties on large estates, and increase of the super tax on large nder £500, and abolition of tax under £250. The Liberals might easily agree to introduc

Free Trade, and an untaxed breakfast-Restoration of the Agricultural Wages

Representative Agricultural Councils "to omote all-round improvement in the use of land, the reduction of transport charges, development of co-operative methods, and fostering of rural industries."

This is a vague proposition, which will probably amount to little or nothing in prac-The Labour Party, if it were to be even a good reformist Party, ought to have attempted the nationalisation of the land. Many a good old Radical stood for that! The Labour Party, however, ventures nothing

9 A National Scheme of Housing. We know the difficulties that will face the Labour Party when it attempts that, since it has not

ne courage to attack private interests.

10. Mothers' Pensions, which in practice nean anything better than

1. Revision of the Peace Treaties and German reparations to be brought within

Germany's capacity to pay.

The Labour Party has not yet summoned the courage to say scrap the treaties and drop the reparations payments. One of the Capitalist Parties—perhaps the Wee Frees, or perhaps the Tories themselves—will forestall

12. The Irish Treaty to stand. Here again the Labour Party has utterly failed, even from the Reformist standard, in not declaring for complete Irish independence. The Labour Party slavishly follows the Capitalist this matter.

Self-government for India. Observe that independence is not advocated, but the Labour Party is Imperialist and timid in its

14. Real Independence for Egypt. In view of the Labour attitude on Ireland, we do not take this proposal seriously: it is

Finally, the Labour manifesto declares the to be against Communism and re-

class Party," which means that it is not a working-class Party. Unfortunately, this means that the Labour Party is not a Party for emancipating the working class, which is the only way to put an end to the social

(Continued from p.

the Employers' Federation, and with two experts on either side, to formulate proposals r joint control by the employers and the Trade Unions. Some slight wage increases were granted on a sliding scale to rise and fall with the cost of living.

The control boards afterwards established as a result of this Commission proved worse than useless. The workers soon refused to work them. Thus the movement, which could not be crushed was betraved into

When the crisis was over; when the workers had thus been led to surrender their conquests or a mere nothing, Capitalism heaved a sight relief and determined to run no risks.

The organisation of the Fascisti, the brigand White Guards with the black shirts, began. Mussolini, the renegade ex-Socialist who deserted the Party to join the Jingoes in the war, was supplied with funds by the great industrial employers of Italy. These tunds were used to organise a force of the more ignorant and reckless of the destitute exsoldiers and the reactionary young men of wealthier classes to destroy the Socialist movement of Italy by brute force. The preof the Socialist, Co-operative, Trade Union movements were invaded and recked, and meetings of the working-class organisations were broken up by the Fascisti with armed force. Socialists, Communists, Trade Unionists and Co-operators were killed and injured. Municipalities with Socialist najorities were attacked, the council chambers poted, the members wounded or killed, and orced to resign. Newspapers of all shades or opinion opposed to Fascism were systemati-cally terrorised and their printing machinery

Capitalism provided the funds for the Fasti; Giolitti, the Prime Minister, encouraged its growth. Bonomi, who succeeded Giolitti ent further: he even permitted officers soldiers of the Regular Army to join the

Then the Fascisti began to run candidates r Parliament, and on a small number of these being elected, they took their firearms chamber to terrorise the assen

The Fascisti hold 20 seats in the Italian arliament: in numbers a negligible minority that Fascism shall be the State. They desire ower, and they will have it. Therefore, they nobilised to seize the power. The Facta Government took steps to resist the Fascisti advance; it declared martial law and stopped the railway traffic, placing the engines under military guard.

The King now came forward to aid the Fascisti. Was it in terror that he might be deposed, like the numerous officials of all sorts who have been violently ejected, because they displeased the Black Shirts? Or was it in sympathy for the forces of reaction? Be the reason what it may, the King refused to sign the decree of the Government declaring mar tial law against the Fascisti. The Facta Government resigned, and the King called Mussolini to form a Government. Thus Mussolini has won the first round, amid the plaudits of reaction everywhere. The Fascisti have made a bloodless revolution, says the "Daily Herald"; they have acted "with tact," says

a "Daily Telegraph" correspondent. The tale of the latest Fascisti terrorism has yet to be told; but the Press telegrams published in e Capitalist daily Press record already that the Fascisti, on their triumphal entry into Rome, invaded the newspaper offices, colution." That, of course, is what one would stroyed the machinery, even of Capitalist papers opposed to them, and terrorised the The Labour Farty declares it is not a editors with firearms.

It is reported in the Press that the Italian Communist leaders were given "a dose of castor oil" by the Fascisti, whatever that may mean. After this the Press reports that the Communist leaders announced the dissolu tion of the Italian Communist Party reserve comment on that matter until we have certained whether there is any foundation

November 4, 1922.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, in the "Daily Herald." writes of the Fascisti: "It is possible that they may show themselves more open-minded and forward-looking than they have seemed Indeed, one could almost imagine that Mr. Fyfe is expecting a visit of the Black Shirt Terrorists to Tudor Street! The foreign policy of the Fascisti is that of intens Nationalist Imperialism, and their great of ject is to make the Mediterranean, which, ourse, is bordered by many countries Italian sea. The home policis revealed by their actions. The home policy of the Fascisti

As to the Fascist Cabinet: Mussolini holds the position of Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Minister of the Interior Such a plurality of important offices clears reveals that the Mussolini Government is t a dictatorship. Of the thirteen other Ministers, all are Fascists or Nationalist save two, one of whom is called a Democrat the other is of the Popular Party. The under secretaryships are also mainly given

Now the Socialists and Labourists in this country, whose policy is precisely the same a that by which the Italian Socialists and Trad Unionists missed the occasion in 1920. a complaining that the Italian workers we badly led at that time. A writer in the I.L.

New Leader " the other day declared the it was the failure of the Communists to pr ceed to revolution in 1920 which gave the Capitalists the time to organise the Fascist The "Daily Herald" editor, who to-da admires the Fascisti, whilst he prates pacifism also, observes that the movemen naugurated by the metal workers "failed chiefly through absence of good leadership Comrades, let the Italian failure of 1920

an example and a warning. Let there be more such failures.

FOR THE "DREADNOUGHT."

We have arranged for a Sale of Work and Social, in aid of the "Workers' Dread-nought" Fund, to take place on Saturday, ovember 25th, 1922, from 3 to 10 nm

84 Blackfriars Road, S.E. (National Build We should much appreciate gifts of books

fancy and useful articles, cakes, jam, etc tobacco and cigarettes for the stalls. Suc gifts can be sent to Mrs. Cabill. 60 Lin Yours for Communism

S. CAHILL

COERCION IN INDIA

COERCION IN INDIA.

The British Government, in the coming sess the Council, will introduce a new Press Act to the protests which are appearing in the news of British India against the oppression of the in the Indian States governed by a native under British suzerainty. The people in the States are already deprived of freedom of speed

An Australian View

young Socialist worker on the land in Austra

LENIN, AS REPRESENTING THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

We address you as representative of the Russian Soviet Government and the Russian unist Party. With deep regret we have observed you hauling down the flag of making and abandoning the cause of the emancipation of the workers. With prosorrow we have watched the development of your policy of making peace with

Why have you done this?

vember 4, 1922.

It seems that you have lost faith in the possibility of securing the emancipation of workers and the establishment of world Communism in our time. You have preferred in office under Capitalism than to stand by Communism and fall with it it et if a great call, a high call, and a disinterested call to Communism might go out

this time, from some source that could inspire them with trust, it the terrible circumstances of the present hour, it must bear tremendous truit. d of great misery has fallen upon the peoples; they are suffering great bitterness in indage of this ruthless system of Capitalism, which is decaying from the awful elming growth of its own iniquities.

exchanges are rising on the one hand, falling on the other, with a startling which is reflected in the miseries of the people. In the lands of high exchange falls the blight of unemployment and lowered wages; in the lands of low exchanges nerciless increase of prices, which forces the toilers to work, faster and ever fas starvation and want drain them, like cruel leeches, of the very life force they are

ng, with desperate recklessness, upon their ill-requited toil.
e financial manipulators rule the world; they are the real Governments; and these
Governments, which take the stage for a time, must do their bidding or disappear

Italy we see once more the collapse of the old politics; but it is an evil and vile on which, in the shape of Fascism, has taken advantage of the general disgust with the fights and the futile tinkering and marking time of the Capitalist politicians. The is have acted. Because whilst others have so long been content only to talk through the

isti have acted. Because whilst others have so long been content only to talk through the er of popular distress, the Fascisti, though with wickedness, have acted, multitudes either followed them, or at least have refrained from actively opposing them. Because talkers have only talked, no force has opposed the violence of the Fascisti. The Fascisti have provided a means of existence, even though it is gained by the murder terrorism of their class brothers and sisters, to masses of destitute demobilised ers. The talkers have done not even that; they have spoken of general well-being, have produced nothing. Reformism can produce nothing of permanent value; it of change the essential features of Capitalism which are grinding the agonised masses the upper and pather will stone.

upper and nether mill-stones.

These days of great misfortune are revealing, with piercing and ruthless clarity, the r powerlessness of those who would reform the iniquitous system and would heal the rous wounds which it inflicts. "Work or maintenance for the unemployed," cries the mist. In so far as the claim is conceded, the local burden of the concession is iately placed on the shoulders of the working-class householders and their families In so far as unemployment maintenance is made what is described as a lodgers. In so lar as themphyment maintenance is made what system, into onal charge, it is transmitted, in the great complexities of the Capitalist system, into her prices and reduced remuneration to the wage-earning community, which, having to sell save its labour, has no means of recouping itself for its losses in the labour ket and reduced purchasing power, since it cannot pass on its burden to be borne by

So it is with all the reforms projected by the reformer, in so far as they ever pass ond the stage of discussion, for the populations of the world are in the grip or great Capitalists, and there is no possibility of improvement till that strangle-hold has

Even the most ignorant and unsophisticated are to-day instinctively aware of this; Even the most ignorant and unsophisticated are to-day instinctively aware of this; y realise that the reformist and his panaceas cannot help them; they observe, on the trary, that every action of that costly monstrosity, the Capitalist Government, is ended by a devastating increase of parasitic and opulent administrators, the burden whose maintenance, since they cannot pass it on to others, always falls on the classes at able to bear it. Realising their hopeless position under Capitalism, the people sink is spiritless apathy, concentrating on the effort to maintain an individual existence. In of a catastrophic future, they long vainly for a return to the grey humdrum of the war struggle, which was less fierce than this of to-day.

Urgent is the need for the strong call to Communism, the clear explanation of the munist life: its sane and wholesome mutual service: its large and all-embracing tra-

thus size its safe and wholesome interest and power. It is escape from this nightmare of poverty and power. What have you done, O one-time trumpet of revolution? In your impatience of the awakening of far multitudes, you have turned your face from the world's lowly and aved. You have dabbled in the juggleries of Capitalist diplomacy; you have bartered bargained with the destinies of the Russian proletariat; and broadcasted the message burgained with the destines of the trustal processing and misleading casuisty, to communist movement throughout the world. By your subtle and specious arguments, by the glamour of the Russian Revolution, through which you were reded, you have diverted from the quest of communism many who had been aroused by call of Soviet Russia. Therefore we find those who lately set out bearing the standard communism, now working to place in power a Party which openly declares its opposito Communism

Therefore, instead of placing the know-ledge of Communism before the peoples, we nd the parties of the Third International urging the masses to continue fighting for a stehnotth of futile and impossible reforms.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. tchpotch of futile and impossible reforms.

WHERE DOES LABOUR STAND?

f it were only possible for the mass of the ple to see—for a few minutes—a vision the world free from the complexities of soed civilisation, to view the relationships men and women in natural simple setting. eve of the Great Change would be here mpetitive society continues to be possible ause of the artificial view of human rela-

Every incident in life outside the home circle and the conversation in the home circle, expresses the viewpoint of a society of which the inherent basis is one of class distinction.

The editor of a certain Parish Church maga zine who, consciously or unconsciously, though in language sufficiently vague to cause no offence to the upholders of the present cause of the artificial view of human rela-possible that becomes marked on the im-dessionable child-mind of the present era. system, expresses on occasions the ideal of a Christian Communism, voices in a recent issue the idea that class distinctions would

vanish if there were no distinctions of speech ittingly or unwittingly, he burks the whole uestion of economic power. We know ot wo men who can speak the King's English most excellently, but the one possesses economic control over the lives of many of his fellows, the other belongs to the ranks of the exploited; and, in spite of educational advantages which both have had, there is no real sense of equality felt when the two meet.
On one side there is always the implied possession of a great power, on the other the recognition of this power which invokes an unnatural restraint which is in itself an indict-ment of Capitalism. Communism, on the contrary, seeks to make possible the natural and free expression of the personality or every

It is because Communists know how ill and wrong is this control over the lives of others by certain people that they can raise little enthusiasm for ordinary politics, even Labour politics. They have seen how easy it is to talk democratic platitudes and emphasise a political view of things which cuts little or no ice in the realms of economics. There are hose who insist that Labour, in its own interests, must control the political machine in der to obtain economic power for the whole of the people. But of even more importance is the task of getting Labour to understand what it is really out for, and such a clear grasp principles that side-tracking will be im-possible. Until the rank and file of Labour power of Labour leaders will merely stave off very few of the worst expressions of Capitalism. We will, indeed, be grateful for mall mercies in this worst of possible worlds out as Communists we will not deceive ou ves, and shall insist on the recognition certain principles which lie at the heart of the matter of social organisation.

The test is: Do we really believe in a class

less society? If so, what we may achieve must make for the ending of the relationship of employer and employee. Class distinctions, even under Socialism, may exist along side a money basis. Are we, or are we not willing that everyone may have what we Do we, or do we not, realise that the only morally possible human relationship is based on the principle of from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need?

And can we also realise that not only abstract ustice demands this, but that a real love and real brotherhood must concede it? system of modified Capitalism as an end in tself can respond to such an ideal. movement still impregnated with the sei fishness inoculated to a greater or lesser degree by the system in which we live, hope to achieve the Communist ideal. Only in so ar as the Cause claims the individual will the Communist movement succeed. ness and Communism are identical terms in

Special copies of the "Workers' Dreadnought " to give to the unemployed marchers when they arrive in London may be obtained from 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

"THE SOCIALIST." Just out!-20 PAGES-November Issue. (Official organ of the S.L.P., the Party for

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PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND THE ORPHEUS CHOIR.

By Tom Anderson.

The Council of Scottish Associations in London have decided to recommend the Scottish Societies in London not to give their patronage to the Orpheus Choir the next time visits London.

The reason that the Council came to this decision was that the Choir, when it was in London last April, did not close the concert by singing the National Anthem, and they consider that is a disloyal action. "As loyal subjects," says the Council, "our position is absolutely clear. Sing the National Anthem. If not, don't come to London. We are loval in London. It is etiquette in London to sing the National Anthem. Everybody sings it. Why did you not sing it, etc.

Secretary of the Orpheus Choir says: "He knows it is used to conclude theatre, music-hall, circus, and brass band performances by the playing of the first few bars of the National Anthem. We have never heard of an orchestral, ballad, or choir concert being concluded in that manner, and we are much surprised that it should be suggested that we should follow the example of the music-hall or

bly the Orpheus Choir does not know the King stays in London. Possibly, also, they do not know that the Council of the cottish Societies, in London, are all mem bers of the petty bourgeois, and, as such, they must keep in line with the "hall-mark" of respectability. It is not that the words or music of the National Anthem are above the gutter level or not; that does not matter. It is the National Anthem. And do you know what that stands for? It stands for our side;

and our side is the Constitution.

At all big functions where "Fat" is in all his glory, they give the toast "The King," and they all stand up like great big dummy soldiers, glass in hand, and their bellie, in front less bellies in front, less or more, with the wage-slaves standing at their backs to supply their They sing—or rather howl; and very them know the words, but they mnage to finish together with the words "God save the King," and they are well pleased, because it stands for "our side." See?

I happen to know the conductor of the stands for "Fat." Orpheus Choir. He is a man with advanced and Liberal about him. He is a humorous sort of fellow. We call him Hugh, and am of opinion he is largely responsible, although the Press does not say so. But for the members of the Choir, lord, you would get far more advanced men and women in Barnhill Poorhouse. I am writing so as to inform the readers of the "Dreadnought," in case they might think the Choir was Socialist. They would drop stone dead if you called them that. The Press and the Scottish Couneil in London are only making the noise to let the world know what the conductor is. I believe if he was "sacked" it would be all right; and I have no doubt they will manage their way in this matter. The truth of the matter is, no one in Scotland thinks anything about the National Anthem; if it were not for the halls and brass bands playing it, we would not know it. There is not a cultured Scotsman, I believe, would sing it; he might be proud to stand while the big and wee " were howling it, but he would have his tongue in his cheek all the time

As for the average proletariat, he generally stands and lights his pipe or cigarette, and not a few make a bolt for the door.

I remember during the War, when in all the halls they got the audience to stand up in reverence and sing it, and at the same time they had a picture of His Royal Highness on the screen, and they impressed you, or tried to impress you, of the solidarity of the nation in the great struggle, and that we were all on the "one side," one nation, one people, whose interests were one. My wife and I sat still on our chairs, and I heard a kaj krucmilitirojn.

few of the boys round about saying: "There's RAND STRIKER'S DEATH SENTEN a pair of bricks for you." We could not in honesty rise, and it is just possible that the conductor of the Choir feels the same way. If so, I raise my cap to him.

We have another choir in Glasgow, "the William Morris Choir." It is called after a good old Communist who died nearly forty years ago. Of course, if he had been living o-day, the Choir would have had a different e, and if old Robert Blatchford was passing away they might call it "The Nunquam Choir." They were singing in a common model lodging-house to the lowly proletariat and the proprietor of it being the Lord Provost of Glasgow, he asked the conductor to close the concert by singing the National Anthem. The conductor said it would be better not to, as some of the members of the

Choir might object.
In all likelihood the Choir will not be allowed to sing to the "model dossers again. I might tell you the Choir does not they give them the same "diet" as the usual church choir. I understand they have the music of the "International" and the "Red but they only sing them on big gala days, say, when Ramsay or Philip, or even Bob, comes to Glasgow. I heard them once 'International to sing the ndrew's Hall, and it reminded me of a class of school children being kept in for talking. After it was finished it seemed as if the Choir considered they had stood something

Socialist songs and the National Anthem are not in the line of the Choir—they are musical. (I trust you see the point!)
Orpheus Choir, it is assumed, is cultured there you are. But for all that stands for respectability, do not mention Communism. Socialism is bad enough. Even to ally your-self with it is a little dangerous, for you see the cry that is being made. If it were we proletarians it would be nothing. We are dirty dogs, low-down dirty dogs, who have songs of their own, and sing them. They do not expect us to sing the National Anthem; they would have a fit if we did. They would not ask us to sing it. In fact, I believe if we were singing it they would say we were codding; and in this they would be right. All their cheap sentimental loyalty simply means are you on our side? If you are you will sing the National Anthem, because the Anthem

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 18.

Patient: Good-day, Doctor.

Doctor: Good-day, what ails you? Patient: Dear sir, it appears to me that i

Doctor (with surprise): Mad? Why? Patient: I don't know, but I have that

Doctor: Be quite at ease, you are absolutely healthy

Åre you quite sure? I cannot believe that. Doctor: I declare to you that you are quite

normal. Good-bye

Doctor (looking back and shaking his head):

ERRATUM YE should be JE (Esperanto has no Y)

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

La kapitalistaro estas elmontrinta kiel okazis ke tiu bruta elmontro de fortegeco en la mezepoko, kiun la reakcianoj tiel multe admiras, trovis sian taŭgan komplementon en History la plej granda mallaboremeco. Gi estas ia unua kiu montris kion povas okazigi la homa agemo. Ĝi faris miraĵojn grande superajn al egiptaj piramidoj, romaj akvokondukiloj kaj gotaj katedraloj; ĝi faris militrojn kiuj metis sub ombron ĉiujn antaŭajn elirojn de nacioj

Comrade Stassen, a prominen the Ran dstrike, must be killed grave provocation, or he would is sorted to the method he did. In of a fight, when the whole Rand n uproar. Seven weeks long he has been in the condemned cell, and has thousand deaths.

A petition of ten thousand people spective of race, creed, or party, has that the death sentence be not impopetition has been sent from the Tra Council, Melbourne, Australia, appe clemency on behalf of the workers Africa who are awaiting trial as of recent happenings in the Transvar officials of the South African Mine V Union have been doing their utmost t a reprieve for Comrade Stassen. Cowan, the general secretary, who turned from Pretoria, where he colution at the Municipal Congress the Department of Justice, and made o see the Governor-General person Cowan said that it could be conside the whole of the 20,000 strikers were morally responsible for Stassen's cr Stassen himself.

Addressing a crowded meeting of over people at the City Hall, Comrade Ton made an appeal for the reprieve of of Stassen, and the following resolution adopted in silence, the audience rising that this mass meeting of o

workers of the Cape demands the

t was agreed that the resolution sho orwarded to the Prime Minister.

A letter appeared in the Dutch Ons Vaderland," sent to the Go General by the mother of Stasse letter asks his Royal Highness to mercy and to spare her child's life. says her son had never hitherto been the Courts, and during the exciteme Sophiatown t was felt by all that h had defended himself against danger. pleads with his Royal Highness to al sentence to penal servitude. "As a mother, I pray you again for mercuspare the life of my son."

According to the Press, the Prime M has received representations from all p South Africa in regard to the decis Government. Amongst the represe received were a letter and a telegra-General Herzog, to whom a telegram has been sent by the Prime Minister of the following is a translation:

'The advice tendered to his Highness the Governor-General be Executive Council was only given mature consideration of the full fac and no reasons have been a which render it necessary to recon

Stassen must die; the policy of the G ment requires it. The magnates be Stassen in the condemned cell; the G ment, the tool of the Chamber of Mi to put the rope round his neck

The funeral is expected to be atter er 50,000 workers, and every Trade with banner would be present, with arm-bandages and music bands.

I will conclude by quoting Shiller, wh words bring comfort:

The ground beneath their tyran hollow, the days of their domination dre an end, and presently no trace will remexcept the heavy track of blood which never be washed out

ISAAC VERMON

HAVE YOU READ?

History of the Great American Fortunes,
Gustavus Myers (8 vols.)
The Workers and Peasants of Russia, A. Souchy
Ten Days that Shook the World, John Reed
The Younger Generation, Ellen Key
Origin of the Family, Engels
The World Revolutions, Untermann
Revolution and Counter-Revolution, Karl Marx
Eighteenth Brumaire, Karl Marx
The Civil War in France, Karl Marx

GOD THE KNOWN AND GOD THE UNKNOWN. By Samuel Butler.

the Known and God the Unknown 'The Examiner' in May peared in "The

Introduction.

nd has ever been ready to discuss in the inverse ratio of their importthat the more closely a question is is considered upon prudent profess that it does not exist, to , to tell it to hold its tongue in that it has long been finally that there is now no question con-

indeed, has this been carried time past that the actions which portant to us, such as our passage embryonic stages, the circ respiration, etc., have long ulated beyond all power of re tion concerning them-the mere mer of their being done at all being ong the great discoveries of recent the analogy of past settlements is to suppose that so much unaniot arrived at all at once, but rather at have been preceded by much discontent, which again was fol-pen warfare; and that even after t had been ostensibly arrived at, still much secret want of convicpart of many for several genera-

many who see nothing in this tene other hand, who hold that the this time old enough to be the oncerning the management of its will scrutinise this management closeness before they venture to nor will they do so for long withjustification for its apparent reckrs about which we feel we know on the other hand, we must all act, and for the most part We do so, therefore, with greater a matter is already pigeon-holed feel that we must use our own for the collection, interpretation ment of the papers which deal Moreover, our action is thus made as if it received collective sanction; appearing it receives it. Almost nent, again, is felt to be better than the more nearly a matter comes veryone, the more important it is ald be treated as a sleeping dog, to lie, for if one person begins to outh, fatal developments may arise

difficult indeed to show that having reason to complain of the postponement of important though the world were composed knaves and fools, such fixity as vegetable forms possess is due to nct. For if there had been no there were no friction and "vis encountered even after a equilibrium had been upset, we no fixed organs nor settled proshould have been daily and ill been throwing out pseudopodia beba. True, we might have come fashion of living as well as our y-going system if we had taken to lions of ages ago when we were ut we have contracted other have become so confirmed that break with them. We therefore hat which we should perhaps have had practised it. This, however, ect the argument, for our concern likes and dislikes, not with the which those likes and dislikes have at any conclusion.

come about. The discovery that organism is capable of modification at all has occasioned so much astonishment that it has taken the most enlightened part of the world more than a hundred years to leave off expressing its contempt for such a crude, shallow, and pre-posterous conception. Perhaps in another hundred years we shall learn to admire the good sense, endurance, and thorough Englishness of organism in having been so averse to change, even more than its versatility in having been willing to change so much.

Nevertheless, however conservative we may be, and however much alive to the folly and wickedness of tampering with settled convictions—no matter what they are—without sufficient cause, there is yet such a constant though gradual change in our surroundings as necessitates corresponding modification in ideas, desires, and actions. We may t We may think that we would like to find ourselves always the same surroundings as our ancestors, so that we might be guided at every touch and turn by the experience of our race, and be saved from all self-communing or interpretation of oracular responses uttered by the facts around us. Yet the facts will change their utterances in spite of us; and we, too change with age and ages in spite of our-selves, so as to see the facts as perhaps even more changed than they actually are. It has been said, "Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis." The passage would have been no less true if it had stood, "Nos mutamur et tempora mutantur in nobis." Whether the organism or the surroundings began changing first is a matter of such small moment that the two may be left to fight it out between themselves; but, whichever view taken, the fact will remain that whenever the relations between the organism and its sur-roundings have been changed, the organism must either succeed in putting the surroundngs into harmony with itself, or itself into harmony with the surroundings; or must be made so uncomfortable as to be unable to remember itself as subjected to any such difficulties, and therefore to die through inability to recognise its own identity further. Under these circumstances, organism must

act in one or other of these two ways; it must either change slowly and continuo the surroundings, paying cash for everything, meeting the smallest change with a corresponding modification so far as is found convenient; or it must put off change as as possible, and then make larger and more sweeping changes.

Both these courses are the same in principle, the difference being only one of scale, and the one being a miniature of the other, as a ripple is an Atlantic wave in little; both have their advantages and disadvantages, so that most organisms will take the one course for one set of things and the other for another. They will deal promptly with things which they can get at easily, and which lie more upon the surface; those, however, which are nore troublesome to reach, and lie deeper, vill be handled upon more cataclysmic principles, being allowed longer periods of repose followed by short periods of greater activity. Animals breathe and circulate their blood by little action many times a minute; but they feed, some of them, only two or three times a day, and breed for the most part not more than once a year, their breeding season being much their busiest time. It is on the first principle that the modification of animal forms has proceeded mainly; but it may be questioned whether what is called a sport is not the organic expression of discontent which has been long felt, but which has not been attended to nor been met, step by step, by as much small remedial modification as was found practicable: so that when a change does come it comes by way of revolution. Or, again (only that it comes to much the same thing), a sport may be compared to one of those happy thoughts which sometime to us unbidden, after we have been thinking for a long time what to do, or how to arrange our ideas, and have yet been unable to arrive

So with politics, the smaller the matter the prompter, as a general rule, the settlement; on the other hand, the more sweeping the change that is felt to be necessary, the longer

The advantages of dealing with the larger juestions by more cataclysmic methods are byvious. For, in the first place, all composite things must have a system, or arrangement of parts, so that some parts shall depend upon and be grouped round others, as in the ticulation of a skeleton and the arrangement of muscles, nerves, tendons, etc., which are attached to it. To meddle with the skeleton is like taking up the street, or the flooring of one's house; it so upsets our arrangenents that we put it off until whatever else is found wanted, or whatever else seems likely to be wanted for a long time hence, can be done at the same time. Another advantage is in the rest which is given to the attention is in the rest which is given to the attention during the long hollows, so to speak, of the waves between periods of re-settlement. Pas-sion and prejudice have time to calm down, and when attention is next directed to the same question, it is a refreshed and invigorated attention—an attention, moreover, which may be given with the help of new lights derived from other quarters that were lights derived from the quarters that were not luminous when the question was last considered. Thirdly, it is more easy and safer to sidered. Initially, it is more easy and safer to make such alterations as experience has proved to be necessary than to forecast what is going to be wanted. Reformers are like paymasters, of whom there are only two bad symasters, or whom there are the symbol symb do not pay at all

(To be continued.)

PROTRACTED PLESECUTION.

rested on March 13th, 1915, when I was going delegate to the Lumber workers' Convention, held from March 15th to Pedruary oth, 1919,

in Seattle Emigration Station.

Flaced on board the "Acel Special" February 6th, and sent to Emis Isaland for deportation. March 17th, 1919, released, after rerusing parole. Remained in New York and Emisuepina and May 1st, then recurred to Seattle, Washington, May 6th, started as a delegate for the I.W.W. in Fort Angeles, Washington, undi November 18th, 1919.

Re-arrested and held on a charge of criminal syndicalism and sabotage. Held until January 7th, 1920.

January 7th, brought over to King County Gaoi and held until June 10th, 1920. Sent back to Ellis Island June 17th, 1920.

June 17th, 1920.

Subsequently ordered again deportation by the Department of Labour. Deportation held up by the action of the British Government.

July 15th, had hearing on writ of Habeas Corpus, held before Judge Grubb. Three weeks later, decision delaying writ was handed down. Re-hearing was granted on September 15th by the Department of Labour. Deportation ordered again, but British Government stands put and refuses to grant passport.

I then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court against the decision of Judge Grubb.

Released on bail December 3rd, 1920, bail being furnished by National Security Co., and then I went to the Western States.

to the Western States.

On January 20th, 1922, a decision was handed down by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

On March 16th, 1922, the U.S. Court signet an order for my surrender to bail, and if not deported within thirty days I could be released on a new

writ.

I surrendered on October 2nd, 1922, at Ellis Island,
but the inspector in charge would not accept me
or refund my bail.

I will have to go before the U.S. District Court
and try to have my bond refunded on Octover 13th,
1922. Where do I get off at?
Yours for the C.B.U. of the I.W.W.,
(Signed) McGREGOR S. ROSS.

364 Baledon Avenue,
Paterson, New Jersey, U.S.A.

Dear Comrades

We are arranging a Sale of Work and Social n November 25th, at 84 Blackfriars Road, E., in aid of the "Dreadnought" Fund, and we would ask all who are willing to send contributions to the stalls to send them to either of the addresses below.

Fancy and useful articles, books, groceries akes, tobacco and cigarettes would all be

Yours for Communism

S. CAHILL, 60 Limes Grove, S.E. 13.

F. BRIMLEY, 18 Grove Road, E. 11.

The Election

You are fine fellows in these days, fellow-workers! You are "sturdy sons of toil" and "masters of the country": great fellows indeed, you are, fellow-workers—just for a few

Just now you are more praiseworthy and estimable even than you were in the heyday of the voluntary recruiting. Your virtues will only last about a fortnight this time, but they are still greater and more desirable while they

last even than they were in war-time.

We are going through that perennial farce, the General Election, fellow-workers; that is why your virtues and intelligence have sud-denly grown conspicuous. Your suffrages are being more hotly contested than they were in the coupon election: the old game must be played with more vim than it was last time, or it may cease to divert you at all. Your masters are determined that you shall be diverted, fellow-workers; otherwise you might start thinking for yourselves; and that would be most inconvenient for those who have

hitherto done their thinking for you.

You are not supposed to think; that is not your province, fellow-worker; even Mr. Hen-your province, fellow-worker; even Mr. Hen-derson, and the Labour Party, and the Labour Research Department, and the Trade Union Committee, make a distinction between

Committee, make a distinction between "workers by hand and brain."

You are workers by hand, and by muscle and brawn, or anything else you like, except brain. Leave brains alone; they are not for

Come, come, fellow-workers; you are Trade Unionists, and not blacklegs. You are not supposed to go about scabbing on the intellec-There must be no amateur spare-time thinking: it is against the Trade Union rules. Mr. Clynes has taken particular trouble in the matter of delimiting the demarkation rules between the functions of "the workmen" and "their leaders." Pay attention to Mr. Clynes: then you will make no mistakes mistakes

Ristakes.
Remember, once for all, fellow-workers, that according to the united dictum of your leaders the practice of thinking, and anything connected with brain work, is no spare-time job. Keep up the elbow-grease, and do not spare it, fellow-workers, and your leaders will the rest.

You have a great many leaders at election times, fellow-workers: all the classes are eager to represent the masses then, fellow-workers. They all handsomely promise to be Labour

They all handsomely promise to be Labour members; and they sacrifice their voices in the most generous fashion.

Mr. Lloyd George, "the most outstanding political figure of our time," has promised to stand by you. You can judge precisely the value of that promise, fellow-workers, because Mr. Lloyd George himself tells you that he has been standing by you for thirty years; so you know by long experience exactly what his support means. Mr. Lloyd George and his friend Mr. Chamberlain want to save you from your-Mr. Chamberlain want to save you from yourselves: they have explained that there ought
to be a Coalition against the menace of
Labour. Make no mistake, fellow-worker;
you are the menace. No one could suspect
such moderate men as Mr. Clynes and Mr.
Henderson of being a menace, and of course
Mr. Thomas is not, because he has declared
upon oath that he is not a Socialist and that
he means to stand by the King in all cases
of dispute. Mr. Chamberlain want to save you from your

Mr. Churchill has generously hinted that he will serve whoever comes into power, if he is asked; so you may count on him as the friend of all parties. Mr. Lloyd George, Lord friend of all parties. Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain have spoken in the same sense; so you need not be anxious about them: they are willing to lead you at any moment; they need not be chosen at the election, but can be summoned at any time.

Bonar Law is at once the most frankly truthful of all the statesmen who are standing as candidates to lead you, and also the most olished and subtle in his compliments to you is aware that imitation is the sincerest Therefore he declares that he does

not quite know where he is, and adds that he has an instinct for understanding the common man. Not knowing quite where you are, fellow-worker, you are exalted by the flattering fancy that, in spite of your dullness, you are no worse than the Prime Minister. At the same time, he tells you frankly that you must not expect any improvement from him if he gets into power. You cannot help having a sneaking respect for one who tells the truth so plainly, can you? You certainly know by long experience that the elections make no change in your conditions.

Your old election hobby-horse, Mr. Asquith,

seems like an echo of a distant past; doesn t he, fellow-worker? One has to scratch one's head a bit to remember him. He claims that he ought to win the race to lead you, because he declared a year before the Treaty that there would be trouble in Ireland if the Irish were not given something or other to satisfy and I could have told him that when he shot Connolly and Pearse in 1916.

We certainly cannot award him the pro-'s laurels, at any rate, and that is the distinction he is claiming for himself and

his Party in this election.

Mr. McKenna has thrown over poor old Mr. McKenna has thrown over poor old Asquith and Liberalism at last. He stoutly refused to do it for Lloyd George; but Sir Frederick Banbury is getting old now, and the bankers of the City of London are particularly anxious that Mr. McKenna should succeed him. It would be a grievous breach of traditional etiquette for the City to be represented by any other than a Conservative, and it would scarcely be seemly for Mr. McKenna to represent the moneybags as a mere freshman. So Mr. McKenna felt it his duty to join Bonar Law.

Finally we come to the Labour Party, which as anxious as Lloyd George to stand by you, low-worker. You must clearly understand, fellow-worker. however, that the Labour Party is not responsible to you. Mr. Clynes, the chairman the Labour Party, has made it quite plain that the Labour Party policy is not to be influenced by your Conference decisions. Moreover, fellow-worker, you must know that the Labour Party is not a class Party: indeed the rald "has stated that most em-The Labour Party is not manned Daily Herald ' phatically. and controlled by the mere workers by hand. It has brains to control it: colonels, and all sorts of gentlemen: its candidates pre sent quite a respectable array of those sow not, neither do they spin."

gramme you will realise the influence that the black-coated gentlemen have had upon it, and how carefully they have safeguarded it from any tendency towards revolution. As Mr. Asquith said, even his Wee Frees could agree to most of us—and the rest is only window dressing.

The election will soon be over; and then, whether it be Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Asquith, or Mr. Henderson, who is vegetating in respectable opulence on the ex-Cabinet Minister's dole, your virtues, fellow-worker, will cease to be conspicuous and will return to their accustomed obscurity

Having placed your cross on the paper, you will at once be invited to leave the cision of your fate and the control of your lives to your employers, as usual, and to your Parliamentary representatives and the interests of those who control them.

If you obey instructions, the employer, the landlord, the shopkeeper, and the Government officials will continue to direct your way of larger Capitalists decide life, whilst the shall be our noble Allies in the next war.

Meanwhile, fellow-worker, your real business is to build those job committees, and weld them into a union of all class-conscious workers, in order to smash this bad old system altogether, and to build a genuine fraternity of mutual service and mutual happiness in this sorely-tried human world.

THE SEARCHLIGHT



Syllabus Scries No. 1, 2, 3, 4, published by the Labour Research Department, 6d. each. These booklets are intended for study classes. No. 1, 90, D. H. Cole, is entitled "The British I, buy Movement," but attempts to give information covering the international movement, and also gives list of recommended books on Communism and Socialism. The lists have evidently been compiled on the clique principle. The notorious omissions include Marx, Engels, De Leon, Lafargue, Kropotkin, Godwin, Bucharin, Bebel, Kautsky, and Gorter, to name only a few whose works are obtainable in English; while amongst the recommended are to be found, of cour- G. D. H. Cole, Page Arnot, L. S. Woolf, Tawney, J. A. Hobson, C. M. Lloyd, etc., etc., etc. It is rather surprising, also, that many histories of cooperative Movement itself, should have been omitted, but that, of course, is less amazing than some other omissions. In No. 2 of the series, Mr. Maurice Dobb deals with the development of Capitalism. This "authority" recommends the reading of pp. 736-800 of Marx's "Capital," but otherwise ignores the principal standard works, and recommends such writers as W. McLaine, Mark Starr, Alfred Marshall, Leonard Woolf, ans so on. No. 3, on finance, by Emile Burns, gives a simple outline of such matters of common knowleige as banking, cheques, exchanges share capital, and so on. Mr. Burns, unfortunately postulates that "it is probable money, in the four of currency, would be retained under a system of public ownership, for wages (or allowances) and retail to soar above the wage system, which he annear

purposes. . . . "
Evidently the ideals and imaginings of Mr. Burn fail to soar above the wage system, which he appear to take as a matter of course, we regret to observe On the whole, we cannot recommend the syllabuto our readers.

HAVE YOU READ?

THIVE TOO RELEASE.	
The Rights of the Masses, G. D. Brewer	1/
No Compromise, W. Liebknecht	1/
The Right to be Lazy, Paul Lafargue	8d
Shop Talks on Economics, Mary Marcy	8d
The Iron Heel, Jack London	2/
War of the Classes, Jack London	2/
Strength of the Strong, Jack London	1/
Ancient Society, by Lewis H. Morgan	7/
Batouala, by René Maran	7
Capital To-day, by Herman Cahn	10/
The Iron Heel, by Jack London	2
The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard, by Anatole	-
France	2/
The Spy, by Upton Sinclair	3
The spy, by Opton Sincials	

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT. Central London Branch (Hon. Secretary, 8. Cahill) meets Thursday evenings, at 152 Fleet Street, 7.30 p.m. Volunteers for meetings, clerical work, etc., should write to the Secretary at 152 Fleet Street.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MEETINGS. MOVEMENT

Friday, November 3rd.—8 p.m., Prince's Head, Battersea, C. J. Delahunty and C. T.

Saturday, November 4th.—6 p.m., Garrolds Corner, Edgware Road, C. J. Delahunty and C. T. West.

Sunday, November 5th.—11 a.m., Finsbury Park, A. Jarvis and C. T. West. 7.30 p.m., Stepney Green, J. Welsh, C. T. West, and

Monday, November 6th.—7.30 p.m., Liver pool Street, Walworth Road, J. West.

Tuesday, November 7th.—7 p.m., V Road, Camberwell, Clara Cole and C. T. W Wednesday, November 6th.—8 p.m., I Phil pott Street, Commercial Road, Whitechapel T. West, J. Welsh, and J. Grant.

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