# Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

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[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

# OUR POINT OF VIEW

the Communist Party?

Our differences are partly of principle, partly of practical utility.

useful work for Communism by continuing the

right of anyone to stop us.

Moreover, we disire to remain an independent communist voice. An independent organ is a tyrannies which are apt to attend on Parties, and especially Parties formed, as the Communist Party of Great Britain has been, from groups of conflicting tendencies, brought together by outside pressure and largely composed of persons as yet untried in the political struggle. The doctrine: "My Party, right or wrong," which leads inevitably to the practice of putting party before principle, must be shunned consistently by those who desire to take part in the creation of revolutionary change. The past constantly stretches out its tentacles to draw us back to it; constantly strives to clog our minds with sophistries. A high order of mental courage and independence is necessary to maintain always the hard, steep path of the revolutionary. The comfortable, care-free official position; the members so apt to be amenable and trusting, if only they are not asked to leave their groove, or to worry their minds with new and startling thoughts: all these provide an incentive towards opportunism, against which a constant spur is needed.

The danger of opportunism, from which an independent organ can help to protect a party, is moreover inherent in those compromise tactics for which the Third International declared itself at its Second Congress in Moscow last year, and

to which it still remains committed. We contend that the present policy of the Third International is illogical and unworkable, and. either the policy must be changed, or a new force must arise to achieve the workers' revolution outside Russia, and to make Russia herself a Com-

munist country. Briefly, the present policy of the majority in the Third International is to secure numerous adherents, by striving to combine mutually conflicting policies.

# Parliamentarism.

Thus the Third Internatinal declares that Communism will not come by Act of Parliament, that Parliament is part of the machinery of Capitalism, and must be swept away; that the workers must be estranged from it and induced to set up their Soviets as the rival organism that will overthrow and supersede it; that Capitalism will be overthrown, not by a Parliamentary majority, but by actual force, by the industrial and armed power of the workers.

Having laid all this down in the most unmistakable fashion, the Third International goes on to declare that Communists, though they must not work for reforms through Parliament, must

Net seek election to Parliament. The only official reason given for this weak conclusion is that the election contest and Parnament provide effective platforms for Communist oratory, and that the speeches of Com-

may be widely reported in the capitalist press. In reply to these arguments we must point out the Parliamentary speeches of Colonel one went unreported after he joined the .P. and the Communist Party, and that it

munist candidates and Members of Parliament

What is the difference between ourselves and was only when he was in the dock being tried for his speeches outside Parliament that the Press gave much space to his activities. As for the Communist candidate at Caerphilly his speeches As to the second, we believe that we can do were not even reported in the Daily Herald. But the point is of minor importance; the Workers' Dreadnought, and we do not admit the speeches of Lloyd George, Churchill, Asquith and the rest occupy column upon column in the capitalist newspapers: we Communists can never be given anything approaching the great and quard against the corruptions, opportunisms and constant publicity in capitalist organs that is accorded to the idols of capitalist politics.

> We must find other means of reaching the popular ear. Yet even were a candidate or Member of Parliament entitled to a verbatim report in the entire press every day, how flimsy a reason this would be for insisting that Communist Parties must, of necessity, take part in the political scramble for seats in Parliament; how miserably insufficient a reason for casting out the fighting Communist Labour Party of Germany, and many more!

> But there are other reasons, reasons not given in Theses, why the Third International demands Parliamentary action from the Parties affiliated to it. Two deeply opposed policies are represented by the Communist acceptance or refusal or Parliamentary action.

> Those of the sincere and intelligent Communists who decide to use Parliamentary action do so because they believe they can thereby obtain sway over unawakened, unconscious masses: they are not content, patiently, to gather a body of thinking workers, but desire to take a short cut by capturing unthinking masses.

> An extreme instance of such opportunism is the decision that the Communist Party should seek affiliation to the Labour Party. Our Russian comrades fail to realise that the present Labour leaders cannot always count on the response of the inert masses in their Unions unless the issue be a very simple bread and butter one of hours and wages. If the Communist Party could conceivably capture executive power in the Labour Party, it would have captured a gigantic machine that would not move.

> When we, who are against the use of Parliamentary action, argue that it is contradictory and confusing to declare on the one hand that Parliament is useless and must be destroyed, and on the other hand to urge the workers to put us into Parliament, those who have chosen the way of Parliamentary action, reply that great masses of unconscious workers still have faith in Parliament. Quite so, we answer, then we must undermine that faith; but appalled by the magnitude of the task of creating a body of conscious workers strong enough to effect any changes. the Communist opportunists propose to accomplish the revolution with crowds of unconscious workers.

We, who believe that the revolution can only be accomplished by those whose minds are awakened and who are inspired by conscious purpose, have decided to shun the administrative machinery of Capitalism.

We have decided this because of the clear, unmistakable lead to the masses which this refusal gives, a lead, surer and more effective, because it is a lead given by action, not merely by words.

We have so decided also because the refusal to compete for electoral seats means the cutting off from us of those weak and self-seeking opportunists to whom seats in Parliamentary and on

# By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

the local government bodies are attractive because of the position they confer upon the holder.

So much for our difference on the Parliamentary question with the Third International, as officially represented in its Theses. Our differences with the Communist Party of Great Britain go still further, for the British Party does not operate the Parliamentary policy in the destructive sense laid down by the Third Inter-

national.

The British Party has no representatives in Parliament at present; but it has many repretatives on local governing bodies: the policy of these representatives is not the policy of the Third International Theses. As we have already pointed out, during the coal strike, when the miners were fighting the concerted attempt of the employing class of this country to reduce the working class standard of living, the representatives of the Communist Party in Poplar were responsible for cutting down wages of bricklayer's labourers, painter's labourers, bakers, sewing machinists and others, as well as reducing the rate of Poor Law Relief to the poor and unemployed. Such examples can be multiplied by anyone who takes the trouble to inquire into the doings of the representatives of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the local Boards and Councils, up and down the country. Where, indeed, are to be found Communist Party representatives on local bodies using their position on the bodies in a revolutionary way? Where are those Communists? Let us hear of them. Echo. answering "where?" has long given the only response to that urgent question.

We do not blame those "Communists" and Labour representatives who do not see eye to eye with us on this matter; we do not accuse them of bad faith or dishonesty. We simply say that they are not operating the policy of the Third International as set forth in its Theses. We exist to point out such facts: we shall continue to do so, and, in so doing, without malice, we shall educate the movement.

In our opinion, the use of Parliamentary action by Communists is illogical, contradictory and bound to lead to the lapses into rank Reformism that we see wherever members of the Communist Party secure election to public bodies. These Communist Party members who have been elected to public bodies, are simply trying, like the Labour Party, to secure reforms: they are taking no step to unhinge the capitalist system. Some of them may be more, some less, effective Reformists than the Labour Members, but they are doing precisely the same sort of work, whilst the Communist Party fulminates against all Reformers.

Let us look the matter squarely in the face. We are for Revolution: we have done with Reform and, leaving it altogether alone, we concentrate our efforts on bringing people to an understanding of Communism and to a detercontinued on page 6.

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# FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Pye had been to Russia with her cousin, a con- Penman: workers and peasants of Russia. Miss Pye's rations." cousin was frankly a money-maker: if he had any "It takes me more than a morning when I replied Frank Penman. "That is what we have politics, they would have been the politics of find I can afford to buy new clothes," said Miss to remember when we read the jumble of nontrying to make money, to hold consistently to diggings-well, I've just done it, and it took all Communism." any political creed. He was usually against whatever Government happened to be in power, and was apt to wax enthusiastic about those occa- Mayence. sional stunt politicians who arise into prominence for a brief space, shouting "anti-waste," or any other catch-cry that happens to be the rage at the

Miss Pye had generally agreed with her cousin's views and still did so. At the same time, she had become a Bolshevik, or thought she had, for Bolshevism had taken her fancy, and the adventurous aspect of the Revolution had aroused her enthusiasm. Had she not been a Suffragette? That predisposed her to sympathy with all militants.

Miss Pye had gone with her cousin to Russia; she had even attended Bolshevik meetings and conferences there, and had talked with Soviet speculators." Commissaries.

Miss Mayence was eager to learn what Miss rations I suppose?" said Penman. Pye had seen, and she thought that Mr. Penman at first hand.

Accordingly it was arranged that Miss Mayence and Frank Penman should meet Miss Pye for mised it," said Miss Mayence. lunch at the Press Restaurant, in Fleet Street.

ence and Penman had drifted into a sustained struck the table. friendship, had looked forward keenly to the meet- "But I thought you complained that things Miss Pye's incoherence, her poor memory, her equal." Penman objected. vacillating and contradictory opinions. To Mr. "It is dreadful to think of those masses of Penman, Miss Pye was quite unknown: the fact little people stretching out their hands for a little that she had had the good sense to go to Russia, more of everything; the masses of the still poorer argued that she was a woman of high intelligence. people and the richer people, right up to the in his opinion; he was prepared to receive richest, millions upon millions of them, all graspher views with profound respect. Both went to ing out for a bit extra," Miss Mayence was Miss Pve as to an oracle.

found that she brought back in her dishevelled answered Penman, impatiently; " if you saw how brain a mass of conflicting tags of conversation, some of those people live, as I saw them, in their a veritable wastepaper basket of exaggerations, trucks!" inaccuracies, and ill-assorted, uncomprehended "Do they live in trucks?" asked Miss Mayinformation.

Like most of the casual visitors to Russia, her impressions centred mainly around the supply of food and minor comforts: pyock (ration) was board over the top, and never getting a wash. the only Russian word she had assimilated.

"The people looked wonderfully well, but I how they live!" know they were not well," she said. dourly. "I "But that isn't their home life: that is just This being so, it is remarkable that the Execuknew they could not be, because I knew what travelling under unpleasant conditions. One tive of the Third International in Moscow should food they were having."

"What was that?" asked Miss Mayence.

Miss Pye ignored the question and continued: tinctions. I assure you, it is as bad there as it is here: Russia is going right back to Capitalism; there can be no mistake about it. The preference is everywhere given to the bourgeoisie. There is

no equality." Then she went on:

civilised than they are here. You can't conceive to retail the various stories of petty corruption by how destructive they are. A friend of mine told Soviet officials she had picked up from all sorts me of a bourgeois family who had a fifteen-roomed of people during her journey. house. They had first one room, then another Then, having demanded: "Separate bills, taken away from them by the Housing Com- please," she accused the well-mannered Italian mittee, until they were driven into only one tiny waiter of overcharging her, admitted her mistake room in the cellar. They begged to be allowed without an apology, and curtly swept up her more, but were refused. The ignorant workers change, leaving nothing for the tip. who were put into their drawing-room, actually She had confined herself strictly to the items beautiful room with a grand piano!"

Miss Mayence protested: "If there was no place given them to keep, bills. their hens, and if they were poor people who had never had---'

Miss Pye was a friend of Miss Mayence, and "They were not poor people." interrupted claring that she must hurry off to keep another Miss Pye had just come back from Russia. Miss Pye. She turned confidentially to Frank appointment.

with the Soviet Government, a means of making of organisation. People often waste a whole "She hasn't changed at all." money for himself out of the necessities of the morning going to get their rooms or their clothes

Capitalist Imperialism; but he was too busy Mayence, "and when I decide to look for new sense, that appears in the newspapers, about my evenings and my Saturdays for three weeks."

Miss Pve aggressively turned away from Miss

"A friend of mine works in the Commintern," she said. "She told me how disgracefully the shorthand writers, who took notes of a conference, were treated. They were promised certain payments and then told they could not have them: and they had actually spent the money by then; they had borrowed money to get extra clothes and shoes from the speculators, and they were put in a perfect hole by not getting it."

"Extra shoes?" asked Frank Penman. "Oh, yes," said Miss Pye; "of course, they couldn't manage with the ordinary food and clothes ration! They were buying extra from the

"Other people have to manage with the

"Of course they have," answered Miss Pve: would also be interested to hear of Sov'et Russia "but these people had been promised the means to buy extra: they were entitled to it!"

"Perhaps they ought not to have been pro-"That does not matter: a promise is a

The two friends, for by this time Miss May- promise!" said Miss Pye, her voice raised, as she

ing with Miss Pye. Miss Mayence had forgotten were not equal: I thought you wanted thinsg

murmuring to herself.

Most profound was their disappointment: they "You can't have equality" Miss Pye vance towards our own proletarian Revolution.

"No, I mean when they are travelling: travelling for a week or more, in trucks with a except under a tap at the station: if you saw speeches and votes but by the practical power

cannot judge people by that. Even if one could, have cast out the Communist Labour Party of one must begin some time: if people cannot get Germany, which is admittedly an excellent fightcomforts, they are obliged to go without them; ing body, because the Communist Labour Party "What I was sorry to see were the class dis- but when they get them, they soon learn to use refuses to take part in Parliamentary elections

"You can't do anything with this genera- to form bands of militant workers, prepared to tion," said Miss Pye; "you must begin with the abandon the old struggle for palliative reforms,

"Of course, the working people are much less Miss Pye replied in the negative and proceeded

brought their hens with them: imagine it, a provided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was "Did you see the people?" asked Miss May- included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecuni-"No. but I was told their name," said Miss ous art students, who were so relatively extravagant as to indulge in the extra luxury of black coffee, which added fivepence to each of their

> She left the Restaurant abruptly, while the of war material, chiefly and guns, howitzer coffee was being served to her companions de- machine guns.

September 24, 1921.

"Fancy going to Russia and coming back cessionaire who had gone over to negotiate "The bureaucracy is awful: they have no idea without seeing anything!" sighed Miss Mavener

> "Going to Russia won't make a stupid person intelligent, or a prejudiced person impartial."

# THE GERMAN CONTEST.

Lord Beaverbrook, in the Sunday Express of September 18th gives the following graphic picture of Germany to-day :-

" Germany, threatened by enemies on every frontier, and menaced by raging civil dissention within, where the central Government threaten. the Bavarian, which tosses its own threats back; the Communists of Berlin organising themselves into an armed menace against the Monarchists of Munich, who retort with frenzied preparations for the death struggle.

" After that, still in a bewildering comple. ity, cross-threat and counter-preparation o Red in White Bavaria, and White in R Berlin, with all factions alike making ready to fall on the central Government, even as they fall on each other.

"An army maintained at least to the limit the treaty allows; a police force as strong as the Allies permit; hordes of officials in the Ministries, splendidly trained material for an improvised army-all with high pay and magnificent equipment; the 'Free Corps," whose numbers no man can tell; a whole population openly or secretly arming for a fraticia

"Multiply all this by the number of Sovereign States which went to make up the old German Empire, and you have the picture of Germany to-day."

This picture is undoubtedly a true one. Many of its features will be developed also in country as Capitalism nears its fall and we ad-

But turn again to this Beaverbrook picture of Germany. It is an accurate one so far as it goes. Does it not vividly illustrate how Governmen rests on force and is maintained by force, in society of to-day?

Does it not show that the struggle for politic supremacy in Germany will be decided, not by to dominate and control?

and has broken away from the old Trade Union and to throw themselves into the struggle for the "Did you go to the schools?" asked Miss capture of power by the revolutionary proletariat and the establishment of Soviets.

# LOWERING THE RATES.

Some of the Borough Councils are lowering rates, and some of those Borough Councils Labour majorities. Everyone who pays rates, course, complains that the rates are too high. so they are; but if those boroughs were she even bare humanity towards the unemployed could not lower the rates; they would be compelled either to raise them or to go bankrupt. Keep up your fight workless men and wom and do not starve submissively!

# THE REACTION IS ARMING.

The Vienna "Rote Fahne" publishes a secreletter (L. 1784) from the Polish embassy in Viella to the Hungarian embassy. The letter arranges 10 the transport under the label old fron of 150 wag

# THE FIGHT AGAINST PROSTITUTION.

PART II.

COMMISSION TO FIGHT PROSTITUTION. Already last year, at the suggestion of the Central of the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare, was organised an Interdepartmental Commisto Combat Prostitution.

elaborated plan. In the Inter-departof Social Welfare of Education, of the Work- Workers' Republic. Women's Sections, and the League of Communist The Commission drew up a set of Theses ed in its Bulletin No. 4), sent out a circular to all the provincial sections of the People's issariat for Social Welfare, caused the creation similar commissions in the provinces, which carried n their work under the guidance of the Central ommission, and went about the task of elaborating number of great measures for a systematic struggle th the sources that feed prostitution.

The Inter-departmental Commission considers that he Women's Sections should show the most active and lively interest in this matter, since prostitution a scourge which falls chiefly upon the women of ertyless working class. The task of the Women's Sections is to begin a general propaganda ncerned with questions connected with prostitution, since it is in our interest to develop the revolution in the domain of the family, to stabilise the relations between the sexes, to approach this question from the interests of the working society. We shall dispose efinitely of prostitution if we have consolidated he beginnings of Communism. This irrefutable truth the axiom on which our work is based. But this ental task must be supplemented by another ask: the declaration of the norms of a new Com-

Communists must openly acknowledge that in the attraction. sphere of the relations between the sexes a great, aparalleled revolution is taking place. But this ution has been brought about by the upheaval the economic system and in the new role that woman plays in the economic activity of the workers' tate. At present, in this difficult transition period, when the old is crumbling and the new has only een partly created, the conjugal relations between sexes very frequently assume forms that are by and inadmissible in the interests of the generality. But in all these manifold variety of conjugal forms, found in this changing period, there is nevertheless a healthy kernel.

It is not only necessary to fight by practical Workers' Republic. means with the causes that had been handed down o us from the past, and that still feed prostitution, not only to support the improvements in housing; and to struggle against homelessness, against negligent treatment of children, but also to accelerate the means of a resolute participation, the crystallisation of the foundations of the morality of the working class still in process of emergence and formation, since the working class is only now consolidatinglite

The Inter-departmental Commission makes the statement that in Soviet Russia prostitution appears in two forms: (1) in the form of professional prostitution; and (2) in the form of secret earnings. The first form of prostitution is very little developed among us, and is of very slight extent. In Petrograd, for example, where raids are undertaken against prostitutes, this mode of combating prostitution fielded practically no results.

The second form of prostitution, highly developed and extremely extensive in bourgeois capitalistic countries, also assumes a great variety of forms in ever, on material calculations.

INADVISABILITY OF LEGAL PENALTY. question of a punishment of prostitution by law. of cases unskilled labourers. Many of the representatives in the Inter-departmental ommission were inclined to favour the method of subjecting the prostitute to legal prosecution, by reason of the fact that the professional prostitute is a frank deserter from work. A recognition of the culpability of the prostitute logically led to an admission of the legality of the hunts for the pro-

The factor of conjugal relations, of a relation mere paper prescription of the Commission. Commission there are representatives of the between the sexes is eliminated. That factor cannot 's Commissariats of Justice, of Health, of serve as the defining element of a crime in the

> BOURGEOIS OBJECTIONS TO PROSTITUTION. In bourgeois society the prostitute was branded and persecuted not for the fact that she did not engage in productive and useful labour, and not for selling her kisses (two-thirds of the women in bourgeois society sold themselves) to her lawful husband. but for the informality of her conjugal relationship, for the shortness of its duration.

The basis of marriage in bourgeois society was its permanence and formality, its registration. This registration was for the object of securing proper At the basis of the conjugal relation there lies the inheritors of property. The absence of formality, healthy instinct of reproduction, beautified in the the short duration of the relation between the sexes,

-that is what was despised by the bourgeoisie in tores of passion, in the delicate tints of spiritual extra-marital relations; it was that which was branded with contempt by all the sanctimonious hypocrites, the standard bearers of the bourgeois morality. Can the short duration, the informality, the freedom of the relation between the sexes be regarded, from the standpoint of working humanity, as a crime, as an act that should be subject to punishment? Of course not. The freedom of relations between the sexes does not contradict the ideology of Communism. no place either for love or for passion, nor is there The interests of the commonwealth of the workers are not in any way disturbed by the fact that marriage is of a short or prolonged duration, whether its basis is love, passion, or even a transitory physical

The only thing that is harmful to the workers' morbid forms of the present-day family. In its collectivity, and therefore inadmissible, is the element place there are growing healthy, joyful, and free legal marriage,-the substitution of crassly mater- social feelings, with greater mutual independence, ialistic calculation for gain, for a free association with more freedom, health and courage. A generaof the sexes on the basis of mutual attraction.

This factor is harmful, is inadmissible will cut higher than everything else. a breach in the feeling of equality and solidarity Comrades! Our task is to destroy the roots that between the sexes. And from this standpoint we nourish prostitution. Our task is to wage relentmust condemn prostitution, as a trade in all its less warfare on the vestiges of individualism, which shapes and forms, even that of the legal "wives," has hitherto been the moral basis of matriage. Our who maintain their sad part, so intolerable in the task is to revolutionise thought in the field of

But is this defining element sufficient to make it punishable by law? In the Inter-departmental Commission the culpability of prostitutes, for prostitution, that is, for "purchase and sale," was rejected. There remained only to be decided the point that all persons wandering in the streets and deserting from work should be assigned to the disposition of the The idea used to be prevalent that the greater Commissariat of Social Welfare, and thence sent evils of capitalism which oppress us here in Britain out, either to the Sections for the Distribution could be escaped by emigrating to new countriesof Labour Power, of the People's Commissagiat of America and the colonies. This is, of course, wholly Labour, or to courses, sanatoria, hospitals, and only fallacious: capitalism eventually produces the same after a repeated desertion by the prostitute; in other features wherever it exists. This is strikingly illuswords, after evidence of malicious intent to desert, trated by the following facts regarding house rent the individual should be subject to forced labour. and overcrowding in New Zealand, which are taken There is to be no special culpability attached to the from official figures published in a handbook to prostitutes. They are in no way to be segregated intending emigrants by the Overseas Settlement in from the other bodies of deserters of work. This 1920, and from the New Zealand Herald of August is a revolutionary and pregnant step, worthy of the first Workers' Republic of the world.

PUNISHMENT FOR MEN ALSO? There was also put before the Commission the our country (in Petrograd there were from 6,000 other question as to the culpability of the clients 7,000 registered prostitutes before the revolution, of prostitution, in other words of the men. There whereas as a matter of fact more than 50,000 women were advocates of this view in the commission. But Cases of Overcrowding. were actually practising prostitution). Prostitution this hopeless attempt had to be renounced, as it did A family: parents and four children under 8 living who are out after flour for their children and sell of Social Investigation," which was voted down by dining room. their bodies to the manager of the rations division the majority. The representative of the People's in order to obtain from him a full bag of the Commissariat of Justice stated that as it is not even associate with their male superiors not for mani- -the question of the culpability of the clients is 22/6 per week. ly material gain, for rations, shoes, etc., but in automatically precluded. The standpoint of the Centhe hope of advancement in office. And there is an tral Organ was again victorious. There is absolutely additional form of prostitution-"careerist prostitu- no doubt that the poor, insufficient pay returned for On this property are three or four cottages which tion "-which is also based in the last analysis, how- female labour continues, in Soviet Russia, to serve are the last word in decay and insanitation. In as one of the real factors pushing women into one of these rabbit hutches, where a wounded soldier prostitution in one or the other of its forms. Under the law, the earnings of the working men and work-How shall we fight these conditions? There was ing women are equal, but as a matter of fact the Archdeacon P. B. Haggitt said the conditions reproposed to the Inter-departmental Commission the women engaged in work are in the great majority

The question of making female labour skilled labour, of properly formulating this matter, of spread- others 22, 14 and 12. It was found that five or six ing a network of special courses all over the country, persons slept in one bed, and growing boys and girls is an extremely urgent matter.

WHAT WOMEN NOW BECOME PROSTITUTES. yards was horrible, open drains provided absolute The second cause is the political backwardness of plague spots. The rents in nearly all cases was stitutes, of their internment in concentration camps, women, the absence of wide social points of view exorbitantly high, 25/- a week being charged for among them. The best form of struggle against a shack not worth £100.

# By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY.

The Central Organ came out clearly and resolutely prostitution is to raise the political conscousness of against this conception of the matter. If it is the great masses of women, to attract them to the proper to permit hunts for prostitutes, it follows revolutionary struggle and the constructive work of that similar hunts should be made for such lawful, Communism. Prostitution is also strengthened by wives as are existing on the means of their husbands the fact that the housing question in Soviet Russia and are of no use to the state. is not yet solved. The Inter-departmental Commission Such was the standpoint of the Central Organ, is occupied with the drawing up of propositions for For a number of reasons, the work of the Com- which was supported by the representatives of the housing communes for the working young people, sion was temporarily abandoned, but in the autumn People's Commissariat of Justice. If we take the for an extensive network of houses for the temporary this year the Commission was again formed, factor of desertion from labour as the defining element shelter of women arriving in town. But if the with the active co-operation of Dr. Golman of the crime, we shall have no other outlet: all the Women's Sections and the Commission to Aid Youth the Central Organ, this Commission was already forms of desertion from labour will be rendered do not develop an active initiative and independent work in this matter, the whole thing will remain a

> The Women's Sections in the provinces also must enter into contact with the national educators, in order to push into the foreground the question of proper provision for sexual enlightenment in the

> What marriage is to become in the future, or more properly, what are to be the forms of relationship between the sexes in the future, it would be difficult to foretell. But one thing is beyond doubt, that is, that under Communism there will be lacking in the conjugal relationship not only all material calculation, all economic dependence of woman on man, but also all the other considerations of "convenience" which frequently characterise present-day marriage. attractive colours of youthful love, in the strong harmony and that of sudden and open outbursts of physiological attraction, which is soon extinguished. All these factors in the conjugal relationship have nothing whatever in common with prostitution. Prostirution is offensive by reason of the fact that it is an act of violence on the part of the woman over herself, brought about by the pressure of fortuitous and external advantages; in prostitution there is any healthy instinct for the production of offspring. It is an act of deliberate calculation merely. Where

passion or attraction enters, prostitution ceases. Prostitution under Communism is passing into the domain of the forgotten past, together with the material calculation between the sexes, whether relations between the sexes. A new generation is be in the form of prostitution, in the form of growing up to replace the old, with more developed tion for whom the welfare of the whole will stand

> marriage relations and to clear the way for a new, healthy, conjugal morality that shall correspond with the interests of the workers' commonwealth.

# HOUSING IN NEW ZEALAND.

, 1921:		Weekly Rents.			
	4	rooms. 5	rooms.	6 rooms.	
Auckland		13/8	18/1	21/7	
Wellington		14/6	18/7	22/5	
Christehurch		11/8	15/11	21/2	
Dunedin		11/8	14/6	18/7	

is practised by the Soviet office employees, in order not arise logically from our fundamental presupposi- in one room paying 10/- per week. They had the to obtain, by the sale of their caresses, boots that tions. How shall we define the client of prostitu- use of a kitchen shared by 4 or 5 other families, go up to the knee; prostitution is resorted to by tion? The proposition was put to the Commission, each occupying one room apiece, and the privilege mothers of families, working women, peasant women, to establish institutions of "Sisters and Brothers of eating their meals at a small table in a common.

A mother and three children, a boy of 15, two precious flour. Sometimes the girls in the offices possible to define precisely the measure of the crime, beds, mother and two daughters in one bed. Rent girls of 16 and 17, occupied one room with two

At Christchurch the Rev. J. J. North reported:-"We were shown a section in Montreal Street . . . and his English wife were living, the rent is to be

minded him of the slums of London. All the houses visited were small, containing four or five rooms. In one such small house 19 people were living; in occupied the same rooms. In many houses most of the windows would not open. The filth of the back-

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# WE CONTINUE.

Impressed by the importance of maintaining an organ of independent Communist opinion, we have determined to make a renewed effort to keep the Workers' Dreadnought in being, and are endeavouring to remove the obstacles in its

The issue at stake in the controversy between ourselves and the Communist Party of Great Britain, is whether the Communist ideal is to be associated with the soulless and narrow tyranny of small-minded persons in office.

# WASHINGTON.

limitation of armaments on land and rea, and rules for controlling new agencies in warfare.

This discussion will, of course, prove abso- it. lutely barren.

The great Powers will also discuss their oppressive exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific and of the Far East. The object of the discussion is to obviate mutual quarrelling over Russia," do not forget the famine in Britain. the carcasses of their victims.

They will also discuss Siberia, where they want to get a foothold, and whilst they are in con- they have exhausted the 22 weeks of unemploysultation they will doubtless make further plans concerning Russia.

From this disarmament conference, in which the Labour Party is pleading to take a share, rivers of blood will flow and mountains of dead will arise.

before your end we shall yet see terrible slaughter at your bidding in many lands!

# GERMAN GENERAL ON BOLSHEVISM.

General Ludendorff, when interviewed by a representative of the Paris Matin, said:-

"I consider, as I have frequently declared in detail that the Bolshevik Communist Europe unite to solve the problem."

Will they unite at Washington?

# SOVRUSSIA v. CAPITALIST BRITAIN.

which the Soviet representative in Berlin is in- might not by any mischance die with me." volved: anti-British action in Persia: support of the Turkish National Government at Angora and offer to help it with money and arms: the refusal cided to secure those oil-fields from Soviet of Kemal Mustapha to approach the Entente Russia: poor, hard-driven Soviet Russia, Powers is attributed to Sovrussia: anti-British struggling with the slough of primitive corrupactivity in Afghanistan, a promise of £100,000 tion in which Czarism had left her. factory at Kabul.

whatever may have been done was done by the Then Vanderlip went to Moscow and hob-Third International, which is an international nobbed with Soviet Commissaries and Winston political organisation, independent of the Soviet Churchill's cousin, Mrs. Claire Sheridan, he Government.

Lord Curzon anticipates this reply by declaring that the Third International is "practic ally identical with the Soviet Government."

Meanwhile Tchitcherine has sent a Note to the Entente Powers protesting against the French plot to use Poland and Roumania to fight Sov-

So come charges and counter-charges. The matter is plain: the lamb and the lion cannot lie down in peace together; fire and water will not blend, nor can Communism make alliance with Capitalism, Only an armed truce, constantly violated on both sides, could possibly Russia." result from trade or other agreements between Sovrussia and the capitalist Powers.

There is no permanent peaceful half-way house on the road to international Communism.

It was only to be expected that the capitalist Powers would make the payments of the foreign debts contracted under the Czardom a condition of granting famine relief to Sovrussia. If that condition were satisfied, others would follow. Says The Times :-

"We have consistently protested against the action of the Government in negotiating with the Bolshevists as being at once immoral and futile. Ministers themselves have repeatedly admitted its immorality."

That is how those who vested interests in maintaining Capitalism regard Sovrussia and Communism: the deaths of a few million famine victims are negligible compared to the preserva-At Washington the Powers are to discuss the tion of Capitalism, in their eyes. If by leaving those famine victims to perish they can strike a blow at Communism, they will undoubtedly do

Can anyone doubt that?

Is anyone surprised that it is so?

Meanwhile, with all the talk of "Famine in

Three hundred thousand people in insured trades have been out of work so long that ment benefit, and now they can get no more. Remember, hosts of people are workless who were not eligible for that 22 weeks' unemploy-

One hundred and fifty-six people stood in the dock in Liverpool the other day, arrested as the Woe unto you, O hoary monster, Capitalism. result of one little brush with the police at one unemployed demonstration: and unemployed demonstrations and these little brushes with the police, are taking place all over the country every

# IN THE GRIP OF THE CAPITALIST.

The American capitalist, Washington B. Vandanger is greater than is supposed in Western derlip, who recently published in Asia an account Europe. A successful fight against Bolshev- of his successful concession hunting in Russia, ism is impossible so long as the greater tells that when he was a young man, he pros-European nations remain hostile to each other. pected for gold in Kamchatka and large portions The deliverance of the Russian nation will of Siberia ending in the Behring Strait. only be possible when the great nations of The British firm which employed him to prospect for it "staked a fortune on my expeditions," he says. That fortune was lost for he found no gold worth exploiting. He discovered, however, other valuable things, especially concerning oil and that information he kept to himself. So anxious was he to keep his knowledge secret Lord Curzon has addressed a Note to the Soviet that he seems not to have committed it to paper, Government, complaining of the breach of the but took the precaution, as he says, "to tell my Trade Agreement by Sovrussia, accusing Sov- wife certain compass bearings on the Kamchatkan Russia of anti-British propaganda in India, coast by which the oil areas might be located, and Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey, including: once a year she repeated these bearings to me so direct instigation of Indian revolutionaries, in that my knowledge of Kamchatkan resources

After the crushing of Denekin, Vanderlip de-

a year to Afghanistan, the direction of Jemal "Litvinoff was delighted at negotiating with church which can save them from the wrath Pasha's tampering with the tribesmen of the American capitalists, and during the entire month to come opposes his views, or the views of frontier, and an attempt to establish a bomb of August last year, the wireless buzzed daily those with whom he associates, which they with my proposals as the Soviet representative declare to be impious. But they use at the The reply of Sovrussia will doubtless be that laid them before the authorities in Moscow."

Soon there was a rift in the lute: Vanderlin wanted a piece of Soviet Russia, rich in coal and oil and fish, and he wanted in that piece of Soviet Russia to re-establish Capitalism.

In his own words: "American capital, I insisted, must be accorded in Russia the same treatment it receives in America, or capital cannot be induced to exploit Russian resources."

Lenin's arguments, on the other hand: " were aimed at breaking down my objections to permitting in the concession any of the forms of workers' control that are being tried out in Soviet

After long weeks of discussion, the negotiations were broken off. Then:

"At ten the next morning the message came to my room that our stipulations regarding labour were granted-practically in toto.

Vanderlip had won: he gets the portion of Siberia lying between the 160th meridian and the Arctic Ocean, Behring Strait and Behring Sea for eighty years, and for eighty years he will establish there the labour conditions he pleases,

"The civil administration remains in the hands of the Russian Government. Over operations within the concession, no Government is permitted to exercise any control beyond the provision of doctors and sanitary experts for a specified number of workers—guarantees now required in all civilsed countries. In all probability coolie labour from China and Korea will be used with an American technical staff."

# RELIGION AND COMMUNISM.

Religion is the opiate of the people, say the Russian Communists, inscribing this a host of would-be officials, and, most practi- The terms, so far offered by the Govern- ployed. If a general election be called they

The Bolsheviki are right—religion attaches the people to the old tyrannies with many

Religion preaches the unimportance of this world, and its conditions; and calls for the concentration of hope and energy upon existence after death. The great main trend of the religions, because they are moulded and administered by a privilege class, is a call for submission to the rulers of this world, for contentment with one' present condition and status, and submission to hardship. Bow your neck under oppresthe teaching of religion.

So much for the spiritual bonds with which religion binds the people. The churches have forged for them also innumerable earthly fetters.

The church is a main pillar of reaction in every poor working class district. George Lansbury is well-known as a religious man, but the workers who are regularly connected with the churches in the constituency he ties of the churches are directed against him. The churches are for the established order; for the rich against the poor. Both the established church and the dissenting bodies have their roots in capitalism: those who finance, organise and maintain them are drawn from the employing classes. Thus while Lansbury preaches religion whenever he speaks, and makes of the Daily Herald what some Socialists have called the "Bow Parish Magazine," the churches organise the poor against him at the mothers' meetings, the men's P.S.A.'s, the children's Sunday schools. They regiment the poor against him, partly by telling them the same time a more substantial pressure; the little doles of money, the blankets, the secondhand boots and clothing, the school treat: all these are the bribes by which the churches keep their grip upon the poor.

# THE IRISH WAR.

September 24, 1921.

The indications point to the re-opening

It seemed impossible for either side to its people into supporting home-made wares. e way in the negotiations for the claim ported on both sides.

tish diplomacy protesting that Ireland of the people through it. just not be set free to make alliances, Lloyd George can make no compromise nds of the Empire shall not be reduced, face of a host of jealous rivals.

not to pay the war debt, the ambitions of capitalist backers. of I reland to purchase only Irish made nation.

The Indians, visionary and animated by the Irish War at an early date, thought great spiritual fervour, seek to bar out asly both sides shrink from the hor- British goods by a voluntary boycott More Sinn Fein fights for the power to coerce

Lloyd George, on the one hand, Sinn irreconcilable demands was so strongly Fein on the other, hold power by pleasing stand, without further re-adjustment, Sinn their supporters. Sinn Fein has the keener, Behind the Government's determination less eagerly gulled body to satisfy, for its keep Ireland within the Empire, as a support is of a more popular character than we in the British scheme of dominion, that of Lloyd George, who depends upon good British navalism declaring that Ire- the capitalists, who operate the press, is Britain's gateway to the Atlantic, and are usually able to govern the minds

haps hostile alliances, with other Powers, not agreed by his capitalist backers; Sinn Imperialism determined that the Fein must take care to hold its public in

ish manufacturers desiring that Ireland When Arthur Griffith, the tactical leader remain a market for manufactured of Sinn Fein, the hope of the would-be Irish icles, and not become a manufacturing manufacturer, the man of prudent characmpetitor. British snobbery and jobbery ter who stayed at home whilst others fought place. is eager to preserve the positions pro- and died in Easter week, was appointed as Those tools of reactionary imperialism, ed by Dublin Castle rule, British Pro- a negotiator at Inverness, it seemed that the illustrated papers, are at present making ntism jealous of the rise of a Roman Sinn Fein might be willing to risk a com- a hero, almost a god of Lloyd George: a ic nation, and beside all those, per- promise if the power to stimulate Irish while ago Asquith received their cordial s particularly interested, as landlords, industries by Protection could be safe- attentions: now they concentrate on Lloyd italists, as officials, in maintaining guarded. Lloyd George's demand that Sinn George and treat him as though he were Fein shall acknowledge the rule of King representative of the nation, so that to the Behind Sinn Fein's determination to be George as a preliminary to the negotiations sheep-like reader it seems a patriotic duty e, to be out of the Empire, stood Irish shows that he considers he has the situation to support him. It is probable that vested ism and the blood of Ireland's martyrs, well in hand, as far as the British public interests which have often considered throwan Catholic dislike of Protestant domi- is concerned, and that he can afford to be ing over Lloyd George in favour of another ation, the anxiety of the Irish tax payer truculent in its name at the bidding of his tool now regard him as a useful implement

cally organised, the desire of the Irish ment, are not Dominion Home Rule; they will probably back him again under these le class to make Ireland a manufac- do not allow the Irish to nurse their in; circumstances. ring nation, to wax prosperous on her dustries by Protection as Sinn Fein desires If a general election comes the Labour

rated. Vested interests in Britain do not like to make any concession, but they are aware that these terms do not substantially interfere with their power. Therefore the Times says that "Lloyd George has done responsibility of declaring renewed materialistic, more modern and sceptical, the right thing in the right way,"; but British vested interest do not wish to make any further concessions. On the other hand, the terms are such that, as they Fein cannot accept them without tremendous loss of prestige.

It is almost impossible for Sinn Fein to accept the terms because of its backers; it is almost impossible for the Government to offer better terms because of its backers; yet both sides shrink from re-opening the

What is to happen?

Lloyd George would make a very adroit move were he to refuse further responsibility, and declare for a general election. in order that the electors might re-enforce his authority or put someone else in his

for dealing with Ireland and the unem-

ustries, and to achieve this by means and intends; they do not exempt Ireland Party will increase its vote considerably; wriffs which shall bar out manufactured from the British war debt; they leave the that will be all to the good. The sooner, goods from abroad, and especially from British in control of Ireland, they do not the Labour Party gets into power, the itain, tariffs which shall force the people give Ireland the status of an Independent sooner the workers will understand the futility of Parliamentary Reformism; the The value of the terms is greatly over- nearer we shall be to a change of system:

# THE MASTERLESS DOG. Translated by Charles Wharton Stork wont he walked and sniffed, now to right, now to from Swedish of Hjalmamr Soderberg left. He took an excursion in at a gateway, and

ing left for him in life.

here are two kinds of dogs: dogs that have ster, and dogs that have none. Outwardly difference is not material; a masterless dog may be as fat as others, often fatter. No, the ofference lies in another direction. For dogs, mankind is the infinite Providence. To obey a master, to follow him, rely upon him-that is, house-corner and his bone and his companions. vanish around the corner. e hurries to his master.

ing how, and who was buried without the without noticing it. knowing where, mourned him long; but

A man died, and after he was dead no one whistle now ever resembled his master's. So he sion and neither rebel, nor complain: show booked after his black dog. The dog mourned forgot him, and he forgot still more: he forgot thus your obedience to God, and you will be him long and bitterly. He did not, however, that he had ever had a master. He forgot that be requited in the world to come. This is the down to die on his master's grave, because there had ever been a time when he would not he did not know where it was; possibly, too, have regarded it as possible for a dog to live withbecause he was at bottom a young and happy out a master. He became what one would call g, who considered that there was still some- a dog that had seen better days, though it was not in the inner meaning of the expression, for. and got beaten, and had love affairs, and lay down to sleep when he was tired. He made friends and badly handled by one that was stronger.

To be sure, he has not his master in his thoughts out along his master's street, where, out of could I have been separated from my master; and very minute of the day, nor does he always follow habit, he mostly continued to resort. He always when did it happen, yesterday or day before close at his master's heels. On the contrary, he ran straight forward with an air of having some- yesterday, or perhaps only a little while ago? often runs about of his own accord with business- thing important to attend to; smelt, in passing What did my master look like, and what sort of e intent, sniffs around the corners of houses, any dog that he met, but was not eager to follow a smell had he, and where is he, where is he? He makes alliance with his kind, snatches a bone, if up the acquaintance; then continued his journey; sprang about and sniffed at all the passers-by, but somes in his way, and concerns himself about then all at once he would sit down and scratch none of them was his master, and none wanted many things. Yet, on the instant that his master himself behind the ear with intense energy. The to be. Then he turned suddenly and bounded istles, all this is out of his canine head more next moment he would sturt up and fly right along the street; at the corner he stood still and quickly than the scourge drove the hucksters out across the street to chase a red cat down into looked around in all directions. His master was the temple; for he knows that there is but a cellar-window; whereupon, reassuming his not there. Then he went back down the street thing that he must attend to. So, forgetting business manner, he would proceed on his way and at a gallop: the mud spattered about him and the

So his days were spent. One year followed e dog whose master died without the dog's close in the track of another, and he grew old

days passed and nothing occurred to re- Then there came at last a gloomy evening. It him of his master, he forgot him. He no was wet and cold, and now and then there came a r perceived the scent of his master's foot- shower of rain. The old dog had been all day on on the street where he lived. As he rolled an expedition down in the city. He walked t on a grassplot with a comrade, it often slowly along the street, limping a little; a couple ened that a whistle pierced the air, and in of times he stood still and shook his black hide. instant his comrade had vanished like the which, with the years, had become sprinkled with Then he would prick up his ears, but no grey about the head and neck. According to his

when he came out, had another dog in his company. Next moment came a third. They were young and sportive dogs that wanted to entice him to play, but he was in a bad humour, and furthermore the rain began to sleet. Presently a whistle pierced the air, a long and sharp whistle. The old dog looked at both the young ones, but they paid no attention; it was not one outwardly, he got along fairly well. He lived as less dog pricked up his ears; he was conscious of a strange feeling. Then came a fresh whistle, and the old dog sprang irresolutely first to one enemies. One day he thoroughly thrashed a dog that was whistling and he must follow! Again, for the third time, somebody whistled, sharply represented in Parliament are in the main so to speak, the meaning of a dog's existence. Early in the morning one might see him run thought the old dog, in what direction? How rain dripped from his fur. He stood at all the corners, but nowhere was his master to be seen. Then he sat down on his haunches at a streetcrossing, stretched his shaggy head towards the sky, and howled.

> Have you ever seen, have you ever heard such a forgotten, masterless dog, when he stretches his neck towards heaven and howls, and howls? The other dogs slink softly away with their tails between their legs, for they cannot comfort him and they cannot help him.

> > HJALMAR SOEDERBERG.

mination to discard Capitalism, and replace 1 by Communism.

We know that the breath of Parliamentary intrigue, the breath of the Parliamentary Committee Room, the entire atmosphere of the House of Commons and the jugglery of political parties there, is antagonistic to the clean white fire of revolutionary Communist enthusiasm. Comrades who have not, like ourselves, come into close and wearisome contact with the Parlamentary machine, who have not Lobbied and sat in the masses to dispose the masses for action. Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not, The Red Trade Union International formed by with a United Communist Party, and we the Parliamentary machine.

Labour Party, holding the near confidence of its near enough to the Revolution to maintain concreator, the honest and true man, Keir Hardie, tinuously in existence revolutionary groups within on the accidental fact that certain members had whose spirit was broken by its failure, its wholly the workshops which, transcending the power happened to be converted by certain people inevitable failure; we say from the depths of our ever yet exercised and the consciousness ever yet There were Parliamentarians and anti-Parliaconsciousness: never again!

such, genuinely and truly you are) break with the ary Unions and have proved themselves by all. If they were brought together, we hoped past and its traditions, do and dare for your actual fighting in the revolutionary struggle. that the various like elements would amalgamate faith, take not that road.

politics of Capitalism; the politics of Commun- intensely revolutionary body: it wanted some- anti-Parliamentarians and extremists. We hoped ism must forge new weapons, must find new thing big and showy that could rival the also for their growing influence and final ascendpaths. Do not cling to the skirts of the dead Yellow Amsterdam International in actual ancy in the united Party, failing that they past. Go out without fear to seek the future. numbers. Therefore it has built up a shapeless, could, should some crisis render it advisable. Trade Unionism.

munists who place their faith in numbers rather with the paper backing of unconscious member- intention. than in consciousness, is evidenced in other ships that do not know what Trade Unionism matters than that of Parliament.

the British Communist Party should affiliate to policy of action that would lead to hardship and the Labour Party, the decision that the Red danger. But such an International is unlikely Trade Union International shall be a hybrid to declare such a policy. body, composed of Trade Unions, of whatever When the Revolution comes, it is the revolution it so. It declares for the extermination of Left sort and political, or non-political complexion, tionary groups within the workshops which will Wing propaganda. that are willing to join it, as well as of Shop make it mot offered for utility work, which the Men and women were knocked down like nine pins Stewards and Workshop Committee organisa- the Dockers' Union, and the rest, but those of other countries has taken a similar line. The Co tions, and militant industrial organisations like spontaneously-gathering workshop groups engin- Executive of the Third International, after plead, purely for non-revenue-producing works the I.W.W.; the decision to expel the German eered by the conscious propagandists who main- ing with us to enter, now apparently encourage which would not otherwise be carried out. leng, for quite unexpectedly, the light in front of or a whisky and soda, and a nice coffee to follow: Communist Labour Party for forming new revo tain the Communist and Anarchist organisations the excommunication of the Left Wing. lutionary Unions: these things display the and guided by the Communist and Anarchist orsame hesitant fear of shutting out anyone, the ganisations themselves, if any of them are strong masses, that has dictated the use of Parliamentary the miners', in which the rank and file have ob-

eggineered the Third International into its op- the membership, may perhaps swing into line The German Communist Labour Party, t portunist decisions, refuse to recognise the signi- after the Revolution has been precipitated by K.A.P.D., held an International Conference ficance of the persistent tendencies of the work- unofficial action; they will not precipitate it. ing class movement which manifest themselves unmistakably in the highly, industrialised triangular struggle between three forces. inevitable path of development. Firstly, the employers; secondly, the Trade Union leaders backed by unconscious masses; thirdly, the smaller body of awakened workers. The real struggle is between the employers and the awakened workers; the Trade Union officials, vacillating between the two, occasionally pulled nearer to the side of the conscious workers by the unconscious masses growing restive under economic pressure.

The awakened workers, finding the power of the Unions concentrated in the hands of the Trade Union officials by the obstructive rules and passive assent of the unawakened masses, who far outnumber the awakened, proceed to form new organisations. The merit of these new organisations is that they are manned by those who have joined them with a definite purpose and a desire for change, and are operated by the rank and file. Therefore, instead of being composed, like the Trade Unions, of inert masses, brought in by the pressure of custom and the attraction of the friendly benefits, they are composed of more or less conscious elements.

These rebel organisms, at war with the old Trade Unionism, cannot be combined with it: to make them an official part of the Unions is to destroy them: they exist as a protest against Conservatism in the Unions. They are an effervescent force, spasmodic and uncertain. sometimes merely revolting against hard conditions with no more than a fugitive purpose, but nevertheless representing the high-water mark

of class-consciousness and discontent in the version of Communism; in its ideals for Comworkshop. They are the forerunners of what, some day, will break out spontaneously to form the Soviets. They will function in times of crisis and they will die away, as the English Shop Stewards have now died down, almost to the point of extinction. Their more conscious elements are the active working-class Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists, who form the backbone of those movements, and who rally round them the rank and file of the workshops when feeling runs red enough amongst the

year by year, poured over the daily verbatim the Russian Communists as an ally of the Third ourselves desired a United Party: firstly reports, and drafted and engineered Amend- International might have been composed of such most obviously, because, all told, we Communic ments to Government Bills, cannot know the elements: all the rebel elements that fight are as yet so few that it seemed desirable to join devitalising pettiness, the hideous imposture of within the workshops. Its mainstay then (be-forces; secondly, because it was obvious that the side the Russians who have achieved their revo- B.S.P., the S.L.P. the W.S.F., the S.W.S.S. We who stood closely by at the birth of the lution) would have been the Germans who are and the rest were divided, not wholly upon reached by the British Shop Stewards' move- mentarians in every one of these organisations: Oh, young body of earnest Communists (if ment, are able to assume the title of revolution- there were opportunists and extremists in them

The Third International was not content to and form distinct blocks. Of course, we hoped to The Parliamentary contest belongs to the make its industrial ally a relatively small, though most for the joining of forces by the scattered incoherent body, decorated by the names break out later on. The difference of policy between the Com- of non-Communist Trade Union "bigwigs," We never concealed this view, this desire and cipal Housing Bonds; now the Government means. These "bigwigs" would all depart The decision of the Third International, that from the Red International should it declare a

tained most power, and in which advanced "Workers' opposition is leaving the Russian substantial loans now, since they failed in sweet I counted the honour of having rendered and bruised, but how ink-black van to Brixton or Holloway! The Russian leaders who have largely thought has a hold on the largest proportion of Communist Party."

To state this is not to follow mere imaginings: Russia herself, and Germany, with greater, more Western countries. We see in these countries a prolonged emphasis, have proved this to be the

> Smillie and Hodges, Thomas, Henderson and Robert Williams may perhaps rush in to capture the Revolution when it is made, and may perhaps succeed for a time; that depends on whether there is a Labour Ministry at the moment of the outbreak, and upon a number of other considerations. In any case, it is certain that neither the Trade Unions nor their officials will actually make the Revolution. The Revolution will be ment. (Motion brought forward at Camberwell a coup d'état by the conscious Communists and of Guardians, September, 1921. This motion was the turbulent rank and file.

It is essential that the Communist Party should not be a large confused mass of incoherent elements honeycombed by Parliamentary and Local Government place-hunters, by people who believe that " Parliamentary action will do it," and by those who have come into the Party merely because they disliked the intervention against Soviet Russia.

The Communist Party can only help to precipitate the Revolution, and, more important, to make the Revolution, when it comes at last, a Communist Revolution, if it be a Party of

# The Need to make Communists.

From friends and opponents of Communism there is much talk of Revolution, but, after all, our paramount need is to make Communists.

What proportion of the British population knows what Communism is?

What proportion of Communists agrees in its are able to do it.

September 24, 1921.

When we come to discuss closely what is Communism, and how shall we make Commun ists, we find that the differences of opinion he tween Right and Left Communists are as deen and far reaching upon these two questions as upon Parliamentarism and the Trade Unions. again proves the need for perpetual controver study, and exchange of views in the Communist

# Why we joined the United Communist Party.

We were strongly urged to throw in our lot

In Moscow, when Lenin strongly urged us to join the United Party, he said: "Form a Left. loans for unemployment or for any other block within it: work for the policy in which pu you believe, within the Party."

But the British Communist Party will not have

Berlin, on September 11th, of Communication posed to the Third International.

But the Communist Cause advances; do no doubt it: new tendencies are developing in t movement and must displace the old to make way for themselves.

# THE SUPREME INSULT.

of burials, be levelled and made useable for

Said the hard-faced Board to the unemp Get you gone, your fate has come; So dig your graves before we are destro And rest in your last long home.

Said the unemployed to the hard-faced Box You'd grant us earth for the dead? Give the goodly land where the wealth is store

Not gravestones in place of bread. But speedily think of a better plan For starving souls than a grave, Or the ghosts will rise and bury the Board

In the land they would not save.

# TRADE BOARDS GOING.

CLARA GILBERT

It is a long time since we began telling readers that the Trade Boards were doomed. are doomed, because this is the era of the ir British employers are determined to grind the wo. down to the very lowest subsistence level, and the unemployed are swarming in the streets

## THE UNEMPLOYED AND POPLAR COUNCILLORS.

Shortt, the Home Secretary, refuses the Poplar Councillors, or even From the Editor of the Socialist. them First Division treatment. The not allow him to exercise such he says; convenient law!

is decried and reviled by all the movement, of course; but we say Shortt is only doing what must be power of capitalism.

aprisonment of the Poplar Coun- actions of the E.C. of the Party. should be laid at the door of the majorities on the Borough Councils, will not rally to the support of and refuse to levy the rate as oney it raises for the relief of distress. Councillors decided, however, merely

nemployment are as usual futile. all remember the failure of the Munioses Municipal Unemployment Bonds.

The local authorities cannot raise large ose; therefore the absurdity is apparent s not to exceed fifteen years. Even

Government proposal is thus not a than at present.

the unemployed need no advice to conte our unfortunate comrades realise neir hardships are an inevitable aciment of the system which divides ity into workers and employers: sts and wage earners.

Mayors' jaunt to Inverness to see That a piece of ground at Forest Hill Cemeter the Councils have a stronger weapon in the meantime. . . . using the administrative machinery s in their hands to make the Govent of the country benefit the workers. ning up to Inverness to badger Lloyd is the sort of thing to which the gettes, possessed of neither political, , nor military power, were obliged but the suffragettes used the on of annoyance and personal terrorism very much more forcibly than the Mayors any intention of doing. The Mayors ouncillors have a simple and powermeans of embarrassing the Governithey refuse to take it. Thereby prove their ineptitude and half-hearted-

who put the Labour Councillors should bring pressure on them to them up to the scratch. But if the ors continue levying the rates let ople refuse to pay.

mber that whatever is done by the ors will only be done as a result ssure by the workers and workless

Dear Comrade,-I am very sorry to hear that the Dreadnought is going out of print, and extend to you all my appreciation of the good work the Dreadnought has done in the revolutionary movement. Yours fraternally,

THOMAS MITCHELL.

From a Comrade who resigns. Dear Comrade -As a result of your expulsion from in fact, I have it in the notes I took at the time, the British Communist Party, I have this day, notified the Secretary of the Birmingham Branch, where I Committee had already stopped members writing am a registered member, that I have resigned from books. nsider that the blame for the con- the Party on account of the damnable autocratic

> F. W. TAYLOR. Parkfield House, Sutton-on-Sea, Lincolnshire.

From Herman Gorter, Amsterdam, Holland.

Dear Comrade,-I hear with the greatest sympathy has done. At Tottenham the other that you are also one who saw the real way, wanted a deputation of unemployed waited upon to go it, and was persecuted therefore. I saw ouncil urging it to come into line you were excommunicated! Your idea, dear Comwith Poplar, and, moreover, to spend all rade, in the beginning, that in the economic struggle a new weapon had to be found, and that Parliament was not to be used, was right; that of the Third ing the Government to do the rest and International, that we had to go into Parliament, of the muddle as best it might.' and that there was to be a mixture of workshop organisation and Trade Unions, was wrong. That will appear clear as light in the first really revolu- Tired with all these, for restrul death I cry, pass a resolution of admiration at tionary struggle the English workers will have to 's action. By that resolution the fight. You ought to have stuck to that idea, with a ham Councillors admitted their own few comrades outside the Party. But Lenin, I think, persuaded you to the contrary. So the Russians did with many good comrades, and now the whole And gilded behour shamefully inisplaced, The Government's proposals for dealing continent is a sea of opportunism. . . .

From the Secretary of the Workers' Academy.

I wish to convey to you my deepest regret in respect of the recent action of the Executive of the C.P.G.B. in expelling you from their ranks.

I recall to mind, how, when you were due for And simple truth miscall'd simplicity, instant arrest under the Cat and Mouse Act, you made a dramatic appearance on the plinth of Nelson's column, and without hesitation began an oration, and at Tired with all these, from these would I be gone, the Government offer to pay half the the end of the address you called upon your comrades Save that, to die, I leave my love alone. rest on the loans and half the sinking to assist you to escape from the police. A comrade und charges for half the term of the loan, and myself, who were standing nearest to you, immediately sprang to your side, each of us took hold of one of your arms, and then allogether jumped e miserable and pettifogging grants are to the ground. Hell was at that moment let loose. uncils would undertake in any case, but as we pushed our way forward, and for a moment my eyes suddenly failed, and I remembered nothing the coffee is really good. further after this for quite a considerable time. sweet I counted the honour of having rendered "The northern air of Inverness has such an intempt at the time of the Housing so small a service. Thus it is, in this spirit of vigorating bite with it, and my word, what scenery! when money was much more easily remembrance, that I write this rather lengthy letter. It is really delightful that Lloyd George should ban. to encourage my comrade, though adversity dogs indisposed. To be kept prisoners by important affairs your footsteps, and although sometimes friends (not in a place like this is firstrate! The inn is exceedavowed enemies) may slander and would put a wrong ingly comfortable. Plenty of good old British beef their agitation: it is a life and death complexion upon your actions, I want you to bear Scotch whisky." to them. Communists must strive in mind that there are still some people who have the utmost faith and confidence in you. . . . Yours fraternally.

J. JAMES.

Dear Comrade.-I enclose 10s. towards the sum necessary to meet the Dreadnough's liabilities. The amount is small, but it is made up of hard savings George is a method of weakness: for a different object, which must stand aside in

Your attitude towards the Executive of the Comabout 200 yards by 20 yards, which at present their hands if they choose to employ it: munist Party is entirely correct, just and sane. The smothering of Left Wing criticism is an act of suicide, which it may come to appreciate fully, later on; but its suppression of free speech contemporaneous with its appeals against the imprisonmen of Communists for indulging the same is an imitation of capitalist hypocrisy which cannot fail to bring

### NORAH SMYTH AND THE DAILY HERALD. This letter was sent to the Daily Herald but not

Dear Sir,—Having been present at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party when Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst was expelled from the Party, I must protest most emphatically against the disclaimer of the Chairman, Comrade McManus, published in your paper, that "it was not true that he stated that no member of the Party would be permitted to publish an article, book or pemphlet without the sanction of the Executive Committee." It is quite true that he did make this statement, that he re-inforced it by stating that the Executive

> Yours, etc., NORAH L. SMYTH.

This letter was addressed by Comrade Norah Smyth to the Chairman, Bow Branch Communist Party, 141. Bow Road, E. 3.

September 14th, 1921. Dear Comrade, -As I hold the same views as Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, I take it that I am alo expelled from the Party, so I write to inform you that I am no longer a member of your Branch.

> Yours fraternally, NORAH L. SMYTH.

As, to behold desert a beggar born, And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity. And purest faith unhappily forsworn. And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted. And right perfection wrongfully disgraced, And strength by limping sway disabled, And art made tongue-tied by authority, And folly doctor-like controlling skill, And captive good attending captain ill:

-SHAKESPEARE.

# FROM A LABOUR COUNCILLOR.

"It was so jolly going up in the dining car to. or two, I thought the world had gone mad. It was Inverness; the dinners the railway company gives not for me to be a witness of this spectacle for very nowadays are really excellent, with a glass of bitter

"September is a splendid month for travelling, The Russian Party itself is being split rate-relieving one, and it is of no use to What had actually happened, with the exception of bright but not too hot, and the country is charming same policy of roping in passive, unawakened same policy of roping in passive, unawakened enough to lead in the crisis. The Unions like for Lenin, in a recent speech, which has been knocked senseless, from that day to this just now. September is quite my favourite month! ling, the Councils cannot possibly raise I cannot say. It was with great difficulty that I "This is much better than jolting off in that

# RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"The Intellectual and the Worker." By Phillip Kurinsky. 10 cents. Published by the Workers' Educational League, Modern Press, Box 205, Madison Square, New York, U.S.A.

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# THE SYSTEM.

You are a worker, rising early each morning with the reluctant pain of rising when the frame is still unrested and the tired eyes shun the light; you dress quickly and carry your scanty breakfast with you, for now you have hardly time to take a bite. You go to the jarring noise of the factory, the overcrowded machinery, the monotonous toil. You would like to be free, but you would rather be chained to the bench as you are, than free, like that brother of yours. an outcast, who wearily tramps in search of work, hungry, with boots that are broken and clothes every day shabbier, that brother who dreads to go home, because they are hungry there.

Your employer has a small, struggling business; his face has lately grown more lined than yours, his eyes more anxious: he wears a black coat, and his hands are cleaner than your hands; but to-day he has less money than you, because he has no money at all: he has less than no money; he owes more than he has: his plant is already mortgaged to others; he has pledged it to

get the means to carry on a little longer.

When his business is smashed; when the mortgagees send in the brokers, you will have lost your job, and for 22 weeks you will go to the Labour Exchange and collect the unemployment dole: after that you will plead with the hard-faced Poor Law Guardians, or go round with gangs of other workless people, beseiging Boards and Councils. When his business is ruined and all his creditors have rushed in upon him, your employer will borrow a little something from his friends, not much, for they know that he cannot repay them. He will slip down fast, faster even than you. You may meet him soon at Rowton House, or on the Embankment, hoping the police will not move him on.

That is the system: life is hard just now. You and your employer, unless you are working for a big trust, are both feeling these evils acutely. Yet it is not the earth and its fruits that have failed us, only the social system: if there is drought and famine there, elsewhere there are abundant harvests: the sea gives its fish without stint, though the exorbitant freight charges make it unsaleable; the workers with wealth-producing hands are pleading for work, though they are refused the right to produce for the common storehouse.

And yet, fellow worker, you uphold the system; and your employer, the small man, whose lot is even more precarious than yours just now, upholds it with all the fervour of his anxious soul, and reads the Daily Mail, and cheers the King and sports his Union Jack on Empire Day, if he can afford to buy one.

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So much for France, one of the principle victors in the war, we know our own state of trade depression, of businesses tottering to ruin, of bands of hungry unemployed Consider also the countries which the great Powers are supposed to have blessed by their victory; consider, for instance, bank rupt Poland, where the mark, which two years ago stood at 500, now stands at 14,500 to the pound.

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