

Why We Have No Use for Ramsay Macdonald

Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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COMMUNISM AND SOCIAL PURITY.—AN APPEAL TO WOMEN.

Capitalism's Excuse for Recruiting Our Daughters To Army of Shame. — Lasses Damned in Childhood.

Low-Paid Labour That Cannot Make Homes. — Profit-Making Lures to the Sensual.

Communism will Abolish Prostitution.

By **ADELA PANKHURST WALSH.**

(Of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Australia.)

As soon as the Communist Party reaches dimensions sufficient to be feared, we shall be assailed in the Press by accusations of Free Love and "Communism in Women."

The fact is, however, that the only form of Communism under Capitalism we have is "Communism in Women," and the social sore which is such a menace to the existence of our race is directly due to the conditions set up by Capitalism.

When I was in Coburg gaol there appeared at the door of my cell one day, carrying my dinner-can, a pretty little child. The prison dress hung loosely on her slight figure, and bright chestnut hair escaped in loose curls under her white cap. Her dark eyes had the pathetic look of some gentle little animal, timid and yet confident of kindness. The cheeks faintly flushed, and the soft lips smiling and rosy. She told me her name was Daphne—ah, me! how much of a mother's love is revealed in the pretty names of little girls—and that she was just fifteen.

"I've been here twelve months," she said.

A child of 15 in such a place as this! The thought struck me with horror—a cell and a dusty exercise yard for a home; for companions, drunkards, criminals, and old and hardened women of the streets steeped in every vice. What terrible offence could such a child commit to merit such a punishment?

Ruined Children.

Daphne soon assured me that she had committed none. A grown man had betrayed this child; brought her from Sydney to Melbourne, and deserted her, having first infected her with disease. The police had found her penniless in the streets, and the magistrates had thereupon sent her to gaol as a vagrant, in order that the young men who desire to lead a vicious life might do so more safely by the removal of one infected young woman.

The prison was filled mostly by Daphne's sisters in misfortune—Julia, Sadie, Alice, Dora and Phyllis. Dozens more of them hardly more than children, with much the same story to tell. They were represented at all stages of the road to ruin—children in the bloom of their youth, young girls soon to become mothers, hardened, vicious young women and the prematurely aged, battered by violence, rotten with disease and drink, and, here and there, some poor ancient wreck who had escaped the usual merciful death.

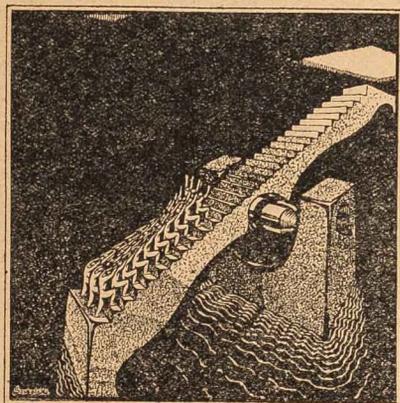
Fed like Beasts.

This sorrowful procession filed past me every day, dressed in their coarse, degrading uniform, carrying their unsavoury dinner in cans, to eat it in solitude like beasts, ordered about like dogs by loud-voiced officials. Sometimes a lordly prison inspector (with his hat on) stood to watch them drawn up in a trembling line.

It was when this individual appeared that the story of the prison-governor and the old woman always recurred to me. "What would the likes of you do, gov'nor," she said to him, "but for the likes of us?"

And, indeed, what would "the likes of us" do without the "likes of" Daphne and her sisters?

Josephine Butler and all the women who have laboured to protect their sex from the degradation of licensed prostitution have been indignant



The Machine Age

From "The Liberator."

when told that the prostitute class is necessary for the "protection" of the respectable women and the "legitimate" home, but to be indignant and to say, with womanly wrath, that they do not wish to be protected at such a cost, does not dispose of the truth of the assertion that under Capitalism prostitution must exist.

The wages of tens of thousands of young men are such that they cannot possibly maintain a family on them, yet those young men are herded together in cities under conditions which are most calculated to stir the sexual passions.

A large proportion of Capitalist activity is directed to stirring up sensuality in mankind; book, pictures, songs and plays are produced for no other purpose, and hotels, houses and other establishments yield large profits to those who cater for their satisfaction.

Impossible Marriage.

Marriage, to-day, involves such a terrible sacrifice, the family is such a source of carking care, that men are fearful of undertaking its responsibilities; yet civilisation has increased the violence of their passions as never before. How, then, can we avoid the terrible truth that it only by the degradation of their sisters that the "respectable women" and their homes are safe from violation? It is inevitable that thousands of women must be held in common by the homeless young men, and these women are the more degraded because they have no other occupation than the sale of their persons to casual strangers, and the more hapless because they are without protection from the laws, which on the contrary, harry and persecute them. Upon reflection, the mothers of the working-class must

realise that a proportion of the girl-children born to them must fall into prostitution, and that everywhere Capitalism spreads its nets to ensnare them.

Low wages, dreary homes, lonely lodgings, a love of luxury and ease, engendered by the ideals of modern society, wherein those women who have plenty of money and do no work are held up as the most desirable persons to emulate and imitate—an insight, by medium of the Press and the picture-show, of a world of light, leisure and enjoyment, of delicious food and beautiful clothing, into which they long to penetrate; the call of sex, the awakening of love, artificially stimulated in children whose pre-occupation should be study and play—all these influences touch the lives of all working-class children. Who, then, can say that her girl is doomed or saved?

Not all the love in all the mothers' hearts can avail against the stern economics of Capitalism—the doomed children must go to their appointed end, the dreary street, the hideous brothel, the prison, and the grave!

I have seen women line the streets cheering and waving as the troops go marching off to war, with brazen music and floating colours. Would they cheer so loudly could they see the army of lost girls, tawdry and bold, or drunken and dishevelled, marching beside it?

Profits and Prostitution

Profits and prostitution—upon these Empires are built and Kingdoms stand.

Let every working woman realise that among the victims of our system, her own bright-haired baby girl may yet be numbered, and she will cry out that rulers may perish and pass away if they involve the loss of the white soul and the destruction of the dear body of the child she bore and nurtured.

Communism will abolish prostitution.

It will enable the young people to attend schools and universities, where the mind will be developed, and where every influence will be used to encourage purity and decent self-restraint. It will give all young men and women the opportunity of marriage based upon mutual love, because it will remove poverty and drudgery out of the lives of everyone. It will endow the lives of all with wholesome pleasure, and surround them with beautiful things, conferring upon them, also, ample leisure to enjoy. Work, no longer the curse of God upon Adam, will be healthful, interesting and ennobling, and the heritage of all, performed, not for selfish greed, but for social happiness.

DEPUTATION TO HOME OFFICE.

On February 18th, Mrs. Cahill, Mrs. Chapman, and Mrs. Cole went to the Home Office to press upon the Home Secretary the demand for First Division treatment for the political prisoners.

They did not see the Right Hon. E. Shortt, but they were interviewed by Mr. Ward, who promised that the matter would receive attention, and that a reply would be sent to them within a reasonable time.

The matter must not be allowed to rest here. A further deputation is being organised. All those willing to take part should communicate with Comrade N. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E. 3.

To the Fools of England

For Everybody to Read.

SEE PAGE 8.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Russia as Saviour.

The negotiations between the Hungarian Government and delegates from Soviet Russia...

All-Russian Rural Conference.

The Congress of the All-Russian Soviet Rural Districts will be opened on February 1st.

Communal Workshops for Repairing Clothes. Petrogradskaja Pravda reports: "In Petrograd, seven Communal workshops for repairing clothes have been opened."

Foreign Capital in Poland.

Two naphtha companies have been formed in Poland during the last few weeks. One, the Polpetropol, has a capital of sixty million marks...

Polish Strikes.

The strike in the workshops of Warsaw is extending. Under strong guards of police, workers were forcibly brought to the factories and compelled to work.

The "Republic" of Czechoslovakia.

Unemployment is still increasing in the country. In Brno and Pilsen, where the cheaper coal is produced, miners are being discharged.

In Pilsen there are nineteen Communists under arrest. The authorities fear to bring them to trial and yet do not wish to release them.

Finland.

As a result of the shortage of orders, the Finnish paper mills have been forced to close down.

AUSTRALIAN LABOUR BANS FREEMASONS

A Convention of the Australian Workers' Union recently resolved that Freemasons should not be permitted to hold any official position in the organisation...

COMPULSORY DOMESTIC SERVICE.

A sub-committee of the Paddington Employment Committee passed a resolution that unskilled women drawing unemployment benefit should be compelled to enter domestic service or forego their benefit.

BY WIRELESS.

We learn by private wire that a public meeting held in Louvain and largely attended by survivors of the Hunnish invasion...

REDUCED WAGES!

A number of Coalville girls, employed in Leicester factories, have been temporarily discharged because their wages are insufficient to pay their railway fares to work.

Bronski in Petrograd.

Bronski, Soviet representative in Germany, has arrived in Petrograd, and has given an interview reporting on his activities regarding the return of prisoners of war.

Russian Refugees in Constantinople.

Dissatisfaction is growing more noticeable amongst the Russian refugees in Constantinople. Many wish to return to Russia, regretting their part in the adventure.

Soviet Justice.

The Commissariat for Labour in Sebastopol has sentenced 4,000 speculators to compulsory work. Hungary. The Minister of Commerce, in co-operation with the Minister of the Interior, has decided that the Union of Tramway Workers be dissolved.

As the workers, in spite of the persecution, remain true to their organisations, the authorities have adopted a new course. Under the cover of the housing regulations they are requisitioning the quarters of the unions.

On January 7th, under the chairmanship of Horty, a cabinet meeting decided to establish a civil guard upon the model of the Davarian civil guard (Einwohnerwehr). Only those who are known as reliable "Christians" will be accepted for membership, and receive arms.

Among the small peasants there is a strong movement on foot for the setting up of a peasant republic. The Christian Party, which has so far excited the Conservative peasants against the city people, now discovers that it must protect the city culture against this "monstrosity."

Manifesto of the Bund.

The President (Weinstein) and the Secretary (Raikes) of the Bund (Jewish Labour Party) in Russia have addressed a manifesto to the Polish Central of the Bund, in which the Jewish workers of Poland are called upon to do all in their power to combat the power of this executive, and to put themselves unreservedly on the side of the Communist International.

An International Women's Day.

In a manifesto to the German Communist Party, the Information Bureau of the International Communist Women's Movement states that the slogan for the International Women's Day on March 8th be: "The full emancipation of womanhood through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

There are 18 Anarchist papers in Italy, one of them being a daily *Umanita Nuova*, edited by Malatesta.

The number of new members of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks ratified during the week ending January 29th, were: Men, 185; Women, 131. Total 316.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD Outside Holloway Gaol, EVERY SUNDAY AT 4 p.m. Followed by a meeting outside Pentonville Prison.

Come and cheer our Comrades Pankhurst and Malone.

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—6.

"IF MEN ARE TO WAIT FOR LIBERTY UNTIL THEY BECOME WISE AND GOOD IN SLAVERY, THEN THEY MAY INDEED WAIT FOR EVER." —LORD MACAULAY.

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST LABOUR.

During the war while profits were highest for the owners of industry, Labour was everything. It was patriotic, it was honest, it was virtuous, it was self-denying, it did everything the bosses wanted done.

No matter how high wages went, profits soared still higher, so the bosses didn't kick very much—besides, they needed Labour to create those luscious profits. They paid the high wages because by doing so they could reap the highest profits in the history of American industry.

After the Armistice The employers have been telling you how inefficient you are. They told you to speed up production—for profits were still high. But they cut your wages and they discharged many of you. They forgot all about how patriotic you were, about your sacrifices, about your self-denial. They forgot to restore to you your ancient "liberties" of speech and Press. They forgot to complete the job of making the world safe for "Democracy." They began to damn you up one side and down the other.

And now they are going to finish you. They are going to break your organisation if they can. Wages in many instances have already been reduced to pre-war standards, though living costs have declined only a fraction.

Two or three millions of you have already been fired. You have no work and you can get none. Three winter months are ahead of you. Starvation is at your door. Thousands of you are existing upon the weekly benefits from your Unions. Most thousands of you are begging at the Charity societies. You are searching everywhere for work, from city to city you wander in droves.

You are workers no longer. You are neither patriotic nor honest in the eyes of the law. You are under suspicion, a menace.

The Iron Heel is on your neck. And what are you going to do about it, you craft unionists? Don't you think it is about time you were changing your minds about the interests of Labour and Capital being identical? If they ARE identical then you ought to be happy, it's a cinch Capital is!—The Toiler (U.S.A.).

TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

An International Letter of the I.A.M.B.

Not content with the results of the world war, the imperialists of the victorious States are restlessly preparing for a new war. In the first place, they intend to fight Soviet Russia directly or indirectly. Scarcely have the Russians made peace in one place, another new war is waged against them. Seemingly the relations between the White powers of the West and the Red ones of the East are more favourable now than ever before. But in reality everything points to this, that on the imperialist side a spring-offensive is being prepared against Russia. In the meantime the Entente powers send their navies and colonial armies to all parts of the world, while terror rages in Ireland, and the German Rhineland will be overrun by black troops in February next.

By the arranging of large aviation grounds, the building of barracks (to the exclusion of public elementary schools), the establishing of field-bakeries for thousands of soldiers, and of "military institutions" (brothels) for black and white men, the occupied territory of Germany is being transformed into a huge military base of operations, whilst the number of troops fixed in the peace treaty is being surpassed exceedingly. Against what is this intended, if not the revolutionary movement started in the East?

In the meantime, reaction everywhere runs high. In Spain, Hungary, Serbia and the United States insolent battalions are organised against Anarchists, Communists, Syndicalists, and other revolutionaries, whereby the leaders in these movements are being removed, even by assassination in order that the imperialists, in the prosecution of their violent practices, might find the least possible resistance against their murderous policy.

Therefore in these days it is more than ever necessary that every worker should become a fighter against militarism. The idea of a general refusal of military service and a general strike in case of war, ought to be vigorously propagated. But above that which might be directly or indirectly used for militarism must be refused. No building of barracks, no erection of battleships, no military submarines, no making of munitions or guns (or the transport of these things), no uniforms, no army stores, neither the transport of soldiers. Every kind of production ought to be controlled, military production reported to the leading union of those concerned, that this can immediately formulate its policy. The idea of impeding the national States in their conscious preparation of war by refusing the paying of taxes ought to be propagated and applied everywhere. The day of deeds has come, and, where Labour is not yet ripe for these, this propaganda of the deed is more necessary than ever. Labour must be wide awake to the present menace of world conflicts. Labour must choose its side consciously. The above mentioned forms of resistance were already practiced spontaneously in numerous places. They ought to become works of deeds, and the resistance of the working world must grow.

For the International Anti-Militarist Bureau, JOS GIESEN.

FORM ANTI-MILITARIST UNION.

Call for British Co-operation to Form Sections in International Congress.

(March 26th to 31st, Volksgebouw, The Hague, Holland.)

In Holland, since 1904, when there was an Anti-Militarist Congress, we have had an International Anti-Militarist Union, which made very strong propaganda for the idea of our comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis, who died last year, that Labour should answer every declaration of war by a general strike and a general refusal of military service. Since 1917 we have been trying to get international relations with our comrades in other countries, and we are preparing a great International Congress to be held in March, 1921, at The Hague. We have already had an international preparatory conference with comrades of Belgium, Germany and Denmark. Two members of the conference went to France to speak with the French Comrades, the secretary of the I.A.M.U. in France being in prison, a victim of radical anti-militarist propaganda after the war. In Denmark and Belgium there are also sections of the I.A.M.U., and in other countries, such as Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, among others, our comrades are trying to form them.

Knowing this, I think you will feel it your duty to help to form a section in England also. We have already spoken with and written to comrades of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

You can understand, comrades, that our international work is not very easy. It is rather expensive, and nearly the whole cost is paid by Dutch comrades. In fact, we have spent about £600 on this work. Besides, my suggestion to form a section in England, I ask you to help us financially. You can do that by becoming members of our Congress, for which you have to pay the average wage of four hours' work (or a larger amount if you please). For England we have fixed this at 6s., Unions and other organisations to pay £1 4s. The address of our treasurer is H. C. Eckhard, Hooze Landerveeg 203, Hilversum, Holland.

With revolutionary greetings, ALBERT DE JONG, Secretary of the International Anti-Militarist Union, The Hague.

FOR COMPLETE DISARMAMENT.

Persons who share the opinion expressed in this Affirmation should communicate with Miss Beatrice C. M. Brown, 23, Brice Lane, London, E.C.4.—

"Believing that all war is wrong, and that the arming of the nations, whether by sea, land, or air, is treason to the spiritual unity and intelligence and mankind, I declare it to be my intention never to take part in war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, whether by bearing arms, making or handling munitions, voluntarily subscribing to war loans, or using my labour for the purpose of setting others free for war service."

A conference will shortly be called with the object of linking up with similar movements in other countries and forming an international movement against war, pledged to work for complete disarmament in this and every country.

COMRADE FRAINA CLEARED.

The Executive Committee of the Third International has investigated the charges brought by Santeri Nuorteva, formerly Secretary of the Soviet Bureau of New York, against Comrade Louis Fraina, of the Communist Party of America.

The investigating committee, as composed of A. Rosmer (France), A. Bilan (America), and Roudinsky (Hungary). Their finding exonerating Fraina was unanimous, and Fraina was admitted to the E.C. and to the Congress.

Later on, upon the arrival of Nuorteva at Moscow, Fraina demanded a new inquiry in the presence of his accuser.

Zinoviev asked Nuorteva to formulate his charges within 48 hours. "Once more the Executive found that there was no foundation in fact for the accusations," which rested solely upon the personal opinion of Nuorteva, and consequently the Executive censured him. Since such proceedings are totally contrary to the attitude of a true Communist.

AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party of Australia, which was formed at the end of last year, is issuing the "Australian Communist" as its organ. The programme of the Party is signed by the following members of its Provisional Executive Committee:—W. P. Sarsman (Secretary), T. Glynn, C. Hook, A. Thomas, J. S. Gardien, Miss C. J. Smith, T. Walsh, Mrs. Adela Pankhurst Walsh, R. Webster and S. Zanders (Trustees), C. Baker (Melbourne, unable to sign).

THE "PINK" INTERNATIONAL.

Will the I.L.P. Take Part in Half-way Congress at Vienna?

The Independent Labour Party delegates to the International Socialist Conference in Vienna have been chosen as follows:—Mr. R. C. Wallhead (Manchester), Mr. Ben Riley (Huddersfield), Mr. E. Shirwell (Glasgow), and Mr. T. H. Hudson, who will be accompanied by Mr. C. Roden Buxton as interpreter. "No difficulties were experienced on this occasion in making the necessary passport arrangements," says The Times.

The mission of this "Second-and-a-half" International is to form an International Working Union of Socialist Parties which will represent such parties as in carrying out the principles of revolutionary Socialism, aim at achieving political power for the proletariat by means of the class struggle. The Union is to be open to those parties who belong neither to the Second nor the Communist Internationals, and it desires to come into touch with other proletarian organisations in order to realise, in co-operation with these, the scheme of creating a world-embracing International of the revolutionary workers of all countries and to create an international proletarian fighting front against capitalism.

About a hundred delegates are expected, of whom Germany will send ten and France five. There will also be representatives of the Russian Social Democratic Party coming, however, from outside the Russian frontier; of America, and of a number of small European nationalities.

The delegates will discuss the international fight against counter-revolution, opened by Lebedour (Germany), and methods and organisation of the class struggle, to be introduced by Friedrich Adler (Austria); while the chairman of the I.L.P. will open a discussion on Imperialism and the Social Revolution.

Nothing, of course, will come out of this conference. Nevertheless, its proceedings should be followed in order to make clear the motives that are behind this move. What is the policy of the I.L.P. at the present moment? One is bound to ask. J. Ramsay MacDonald is Secretary of the Second; another prominent I.L.P.-er goes to the Second-and-a-half, and a good number of the rank and file are for the Third. A split must come sooner or later, and meanwhile the rank and file should get busy, ask questions of their Executive, and prepare to work in the right direction without more ado.

THE RED FLAG.

The Red Flag was not always the symbol of Revolutionary Socialism. It was first introduced in Paris through the Riot Law of October 21, 1791. A National Guard was formed for the purpose of suppressing any disturbances or rioting that might occur. That guard had to display at such times a red flag, as a signal that the authorities warned the rebels to cease rioting, otherwise blood would be shed. Only once was the Red Flag used in such a sense—on the field of Mars in Paris.

When the "Sans-Culottes" (who were the revolutionists at that period) became more powerful, then, naturally, the riot law with the Red Flag was abolished.

But the significance of the Red Flag has entirely changed through a little incident in 1832. General Lamark, one of the opponents of the kingdom, died, and the Republicans, who had then a desire to fight, wished to make at his funeral a great demonstration against monarchy. That was on June 15, 1832. The spirit of revolt was ripe at that time, and a great number of people followed the funeral procession. Suddenly a Republican horseman arrived carrying in his right hand a red flag, which was the spark that lit the flames of passion of the mass of the people. Immediately a struggle began in the streets, and for the first time the Red Flag was seen on the barricades in the hands of the rebels. From that time, the Red Flag became the signal of protest against tyranny.

What it Stands for.

But the Red Flag has not yet become the symbol of revolt against the capitalist class. At the rising of the silk weavers in Lyons in 1831 and 1834, they carried a black flag, as a sign of the hunger and need from which they so keenly suffered. To-day, the Black Flag is that most accepted by the Anarchists. Only in that great insurrection in France in 1848, which is known by the name of the February Revolution, in which the Socialists played a great part—then only did the Red Flag become the world's.

The Red Flag means war and no peace with the present injustice and state of things. The Red Flag is stained with the blood of the workers! The Red Flag is the symbol of activity, life, and progress. The different coloured flags of every national tyrannical Government are a parade of the powers that oppress, or for ridiculous national pride.

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—7.

"IT IS ALWAYS THE WORKER WHO MUST STINT AND STARVE TO SAVE SOCIETY." —F. WILLIS.

THE SHEEP AND THE GOATS.

Communists Separate from Socialists the World Over.

It is very interesting to notice how in nearly every country, the Communists are separating from the Social Democrats.

In France, the Communists have left the Socialist Party, and the same thing has occurred in Luxembourg, Italy, Spain, and Czechoslovakia.

Perhaps an even more important cleavage is that in the Trade Union organisations, which are gradually being permeated with Communists. In France, unofficial revolutionary committees have been set up within the C.G.T. The officials of the C.G.T., led by Jouhaux, who are quite as reactionary as the British Labour leaders, have decided to expel all branches sympathising with and supporting these unofficial committees. This has already happened in the Agricultural Federation, to branches obtaining a Communist majority. They have even gone further, and decided to exclude all those who carry on propaganda in favour of the Moscow International! The minority is protesting against this unconstitutional decision and says that the question can only be decided at the Congress at Lille by the whole membership.

Now is the time for intensive propaganda in the Unions, when the minority will go over to the majority, and gradually the officials will find themselves left high and dry, with no organisation behind them.

The Labour Party reformists deplore this splitting-up of the forces, but we suspect that it is due to the fear that the Left Wing sections, which are the only ones with a solution to the various problems confronting us, will increase rapidly in numbers and leave them with only a handful of followers. Workers, speed the day when this will be so!

INCREASED DIVIDENDS.

Government Understanding with Railway Companies Combine.

The Scottish Railway Stockholders' Association, Ltd., has sent out a circular appealing for members whose task it is to protect themselves from the predatory designs of the Government. It states that "the Government scheme provides for the railways being handed back to their owners, to be managed on the basis of private enterprise under certain conditions, inter alia:—

1.—GROUPING. The railways of Great Britain are to be compulsorily formed into seven Groups of which the Scottish Companies are to form one Group by themselves.

2.—FINANCE. Rates and fares are to be fixed at such a level as to enable the Companies to earn a net revenue equivalent on some pre-war basis to the combined net revenue of all the Companies absorbed in the Group. The State is to share in any surplus revenue beyond such pre-war basis, but is not to share in losses.

3.—FUTURE POWERS OF THE STATE. The State is to have drastic powers of interference in practically every important matter of working, management and administration of the railways.

The Central Council sent a deputation to interview the Minister of Transport and laid before him their objections to the scheme, "pointing out that the financial proposals amounted to pure confiscation, and that the powers of interference reserved to the State made the scheme one of virtual Nationalisation without payment. It was also pointed out that unless the railways were to have some reasonable prospect of earning dividends *very considerably greater* than the pre-war rate, looking to the *general rise of interest that had taken place*, it would be impossible to obtain further capital, now urgently required, for the development of the railways." (The italics are ours).

The Chancellor of the Exchequer promised that the Corporation Tax should not affect the railways for three years.

The Railway Companies' Association recognises that the Stockholders' organisations working independently, would be of material assistance in helping to secure fair terms from the Government.

"During the year, a considerable amount of Press propaganda has been carried on." This is a good instance of how the capitalists organise to secure their ends, and it should be taken to heart by the workers, who should follow them. Now we fully know why wages must be reduced: to earn dividends *very considerably greater* than in pre-war days. Workers, you must produce more and get less for it, in order to give the parasites higher dividends. Incidentally, notice that you will have to pay more for your railway fares, for the same reason.

The nationalisation scare is a hypothetical one, as the Government of capitalists will not do anything against their own interests; and so long as the railwaymen retain their capitalist laqueys as leaders, they will also side with the capitalists.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

has some

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ONLY CURE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Trade Unions Congress and Labour Party Executive are discussing the problems of unemployment and are advancing their programme for dealing with it. As we pointed out last week, this so-called solution is no solution at all, but merely certain palliative measures for temporarily relieving those who are unemployed.

The economic crisis is the cause of unemployment. The economic development has been very rapid during the last few years. During the war, the financial crisis was acute and the war economy organisation sought to tide it over, but instead of being used for purposes of production, these organisations were abused for purposes of finance, which sharpened the financial crisis. We have now reached a point in evolution, where those who controlled the finances can control them no longer; their system will no longer work; it must be replaced by another, and that other is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

It does not matter whether the great mass of the people desires to seize the power, it is a natural necessity in the process of evolution to have a dictatorship of organisation, which is one of the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, if we are to be saved from ruin.

The first step in the establishment of this dictatorship is the expropriation of the means of production, and this will not come of itself, it will be the cause and the first task of the revolution. Those who at present control the means of production and have failed so signally, will not relinquish that control without a struggle. They are the true revolutionaries; they go their way regardless of the consequences. It does not matter to them how many lives they sacrifice in their pursuit of wealth, or what suffering they inflict upon others, but they are the first to cry out against the horrors of a revolution and tell you that it is wrong to have recourse to violence. You may starve, you may sacrifice your life and limbs in defence of their property, their markets, their profits, but you must not even raise your voice in defence of your own liberty, much less arm yourselves in preparation for the decisive struggle.

You must realise more fully that the class-war is already taking place, and ever remember that war cannot be carried on with kid gloves, for the other class has a mailed fist. Again, the important question of organisation comes in. Organise yourselves now, discipline yourselves now, sacrifice yourselves now for the acute stage of that fight; for only so can you successfully oppose the well-organised forces arrayed against you. Do not trust to muddling through somehow, that way means unnecessary suffering and loss of life. We must economise our forces, and that can only be done by preparedness.

This fight cannot be won in Parliament, or on the platform, and the longer it is delayed, the more violent and the more protracted it will be. Do not wait until you have converted all the workers, for that will only be accomplished after the revolution, which will open their eyes to a true understanding of equality.

Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win!

WHY WE OPPOSE RAMSAY MACDONALD.

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has published in the Glasgow *Forward* his first Electoral Manifesto. This paper, which up till yesterday, we thought was a Socialist publication, states:—

"Of course, you in the North mustn't misunderstand the situation here. This isn't a Scots populace, fed on the true milk of the word, indoctrinated with Socialist propaganda. It is Labour in a sentimental London way, but it was intensely patriotic: its work is the Arsenal; and Will Crooks gave it just what it wanted. Nobody would desire Mr. Macdonald to sink any principle to get votes, but his propaganda efforts must take cognisance of his audiences. He needn't go talking about Society as a biological organism. If he does, he'll not get plaudits, but only yawns."

A cynical confession: that in order to catch votes and gain a seat in Parliament. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald will set his sail according to the wind; will not sport the Red Flag in his button-hole, but the colour of his clan; will not talk Socialism, but vote-catching Reformism.

There are several Macdonalds: the one that goes abroad and poses as the leader of Socialism in England, Secretary of the Second International and consorts with Continental revolutionaries; the one, who, whilst being a shining light of the I.L.P., is pacifist with Lord Lansdowne, and pats on the back "my friend, Lord Fisher";

152, FLEET STREET,
LONDON, E.C.4.

DEAR COMRADES—

I am very anxious that the *Workers' Dreadnought* should be of as much service to you as possible, therefore I invite you to send me short articles dealing with the Communist and Industrial movement in your districts. These should not exceed 500 words in length, and should be written or typed on one side of the paper only, and should reach the *Dreadnought* office on Thursday mornings, if possible, for the next week's issue.

I shall also be glad of the names and addresses of any comrades who would be willing to sell and distribute the paper. Specially advantageous terms are offered to newsgathers who will show a poster.

Notices of meetings and branch notes, not exceeding 100 words, will be inserted free. These should also reach me by first post, Thursday.

Yours fraternally,
NORAH L. SMYTH.

and the Macdonald who has descended upon East Woolwich in order to get to Westminster.

Macdonald says he is a Socialist, but the word Socialism does not even appear in his first Election Manifesto. Nowhere can one trace a single thought imbued with the Socialist doctrine.

On Foreign Affairs, he pins his faith on the League of Nations, which is now as dead as Queen Anne.

He speaks of India and Egypt, to his electors, as part of "your Empire," in homage, we take it, to the principles of self-determination.

On Home affairs, he thinks that the two foremost questions are: Unemployment and Ireland.

To fight unemployment, he proposes: Trade (mark you, not peace) with Russia and other European States; an "adequate" supply of houses, and a "satisfactory" scheme of Unemployment Grant. With his middle-class outlook he cannot see that the workers do not want "grants," but honest, productive work.

Concerning Ireland, he is deliciously vague. "Let us consequently apply to that country the principles (which?) we have applied to the peoples that were subject to German, Austrian, and Russian domination." Whether these principles will signify Home Rule, complete autonomy or a Republic, well—it is for you to decide.

Concerning the Arsenal, he puts forward an alluring and yet impossible proposal: the alternative, civil work.

We say, most emphatically, that such a thing is impossible. The Arsenal is part of the machinery of the Government; which is essential to the production of material necessary for the fighting forces—and it might be needed at a moment's notice. Therefore the Government cannot and will not run the risk of altering its organisation in order to produce machinery for peace purposes.

Ramsay Macdonald might just as well demand

that the ships of the Royal Navy should be used to take trippers down to Margate!

It is the duty of every class-conscious worker, in the interest of his class, to oppose the return of Ramsay Macdonald.

In its Manifesto to the workers of Woolwich, the Communist Party says:—

"We bid you look forward to the approaching time when we shall stand before you as an organisation of resolute working men and women pledged to expose all traitors, and ready—openly, fearlessly, and without compromise—to champion the cause of the emancipation of the workers, through a working-class dictatorship. We Communists of Great Britain offer you the fraternal support of the Red International, whose programme is our watchword: "All power to the working-class!"

These are thoughts in the right direction, but they fail to indicate the practical line of conduct which is proper at the present moment.

We have not "to look forward to the time when," but we must act now. The valid support of the Third International would not be worth receiving if not earned by a determined action.

"The cruel and heartless nature of a contest which is designed, whichever way the workers use their votes, to make them the accomplices of a work of treachery," can be overcome and made the occasion of a strong fight, by the class-conscious determination to abstain from voting.

At election times, when a valuable seat is contested, both the Liberal and the Labour Parties are not afraid of splitting the so-called "Progressive" vote, and of letting the other man in, in the attempt to assist their own respective organisations.

We must not be afraid of letting "the other man" in, now.

We must free our minds from the unfounded belief that "if a Tory gets in, things will be worse; and that if a Labour man gets in, things that matter will be improved."

Unemployment can best be solved by ourselves. By concerted action; in our Unions; by direct pressure, that will bring about the control of industry in our own hands.

Even the King, in his speech at the opening of Parliament, admitted—or the Minister who wrote his speech admitted for him—that Parliament can do but little to alleviate unemployment.

Parliament, composed of men who change their principles to suit an electorate which is "Labour in a sentimental London way," as the Scottish *Forward* has it, would do even less than the King predicts it would.

A reduced poll, as we said last week, by showing to the Government the determination of the working-class—no longer to be duped by empty phrases—would do much more to assist unemployment than all the Parliamentary fine tactics of the Secretary of the Second International.

FIRST DIVISION FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Last Monday, Harry Webb, a member of the Executive of the Communist Party, appeared to answer a summons under an Act of Edward III, on a charge of "being an inciter to commit divers crimes and a disturber of the peace."

On January 23rd, H. Webb made a speech at the Engineers' Institute, Sheffield, the cause of the prosecution. P.C. Killeay being present and giving evidence against him. The constable gave as much of the speech as he had taken down.

The following is his version of it:—
Mr. Webb commenced by saying: "Mr. Chairman and Brother Bolsheviks!" and proceeded to say that he had come to Sheffield with Bolshevik ideas which he was going to explain, and that he cared nothing about the consequences. The next war would be a class war—Capitalism versus Workers. "Soviet Russia," he said, "was a good example for the workers of this country." He spoke about the International Organisations of to-day, and the International Federations of Trade Unions, which was known as the Amsterdam International. Mr. Thomas was a member of that Party (said Webb), and they were placing themselves as a stumbling-block for the Communist Party, and his (Webb's) Party was out to fight them.

(Continued on page 7).

"MORE PRODUCTION!"

By TOM QUELCH.

Representative of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the Executive of the Third International at Moscow.

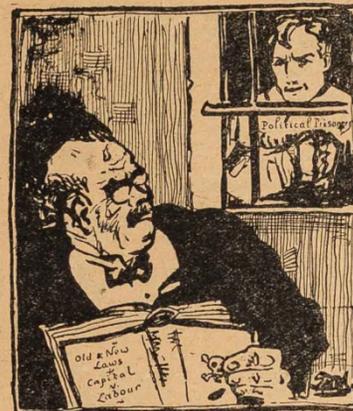
Here in Russia, the workers are now entering upon a great production campaign—a campaign for the elimination of poverty and misery. Everything is at their disposal—the land, the mines, the mills, factories and workshops. Engineers, scientists and technicians have prepared plans that almost stagger the imagination: plans for the extension of the transport system, for the building of towns and villages, for the electrification of the whole country; and the workers are taking these plans up and putting them into execution with the same ardour and energy they put into the sanguinary task of ridding the Red Republic of its enemies and preserving the conquests of the revolution. They are doing this ardently, lovingly, because they are doing it for themselves and for their fellows; because the products of their labour will truly belong to them.

One has only to live and move amongst the Russian workers to feel the urge of the new spirit—so strange and so stimulating—that actuates them all. Eager they are, and full of hope and confidence.

II.

But Russia is not the only land where an intense production campaign is preached. Britain also had its cry for more work, for intense effort. The British more-production campaign began immediately after the Armistice—was loudly flogged in the capitalist press—was blessed by captains of industry and by Labour leaders, from Havelock Wilson and J. T. Brownlie to Philip Snowden—and was preached to the masses from the pulpits. But it fell flat. The workers

laughed curious ironical laughter. They treated the mouthings of their "superior" and



This book will become a scrap of paper if your protest is strong and united.

"mentors" with derision and disdain. They had had some. More production! What a hideous joke! They had toiled and laboured and

TO THE YOUNG MEN IN A HURRY.

developing as it does, the exercise of logic; and he considered that the result was as good as that of the study of Latin and Greek on the older scholar.

Esperanto is extraordinarily easy to learn, having as few rules as can be compatible with a clear exposition of every shade of meaning. There is nothing unnecessary or arbitrary in it, and the tedious memorising of countless words that must accompany the study of national languages is eliminated to a great extent by the use of root-words which can be formed into the different parts of speech by variation of the terminations; also by the use of affixes and of suffixes which are slipped in between the root and the grammatical termination, to modify and alter the meaning. The "Edinburgh" dictionary which supplies all that one could ordinarily want, is so slim that it takes up no more space than a pocket-book, owing to the fact that the Esperanto portion has only 60 pages, whereas the cumbersome English cannot do with less than 141. Esperantists would as soon leave their handkerchiefs at home as their dictionaries, which are whipped out at lectures, debates, etc., by the novices, or by the experts to decide some knotty point, or to refute any one who may be taking a liberty with the language. The price of the "Edinburgh" dictionary is only 1/-, and a good primer can be had for the same small sum. Classes are held at some of the evening schools where the necessary number of pupils is forthcoming, the fees being very low.

I think it was the Esperantist visitors to the Conference towards the establishment of the International University at Brussels who were conveyed to their destination in a tramcar decorated with the insignia of the language by the Esperantists among the tram workers. When will a similarly decorated tram startle the natives here? The Transylvanian Labour Party has established a bureau for teachers of Esperanto in order that every one may learn it. Why must Eccles shine out alone from the darkness in England? In Russia they are forging ahead with the language, one school borrowing books from another as there is a shortage. Why—but no, I mustn't be tedious. *Komunistoj, lomu Esperanton!*

IDO versus ESPERANTO.

What the Editor of the "Liberator" Says.

"Some time ago, an objection was raised by the guardians of the shrine of Esperanto, to our publishing an advertisement of the other international language which is called 'Ido.' It seemed that Esperanto had been endorsed by the Soviet Government of Russia, and that Ido was a sort of a counter-revolutionary impostor.

sweated all through the hateful years of the war—they had abandoned their Trade Union rights and factory restrictions—they had agreed to the shameless exploitation of their women and children, and at the end of it all—after many of their brothers and sons had been blown to bloody rags in the trenches—they had nothing except ashes in the mouth and a deep sense of having been mocked and cheated. More production! Were they not worn and tired and exhausted? Were they not pale and livid from the fetid atmosphere of the workshops and the close confinement of the factories? Were they not sick of work that brought no reward except millions of moaning wounded and mountains of dead?

So the British workers thought and still think. Fed up they are, and weary and spiritless, possessed of no glowing enthusiasm . . . or else angry and burning with revolt.

III.

In the towns of Russia, conditions are worse than in the towns of Britain, as far as the food supply is concerned.

In Russia, however, the stern dictatorship of the workers ensures that every one has something to eat. Food is rationed as in a besieged city.

In Britain, there are thousands starving and destitute.

In Russia there are no unemployed: no unemployed processions.

In Britain there are unemployed—thousands, millions of them: there are doleful unemployed processions, wending, a sad and pitiful trail, of misery, through the dusky streets; and beggars singing songs or turning barrel-organs. O grotesque irony—the need for more production and millions out of work.

Why?

Moscow.

"In view of this objection, the *Liberator* asked a full presentation of the argument from the sources of both advertisements, and secured text books of both languages, and I was asked to make a decision. I came to the study with a certain prejudice in favour of Esperanto, but I leave it with the opinion that Ido is a decided improvement upon Esperanto, retaining what is best in its fundamental structure, and discarding what is cumbersome and still amateurish. "It seems to me that linguistic matters—the accusative case and circumflex letters—in Esperanto, for instance—are matters of importance in estimating an international language. They are the matters I have considered in deciding that the *Liberator* ought to continue the publication of the Ido advertisement, and that if the Soviet Government has endorsed Esperanto to the exclusion of Ido, the Soviet Government—Allah have mercy upon me!—has made a mistake.

MAX EASTMAN.

(Books on Ido can be obtained from the American Ido Society, 1059, Mohler Street, Pittsburg, Pa.)

CONCERNING OUR COMPETITION.

Several Comrades have asked what will be the principles that will guide the "Workers' Dreadnought" in giving the prize in the pamphlet competition.

The following cutting from the "Australian Communist" will partly answer the question:—
"In what respect does the Third International consider that Communism differs from other forms of Socialism?"

This was one of several questions recently asked of the Third International.

The Executive Committee, considering the question as pivotal, answered it in full. It reviewed half a century of Socialist activity, and attacked the "centre" of the Second International, represented in England by Ramsay Macdonald and Philip Snowden, in France by Jean Longuet, in Germany by Karl Kautsky and Haase, in Italy by Modigliani, Turati and Treves, in Russia by Apolrod and Martov, and in the United States by Morris Hillquit—all of whom it accuses of playing, during the war, the role of Pontius Pilate, "washing their hands of the guilt." The main offence of these "centre" leaders, says the document, is that they do not foment revolution, and that they persuade the workers that Socialism can be obtained by constitution means. The argument is clinched as follows:

"In what respect does Communism differ from other forms of Socialism? We reply: There are no other forms, there is only Communism. Whatever else goes under the name of Socialism is either wilful deception by the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, or the self-delusion of persons or groups, who hesitate to choose between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; who hesitate between a life and death struggle, and the role of assistants to the expiring bourgeoisie."

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

Fractional Fall in Prices. Margarine and Jerry-Built Homes. Wages Have to Come Down. Pound a Week for Ten. The King's Speech.

It is amusing to note the feverish manner in which that fine old institution of freedom, the British Press, punctiliously records every fractional fall in prices which takes place in the people's food.

The distracted housewife, in her heroic efforts to make ends meet, might perhaps be expected to experience a certain feeling of elation on reading such a list. Such reductions, she might think, will help to solve the ever-pressing problem of making one pound go, magically, as far as thirty shillings.

It is anticipated that by the middle of the present year retail food prices will have fallen approximately to the level at the beginning of 1920.

But if such visions did, perchance, come to any poor wife as she read the article, her face must have fallen on reading the next sentence:—

Heavier rents, rates, gas, electric lighting, and water charges will, however, tend to offset a part of the reduction in food prices when estimating the general decline in the cost of living.

Her hopes have been raised only to be dashed. Yes, and the hopes of the mass of workers who are looking forward to better times as the result of these slight reductions will constantly be dashed. Even if "heavier rent, rates, gas, electric lighting, and water charges" do not offset the greater part of the reduction, something else will. Wages will go down as sure as fate, however fiercely the workers may oppose reductions.

At the annual meeting of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Company yesterday, Mr. C. C. Macrae stated that something must be done at an early date to reduce expenditure. Wages, not only their own, but those bearing upon the cost of all materials supplied to them, would have to come down.

There you have it flat. No beating about the bush in that. The workers' wages have to come down. This, mind you, after the Government in the whole year to March 31st, 1920, had to find a sum of £41,849,000 to finance the railways of the country, and had guaranteed the shareholders £48,900,000, which sum pays about 3 per cent. on the total capital (I quote the "Daily Mail" Year Book). But another company has spoken on the subject, thus:—

At a meeting of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, Mr. Fielden (chairman) said the Government were responsible for present conditions. Railway managers had realised at the first that the wages and hours conceded by the Government were beyond the power of the railways to pay if they were to remain financially sound.

Could anything be more explicit? But one does not require to be told as plainly as all that. From the very moment when the Government advocated short-time, it was evident that there was to be a national attempt on the part of our "great organisers and captains of industry" to reduce wages all round. Now the cat is out of the bag, and reports similar to the above are daily appearing in the Press. The necessity of reducing wages as the only easy solution to the problem of restoring trade to normal activity is constantly referred to in the newspapers, on the principle, probably, of Mr. Dooley's dictum: "I'll bilare anything so long as you tell it me often enough."

Along with these sinister signs comes the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament, wherein His

Majesty said:—"The most pressing problem which confronts you is that of unemployment, consequent upon a world-wide restriction of trade, and this may be alleviated, but cannot be cured by legislative means."

No, certainly not. That is what Marx said long ago, and if the workers think it can, the more fool they. Legislative action means capitalist action, and the curing of this malady in the body politic is the last thing the capitalists desire. But what an admission, after all the pomp and ceremony, and gold lace and busbies, and State carriages, and hocus-pocus! To look at the Lords and the Members of the House, in their immaculate dress and tall shiners, one would think they could cure anything, and to hear the populace cheer, one would think that they were gazing on the saviours of the race. God God! And in the Twentieth Century, with its scientific achievements and marvellous exploits! These confident-looking gentlemen, who looked, as they made their way into the House, as if they possessed all the wisdom of the ages, have to admit, through their lavishly-robed puppet, that they cannot find work for the million and a half men who are walking the streets with empty stomachs. And the people still stand and gape and cheer at this indecent display of luxury and empty, assinine pomp and glitter. Of a truth, gentlemen, did Bernard Shaw hit the nail on the head when he said that this earth is the asylum to which the other planets send their lunatics.

But to revert to the "Fall in Prices" stunt. I should like to know what all the shouting is about. Why should we be expected to fling up our hats and scream deliciously just because margarine has gone down 1d. or 2d. per lb.; and why, pray, should the housewife have visions of long-deterred visits to the draper and the tailor just because a few of the commonest necessities of life have been reduced in price by a few small coppers? Surely it cannot be that the workers are living so close to the yawning abyss of poverty that they should be expected to hail such reductions as signifying the approach of the Millennium? Surely Johnnie and Mary and the baby have not gone without the amenities of life for so long that the parents should rejoice at the prospect of a little extra shopping, a larger full of provisions, and some "real butter" for the week-end, and a trip to the seaside in the summer that is not spoilt by the constant dread that if a little too much prodigality is indulged in the family will have to starve the week after returning to their jerry-built "home"? Surely not in a great and glorious Empire like this, with all its splendid traditions of democracy and its far-flung territory on which the sun never sets, its magnificent fighting forces, and its boasted ability to lead the world in industry and commerce. Oh, no, that cannot be! But if not, why are the newspapers making such a song about these meagre reductions?

Even supposing that wages did remain where they are and that the cost of living went down by 100 per cent., would that mean the difference between poverty and affluence for the workers—ever comfort? Would it remove the ever-present fear of the "sack," which is part and parcel of this ignominious system? Would it enable the worker to cover himself in times of sickness—even with the help of the Health Insurance dole—that miserable pittance which is an insult if only because it stands for a humiliating piece of class legislation invented to palliate the workers and label them for ever as a class of inferiors? Would it mean the wiping out of those reeking national sores, the slums? Would it recompense the 32,000 people in Bradford, say, who have "less than half a room apiece in which to be born, eat, sleep and die—in the city of the 3,000 per cent. wool profits"; or the workers in Birmingham, where "20,000 families—say 100,000 human beings—are without anything that can properly be called a home"; or those in London, "where 184,000 people are living in houses condemned as unfit for human habitation; 305,000 in homes injurious to their health on account of age, dilapidation, damp, decay, or vermin; 200,000 living under conditions of gross overcrowding injurious both to health and morality; and 753,786 registered as living more than two to the room"? Or the million and a half unemployed? No, it certainly would not. These workers, and hundreds of thousands of others all over the land they have fought for, would still be on the way from the standard of living enjoyed by the most modest of their

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—8.

"I ENTERED PARLIAMENT WITH WHAT I THOUGHT TO BE THE LOWEST POSSIBLE OPINION OF THE AVERAGE MEMBER. I CAME OUT WITH ONE STILL LOWER."

—J. STUART MILL.

"superiors." The papers would still have to record cases like the following, reported during the past week or two:—

"£1 A WEEK FOR FAMILY OF TEN." "How a family of ten lived on £1 a week was yesterday investigated by a newspaper representative. The father is an ex-serviceman, an unemployed painter, named West, of North-West London, and this week he was before the Registrar at the Bloomsbury County Court, where his landlord applied to levy distress for £4 6s. 4d. 'My husband,' said Mrs. West to the reporter, 'has an out-of-work allowance of £1 a week, and a son gives me 16s. Out of that we pay 10s. a week rent, leaving us £1 to live on. Of course, I am in debt for groceries, but, thank goodness, we have had food given to us.'"

LIVED FOR TWENTY-THREE DAYS ON "HALF-A-CROWN."

"Extraordinary letters addressed to the Coroner were read at an inquest at Manchester, yesterday on Edward Bowden, an elderly man, who killed himself by disconnecting the gas-pipe from the main and suffocating himself. The first letter began:—'Finis. Kismet. The end of a miserable life. I anticipate your verdict will be temporary insanity. More truly would it be neglected by a cruel and merciless world. I have had to live on 2s. 6d. for 23 days. I vowed I would not die in the workhouse.'"

No; a higher standard of living, however desirable it may be, would not materially affect the lives of the workers. They would still remain slaves divorced from the means of life, duped by the lying Press, crushed by the burden of armaments, powerless—even with their Trade Unions—before the merciless winds of trade crises and depression; and always ready to be served up as cannon fodder to the god of Mammon whenever it suits their masters.

THE KING'S DEBT.

In reading through "English Fragments," by Heinrich Heine (1797-1856), it interested me to come across the following reference to our now colossal possession—the National Debt.

"Cobbett quite rightly remarks, for example, that whilst one places in front of all institutions the name of the King; as the King's Army, the King's Navy, the King's Courts, the King's Prisons, etc., yet notwithstanding, the great debt, which in reality, owes its origin to those institutions, is never called the King's Debt; and it is the only institution by which the nation is shown the honour of having something named after her."

And further:—"It (the debt) is the reason why the whole of England is become a large treadmill, where the people must work day and night to pay its creditors. Hence also it arises that England becomes weaned from all youthful, joyful yearnings and bends a grey head over the cares of accounting. Thus it generally happens with all men heavily in debt, they are ground down in dull resignation, and do not know how to keep themselves—although 900,000 guns and just as many bayonets lie stored in the Tower of London, and the well-fed, red-coated Beebeaters who are on guard there, could be easily overpowered."

Those City gentlemen who administer the law should give more attention to general literature. Even if the blind goddess has lost her scales irrevocably, yet the spread of knowledge among her henchmen would not be wasted. At least it would help them to wistfully shake the shocks of current journalism more valiantly.

M.W.

RED PRINTING OFFICE.

Comrade Helene Boyon, in the *Lutis Feministe*, describes the printing works where the "Communist International" is printed in Petrograd. There are 140 persons employed, of which 70 are women. The working day is eight hours in theory, but in practice, owing to pressure of work, nearly fourteen. All overtime is double time, and Sunday work treble. Besides wages, every worker receives monthly seven pounds of flour, three of meal, one of sugar, one of fat, and five of fish or meat and quantities of vegetables bought by the Printers' Union. The rooms are not heated since fuel is scarce. The administration is in the hands of four comrades, elected by all the employees. Besides the usual work of administration, these comrades also look after the buying of foodstuffs and the like.

The shop has to buy its own ink, but the paper is supplied free from the Smolny. The printing machines print at the rate of 6,000 per day. On the average, every edition of the "International" consists of 24 formes.

There are two rooms, with beds for the night workers, dressing-room and necessary cabinets, but no soap, owing, also, to the blockade. One of the comps. at the case is the former owner of the works. No longer a "Barin," he is yet pleased and interested in his work, and of great assistance as reader.

There are two other printing works similarly organised, which jointly produce all the propaganda literature of the Third International.

LABOUR PARTY AND OUR PRISONERS.

A paragraph in an issue of the *Daily Herald*, last week, stated:—

"We are informed that, at a meeting of the Labour Party Executive, it was decided to request the Labour Party in Parliament to seek to secure from the Government, first division treatment for all political prisoners now in gaol."

We understand that this covers, not only Communists and Socialists, but also Sinn Feiners. We hope that the information of the "National Labour Daily" is correct. So far we have not seen any confirmation of it, either in other sections of the daily Press, or in any section of the Labour Party. Our view that a supine attitude would lead to other prosecutions has been fully borne out by the arrest of Gallacher and H. Webb.

The tameness of the Labour Party—many of its M.P.s being less advanced and less outspoken than some of the Independent Liberals—is a sure guarantee that the forces of reaction will not touch any of its members.

On the other hand, the Labour Party has to rely—for votes—on a section of the electorate which is greatly dissatisfied and may at any moment abandon this party, should it fail to show even the smallest intention to fight on this important issue. If the report of the *Daily Herald* is correct, the decision to include the Sinn Feiners in the Labour Party demand is tactically wrong. Not because the Sinn Feiners are not political prisoners. They are. The fight is a political one, and therefore they are political prisoners. Yet they stand on a different ground from the class-struggle political prisoners.

For the Irish, for the Sinn Feiners, the Labour Party should have moved with energy long ago, and should not have waited till Englishmen are arrested and then protest. It should have acted in this direction from the very beginning of the agitation. As put forward now by the Labour Party, the demand that political prisoners should be treated as such is pure window-dressing.

The Party knows that the forces of Reaction will strongly oppose the demand; yet this demand will enable the Labour Party to say at a later date "We did our best, even if we did not succeed."

This move is dictated either by political ignorance or sheer hypocrisy. The Irish, in fact, are no longer political prisoners: the inaction of the Labour Party has permitted the situation to become so acute that they are now "prisoners of war."

If the Labour Party is in earnest, it should present two distinct demands. First Division treatment for the class-struggle prisoners, on the ground that their offence is purely one of opinion; full amnesty for the Irish prisoners of war, preparatory to an independent Workers' and Peasants' Irish Government.

BOYCOTT ALL SPANISH GOODS.

(To all the Organisations affiliated to the Communist International, and to the Workers of all Countries.)

Comrades—For the last two years the workers of Spain, particularly those of the most industrial and active sections of the country, have been subjected to a most cruel and barbaric oppression on the part of the ruling capitalist class.

The Government, acting on behalf of the landlords who have greatly enriched themselves during the Imperialist War, is treating the workers of the country with an ever-increasing severity. For two years all constitutional guarantees have been suspended, and martial law has prevailed. The Labour Press has been suppressed, labour unions dissolved, and the right of assembly denied. The militant elements of the labour unions and even the ordinary workers have been cast into prison by hundreds of thousands, in accordance with the whim of provincial and local tyrants.

The bourgeoisie of Spain, trampling under foot its own laws, is resorting to measures characteristic of the Dark Ages. The militant workers have been deported to Fernando Po, in Africa, to Mahon, on the island of Minorca, and similar places. Others are being deported under convoy of gendarmes to the villages of their birth, being compelled to march on foot and subjected to various brutalities. Since the army and police do not suffice—the Spanish bourgeoisie has set loose its White Guards against the workers. In a word, our Spanish comrades have become the victims of a white terror similar to that of Finland and Hungary.

The assistance must be immediate, and must take the form of a complete boycott of all Spanish products, which ought to begin, in accordance with the recommendation of our Spanish comrades, on January 15th. Beginning with that day, the workers of all countries must decline to handle, to transport, or to unload any goods coming from Spain, or consigned to Spain. They must also refuse to use any products of Spanish origin. Thus isolated from the entire world, and renounced by the proletariat of all countries, the Spanish bourgeoisie will have to capitulate.

The Communist International Council of Labour Unions most urgently calls upon the workers of all countries to respond to the appeal of their Spanish brethren.

All the organisations affiliated to the Communist International should respond to the appeal of the Spanish National Confederation of Labour, which is itself a member of the International. —The Executive Committees of the Communist International and of the International Council of Labour Unions.

THE RED TRADE UNIONS.

A manifesto has been issued by the British Bureau of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, signed by G. Peet and E. Lisner, on behalf of the Committee which is composed of Robert Williams, Tom Mann, E. Burns, Mrs. Bammet, George Arnott, J. T. Murphy, A. A. Purcell, Robert Holder, V. Williams, Miss E. Wilkinson, Ben Smith, W. J. Hewlett, George Kaye, J. J. Vaughan, J. Cook, W. Jones, R. Coppeck, G. Peet, and Mary Moorhouse. The manifesto states:—

"For generations, the Trade Unions have been attempting to improve the status of their members by increased money wages. This has proved futile. Every nominal increase conceded to-day is filched back to-morrow by an even greater advance in the cost of living. We have now to think, not of patching and repairing the existing order, not of conferring with our employers in Whitley Councils, Conciliation Boards, Trades Boards, not of pleading before panels of capitalist representatives disguised as so-called impartial Arbitration Tribunals, in order to maintain the edifice of Capitalism, but to sap and undermine the foundations of that system which degrades our lives, stultifies our growth, and keeps us in an age-long servitude. The Red Trade Union International will do for Europe, and in fact for every country, what Communism has done for Russia."

Branches of Trade Unions should discuss this and send resolutions to their Head Offices and their Executive Councils, and insist upon representation at the forthcoming World Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions, on May 1st, 1921, in Moscow. Delegate conferences should carry resolutions in favour of affiliating directly to the Red International, with its headquarters in Moscow, and also to instruct the Trades Union Congress as a whole to ally itself definitely and unequivocally with an International which stands for the immediate overthrow of the capitalist system. The two resolutions read as follows:—

RESOLUTION I.

"To sever all connections of this organisation with the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions and to take all necessary steps to secure the withdrawal of the Trade Union Congress from the Amsterdam Federation."

RESOLUTION II.

"To take immediate steps to secure the election of delegates to the World Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions convened at Moscow for May 1st, 1921, and instruct to make this organisation an affiliated body of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions governed by its revolutionary policy."

AT ALL PUBLIC AND TRADE UNION MEETINGS DEMAND FOR OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS FIRST DIVISION TREATMENT.

OUR LITERATURE COMPETITION.

- 1. The *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish and circulate at the lowest possible price, a pamphlet explaining in an easy and convincing style, the meaning of Communism and affiliation to the Third International.
2. No money prize will be given, but the author of the accepted MS. will receive free 200 copies of the pamphlet.
3. The MS. should reach the *Workers' Dreadnought* offices—in a registered letter (please note this point)—not later than March 25th, 1921.
4. The pamphlet should be of not less than 6,000 words and not more than 10,000. The MS. should be written, or typed, on one side of the paper only.
5. The MS. should reach us unsigned, and consequently the name of the author should not appear on any of the pages of the MS., nor on any part of the registered packet that contains it.
6. On the other hand, a *nom de plume* or a set of figures, should appear on the first and last page of the MS.
7. When sending the registered letter to us, the counterfoil must be kept, to be produced at a later date. The possession of the Certificate of Registration will be deemed the proof of authorship, both in the case of the successful competitor and of the others, to whom their MS. will be returned.
8. In an issue in April, the *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish the number of the registered letter that contained the accepted manuscript and will then invite the successful competitor to send in his or her name. Should the author desire to remain anonymous the *Workers' Dreadnought* will proceed without further delay to publish the pamphlet.
9. The *Workers' Dreadnought* reserves the right to publish at a subsequent date, either in full, or partially, in the paper itself, or in pamphlet form, the next best two MSS., and will announce the names of these competitors at the same time as that of the successful one.
10. The decision of the *Workers' Dreadnought* will be final.

(Continued from page 4.)

He made reference to the remark made by Mr. Lloyd George during the war, about making the country fit for heroes to live in. "Now it is all over," he said, "and there are millions of men out of work, his (Lloyd George's) advice to them was to emigrate."

Proceeding, Webb said: His idea of getting rid of the "Boss" class, was a revolution, and said: "We want men who understand a gun and can use it."

He spoke of the British Empire, and said the Empire was made by bloody hypocrites and the damned Imperialistic class. He quoted the case of Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht, the German Socialists, who, he said, were planning something for the working classes, and the Kaiser had them bludgeoned to death. The Great War was nothing but an Imperialist War and was only fought so that the Capitalistic classes might profit thereby. There was a movement between Soviet Russia and this country which referred to the markets of both countries, but the English Government would do no trade with the Russians until they had paid back the 500 millions they had borrowed during the war.

He exhorted his hearers to join the Red International Army, and to use the mailed fist, strike the capitalist full in the face, and then prepare for the counter-revolution, which would be the military. The capitalists would use all the methods available to put down the working-classes, because they knew that if they lost the fight, they would have to work. [This upset the Bench very much].

He expressed surprise at the people of this country in allowing the Imperialist class to have their own way. Hodge, Clynes, and Henderson were all working for the capitalists, and he called them a set of damned liars and hypocrites.

Referring to this country going to war, he said: "Read the history and you will find that pinching land which belonged to other people, was England's game every time."

Mr. Thompson, of Scott, Duckers & Thompson, defended; having previously been told that the charge was based upon the whole speech and no particular sentence in it. He proceeded to show that some of the statements had not been made, to wit: that the Kaiser, who was in Holland, had bludgeoned Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht to death, that the Red Army did not exist, and that it was the Red Trade Union International to which Webb referred. The constable had never heard of it! Mr. Thompson proceeded to explain the Amsterdam and Red Internationals, in which the Bench were much interested.

H. Webb was sentenced to be bound over for two years, in the sum of £100, with two sureties of £50, or in default, three months' imprisonment and one month in default of costs.

Mr. Thompson protested against the month in default of costs, and this was withdrawn.

We congratulate Comrade Webb on refusing to be bound over. All Communists should do the same.

The most important point gained was that on Mr. Thompson's application for First Division treatment, it was granted at once. This strengthens our case for demanding First Division treatment for all political prisoners.

COMMUNISM AMONG MINERS.

The third conference in connection with the unofficial movement of the Northern miners was held in Newcastle on Sunday last. Delegates from the Newcastle and Durham mining districts attended, representing 50,000 miners.

Campbell, of Glasgow, addressed the meeting, which was private. G. Harvey, the secretary, states that he received a great number of letters from all over the country wishing the conference success. It was decided that another conference should be held, to which the N.U.R. and the A.E.U. will be asked to send delegates. That conference will be held on March 5th.

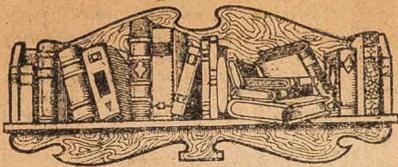
The miners are now considering the question of profits, and no doubt these conferences will influence the decisions of the Miners' Federation.

NEW YEAR'S GIFT.

Mrs. Bessie Ward, 5s.; J. H. Parker, 10s. 8d.; A Friend, 1s. 8d. Total, £58 19s. 1d.

COST OF APPEAL FUND.

H. Gorter, £1; Holloway Collection, 5s. 3d. Total, £21 10s. 8d.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST.
(Official organ of the Communist Party of Australia.
Miss C. J. Smith, College Street, Sydney. 2d.
weekly.)

The first issue of our Australian contemporary, edited by Tom Glynn, is a "propaganda" paper from the first line to the last—free from those cheap "stunts" which might assist in building up circulation, but fail to make permanent converts—and will certainly command success.

The Manifesto of the Communist Party of Australia is a clear statement of the needs of the workers.

We quote a few passages from it:—

"The bourgeoisie, by virtue of its possession of the State power, established and maintains itself to-day as the dominant class, and is thereby enabled to shelter behind the empty phrases of popular democracy.

"By monopolising and holding by any and every means of cunning, deceit, and terrorism, all the means of subsistence, the dominant class perpetuates the existing form of society, while the proletariat, deprived of everything, sometimes even of bare existence, is subjected to degradation and the most humiliating slavery. Thus does modern society present itself as a system wherein one class produces all things and owns nothing, while the other class owns everything and produces nothing.

"The Communist Party, recognising this contradiction, sets itself to abolish the system, to overthrow this class monopoly, and to abolish the private ownership of the means of production. Its aim is to establish a system of social ownership of the means of production, thereby making the ownership coincide with the social process of production.

"When the producers have produced more for the monopolist class for their profits than that class can dispose of, the wheels of production are stopped, and the producers, in addition to being deprived of their own production, are deprived of even their ordinary miserable means of subsistence, and are thrown into a state of absolute starvation.

"In such a case the producing classes unconsciously feel that they are unjustly deprived of access in the amassed products of their own labour. Sometimes they are driven by starvation, and this sense of injustice into spontaneous revolt, such as local and general strikes; but because of their lack of organisation and their ignorance of the real cause of their degradation and starvation, while the monopolist classes are solidly organised into the State, with weapons to hand for oppression and coercion, they are invariably suppressed and beaten, fooled, or trapped, and finally brought back again into the same slavery, when the monopolists are ready to set the wheels of production going again.

"Since the possessing class, in spite of its insignificant numbers compared with the workers, is, through its organisation, able to keep the great masses in subjection, we Communists contend that if the workers are well organised for the express

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TO THE FOOLS OF ENGLAND.

There is a bright spot in England which will pass in history, even when the memory of our mighty rulers shall be dim and faint: that spot is in Lancashire, "that thinks to-day what London thinks to-morrow"; and in Lancashire that place is Gorton, where we have an active branch of the Communist Party.

That bright spot in England is peopled by a set of fools that would defy the pen of a Swift. They don the cap and they don the bells, and from the bottom of their emasculated souls they write.

They write to their masters, Messrs. Robert Williams & Son, Embossers and Finishers of Chatworth Mill, Gorton:—

"Your employees have decided to approach you with the suggestion that our wages be reduced by 10 per cent.

"We hope that this offer will be accepted, as it is felt that the present high cost of living exists primarily owing to the very high cost of production. Also, in making this voluntary offer, it is hoped and believed that our example will become contagious in other trades as well as our own, and the result would then be a lowering in the cost of living and consequent increase in purchasing power."

Contagious, forsooth! Plaguey!

Even the masters did not dream they had such a pack of stupid fellows in their service, for the *Evening Standard* reports:—

"that the letter came as a pleasant surprise to the firm, 'one of the finest things it has ever been our lot to receive.'"

Inquiry showed that the letter was signed by 140 employees and not 5 per cent. withheld their names.

The offer means the surrender of from 2/6 to 15/- per week

The Ministry of Labour, informed of the existence of these willing slaves, and of their "contagious" example, bubbles with glee.

"Already it has expressed gratification at the action of the firm's employees."

It never rains but it pours. At the time of going to press, our office boy enters breathless, waving the latest edition of the *Evening Star* and *M.U.G.S. Gazette*.

In flaming headlines we see: "THE CONTAGION SPREADING—CITY MERCHANTS FOLLOW GORTON'S EXAMPLE—COMPANY DIRECTORS REDUCE THEIR DIVIDENDS—CABINET MINISTERS (amidst the cheers of the House), RENOUNCE THEIR SALARIES—CHURCHILL SWEARS HE WILL NOT RIDE IN A ROLLS-ROYCE, TO SAVE PETROL, etc., etc.

purpose of the overthrow of the capitalist system, they can do so during one of these periodical crises; and then can establish a system of production of necessities, not for profit, but for social use.

"We Communists assert the futility of waiting for the achievement of our ideal by legislation through existing legislative institutions, as these institutions are expressly a part and parcel of the capitalist system. The overthrow of the system means equally the overthrow of all the political machinery of the system, parliament and police, army and navy, etc. The new machine which will be established by the organised force of the workers in mass action, for the protection of the new order in the establishment of its new economic and social system, will be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is only a temporary phase in the new order, and will only exist for the complete annihilation of the bourgeoisie as a class, and the economic basis of class antagonism and of the State having ceased to exist, then the government of persons is replaced by the administering of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. The Communist society inscribes upon its banner, 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.'"

THE RED DAWN.

(A Magazine for Young Workers. Official organ of the Proletarian School and College, 17, Oswald Street, Glasgow. Monthly. 16 pp. 3d.)

The February issue is, like its predecessor, full of interest for young workers, and two articles at least—"The Navy Poet," by T. Islwyn Nicholas, and "Olive Schreiner," by R. M. Fox—may be read with advantage by grown up people.

The Secretary has a short paragraph headed S.O.S. which, we understand, in the Scottish language means "Send on Silver." They desire to raise £240 for the School Movement, and they have still a long way to go.

It is to be regretted that the proletarian movement in Britain has produced as yet but few designers of any artistic merit. The title heading of the "Red Dawn" is somewhat "primitive"—if we can put it that way; and the cartoon on the first page, although it "makes its point," is anything but artistic.

We are not quite sure everything Tom Anderson says about the Red Flag is historically correct. We doubt if Fraser would agree with him. We print elsewhere an account—taken from the "Maori-land Worker"—of the rise of the Red Flag as symbol of revolt.

In spite of these little blemishes, the "Red Dawn" should be taken home by every worker.

LA VOIX DES FEMMES.

(Editors: Colette Reynaud and Louise Bodin, 10, Rue Montmartre, Paris, 1.)

This interesting and useful French weekly that ably combines the feminist and Socialist points of view reproduces from the "Ecole Emancipée" a vivacious article on the trial of Comrade Pankhurst.

"Free England seems to become one of those old poetic myths, used for picturesque effect, in which nobody any longer believes. Sylvia appeared in Court without legal assistance. It is

probable that she fully realised the uselessness of such assistance, and that is certainly not a compliment for the English judges. She defended herself well. We can even say with great success, for the aim was not acquittal, but propaganda, and she achieved it fully."

RED EUROPE.

(By Frank Anstey, Australian M.P. Socialist Labour Press, 50, Renfrew Street, Glasgow. 176 pages. 3s. 3d., post free 3s. 6d.)

A good book, crammed full of facts well marshalled. You can read a few pages of it in the dinner hour or in the train, and be interested and feel you have learned something. You get an insight into the origin of the war; you learn of the assistance given by the Russians to the Allied cause; you see the causes of the first Revolution in Russia, and finally you witness the birth of Soviet Russia. Were it only for the information it gives on the Czecho-Slovak mercenaries, the book would be worth buying.

Still more interesting is the chapter "Mass Hypnotism," which deals with the work of the Press during the war. "In America 75,000 men were employed doing daily stunts to keep the American nation tuned to warlike pitch."

Henderson, Mrs. Pankhurst, Hyndman, Havelock Wilson's Trade Unionists, Kropotkin, Hervé the renegade, Gompers the "stool pigeon," and not a few others all get their deserts.

Lord Northcliffe says of Lloyd George: "He is a political chameleon, the colour of the views of those who happen to be his associates. He must be sure of support, even though it be the support of 'kept' newspapers."

The chapter "The Two Nations" is a fitting close to the book. "Under every flag we see two nations, the Master Class and the Subject Masses."

The book has not even an index of chapters, and that is of considerable inconvenience to the reader.

The illustrations, being reproductions from drawings and photographs that have already appeared in half-tone in Russian papers, are not so clear as one would like them to be. The English words replacing the Russian in the cartoon reproduced are appropriate. The "Breastworks of Petrograd," like one or two others, was originally a poster, and is a picture full of life. We advise Comrades to buy this book.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* can be delivered personally to any address in PECKHAM, CAMBERWELL, SOUTHWARK, LAMBETH, and BERMONDSEY, by sending a postcard with address and order to:—

J. F. KIMBERLEY,
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