itution in Soviet Russia.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

INREST IN ENGLAND.

The unemployed demonstrators, arrested in mection with the Sheffield unemployed demontration on August 12th, were again brought up Sheffield Police Court on August 19th.

Frank Mauser, a working man who had nothing a do with the demonstration, was struck by a olice baton, and had to be treated in hospital. le was bound over to keep the peace for twelve onths. The Chairman of the Bench said he ad been " very foolish in going near the place

William Littlewood, aged 25, Fred Cartledge. and J. W. Booth, aged 22, were charged ith assaulting a policeman with a pick shaft. they denied the charge, but were found guilty, and Littlewood was sentenced to three months' morisonment, the others to two months' each.

the Right to Live.

Booth was unemployed and received 3/day unemployment pay; he said he was emonstrating to help the single men whose enefit had stopped. He was told he had no rievance. He said he went for his rights.

"What rights?" he was asked. He replied:

The right to live!"

If Sam Booth, a married man with four children. had been unemployed for fourteen weeks; he got 5 - a week out-of-work pay and beside. 1/4 n money and 1/4 in kind. His total income was \$2 4s. 6d.; he was demonstrating for a living wage: his family could not live on what he got. R. Sanderson and A. Handcock, two lads of I, were sentenced, the first to 14 days' imprisonment, the second to pay a fine of 40/-. They lenied the charge, but who can tell who throws mings in a riot?

lade to Pay for a False Charge.

Alfred Kelly, aged 36, a labourer, was charged with throwing part of a wood sett from the and at a policeman. He denied the charge and ot four months' hard labour.

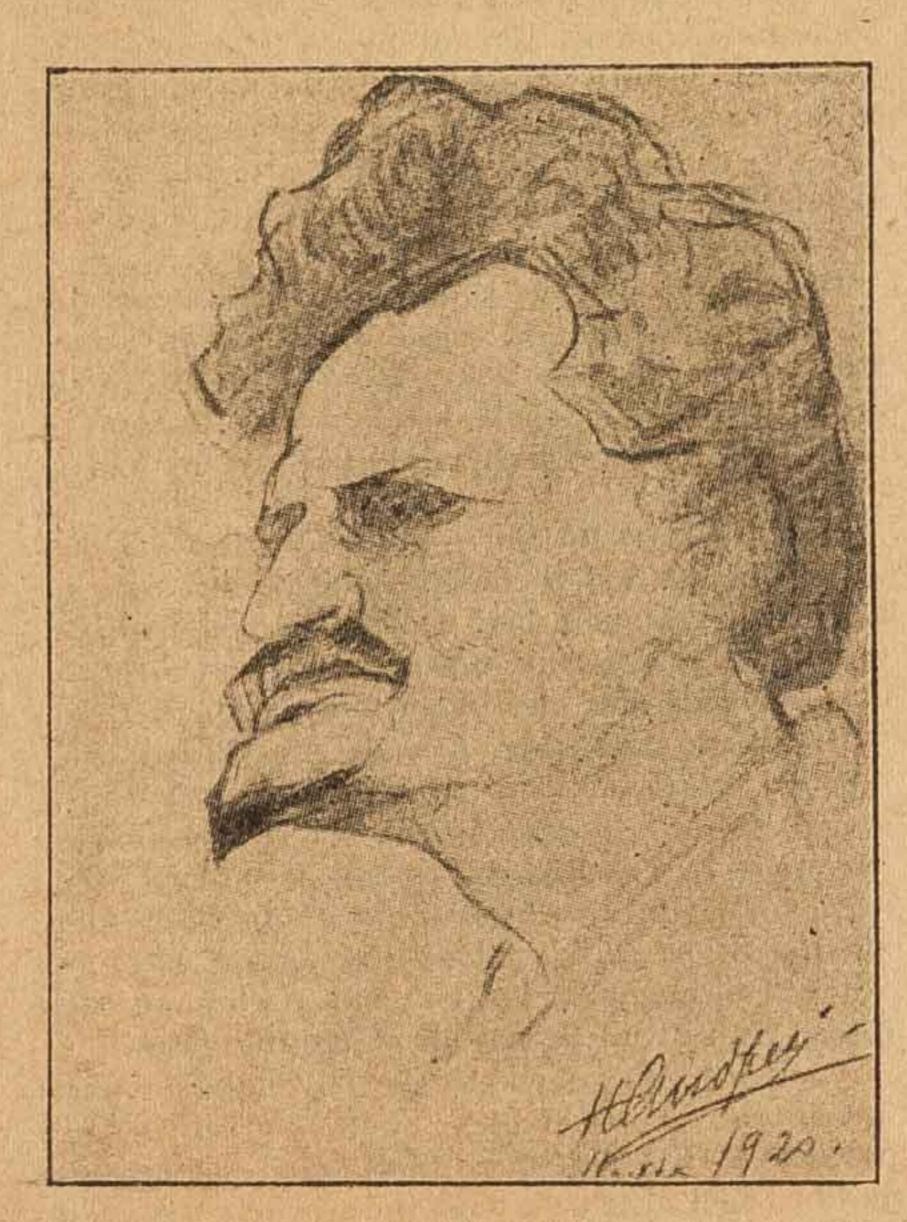
W. Biggin, aged 22, was charged with assaultng a policeman. He said he was going into the brand Theatre, when a policeman seized him nd flung him in the roadway. Biggin had two dependent witnesses that he had done nothing. he was merely bound over in £5 to keep the peace for twelve months, and made to pay the ost of prosecuting him.

B. Whittaker a labourer aged 39, a married ban with four children, and in very poor health, fas fined £5. The policeman's story was that, valiantly, he had just seized the pole of the anner the unemployed were carrying, to snatch from them, when someone struck him on the ack of the head. He " immediately turned and mocked the man down," a man, the man he hought had struck him. The unarmed man empted to get up to strike him "again" was it again?), so the brave constable drew his funcheon and struck him a blow that knocked im down again. Whittaker said that after he ad been twice knocked down: "I lost control myself and hit back."

Frederick Fletcher was sentenced to four nonths' imprisonment. It was alleged he threw missile at a policeman which knocked his helmet

George Arthur Gibson was charged with disaffection amongst the members of the lice force.

from the crowd in Fitzalan Square, it was said called on the police: "Throw down your tons, you policemen; you fought with us in rance; why help the capitalists?" and pointed the war-ribbons on the policemen's tunies.



L. TROTSKY.

-From the Liberator.

So dangerous a man was arrested by the mounted police who, as the prosecution declared in Court, pressed their horses through the crowd to do this important duty. A few feet were trampled on, a few legs were kicked by the horses' hoofs, no doubt, but that stream of unauthorised words was checked, the delicate mechanism of the policeman's brain was protected from disturbing currents.

Although Gibson is a member of the Communist Party, his defending counsel stood forward as an upholder of "Law and Order." He was horrified at the notion of undermining the loyalty of the police, declaring that he " gave place to no one in admiration of the Sheffield Police Force, of its leadership, of its efficiency, of its loyalty," [loyalty to what, O comrades?]; to suggest that to tell the police to throw down their batons was likely to cause disaffection was "a grave reflection on their loyalty " and " preposterous."

We urge, Comrades, that the propaganda value of the fighting and suffering of the workers, class-conscious or non-class-conscious, should not be undermined by such absurd speeches by lawyers hired to defend.

The Bench was pleased by Gibson's solicitor's eulogy of the police force, but said that Gibson must take his trial at the Assizes.

C. J. Core, a man of 60 who could not read (Oh, merrie England!) was arrested for throwing stones: he had a pocket full of them in case the police should attack, he said.

£5 for Falling Down.

Chris Smedley was so negligent as to fall down, and, in falling, he obstructed the police. The magistrates concluded "there was an obstruction, voluntary or involuntary "; so they fined Smedey £5.

Leonard Thompson was pushed back by the police; he was hurrying to see his father, dangerously ill at Attercliffe. When stopped, he said: "Damn the police," and was imprisoned for 24 hours.

THE SHEFFIELD RIOTS

Jesse Martin, seeing the crowd charged by mounted police, cried: "Be human"; a horse swerved against him; he caught the rein. He was arrested and fined £5.

A young David, a lad of fifteen was fined £5 for throwing a broom head at a mounted policeman.

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SPICE.

The Daily Herald considers it an evidence of Mrs. Besant's "wisdom" that an under-secretary of the capitalist government has paid a tribute to her ideas on government.

From the Communist standpoint such evidence tends in the opposite direction.

Robert Williams, in Vienna, said he had been decorated in Moscow for services to the Russian Revolution: then he warned the workers of Western Europe against copying Bolshevik tactics.

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

ary movement.

say, he had proposed him as a member and got dingy and soiled and poorly lighted. young, and then one gets tired; perhaps him seconded by a friend, and Penman had sent Penman was repelled, and had the stunned, comes back to it and is keener still, after a along his half-crown and received a membership painful feeling in his mind that came to him in years, when experience makes you-when life card. So, on his first Saturday evening in London. the slums of Ancoats and Angel Meadow, up brings you up against things." he prepared, with a good deal of suppressed ex- there in the North. He choked down his dis- "Yes, you feel it more deeply then," said

of three days, had apparently conceived a high system, to beautify the life of to-day; things must it's so hard; they're a rotten lot to work will opinion of his character and family connections, be unbearable before the masses would muster they are, really!" which made him feel, with sincere humility, that force to change it; it would be reformist to de- A small, spare man joined them: "I did she was a very good woman and that he was in mand attention to appearances in the midst of know you could get beer in here, or I wouldn't honour bound to take particular care not to for- the revolutionary struggle. feit a particle of her regard.

brought up his tea, that he was going to visit atmosphere, and the heavy look of inertia in the "Is that all right?" asked the man. would be obliged to return late.

It was a pity Dick Barbour had gone home for think.

who were only g eat names to Penman, he spoke Then he went down to the big club-room and Another young woman came up and shool the of them all familiarly and with a sort of con- sat at one of the tables: a young girl with a hands with the group: tempt, and that was one of the reasons why powdered face and eyes blackened, sat by him "Isn't this an awful place?" she said. "No he Revolt of Semrekayar. to hear the sort of things Dick Barbour said; like a screen from the brim of her hat, and work out of them."

So Penman was glad to be going alone. He up and moved to another table. knew the way; he had made Dick explain it to He listened to the snatches of conversation noons?" him. So there was no need to ask anyone. He that drifted across the room to him from every "I never get a chance now; he comes in walked up East Road rather quickly, impatient direction, but he heard nothing about the move- his dinner and tea; it doesn't leave me any to reach his goal. He saw the glare of the ment, nothing that interested him. Presently for anything. Men expect their meals, picture palace and the more subdued light he saw coming in, an elderly woman dressed in know; it's always: "Is my tea ready?", issuing from the nearer red-brick doorway next black, with a pale, dark face, drawn and tired. "And no children to tie you. It doesn't to it. Yes! that was it; just as Dick had ex- There was something soothing and motherly sound like fighting the Revolution, does it plained when he had asked him if there was any about her that made his eyes like to rest on her, asked the woman in blue, half sad, half smily sign up that he could not fail to miss if he went and she had an expression of sorrow overcome, "Why don't you ask him to meet you at the there in the dark-for he had always meant to that lifted him a little from the dreary pessimism office?" mind to go to London.

There was the literature shop, with the papers noticed her: then she seemed to grow upon him. The group began talking about the Left Wing stying to keep Rank and File Oniet. and pamphlets in the window. He would have At first he thought she was quite young. I'ke Penman could only catch part of what they said a good look round sometime, but not to-night; himself, then he was not quite sure. As she came for they were talking very fast and sometime to-night he would spend all his time in the Club, nearer, he saw she was older, but he could not all together. A French girl was telling them

somehow fell. He did not know that he had woman was specially kind and helpful to the Party. imagined what the interior would be like; he younger, and insisted upon paying, for both Someone said: "Oh, they are bitterly opposed Sliding Scale: "Fodder Basis." would have said he had not, if anybody had asked though it was the younger who decided what to us, especially in London; they can't stand the him; nevertheless, his mind had been keyed up they would have. A dark girl in her early twenties Left Wing." to a blaze of scarlet, with big, striking posters joined the two women, and she seemed particu- "They tried to stop me selling the Dread and masses of literature and announcements. larly attentive to the woman in blue, and wanted nought at their meetings in Whitechapel." Instead, the walls of the entrance passage were to take from her everything she was carrying. quite bare; only one faded bill hung up: a Daily The three went together to a table and two other for years. It was our pitch." Herald Rooster and May Day Programme- young women came there to sit with them. "Yes, but they tried to stop me selling the May Day, and this was August! Beside the They formed an animated group and all asked paper. It was the Stepney branch of the Party Daily Herald was a Right Wing Labour paper. the woman in blue, with solicitude, how she was; "He's from Stepney? What are you, one of not really a Socialist paper at all, he thought; he she just laughed and said she was hungry, those Right Wingers?" could not understand it. But there was not time and went on eating her bread and butter, but she "No, I'm a Left Winger in a Right Wing yet for this to make more than a quite superficial made a wry face over the coffee. The elder branch: I'm coerced against my principles impression on his mind; he was pressing forward, woman said the coffee was nasty, and pushed it by the majority." pushing what was unpleasant from him, as, with away.

and a few old and bad portrait prints grown were "a rotten lot." She had almost given a Frank Penman, a young fellow from the yellow with age, their glass dusty and fly-blown. trying herself; one got so little encouragement North, came up to London with many ambi- A few pamphlets in a cupboard with glass doors The woman in blue began, smilingly, to tions; one of which was to enter the Revolution- hardly attracted attention on the left-hand side, her for her back-sliding, and in a coaxing v but on the right was a large bar, at which a crowd urged her to begin again. Dick Barbour, who had gone to London a few of men stood drinking beer. In front were a A young woman in pink broke into the years earlier, had already made Frank a member number of tables at which men and women sat versation: of the International Socialist Club; that is to drinking and playing cards. The place was "I think one is very keen when one is v

citement, to visit the International Socialist Club appointment: this was a proletarian movement; the woman in blue; "but when is your second and to take the plunge into the Red vortex. too poor to pay for beautiful things: a revolu- period going to begin?" His landlady, Mrs. Rose, after an acquaintance tionary movement, too intent on destroying the "Oh, I'm just as keen as ever I was; on

But it was not the dingy walls that were dis- "Well, go on, have another," said the Timidly and gravely he told her, when she tressing Penman; it was the dull, pot-house in pink. friends on the other side of London, and that he people, the glassy, half drunken look in some of "Yes, if a member pays for you," their eyes. He wandered round, trying not to woman in blue. "I'll get it for you."

his holidays the very day Penman arrived in Past the bar, to the right, were glass-panelled you to get it," said the elderly woman. " London; at least, Penman had told himself that, doors; he opened them and looked into a rather get it for him, please," she turned to the stop? but really he was not sorry; he was, indeed. large hall with polished floor and chairs crowded girl. rather glad to be going to the International together as though pushed away after a meeting. The girl fetched the beer, and the man pair Socialist Club, for the first time, alone. Dick had A dozen lads and girls were larking about there, her what she had paid for it. got rather indolent of late; he talked seldom "not doing anything special," he heard them "I don't see why they should charge me about the movement, and when he did, it was tell an inquirer, and a man with very little a Socialist Club than they would outside," always in a half-mocking strain. He did not knowledge of the instrument was strumming on said. "It's generally cheaper in a working seem to care for anything but cards and beer the piano. Upstairs he found a billiard room man's club than in the pub, but here it's dear now, and last time he came home, Penman had with four tables, where some young men were and it's not half so good as they've got down the felt rather as though he did not want to have playing in a leisurely, dawdling sort of way, and road." anything to do with him. Barbour seemed others looking on. He listened a while to their "Oh. that's like everything here," the girl

they made the movement seem feeble and through which she peered with smiling, half- "And you?" asked the woman in blue, in shut eyes with puckered corners. Penman got teasing, coaxing way: "Couldn't you come int

go: it was ever so long since he had made up his into which he had sunk. Her companion was "Oh, we're not courting any longer! Well, a younger woman in blue; at first he hardly I shall have to see what I can do." with the Reds, going through the important make up his mind about her age. The two that she had just come back from Paris, and that process of becoming one of them. women went to the bar and bought bread and she had attended great meetings, held there As he stepped over the threshold his spirits butter and coffee. He noticed that the elder a new non-Parliamentary Left Wing Commu

pulses beating a little fast, he went on into the They were talking continuously about the A fair-haired young man with an earnest face movement and whether the movement was worth broke in hotly: Now, indeed, his spirits fell down to zero and while. The girl who was the youngest member "The Left. Wing is unpractical; it does not stayed there, for this was by no means what he of the party said the members of the Club would understand that we must attract the masses." had come to see. Penmar was an artist: his not work; they only cared to play cards; they "Does the Right Wing attract the masses!" ideals rose to his mind in pictures, and he shrank would not go to the meetings to sell papers and "I admit we don't; but how are we to do it. from sordid and ugly things. What he saw pamphlets. Literature selling, she thought, was except by going into the Labour Party and taking was a large, rather low room, its walls covered the most important work for the movement, but part in the elections. You must agree we are with a dirty and very dark crimson wall paper they would not do it; they were no good they

have gone outside," he said.

"No, don't let her get it. I don't

"We worked up that Osborne Street pit

"A strange position for a Revolutionary."

Continued on page 6.

THE GRIEF AND GLORY OF RUSSIA.

ashkent I met Jacob Peters, the man whom the volted; 1,000,000 were killed and a number escaped from the main affair. Above the entrance was de-

art of Asia, but at the time of our visit, the to the Soviets. eers for the Polish front, 30 per cent. left

The Fergana Bandits.

In Fergana the great In September last, they held their ongress; although they were cut off in 1918 enburg, etc., they had managed to withstand Three papers were being published. ad been established for peasants and natives, e very successful during the last six months. Executive Committee of the Soviets, there ce natives than Russians. The irrigation is About one million acres are not cultivated. formerly 10,000,000 poods of cotton were there are now only 1,500,000. There are like 2,500,000 handicraft workers. The s mostly wanted were: cement, textile, and

were good rivers for electrical production in

Introduction of Factory Life to a Primitive factory system created a good impression the natives and tended to the better treat-

on drink Tea while Women work. do not work like women under old, primitive

. The men sit and drink "tchay," whilst en do heavy labour. ammunists try to equalise the task.

Commmunists are equalising the daily task ivs to the liking of the male native.

omen Dis-veil. wiz women do not wear a veil; but Surd women selled by their husbands to cover the'r faces re piece of material similar to crepe. As women gradually come to comprehend Comso they dis-veil-very often much to the

of the other relies of oppression.

st press love to describe as "Peter the to China, The Russians took the land the Kirgiz picted a fearful-looking creature representing the the Anarchist. He looked his 34 years, .left. During, and after, the Revolution, the Kirgiz Money God; and inside, the walls were covered with spite his keenness, like most Commissaries, tried to get back the land; but as the Rusisan colon- cartoons and illustrations felling the horrors that fraces of the strain of the worry and the work ists were well armed, it was found impossible to do Money involves. A large case contained, from all in steering a people through a revolutionary so except by force; so the Soviet had to deal with countries, something towards an international assort-I was indebted to him for a very interesting this problem, consequently it was not liked by these ment, for instruction in the science of numismatics. colonists, and they revolted. The revolt was sup- Large books were accessible, which contained in facmulation was a mixed one of 8,000,000, of pressed and the disaffected Russians were sent back simile, notes and paper money of all possible sorts. 600,000 were Russians. At one period, the to Russia; the Soviet then called a Conference of It was a most wonderful exhibition in itself, besides ast Party had something like 50,000 members Kirgiz, who formed a Union and became favourable Leing a most telling piece of propaganda against

In Fergana the great trouble was, the "Bashmarshee," or bandits, formed small troops, to deal with which effectively, much strategy was needed. Originally a national movement of large proportions against the Czar until 1918, it has dwindled down until only a few act as bandits, looting the farms and villages of the peasants. Troops of Russians were sent to cope with the bandits, but owing to their skill in taking to the mountains, and the assistance of the counter-revolutionaries (some of the old police went over to the "Bashmarshee"), a native force was raised, and a number of propagandists were trained to deal effectively with the problem.

A Women's Meeting in Tashkent.

several times whilst I was there, and one of the Red Army, Jacob Peters occupied the other. The hall meetings was for women only. Five thousand of them was packed with soldiers and civilians, and the progathered under the large dome, with the stage draped ceedings were followed with deep concern. The dewith beautiful revolutionary banners. A portrait of cision arrived at met with approval, and it was obvious Karl Marx, resting on an easel, surrounded by laurel that the Red Army soldiers, after they have been wreaths, gave a setting such as would make a B.E.U. battered and shattered in the defence of the Soviet speaker on "Nationalisation of Women in Russia" Republic are not going to be treated like so much wish that he had never been born. Surd women, cattle and left to the mercy of anti-Communists. without their veils, sat with the woman comrade in the Chair. Their presence told, better than words, of the work done by the Communists on behalf of women's emancipation.

A Red Army Meeting. In this theatre also, I saw 5,000 of the Red Army gathered, and I saw mixed audiences on other occasions. At all these great gatherings, the enthusiasm was overpowering, and the one thing that mattered -the International.

Altering the Calendar.

The native calendar was to be altered we were told, of the husband. But before long there is and the New Year was to begin on the day the Third oubt that the veil will be thrown into the International was founded.

A large block of buildings was open as an Exhibition of Industry, and all kinds of products, tools, etc., ism. They battled for Workers' Power, instead of Frank kept away from him: he did not want and brushed his cheek with the feathers that hung thing but cards and beer. You can't get any The brief story of Semrekeyar is that in 1916 the called the House of the Soviets. One of the exhibits were grouped, cased, or fixed for inspection; it was Exploitation. Car tried to conscript the natives, but they re- was particularly interesting, being partitioned off

By HENRY SARA

In a large Hall connected with the House of the Soviets was erected a fair-sized stage, and a delightful stringed orchestra performed at intervals. In this Hall, a trial took place during our stay, and I sat through a very large part of it with deep interest. The case was a charge against seventeen persons who were responsible for the care of men of the Red Army who had been wounded and sent into hospital. Witnesses were called who testified to the ill-treatment of these helpless men. On the stage sat the three tribunal officers; on each side a stand was erected; and mid-way sat the prisoners, who were laughing and chatting together, or else reading newspapers, and most of them were smoking cigarettes. The prisoners had their advocates-two very smug-looking gentlemen The Coleseum Theatre in Tashkent was packed who occupied one of the stands-and on behalf of the

In Tashkent is the Lenin Military School, which, although given over to the Red Army, is an educational institution in reality. It has a fine library, its walls are adorned with revolutionary mottoes, and, instead of pictures of Generals and war-mongers, pictures of the soul-stirring men, the mind-builders of the Russian workers, are given chief prominence. Paintings of great authors, such as Pouskin, Tourgenieff. and even Leo Tolstoy, were displayed. A picture of Tolstoy in a Military School, struck me as incongruous, but the youthful Commander explained that militarism was forced upon them; they needed, and desired, Peace, and the ideals of Tolstoy were acceptable to them; but they wanted to realise those ideals, and were

Who shall say the End does not justify the Means?

the office and help us sometimes in the after INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ir Labour Leaders' German Cousins.

sentative assembly of agricultural workers, 26th, at Bredenbeck, decided to send the aders an ultimatum demanding a statethin 24 hours as to whether they were to take up the fight with the Junkers. refused the agricultural workers would take

workers throughout Germany are finding "accredited leaders" are turned out of the same mould as our own trade

rict leader Hansen said to a local leader, the enemy lest the workers should hit him the interests of the community." lly tender spot.

the price of corn, thus the Junkers and official strike breakers resorted to. rs would both be interested in the highest The Saxon government which proposes by such

ureaucratic leaders of the D.L.V., however, not wish to fight and plume themselves on the To Heel, Dogs!

has completely broken down."

The attitude, and of course action, of the leaders is the same, in the agricultural disputes in Saxony; they go behind the backs of the workers to make agreements with the masters in direct opposition, to the unanimous decisions of the landworkers.

The Leipziger Allegemenie Zeitung of July 28th, must see to it that the agricultural workers says, "the workers' leader Jablonsky showed himself quiet till October." Till the harvest is over, during negotiations thoroughly in agreement with the and the edge taken from the strike weapon; opinion put forward on the side of the Government he tactics of delay used time and again by that the individual desires of the agricultural workers a T.U. leaders with their touching considera- should at least for the time being be postponed in

(I seem to have heard a similar harmonious refrain There is a rising of peasants in Northern Bess-Capitalist Concert Party.)

g wage scale, the bright invention of the It is to be hoped, the paper goes on to say, that but a Bolshevik invasion. c. Democrats, is put forward in the demands he will succeed in bringing his members to a rapid Sovrussia and India. low land union (Land Bund) in Pomerania: resumption of work, otherwise, in view of the necess by the leaders of the German Landworkers' sity of a rapid harvesting of the crops, other (D.L.V.) in Saxony. Wages should rise or general measures must be found, and eventually the

rise in the price of grain and wheat to the means to force the landworkers into submission in of land and town workers brought into the interest of the profiteering Junkers is a socialist one. To such a treasure of a government may we ural strikes are in process or threatened also hope to attain if we only turn a deaff ear to Germany. Miserable wages, scandalous the hotheads, and stick to constitutional methods conditions, rising prices, force the landworkers as advised by our "level-headed leaders." But their exploiters or be plunged into the if so I fear may have to apply in an ironical sense to our own case. Robert Louis Stevenson's words; "To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive!"

rs dared not at first openly go against the bers to send in names and birth places of all several decisions. ous decision of the Rizen Conference in favour workers of whom it is known for certain that they It is reported from Simbirsk that the peasants in ke, and declared it "wild," i.e., unautho- to procure that they shall be sent back.

South African Communist Party.

C. F. Glass (Cape Town, South Africa) writes:rised, a decision acclaimed with triumph by the South Africa was opened in Cape Town on July 30th. The first Congress of the Communist Party of It consisted of delegates from the United Communist Instead of seeing the strike as the natural outcome Party, Cape Town; the Social Democratic Federation, of the circumstances, "Vorwarts" joins with the Cape Town; the Jewish Socialist Society, Cape Town; Junker Press in ascribing it to the machinations the Jewish Socialist Society (Poale Zion), Johannesof the Communists. Long before the end of the burg; the International Socialist League, Johannesstrike both declared in Yoving unanimity "the strike burg; and the Marxian Club, Durban, called together for the purpose of unifying all Left-Wing organisa-

tions in South Africa. "The 21 points of the Third International were unanimously accepted by the Congress as the basis of Unity, and the following resolution was passed (the delegates standing and singing 'The Interna-

. That this Congress of delegates hereby constitutes the Communist Party of South Africa (South African Section of the Communist International), and resolves to apply forthwith to the Communist International for recognition.

Peasant Rising in Bessarabia.

rendered more than once in England by the Labour arabia. The capitalist press to disguise this fact declares that it is not a rising of the native peasants

Peters, in Ivestia, writes: - The English papers in alarming Afghanistan and Persia about interference of the Soviet government in their domestic affairs forget that the East has learnt not to pay any attention to words, and these people actually know the colossal difference between the policy of Soviet Russia and that of England. As to Bokhara there is not a single Russian in its government, but only native Musselmen. Moreover, this republic is com-

The peasant population of the Volga district in fear of the future are eating their seed instead of preparing to sow it in the autumn.

The Central Executive calls upon all the working they have done everything possible to avoid In connection with the strike in the building with the preparations for fall sowing, to use their With prolonged negotiations leading no- industries in the region of the Saar, the Employers' scanty seed for this purpose. It declares that the and again negotiations, they defer action. Union has sent a circular to its members containing government of the workers and peasants will take the fulfilment of tardy decisions to pay higher amongst other items this information: that by arrange- all steps for satisfying the needs of the provinces was evaded by the Junkers making retwospec- ment with the chief of police of the region not more which are suffering from a bad harvest. In the ment dependent on judicial decisions, and passports to France will be given to strikers after interest of successfully combating a decrease in the broke out in Rugen and elsewhere, although July 21st. The Employers' Union begs all its mem- acreage under cultivation the Central Executive makes

ake, after a few days they were writing had emigrated to France on the outbreak of the province are not sowing their fields as a result to the Press that they did not consent to strike, or shortly beforehand, and they will endeavour of the shortage of seed, are selling out their stock and leaving the farms.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST. 11 Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor Business Communications to the Manager: Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

COMRADES,-The struggle to maintain the Workers' Dread-

nought is a very difficult one in these hard times. We cannot do it without further assistance from you.

We must increase circulation.

these are substantial.

subscriptions which are owing to the paper. If concessions please pay at once.

Further, we need a substantial sum in dona- strangling the Revolution. tions every week, and, above all, now.

by return of post.

A NEW INTERNATIONAL.

Left Wing Communism - Anti-Parliamentarians] Consolidate.

We learn that a Left Wing anti-Parliamentary Holland, where its leading theorists are Herman deed!" Gorter and Anton Pannekoek, who were founders of the Dutch Communist Party, which was Morgan replied. formed before the Russian Revolution.

The anti-Parliamentary International will bring out an International newspaper, published in several languages, including English.

being formed in Holland. Our readers are aware there. He will lose his religion. The men at the that there have, for some time, been two Communist Parties in Germany: the Communist pass him for the Ministry if he goes with them. Party (K.P.D.), and the Communist Labour They say they want to take away their shops and Party (K.A.P.D.); the latter is anti-Parlia- hand them over to the Government." mentary. The same division is growing and strengthening in every country.

Our readers should watch these developments with attention.

The change of system will not come till the up the lies. John Jones, the Masgwyn, says he the Bolsheviki." A copy of this issue was to old forms of government and social administra- is the cleverest at that." tion are discredited, and the workers break away from them.

THE FAMINE AND THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTION.

In Soviet Russia at the present time there appears to be a steady drift Rightward, a progressive tendency to make concessions to private property, to establish a truce with Capitalism. The famine accentuates this tendency. Soviet Russia is entering into negotiations for famine relief with all sorts of "White" elements: Czarist Russians, capitalistic Russians, bourgeois- got a big job in London. Forty pounds a week Reformist, Labour-Reformists; Russians who are they say, and he goes to see the King and Queen absolutely opposed to Communism, and work when they have a garden party! And he was only always to reduce it and negate it: Soviet Russia a poor boy, just like your Evan." is entering into negotiations also with all influ- Mrs. Jones was angry: ences of all these kinds in every other country, "It is not my fault he is only a poor boy. The vast peasant population, in its primitive state, You remember, Mrs. Morgan, that I have to is with its desire for petty trading, moreover, bring up two boys on no wages from any man.

The peasants in the famine areas are now fight- him?"

ing for life, each for his individual existence, and Rosta telegrams tell us of the struggle to induce unintentionally annoyed Mrs. Jones. them not to produce a famine next year also, by The subject of this conversation at this mom eating their seed instead of keeping it for sowing appeared. and trusting to the maternal care of the Russian He was a bright lad; slim, fair, with an Workers' Republic to keep them alive now in standing mass of sandy hair. He had the sha their hour of desperate need, by bringing to them jerky movements of the men of his race the produce of other districts.

in the human being; yet, at the same time, a big hug. He was the light of her eves t desperate want teaches us our dependence on each pet, her darling. He was a preacher; he other, and so it is, that in periods of extreme following in the footsteps of her father. He shortage, new systems are forged.

interests of the whole of Russia, working to bring and when he started singing in the middle of to the famine areas food from the areas where the sermons, everybody said it was like Heaven

port of grain to foreign countries from the areas realised. where harvests were good continued, because it There was some abruptness in his manner. paid to do so, and it did not pay to send the disengaged himself speedily. He looked arou surplus to the starving peasants of the famine the hovel-clean and spotless though it was

For the peasants in the famine areas the ex- "What is the matter?" his mother m istence of the Soviet Government, in this dread- mured; "Mrs. Morgan was just here, and she

We must secure payment of the debts which The peasants in the areas where crops are good gave them at Bethsaida was just splendid," those who sell the paper owe to it. Some of are, in a sense, the rulers of Russia at this time: 'Oh, yes, we know! And nicely they've they are the economic masters of the country, treated me about it. They'll get no more sermons We must secure the payment of the individual and to them it is necessary to plead and to make out of me. They pay me ten shillings,

your Dreadnought comes with a blue mark, that A section of the Russian Communist Party teen-and-six for preaching for them the Sund means your subscription has run out. Then considers that the concessions made to the before. I'm not going again. I'm giving it peasants are too great, and that the peasants are up. I'm going to London to join the Labour

So much for Russia.

We ask those who value the paper and The peasants and land workers of Middle the stand it has made, to consider seriously Europe have hitherto been largely a non-revoluwhat is the utmost they can do to aid tionary force. When the German industrialists it in this difficult time, and to send a donation were fighting, they could not look for strong support to the agricultural population.

Only by your help can we continue to publish. The news that comes from Germany to-day seems to indicate an advancement in the German Mr. Keell that his presumption was without for agricultural worker, which may have important revolutionary consequences.

CLEVER!

The Story of a Boy who was.

"Our Evan is so clefver," Mrs. Jones con-Communist International is about to be formed, fided, "they say he will be like Lloyd George its mainspring coming from Germany and some day. He speaks like him now. 'Ess, in-

"Then we shall have 'Hevvan,' indeed, Mrs. the article concludes:-

"But why does he go to these Communists folks' meetings? John Roberts told me he saw him very near to the platform the other night, as if he were one of them-when 'hat fellow from A Communist anti-Parliamentary. Party is Llanelly was speaking. He will get no good chapel are against these folk, and they will never left Moscow.

"Oh, Evan, he is wise; he only goes to learn; to find things to put in his sermons. He listens to what they have to say, and then in his next sermon he tells the people all about it, and shows 1920, page 9, inserted in the article, "Wrange

"Oh 'ess. Very clefver; very clefver! But he should go to the Labour Party. Robert Roberts says they are the real Liberal Party now. Henson, the leader, is a Methodist, like

"Oh, 'ess; he goes to the Labour Party with Henry Rees, the chapel steward, you know. He says they are the people to join, as they will be the next in power; and if ever he leaves Wales, he will go to join the Labour Party and

"Oh, 'ess. Look at Gwillym Base, he has letter, is a misfire.

always surging up against the Communism which Just with my own hands. Could you have made the workers in the towns have tried to establish. him rich? Could you have done any better for

Mrs. Morgan rose to go: she saw that she b.

rather thin lips which seemed to be always Desperate want brings out the individualist clined to smile. His mother greeted him wi a good boy, a religious boy, he was so "clefver To-day the Soviet Government works in the that people flocked to hear him in the pulnis harvest allows of something being spared. She, for a Welsh woman, had reason to be proud Under the Czardom, during famines, the ex- The common ambition of her kind was being

with a somewhat disdainful glare.

ful drought, is the greatest possible blessing. says that Morgan Lloyd says that the sermon

Johnny Rees tells me they gave his father

SARA'S REPLY TO KEELL.

Dear Editor,-Mr. Thomas H. Keell, the Ed 'Freedom," is apparently of the opinion that having a sly dig at his journal when I cover few points regarding the Anarchist movement Moscow in the course of the series of articles to contributed to the "Dreadnought." Let me assure tion; I was not referring to anything to be in his paper, for the simple reason that I read his paper.

When I wrote. "several capitalist papers," in mind The Times, Morning Post and Ev Standard. All three of these papers have had paragraphs about Emma Goldman, and each have of her desire to return to America. The published a sort of manifesto on one occasion it was this I had in mind at the time of wri I have before me a cutting from the North Daily News, Monday, November 8th, 1920, on talists and Profiteers in Moscow," and this is

"Emma Goldman, Birkman, Balabanova, and the other exiles are most anxious to get ou Russia again. Three weeks in Russia suffice cool her enthusiasm, and though she had lo American nationality she still claimed to be to as a foreigner, and neglected to throw in h with the Bolsheviks. Three weeks before I Russia she was suddenly seized by the Extraord Commission, and was in solitary confinement what

That is a fair sample of the Anarchist sy that capitalist papers, even in North China, ar pared to show in their efforts to break down

When I wrote that, sometimes the documents alleged to be sent out by the Anarchists, were in facsimile I had in mind such a reproduction as that to found in "The One Big Union Monthly," Dece by George Hardy, General Secretary of the L.W. when he was in Moscow, to Shapiro, and denied the authenticity of the document, and decl the alleged reproduction of his signature a for The "One Big Union Monthly" has been tinued, its Editor, John Lundgren, has been ren from any position where he can do further to the workers of Russia. In place of the Monthly" the I.W.W. now circulates the "Indi Pioneer," and in its columns will be found Hardy's statement bearing out what has been WI above. Regarding Mr. Keell's use of the pl persona grata, it is necessary to point out t Keell that such a phrase means "a person acceptable to those to whom he is sent." Al not sent to Russia; his remark, like the rest

> Yours, etc., HENRY SARA

Will Japanese comrades in England commun with the Editor of the "Workers' Dreadnought.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Per J. Vitulli, South Africa: M. Cherman A. B. Dunbar £1, W. Hendry, 5s., J. Joffe £. Rusch 10s., H. Telford 5s., J. Vitulli £1, Comm Party (Dumferline) 10s., Mrs. Hart (per Mrs. ley) 3s. Total, £5 13s. 0d.

THE FIGHT AGAINST PROSTITUTION.

Protection of Motherhood."

the Question neglected hitherto.

the question of prostitution is a delicate and cult one, to which but insufficient attention has n paid in the past by the workers of Soviet This dark heritage of the bourgeois capitalist ntinues to vitiate the atmosphere of the Republic, and to influence for the worse sical and moral health of the working popuof Soviet Russia. It is true that under the ence of the changing economic and social conons during these three years of revolution, prostihas somewhat altered its earlier form and racter. But we are still far from having outthis evil. It continues to weigh down upon inflicting the greatest harm to that solidarity comradeship between the members of the rs' Republic-the toiling women and men-

ult transition period, prostitution is assuming ledged this fact. rto in our legislation.

the old Tsarist laws were annulled by the exploitation of labour by capital. titution and the prostitutes themselves.

certain places there have been carried out rethis complicated social phenomenon, producing of the bourgeois system of society. number of varied and harmful deviations from our

principles of legislation and morality. isn ecessary therefore not only to approach the tion of prostitution directly, but also to seek a mental principles and postulates of the social nd national-economic program of the Communist

Definition of Prostitution.

ostitution.—Prostitution is a phenomenon closely d up with an income not earned by labour. it therefore flourished in the epoch of the rule capitalism and private property. Prostitutes from standpoint are all women who sell their caresses. bodies, for temporary or extended periods, for advantage of men, in return for material comsation, for fine food, clothes, trinkets or adornand for the right, obtained by selling thems to men, not to undertake any labour, not subject themselves to work of any kind.

estitution in our Soviet Republic of Workers is rect inheritance of the bourgeois capitalist past, which only an insignificant number of women were apied with productive labour in the national nomy, while an enormous number, more than half entire female population, lived from the labour their husbands or their fathers, their "meal

Prostitution in Ancient Times.

estitution arose in remote times under the earliest flows.

printed in an edition of 40,000 copies. The prostitution of ancient times was, in the first place, the facts of life. hat in the presence of the "legal" wife of the family and in marriage. capitalist magnate, who sold herself openly to an Pseudo-Science and "Morality." anloved husband, and to turn away in disgust from The roots of prostitution reach far down into the talism and private property. Prostitution in ancient support from a man by legal or extra-marital reladid their colomiless wives at home, their breeding and Tarnovsky, who claim that prostitutes are born

In the Middle Ages.

In the middle ages, under the petty guild system constitute the basis of the new Communist prostitution was recognised as a legal natural phenoy we are working to build. It is time to devote menon of life; the prostitutes had a guild of their ention to this question, to study its causes, and own, which participated on the same footing as the find ways and means for a complete eradication other guilds in holiday parades and municipal cel this evil, which should find no place in a Workers' brations. Prostitution guaranteed the "chaste daughters of respectable citizens and secured the our Workers' Republic there has hitherto been fidelity of legally obtained wives, since the bachelors , not only of laws aimed at an eradication of always had an opportunity, in return for a correevil, but also of a clear expression of out sponding fee, to indulge in the pleasures of the ade toward prostitution, as an evil harmful to flesh with the professional guild prostitute. Conreneral good. We know that prostitution is an sequently prostitution was useful to the honourable we even understand that now, in this extremely citizen proprietors, and the latter openly acknow-

and intolerably extensive proportions, but we With the rise of capitalism the picture begins wave it aside, we are silent on this phenot to change. For the first time in history, prostitupartly through a remnant of hypocrisy that tion began to assume in the nineteenth and twentieth I with us, as the heritage of the bourgeois centuries the character of a danger to society owing of life; partly through inability properly to both to its proportions and to its nature; the sale and become conscious of the damage which a of the labour power of women, which was increasy developed prostitution is inflicting upon the ing without interruption, is closely and indissolubly ing society. To this is to be escribed the bound up with the sale of the female body, and ect of the question of prostitution, and of the results in the fact that there enter the ranks of the s of combating it, which has been manifest prostitutes not only the "lost" outcast girl, but even the respectable wife of the worker, the mother, to the present time the collection of our laws for the sake of the children; the young girl' (Sonis been lacking in any kind of legislation touching Marmeladov), for the sake of the family. It is a prostitution as a dangerous social phenomenon. picture of horror and hypocrisy, arising from the

il of People's Commissars, all the legislation Wherever wages are insufficient to feed the woman, ostitution was abolished together with them. there appears a tempting underground trade—the there were not introduced, as a substitute for sale of love. The hypocritical morality of bourabolished measures, any new laws in the interest geois society, on the one hand, breeds prostitution the workers' society. This is because of the with all the force of its destructive exploiting naturally motley nature of our measures, of the economy, while, on the other hand, it mercilessly radiction that characterises the policy of the brands with contempt the girl or the woman who power in various places, on the subject of has been forced by need on to this much trodden

Prostitution follows as a black shadow in the wake hunts for prostitutes, conducted "in the old of legal marriage in bourgeois society. In the ninewith the aid of militia. In other places, teenth and twentieth centuries prostitution assumed hisorderly houses exist openly (in the Inter- enormous proportions, unequalled in history. tmental Commission for Combating Prostitution Berlin there is one prostitute to every twenty so-called al data on this subject are available). In other respectable women. In Paris there is one to every es still, the prostitutes were declared to have eighteen, but in London there is one to every nine.* same status as criminals, and were interned in One form of prostitution is that which is open, labour camps. All this shows that the absence regulated, legal; another form is that which is secret, a clearly formulated legislation creates an ex- underground, "occasional." But all forms appear rely confused relation between the local powers as a poisonous, unhealthy growth in the rank swamp

Inevitably Associated with Capitalist Society. And even children, the tender buds of the future.

growth in Europe of an army of "street women." menon. cruise nightly through the streets of Berlin, Paris, the foundation of capitalism, also dealt a blow to and the other cultural centers of the respectable the former dependence of woman on man. All capitalist states. Openly, in view of everyone, the citizens are equal before the workers' society, only market in female flesh is carried on. But why not! they are obliged to work for the common good, and, for a long period, until death do them part.

of government, as an inevitable shadow cast Bourgeois learning and its representatives have felt been eliminated. But there still remain a number of fixed formulated marriage system, preserving it proper to point out to the world that prostitution causes, the neglect and lack of protection of childight of private property, and securing the passing is a "pathological" phenomenon that is itself called hood, the poor living conditions of the working of possessions along the line of legal heirs. forth by the abnormal qualities of certain women. class, the loneliness of youth, the low pay of female means it was possible to save the accumulated Just as there are said to be criminal types that, labour, the imperfections of our provisioning appaatus, trankly stolen riches from the division that are congenital in their origin, so it is declared the general disorganisation of the national economy, mevitably result from too great a number of there exist born prostitutes. Wherever you may put, and a number of other economic and social phenomena in succeeding generations. But between pro- them, no matter what conditions they may be placed which still give rise to the sale of female flesh, and ution as it was in the times of the Greek; in, these women will end in vice, and in the way thus support prostitution.

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

An address to the Third Congress of the Women's dikterions and the Roman Inpanars, and the prostitu- of all flesh. Of course, these misrepresentations of ions of the Russian Communist Party. The speech tion of our day, there is a great difference. The bourgeois scholars go to pieces when faced with

long the head of the Russian women's move- numerically very insignificant. In the second place, Marx and the more honest of the bourgeois scholars, has written a large and important volume on there was no such tinge of hypocrisy connected with physicians and statisticians, clearly point out that the prostitution of pagan antiquity as would enable the innate inclinations of the woman play no part. the people at that time to adorn themselves with Prostitution is first of all a social phenomenon, closely the morals of the bourgeois capitalist world and associated with the undefended position of woman induce bourgeois society respectfully to remove its, and her economic dependence on man, both in the

he girl thrown into the streets by the force of economic system. The economic exposure of women, poverty, of lack of care, of unemployment, and of on the one hand, and the habit, ingrown in women, other social causes arising from the nature of capi- through many centuries of education, to seek material times was regarded as a "legal" accompaniment tions, on the other hand, that is the root, that is of regular established family relations. Aspasia re- the cause of prostitution. As a matter of fact, it ceived more respect from her contemporaries than the bourgeois scholars of the school of Lombroso with indications of perverseness and sexual abnormality, are right in making this claim, how do they explain the very well-known fact that in times of crisis and unemployment' the number of prestitutes suddenly increases? How do they explain the fact that the purchasers of "living flesh," of white slaves, who came to Tsarist Russia from other countries, always found a rich harvest in the starving provinces, suffering from poor crops, and came off empty-handed in the provinces that were well fed. with a very small yield of white slaves? Why did there suddenly appear so many perverted types of women, branded for ruin by nature, in years of famine, or unemployment?

And, furthermore, is it not typical that in capitalistic countries, prostitution recruited its numbers for the most part among the indigent layers of the population? The greatest percentage of prostitutes are always found in the more poorly paid trades followed by working women, among the more neglected and lonely young women, forced by bitter need and by the necessity of immediately feeding their little brothers and sisters, who have fallen as a care upon the unprotected, young and penniless girl. If the theory of the bourgeois scholars on the innate criminality and perverseness of certain women were correct, as a reason for prostitution, all classes classes, would give as high a percentage of criminal and perverse women as the needy classes. But as a matter of fact this is not the case. The professional prostitutes, living by the sale of their bodies, are recruited with rare exceptions from the propertyless class. They are driven to prostitution by poverty, hunger, neglect, or by the crying phenomena of social

Let us take another example. The increase in professional prostitution, as is shown by statistics, comes in all capitalist countries from girls between the ages of thirteen and twenty-three, in other words, the age of childhood and youth. And among these girls the majority are those that have been neglected or lonely. It is characteristic that the daughters of comparatively protected families, of whom their well-to-do parents took proper care. enter the ranks of prostitution only in very exceptional cases. In most cases these girls are victims of a number of tragic circumstances, among which a very important part is played by the traditional lying and hypocritical bourgeois "double standard of morality." The girl who has "sinned" is cast out by her bourgeois family, and, finding herself alone, unaided, branded by the contempt of "society." is placed in a situation that has only one outler,

inequality, these foundations of the bourgeois system.

are not spared by the bourgeois class world, which Economic Causes of Prostitution.

casts little girls of nine or ten years of age into the Badly paid labour, the striking inequalities of ation of it that would be in accordance with the filthy embraces of rich old men satiated with vice. capitalist society, the unhealthy habit of women to So-called disorderly houses with minor and infant depend economically on men, to seek support not inmates are a phenomenon that has been in existence in their own labour power, but in pay for love, at for a long time in bourgeois states. At the present: the hands of the "feeding" man, this is what moment, after the war, unemployment, which weighs breeds prostitution, it is there that we must seek is first of all necessary precisely to define what most heavily on women, has caused a tremendous the roots of this long existing, unhealthy pheno-

Hungry crowds of wealthy purchasers of white slaves The workers' revolution in Russia, which shook The bourgeois world is built up altogether on pur- in case of need, they are entitled to the assistance chase and sale, and even legal marriage itself includes of the collective system. The woman is protected unquestionable elements of material or at least eco- no longer by marriage, but by her participation in nomic calculation. Prostitution, as an underground the creation of the national wealth, in other words, trade, is an outlet for the woman who has not by her own productive labour. The mutual relations succeeded in obtaining a male supporter for herself. between the sexes are being transferred to a new Prostitution under capitalism is a means for men to basis. But the old views and conceptions are still attain conjugal relations with women without burden- weighing down upon us. And besides, our economic ing themselves with the obligation to support them system is still far from having been fully established along the new line. We are still far from the But if prostitution is so wide-spread, if it is Communist system of life. Naturally, in this tranmaintaining itself even in Soviet Russia, how shall sition period, prostitution still has powerful supports. we fight against it? To answer this question it is For, many of the reasons that brought it forth have necessary first to recall to mind what are the causes not by any means been removed, although the fundaof prostitution, what is the source from which it mental causes that bred it-private property and the petrified forms of the bourgeois family-have

*This statement is not held out by any known statistics.

beginnings of Communism and perfecting production. dictated by the interest of the workers' collective. the most merciless, open and resolute campaign This is our chief, our fundamental task. But some Venereal Diseases. will ask: is it necessary in this case to wage a The second reason why we must now immediately have been.

Prostitution injures the Russia of the toilers, principally from the standpoint of the interests of the national economy and the free development of our productive forces. We know that a victory over disorganisation, an impetus imparted to the evolution of our industry, is only accessible to us by a supreme exertion of all the working class energies of the Republic, a complete and planful application of all the individual working power, both of men and of

Down with the unproductive labour in domestic life, with the exploitation of children in the home! Make way for organised labour, productive labour, labour that shall serve the workers. Organisation That is the problem of the moment.

We must fight deserters from Work.

Meanwhile, what is the professional prostitute? The professional prostitute is a person whose working energy is not given for the advantage of the collective whole, a person who lives at the expense of the reverse, it is she who takes care of him, mends others, and who receives a share from the rations his clothes, shelters him as long as the army of others. Is such a condition of affairs permissible quartered in the settlement. But the army departs, in a workers' republic? By no means, because it and as a consequence the settlement has become decreases the supply of labour power, the number infected with venereal diseases. The same thing has of hands at work at the creation of the national been repeated with cities and villages which are wealth, of social good. How are we to consider the taken by the Whites. professional prostitute from the standpoint of the A general contamination is constantly going on. interests of national economy? Only as a deserter The diseases are spread, increased, and threaten to from work. In this sense we may mercilessly con- wipe out the entire unborn generation. In the joing demn prostitution. We must immediately, in the session of the Motherhood Protection Society and the interests of a sensible economic plan, enter into a Provincial Women's Sections, Professor Koltsov spoke conflict with this evil, bring about a decrease in on hygiene, the science of healing and perfecting the number of prostitutes, and stamp out its manifestations, whatever may be the form in which they appear.

It is time that we understand that the existence of prostitution contradicts the fundamental prin ciples of a workers' republic, in which all forms of earnings are not obtained by labour are subject to prostitution. Our understanding of this matter has much changed during the three years of the revolution. We are beginning to form a morality of our own, based on principles unlike those of the former morality. For instance, three years ago we looked upon a merchant as a completely respectable man. If his books were in order, if he did not engage in frandulent bankruptcy, if he did not openly and outrageously overcharge and underweigh his customers, the merchant was not only not put in jail, but, on the other hand, was rewarded with honourable designations: "merchant of the first guild, of an old merchant family," " a respectable citizen,

The Merchant no longer Respectable.

Now, in the time of the revolution, our relation to commerce and to merchants has been radically changed. We now call the "honourable merchant a speculator. We not only do not confer flattering epithets upon him, but we hale him before the others, on the earnings of others, that is, whoever

them as a non-productive element of society, we are the toiling population. What is it that follows in not placing them in a special category. For us, for the wake of prostitution? A debasement of the out. the Republic of the Workers, it is absolutely a feeling of equality, of solidarity and comradeship matter of indifference whether a woman sells herself between the sexes, in other wards, between the two to one man or to many, whether she is a professional halves of the working class. The man who purchases prostitute living by some other source than her own the caresses of women begins at once to look upon useful labour, or by the sale of her caresses to a women as a commodity. He regards women as legal husband or to an occasional purchaser of dependent upon himself, in other words, as creatures female flesh, whose identity may vary from day to of a lower order, not entitled to equal rights, not day. All women who desert from labour, who take of equal value to the workers' government. His no part in the obligatory work, and who are not contemptuous attitude to the prostitute whose attenperforming any work for small children at home, tions he has purchased for her material gain he are placed on an equal footing with the prostitute transfers to all women. Instead of a growth of the -they must be forced to work. And we cannot feeling of comradeship, equality and solidarity, we make any distinction here between the prostitute and shall have, if prostitution should further develop, a the most lawful wife who lives on her husband's strengthening of the conditions of inequality between sustenance, whoever her husband may be, even though the sexes, of the feeling of the superiority of man, he be a "commissar.

In other words, we are going to introduce equal a decrease in the solidarity of the whole working treatment for all deserters from labour. From the class.

Should the Soviet Government fight Prostitution standpoint of the workers' collective, a woman is From the standpoint of the new Commun The struggle against prostitution means first of all to be condemned, not for selling her body, but for a struggle against all the above-mentioned phenomena, the fact that, just like a legally married idle woman, in other words, to support the general policy of the she does no useful work for the collective. This Seviet power in the matter of strengthening the new, absolutely new, procedure with prostitution is the Women's Section in particular, must be to ware

special war on prostitution? This painful pheno- wage a conscientious and organised campaign against . menon will outlive itself when we have strengthened prostitution is in order to defend the public health. the power of the toilers and brought about, in full, Soviet Russia is interested in preventing the disorthe beginnings of Communism. To reason thus is ganisation and lowering of the working powers of equivalent to ignoring the disintegrating and baneful the population, as well as their capacity for work, influence which prostitution exerts on the very struc- by sickness and indispositions. Now, prostituton ture of the new Communist society. Already at the happens to be one of the sources of venereal diseases, first All-Russian Congress of Working and Peasant but, of course, not the only source. These diseases Women, the correct program was proclaimed: "The may also be communicated in the regular course of All the citizens of the Workers' Republic are obliged free and equal citizen women of the Soviet Workers' daily life, by reason of poor domestic conditions, Republic cannot and must not be an object of pur- the absence of hygienic appliances, an insufficiency chase and sale." That was what was said, but as of dishes, which are therefore used in common by escape the inevitability of working, of nourishing a matter of fact the conditions remain what they a number of persons, common towels, which are often causes of infection. Besides, in our extremely agitated transition period, as far as moral views are concerned, owing to the constant gathering and uninterrupted transfer of the army from one place to another, venereal diseases are spread to a remarkable extent, quite independently of the agency of commercial prostitution. For instance, in the southern fruitful provinces civil war has been in progress. The male Cossack population has been scattered, driven out, has gone off with the Whites, or been scattered to the winds. In the settlements there remain only the women. They had enough of everything, but there were no men. Red Armies advance and take the town, they are billetted out, and remain in the city for weeks at a time. As a result there are mutual attractions, free alliances, having no similarity whatever with prostitution; since the women in this case voluntarily associate with the men, as a result of inclination and without any the capitalists." calculation of material gain on their side; it is not the Red Army man who feeds the woman, but Party, as you wanted, you could not have had

mankind. Closely related with this task is the question of the struggle against prostitution, which Third International." is one of the most active causes of infection from

Steps to fight Venereal Diseases. In the theses of the Interdepartmental Commission for Combating Prostitution, in the Commissariat of Social Welfare it is declared to be the immediate task of the Commissariat of Public Health to work out special measures for the struggle against venereal infections. Of course, these measures include all the sources of infection and must not be limited to the by experience. prosecution of prostitution, as was the practice of hypocritical bourgeois society. But, at any rate, even if we recognise the fact that the communication of infection is also accomplished to a very great extent in the regular course of daily life, it is Democrats?" very important to furnish the population with a clear understanding of what is the role of prostitution in the spread of venereal diseases. It is extremely important to conduct a proper sexual education of the young, to equip the young with precise information, to enable them to enter life "with their eyes open," to refrain from keeping silent on questions concerning sexual life as was done by the lying, hypocritical, sanctimonious bourgeois morality. The third reason why prostitution is inadmissible in a Soviet Workers' Republic is that it prevents the better." Extraordinary Commission and intern him in a camp development and solidification of the fundamental for forced labour. And why this? Simply because class qualities of the proletariat, of its new morality. we know that he shall be able to create a new What is the fundamental property of the working someday." Communist economy only by inducing all grown up class, the most powerful moral weapon in its struggle? itizens to undertake productive labour. Whoever The feeling of comradeship, of solidarity. Solidarity Dreadnought." does not work, whoever is living at the expense of is the foundation of Communism. Without this strongly established feeling, among the mankind of performs no productive labour, he is a danger to the workers, it is inconceivable that we shall erect the collective society, to the public. That is why a new truly Communist society. Of course, it is we prosecute the speculators, the traders, the pro- self-evident that conscious Communists must with fiteers,-in sort, all who live on income not obtained all their powers aid in the development of this by labour, and that is why we must fight against feeling, and conversely, must with all their might prostitution as one of the forms of desertion from struggle with those forces that would hinder this development and prevent the solidification of such But when we consider the prostitutes and fight qualities and characteristics of the working class of the dependence of the woman on him, in other words,

morality which is in process of formation, of crystal lisation, prostitution is intolerable and dangerous Therefore the task of our party as a whole and against this heritage of the past. In bourgeoiscapitalist society all the modes of struggle against prostitution turned out to be a useless waste energy, since the two fundamental causes of prostitution-the existence of private property and the direct economic dependence of the greater number of women on a man (father, husband, lover)-were

powerfully and firmly established. In the Workers' Republic these causes have been eliminated. Private property has been abolished means of finding a "meal ticket," and thus to fundamental causes of prostitution in Soviet Russia are being outgrown. There remain a number of secondary economic and social causes, which are much easier to deal with. The Women's Sections should apply their energies decisively in this direction, for there they will find a wide field of activity opening before them. It is only necessary to bear definitely in mind that the struggle against prostitution may be waged only on the basis of a strugele with the sources from which it originates, and co sequently the study of these sources, a careful seeking after them, is the first task of the Women's

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON .- Continued from p. doing splendid work at Caerphilly, putting the Communist position against the Reformists and

"If you had been affiliated to the Labour your own candidate at Caerphilly. You would have been obliged to support the Labour Party candidate: either that, or leave the Party-you could not remain in a Party and oppose its can-

"We should not have done so; we should have supported the candidates of the majority and have worked gradually to get Communist candidates accepted by the majority; we should strive to win the Labour Party, and, in time, to gain control of its machinery. That is the policy of the

"Yes, it has voted so, with regard to English affairs; but it seems to me it would have been the same thing for the German Communists to remain with the Scheidemann Party, in the hope of converting the majority some day."

"That wasn't the policy then: the Third International has modified its policy; it has learnt

"Oh! It doesn't admit that! So you really think it was a mistake for the German Communists to leave the Scheidemann Social

"Well, the question of the Labour Party isn't so very important. I admit we should have to leave it eventually, in any case. The Parliamentary question is much more important."

"You'll have to give up the elections too, eventually. There won't be any revolutionary progress here till the workers turn away from Parliamentary action in favour of something

admit we'll all be where you are, "And yet you try to stop us selling the

It was the dark girl again.

"If the Left Wing has not freedom of propaganda inside the Communist Party, it will have to come out again and form a new Party."

There was a chorus of "Good night": the woman in blue and her companions, the elderly woman and the small, spare man, rose. Several people spoke to the woman in blue as she passed

"Have you ever seen her here before?" someone asked.

"Only when there's a Conference or something like that. She never comes to the Club.

When they were gone the talk declined again cards and beer dominated the atmosphere, and soon Frank Penman left, musing soberly and rather sadly. No one had exchanged a word with him. He was as far as ever from being one of the Red movement, and the fire of his enthusiasm had sunk so low, that he wondered whether he really wanted to join the Reds at all.

Yet again and again he found himself thinking about the people in the Left Wing.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Parcels to Russia.

August 27, 1921.

Asked why the Post Office refuses to accept parcels Russia, Mr. Pease, for the Government, said tenancy. the report was full of mines.

onth to Petrograd, and the Channel is quite clear

Mr. Pease: I will inquire into that.

Commissioner of Police says that after an the buses and trams for lack of a seat is out of order. s wrangled about it, but the Commissioner's The Government moved to agree with the Lords

Questions £1 a Time. mestions put by Members of Parliament to Miniss a week cost £12.

Agricultural Bill of last December provided where a landlord refused a tenant the right to certain improvements if the Agricultural Com- The House passed, as it does at the end of each encamped there. Mr. Cantley asked to have them te to an arbitrator decided that it was an Sessions, a Bill to continue a host of measures, cleared away, and the Government agrees to do so.

improvement that ought to have been made, the rest is that if it came to an end, other legislation tenant could get compensation at the end of the to regulate the aliens would be necessary-or rather

The House of Lords being a house of landlords whittled the provision down. In the present Corn Kenworthy (Lib.) said sixteen ships went last Production Act the Lords actually introduced an amendment repealing this provision in the December Act. Members of Parliament protested that the Lord's action was out of order, as any ordinary person would suppose, but the Speaker said it was date he will not allow passengers to stand out of order to decide that anything the Lords do bate, up to the House of Lords for the various

law. Nobody said: "Put on more buses." Amendment on the ground that it was "not worth by the Mother of Parliaments. But if it were some

One of the Labour Members, Mr. Halls, aptly cost, it is said, on the average £1 each to observed: "If the other place is a House of landver. Members asking three questions a day four lords, this House largely consists of landlords, and those in sympathy with them." Only 37 members voted against accepting the Lords'

dealt with the restrictions upon aliens, the Government's excuse for including this measure with the the Government would think it necessary. The old "free" England of our radical forebears is no more. The measure which makes it illegal to sell ice cream in the shops or ice cream and chbcolates after eight o'clock was also continued, and then on the Government's own suggestion a Bill to extend the hours within which sweets and ice cream was introduced: this Bill will go through a Second Reading debate, committee stage, Third Reading destages there, back to the Commons for report, and so on. That is the way government is carried on measure to safeguard capitalism against a militant working class, an Order in Council under D.O.R.A. or the E.P.A. would whisk it through in a twinkling.

some of these are war emergency measures. One

At Crowborough a piece of land was 25 years ago sold in small lots to 300 purchasers, all of whom have abandoned it. Some gipsies have now

CHANGE YOUR LEADERS!

the Yorkshire Miners' Association.

Governing Council of this Union consists of sident, Vice-President, General Secretary, Agent. arer and Junior General Secretary, and in on one experienced member elected as delegate each branch. The Council ordinarily meets ics, but not less than three months.

ational and International Conferences.

e union decides by a branch vote of the members her the union shall send delegates to the annual

Labour Party.

Trade Union Congress.

International Miners' Conference. members further decide in the same way:

How many permanent officials shall attend. Who they shall be. How many ordinary members shall attend. do so.

the case of other conferences, this includes The Opportunity to Act. conferences called by the above bodies, strike tions, etc.; in short, the most important cones of all, the delegates of the union are two! ent officials selected by the permanent officials res, as well as any permanent officials entitled end ex officio. Also 6 other members to be by the various branches in rotation, one by

Why Special Conferences are more Reactionary. frequently been observed that the annual ence of such bodies as the Labour Party and Union Congress will pass a strong resolution advanced than the annual conference.

branch delegates are often not sent.

How to Elect Delegates.

The above rules should be changed as follows: All delegates to all conferences should be elected has one vote for every fifty members of the structions of the branches they represent, permanent ordinary members; delegates may be recalled by the subject to recall by the Council at any time. Conneil at any time.

Branches Power to Initiate.

Rule 11 is important: it lays down that on such questions as the adoption or prolongation of a strike, alteration of rules, voting away large sums of money, or dismissal of permanent officials, if one-fourth of the branches demand in writing that a vote of the entire organisation, this shall be done. This vote is to be taken by ballot in the branch rooms, recorded Whether the association be represented at all. their books, and a copy forwarded to the Central Office. The votes will then be counted by the Executive Committee, or whoever it appoints to

Branches can therefore get busy on alterations of rules and the dismissal of permanent officials, without waiting for conferences to come round; they can act without delay.

Election of Permanent Officials.

Permanent officials are elected by ballot of the members taken by the branches.

Rule 12 that prescribes this should be changed; the nominations should be by branches, and election by instructed delegates of branches.

Executive Committee.

"Yes, it is."

some subject dictating that a special conference The Executive Committee is composed of the per- This may usher in the day when the workers will alled to deal further with the matter. The manent officials and not less than seventeen members break easily away from the conservative out-of-date cial conference, when summoned, proves much elected from the branches and re-elected or confirmed old machinery and form new revolutionary combinaby the Council; they serve a year, and half their tions. In the meantime a perpetual stir and fight number retire each half-year. The Executive meets should be kept up by the Reds within the old unions thy because it is brought nearer to action than ordinarily only once in four weeks, from which it and the work of building up rebel organisations must ie annual conference, but also largely because inevitably follows that the business is not done by be pushed forward.

By RED INTERNATIONAL

the proportion of permanent officials is greater at the Executive, but by the permanent officials. The the special conference. To the special conference, Executive is elected on the panel system. The because time is short and to save expense, the Executive, in these days of great membership and swift-moving events, should sit continuously. There should be no permanent officials; the Secretary. Treasurer, etc. should be elected like the rest of the Committee. The Executive and officials should be in four weeks. Each branch has one delegate by their delegates at Council meetings on the in- nominated by the branches, and elected by the delegates at Council meetings on the instructions of Delegates shall serve as long as the branch officials should only go as delegates if elected like the branches. Executive and officials should be

The recall by the members of the branch should also be applied to branch officials and committee by amendment of Rules 31, 32, 33 and 38.

Strikes cannot take place except on a ballot, in which three-fourths of the members vote, and twothirds of those voting declare for the strike. That provision will have to be scrapped before any effective class fighting can be done. A resolution to this effect

When the association has declared its pelicy through its Council meeting on any question, the Executive may at the same time be empowered Ly, the Council to take whatever strike or other emergency action may be necessary in the interests

of that policy. The Executive will be answerable for its acts to the Council meeting."

A great reason why new unions and workers' committees outside the unions have largely failed in Britain is that the old organisations have had huge funds from which they have paid out to their members strike pay, sick pay, funeral benefits, etc. We are on the edge of a period of trade depression and unemployment, and of truculent iron heelism by the Government and employers which may lead to the depletion of the funds of the Great Unions.

MAX HAVELAAR.

(Continued from last issue.) Verbrugge, I tell you why I do this. The Regent has not a farthing in the house-his writer told me deduction is made to pay off an advance the Governhe himself needs this money, and the tax-gatherer ment gave him when he desired to build a new

to know it." Verbrugge was silent. I know it." Havelaar continued. "Mr. Slotering, his name. Is that so?" predecessor, died in November. The day after eath, the Regent forced the population to labour is rice-fields without payment. You ought to have

wn it-you did know it?" chrugge did not know it ere are the monthly reports of the chiefs, stating number of labourers have worked for them. Are

have not seen them." Neither have I. Were last month's statements

statements correct?"

brugge was silent. will tell you: they were false. Three times the oer of labourers had to work for the Regent that orders regulating such matters permit, and they e not put this in the reports. The reports I reto-day are likewise false. The Regent The Regents of Bandong and Tjanjor are mems of the family of which he is head. He is an latti; the Regent of Tjanjor is only a Tommon-Because Lebak is not fit for coffee culture, therefore gives him no emolument, his revenues

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

"Yes, it is." "He has nothing but his salary, and from that a Slotering mean by that?" the case, they take what they like from the people, in

"The Regent, who is old, has for some years been ruled by a desire to become meritorious, through gifts to the priests. He spends much money for the travelling expenses of pilgrims to Mecca. Because of You ought to have known it," continued Havelaar. all this he is poor. I knew he had no money in the house. It is my intention to do my duty. I will not suffer injustice, but will do my duty with leniency. What happens henceforth is on my responsibilty Do you know, Verbrugge, that I ought to have heard from you all that I have just told you?"

"Mr. Havelaar, I have never served under anyone like you. You communicate to others, conceptions and ideas never heard before."

"No! they have fallen asleep in that despicable official stillness, whose style is: 'I have the honour to be,' and its feeling, 'the perfect satisfaction of

the Government." "All this has always been so in these countries." "Whose handwriting is this?" "Mr. Slotering's."

"My predecessor's: two rough copies, evidently "I accuse no one: to-morrow I shall go to the not allow him to vie in magnificence and pomp with containing subjects on which he wished to speak to the Regent and appeal to him to give up this illegal exe Demang of the Preangang Regencies, whose Resident. Look here: 1. 'On Rice Culture.' ploitation. I shall do everything I can to make it t would be to hold his nephew's horses. Is that 2. 'On the Houses of the Village Chiefs.' 3. 'On easy for him to do his duty.' the Gathering of the Land Taxes.'!! After the last

By MULTATULI are two marks of exclamation. What did Mr.

"That means, more taxes are paid than flow into advance it to him. I would rather transgress on mosque. Many members of his family, who do not the Exchequer of the country. Look here: 12. On own responsibility than leave a man of his rank properly belong to Lebak, range themselves as a the Abuses practised on the Population by the Regents years in perplexity. Moreover, Verbrugge, troop of plunderers around him, and extort money and Inferior Chiefs.' Listen: 15. 'That many at Lebak abuse power in a fearful way; you from him. When his purse is empty, which is often persons of the families, and servants of the inland chiefs appear on the payment lists, who take no part in the culture. They also get possession of rice-fields which are only due to those who have a share in the

"Look here, too: 'The emigration of the population can only be ascribed to the excess of the abuses by which the people are victimised'

"What do you say to that?" "In is true, Mr. Slotering often spoke of the Resident about all this."

"What was the result?" "The Regent was summoned and had an interview with the Resident."

"What more?" "The Regent generally denied all. Then witnesses were called for-no one dared bear witness against the Regent-Mr. Havelaar, these things are very difficult. Mr. Slotering was much offended. He wrote sharp

letters to the chiefs--." "I read them last night. Is it to be supposed that the Resident of Bantam approves of injustice and arbitrary power?"

"Approve-no; but one does not like to accuse a

(Continued in our next issue.)

CAERPHILLY.

The Communist candidate at Caerphilly is holding great meetings and arousing the enthusiasm of thousands, as happens at election times. If it were possible for Stuart to be elected, the wave of enthusiasm would rise to a tremendous pitch.

Then it would fall—for Stuart in Parliament

could do nothing.

Elections are times of shouting and cheering, but when they are over, the solid work of creating a new consciousness in the workers, and a new machinery whereby they may express that consciousness will remain to be done, at Caerphilly, as elsewhere.

it is necessary that the people should break away in sufficient numbers from support of the old capitalist machinery, and set up another system; that they should create and maintain the Soviets as the instrument of establishing Communism.

To do this, the workers must be mentally prepared and must also possess the machinery which will enable them to act.

In our view, the running of candidates, however revolutionary the speeches of the candidates may be, is not the best method of preparing the workers to discard their faith in bourgeois democracy and Parliamentary reformism.

As to the machinery that the workers will require for action when they have abandoned Reformism, that they do not at present possess. Their trade and industrial unions are manned by reactionary officials clogged by cumbrous rules that prevent speedy action, and imbued with Reformist tradition.

The situation of to-day calls for:

1.—Communist Revolutionary propaganda, to prepare the minds of the workers;

2.—The creation of unofficial Revolutionary Committees in all industries, building up an

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organisation that can act whenever the possibility of action arises;

3. Steady undermining within the old Unions, of the influence of the old leaders upon the rank and file, and steady alteration of the old Trade Union rules, in order that the ensuing discussion and struggle may educate the rank and file as to their present helplessness within the old Unions.

When they have learnt that, and are alive with the desire to overthrow the present system. the rank and file will either break away from the old Unions, or re-create them.

The working class must will a new system and For the overthrow of this old capitalist system, organise itself as a class to achieve the new system. It must break down its craft barriers and its industrial barriers and fight as one big union of workers to abolish Capitalism.

The old Trade Union and Labour leaders stand for preserving the present system from destruction. Their hands are outstretched as eagerly as those of the capitalist, to preserve industrial peace, to re-establish the world as it was before the war. Many of them fancy they want to see Capitalism change to Socialism, but they are busy patching up the cracks in the old system.

Meanwhile business was never so bad as it is to-day in this Empire, and the immediate pros-

pect before us all is dark.

But the dreadful situation of ever-growing masses of people unemployed, is the best propaganda for change: if Capitalism were satisfactory. the human race would never replace it by another system.

Go to the men who fight for a job in the docks. go to the unemployed thronging about the Labour Exchanges, go to the miners victimised in the late strike and tell them it is not in Parliam nt that their salvation lies, but in their own hands and those of their fellow-workers, organised as a class to substitute Communism for this capitalist system of exploitation.

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