

Workers' Breachmought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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A FRANK TALK TO SOCIALISTS ON THE NEED OF TO-DAY.

By FRED TYLER.

Sitting in Wait for Plums to Fall in the Lap will not Achieve Advance. — The Ineffectiveness of High-Brow Resolutions and the Need of Personal Service.

Within the innermost recesses of the heart of the Socialist movement there exists a poisonous growth of grave danger.

It is the demon of fatalism, an extraordinary belief which dwarfs the power of propaganda.

The theory runs as follows, and is chanted in unison in all countries: "Capitalism is fated to fall because of its internal contradictions and, finally becoming effete and incompetent to meet the people's needs, must give way to a fundamental change in the social order, namely, the era of Communism."

So! One feels that after all, despite the seeming hopelessness of our workmates, our cause is bound to succeed, and we sit back in the armchair and wait for the doom and fall of the Capitalist World.

The theory continues: "Economic conditions are responsible for the mental outlook of the workers and iron laws exist, binding the evolution of society to hard and fast rules of change."

This is defined by many as Marxism, but I term it Socialist superstition.

The Gospel of Apathy.

I hesitate to ascribe it to Marx, but it is, without doubt, the philosophy of Marxists. Thus H. M. Hyndman addressing a Conference of Social Democrats, a few years prior to the war:—

"Gentlemen, we may sit down, the Capitalists are doing our work."

You repudiate him. Very well.

More recently a writer in the *Spur*, stated that "a man or woman's point of view is an exact reflex of their income."

That this is unsound is simple to prove, but, nevertheless, it is typical of the slipshod, rigid theories now prevalent.

European Socialism is thick with variant sections; each denies the right of the others to the label "Marxist." Lenin sounds the denunciation of the German and French followers of Kautsky and Longuet as the betrayers of Marx; they in their turn denounce the Bolsheviks as false exponents of true Marxism, yet it is distinctly amusing for those who are without a Socialist Deity to stand outside and watch and wonder.

Waiting for Things to Happen.

The fact remains, tragic and true, all are suffering from a superstition.

The conclusion that such a watcher must ultimately arrive at is, that the greatest mistake of our time is the ever prevailing assurance of Communists that great economic influences, present to-day, must bring a successful social revolution.

That they play a part, only the foolish will deny; but that they are a primary deciding purpose, is a grave fallacy, and the predominance of this point of view to-day retards and cripples the work of the Communist movement.

The greatest force in society is ideas; it is the "thoughtstuff" that shapes the world.

Economic depression, unemployment, unfortunately, do not in practice bring a healthy revolutionary spirit, or if in a minor way lightening developments occur, they are but shortlived.

Revolt due to stomach impulse develops and subsides in accordance with the manipulation of the safety valve—reform; but revolt,

MESSAGE to SYLVIA PANKHURST from the GERMAN WOMEN.

At the moment when the international governing classes make desperate efforts, despite their inherent antagonism, to unite for the purpose of exploiting the working classes and for crushing the only refuge of the proletariat, the Soviet Russian Republic, we German Communist women consider it more necessary than ever to strengthen the international solidarity of the proletariat of the whole world, separated only by artificially-erected frontiers, by sending to you, the valiant fighter for Communism, the expression of our deepest sympathy and our most cordial sisterly greetings.

We are fully convinced that the day is not far away when the revolutionary English proletariat will open the doors of your prison and give you back to the rank and file of the victorious proletariat.

In our present heavy struggle, we are conscious of the solidarity of the English proletariat, and we unite with them and the Russian proletariat for the overthrow of Capitalism in the whole world.

International fraternal greetings from the Women's Section of the United Communist Party of Germany.

based upon the association of emotions with reason and conviction, forces the hand of the manipulation of safety valves, and the measure of ideas moulds and forces the order to change.

Need for Head Work.

Each department of life takes certain forms: in trade, in pleasure, in known scientific device; the method of procedure represents the association of thought; each change is influenced by every previous change, and makes the thinking out of new changes in other departments necessary.

GREETINGS from SOUTH AFRICA.

TO COMRADE E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,
PRISONER IN SECOND DIVISION,
HOLLOWAY PRISON.
February, 17th, 1921.

DEAR COMRADE,

We have viewed with pride your heroic struggle during the last few months against the forces of Capitalism, and your splendid sacrifices for the cause of Communism. It was with the deepest regret that we learnt that your conviction had been sustained. We would offer our sincere sympathy, and bid you be of good courage against the day of your deliverance.

*With Communist Greetings,
From the Communist Party of South Africa,*

C. F. GLASS, Hon. Sec.

In the working of industry, in the conduct of living relations, such changes are termed economic changes; each economic change making new changes necessary, does not bring those needed changes. Effecting change is the purpose and function of thought.

Thus a high-browed resolution passed at an enthusiastic Congress to the effect that "the hour has come for the working class to fulfil its historic mission," leaves me rather cold. The workers, unfortunately, know nothing about it and regard such utterances as strange.

Yes, the economic situation makes a change necessary, but the "thoughtstuff" is welled up and hindered by lies and cunning, and the workers, robbed of vision, are pounded to pieces by the great "White" weapons of a beastly system and its supporters.

To think of the blindness of Labour is a horrible matter; but a greater tragedy is to think of those who speak in the name of the new society.

Personal Effort—Now.

Labour is losing ground. Those whom Shelley perceived as "the many" are retiring before "the few." Study the industrial situation and see; is it because of the cowardice of Labour? The answer must be: No. It is because of the lack of "thoughtstuff."

Labour does not know how to help itself. The Communists prefer to wait until some by-election and then run an anti-Parliamentary candidate to Parliament, in order to tell Labour how to act.

To my mind, a great impetus would be given to our movement if we all devoted our time to talk at street corners.

The circulation of a paper and the growth of an organisation depend upon the responsive sympathy from the masses, generated by the soap-box orator. The extremity of Capitalism recoils on the heads of the workers, forcing them down further and further.

Labour Movement Ear to Ground

With the whip of circumstances, the Labour movement shapes its policy in strict accordance to its ideas as a whole. The masses look to the leaders for a lead, the leaders look to the masses for a push, and so the game goes on. Finally the masses lose ground to the capitalists, who then tell them they are "becoming wise."

The advanced industrial papers look also to the masses and tune their tone to suit, and the masses, seeking to obtain a leader, are blissfully unconscious of their real position.

The days pass on, and the battle continues furiously to be waged between the classes. The capitalist crisis of the Marxist is at hand, yet Labour falters; the correct adjustment of economic and psychologic influences must be obtained by endless propaganda, and the cry be raised from all sides: "Rise from knees and conquer; your fears alone hinder."

RULES FOR CONTRIBUTORS.

1. Write with ink on one side of the paper only, and kindly leave a wide space between the lines. Typewritten manuscripts should be double-spaced.

2. All letters and articles for publication should reach the Editor on the Friday before publication. Small notices can only be inserted Monday.

THE ANTI-WASTE CRUSADE.

By C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

That is what they call it, anyway. And the anti-wasters are in deadly earnest, too. They have formed themselves into a regular League, and have regular anti-waste M.P.s, regular anti-waste debates in the National Gas House; in fact they regularly waste time, energy and other people's money in discovering and annihilating Waste.

We no longer have Tories and Liberals, Coalitionists and Labour mis-leaders, only Wasters and Anti-Wasters; so when you are thoroughly versed in the tenets of faith as expounded by the latter, you will realise how comfy Capitalism will be made, if, at the next election, we all plump for an Anti-Waste Government!

There will be such economy, that the perspiring—I mean aspiring—politicians only receive Trade Union rates whilst carrying out their onerous duties!

Hello! What's this?

"The Marchioness of Crewe has left London for the South of France; the Duke of Westminster's motor launch has left Cowes for Cannes, where his Grace and the Duchess will embark for a Mediterranean cruise."—*Vide* the Yellow Press

In the Land of Dreams.

Let's wish 'em joy. No doubt they are members of our League, and having toiled on our behalf, need well-earned rest. Let's hope that soon we shall read: "Fellow worker Jones and Family intend spending Easter in the Canary Isles, where they hope to combine a search for knowledge with healthy restfulness, by studying the luscious banana in its native haunts!"

But not yet, Henry, not yet; Cannes is not for us; no motor launch jaunts for thee and thy Lizzie and the childer. We mustn't even dream of such luxuries as possible in near futurity. We are in work or out, mostly out; some of us thought the Labour Wasters would take us speedily into a Fairyland of Food and Light, splendrous beyond the most avaricious dreams of the gourmandising bourgeois frequenters of Frascati's and the Ritz; but such joys remain the monopoly of the big-paunched supporters of Anti-Waste Leaguers, British Empire Unions, etc.

What did you say? "What about Ireland?" Well, we are cashless, so can't go even there;

besides, it's rather risky. The R.I.C. and the Blackguard Tans hold out inducements to criminal and spiritually-minded folk! Say, do you know that the R.I.C. are costing us this year as much as £7,045,089? Do you know that maintenance of Irish Prisons is estimated at, at least £285,048, with an additional item of prisoners? And do you know the Government are contemplating purchasing a building in Belfast for the R.I.C., those devout humanitarians, for £25,000 from a fellow parasite of their's who bought the place only 18 months ago for the paltry sum of £4,000?

Virtue is not Rewarded.

Oh, Henry, there's such goings on! Where does the Government get all the filthy lucre from? Why, from the result of slave-class labour. It represents our sweat and blood; 'tis the income from efficient exploitation, and ends in—Waste!

But the League, Rothermere's magnificent League, won't say anything, won't do anything. WHY?

Do you remember the Rev. F. W. North? He toured Merrie England lately, telling the starving heroes about the atrocities of Bolshevism; paid by the atrocious Neros of Capitalism with cash pinched from the slaves still being bled. For what is called "special services" for doing his bit, as the religious upholder of the God-almighty State, he has just received £5,000. not much, of course, but then, we have to economise in these hard times!

Jobbing and Robbery.

Does the Anti-Waste League waste any time protesting against wage-slavery and profit-knavery? Not at all. One reads, for instance, in the press, about the doings of illegal thieves, but the doings of legal thugs and commercial prostitutes are sanctified by Property, as the correct thing to do.

Robberies committed in Paris during the whole of last year, amounted to nearly £1,000,000. Legal robberies, nevertheless, in Paris and every commercial centre, amount to millions every month, and no one, but the Communist, protests.

The Parisian million was distributed amongst 14,575; but as these worked out various cheap periods of labour-slavery in "clink," we might dismiss the note, especially when we consider that the majority of the so-called "criminals"

were of the great long-suffering army of the dispossessed, and that need caused them to act.

As for the world's myriads of legal robbers, they are brilliant "Pillars of Society"; we must not whisper of their criminality, the criminality of *thieving and wasting the best parts of socially-produced wealth*. Oh, no! Because their actions are made right by the Law, their Law, which makes all the difference!

One might give instance after instance proving the anti-social wastefulness of capitalist administration—capitalist society in general.

Paying for Our Luxuries.

Just now, we have an "Army of Occupation" in Germany; victorious, we are making of the "square-heads," economic slaves, which action of our splendid State, our noble-minded self-determination politicians, our patriotic commercialists, is having its reflex here, and accentuating the British brand of wage-slavery, increasing unemployment. For this we are maintaining troops in Germany costing us £19,200 per month, or £230,400 a year.

Such a wasteful item (but necessary to this blessed System) as making out the Parliamentary Register costs no less than £1,200,000, and inside Parliament, those hard-working folk, the Cabinet Ministers, are a terrible waste; a new post, known as a Minister without a Portfolio, has been formed, the price is £3,500—any offers for the job? There is the Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence; his salary has been raised from £2,000 to £3,000—I'm not suggesting that he should go to his employers, the State, and emulate the bright example of the Gorton serfs, who asked for a reduction of wages; the poor Lt-Col. G.C.B. must live!

Scrapheap of Wasted Lives.

This cavil is not a petty one like the pretended protests of the Press-controlling-anti-wasters; it is intended as a denunciation of a wasteful system. Wealth, socially considered, and very Life itself, is squandered to give ease to an opulent few; wealth again is wasted on Lies to delude the masses into passivity the longer.

So the Communist is wakeful and is desirous of stirring the masses towards organised effort, with the aim of smashing the capitalist system of propertied pelf and lies and parasitic waste.

Think o'er it!

RED YOUTH NOTES. By T. ISLWYN NICHOLAS.

All the young workers who are readers of the *Dreadnought* will rejoice to know that this column will in future be devoted to their interest. It is our hope to give interesting news of the development of the young movement in Britain and on the Continent.

Our Paper.

The *Dreadnought* has always taken a keen interest in Youth and its work. Let us show our appreciation of its work by getting new readers, and by pushing the paper wherever we are.

To-day we are standing at the cross-roads of the ages. The old order of things is passing away, and a new world, a new régime, the Red Dawn, is looming on the horizon. The call has been sounded, the call of the Young People's Communist International, calling for the International Solidarity of Proletarian Youth.

Throughout the world, revolutionary youth has responded. We in Britain included; banded together in the International Proletarian School Movement and the Young Communist League. Still, there are thousands of young workers in every country who have not heard our call. To bring our call to their notice, to win them for the Revolution, is our task in the meantime. The *Dreadnought* will serve the interests of the Communist Youth, which yearns for freedom and a brighter tomorrow, which must follow these dark days. It will help us to bring our message before those in the factory, workshop and mine, who, as yet, are still suffering from the mental dope of Capitalism. Forward, young rebels! Join hands! Be not like drones in the hive!

"It is the faltering courage of the working

class that holds us back to-day. The ideal is lost in the mists of dreams our Utopian comrades preach to us. Courage means fight and the power and will to fight; and the ideal of the fight is "The Revolution." To teach the children and young workers the ideal of the Revolution should be the primary end of a Socialist Sunday School. All other teaching is of no avail. Science is no use without Revolution. Culture is no use without Revolution. Organisation is of no use except it is based on Revolution. This, I think, should be apparent to everyone. We have plenty of organisation, but very little conception of the Revolution."

The Socialist Sunday School is reformist, permeated, more or less, by the reactionary foulness of the I.L.P. The Proletarian School Movement is revolutionary, and also the Young Communist League. Therefore, young comrades, you know where you are, and what is what. S.S.S.U. stands for Reform; I.P.S.M. stands for Revolution.

The Red Youth.

On April 25th, the Second International Congress of the Communist Young International will be held. The great importance of the subjects to be treated for the Proletarian Youth of all countries renders imperative the participation of all organisations of the Communist Youth as well as all truly revolutionary economic unions of the young people. It is to be regretted that Britain will not be able to send a delegate. Perhaps, next time it will. Let us hope so.

The Young Workers' League is holding a Conference at the I.S.C., 28, East Road, City Road, on Sunday March 27th.

The exertions of wide circles, not least of all, the Young International, in endeavouring to attain the liberation of Comrade J. Lekai, have been successful. Since he has been released, he has again begun the work of helping to achieve the Revolution. We greet him to his liberty!

The White Terror.

News of the most terrible kind comes from Hungary. There, behind the barbed wire of detention camps, behind the walls of prisons and jails, thousands of Communists and Socialists, old men, young men, women, and even children are languishing to-day. Comrades, you must hear the cry of the imprisoned. The call of the Hungarian Party for help and relief of the wretched cannot remain unheard! The Communist Young International asks you to support their action in forming, throughout the world, committees for the collection of underwear, clothing and money, and so help to relieve their sufferings.

Conference of Youth.

The I.P.S.M. and the Y.C.L. will hold their Second Annual Conference on March 25th at Glasgow, when the delegates of the revolutionary Proletarian Youth of Great Britain will discuss many important and urgent matters. Here's to them!

The Answer.

In response to the call for Solidarity, the Socialist Young League of Fiume has decided unanimously its accession to the Young International; also the Jewish Communist Young League, "Die Zukunft" ("Future") in Galicia. The Communist Young International is moving forward.—It will soon have absorbed the last group of revolutionary young workers!

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER.

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

(Continued from last issue.)

Theoretically, therefore, and apart from private utterances, minor questions and excrescences, which, like those of Wolffheim and Laufenberg, are inevitable in the first phases of a movement, the view taken by these parties and comrades is quite right, and your opposition absolutely wrong.*

On going from the East to the West of Europe, we traverse at a given moment an economic boundary. It runs from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, somewhere from Danzig to Venice. This line divides two worlds. West of this line there is a practically absolute domination of the industrial, commercial and financial capital, united in the most highly developed banking capital. Even the agricultural capital is subject to, or has been compelled to unite with this capital. This capital is organised to the utmost degree, and converges in the most firmly established State Governments of the world.

East of the line there is neither this gigantic development of industrial, commercial, transport and banking capital, nor its almost absolute domination, nor, consequently, the firmly established modern State.

It would be marvellous, indeed, if the tactics of the revolutionary proletariat west of this boundary-line were the same as in the east!

II.

THE QUESTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

Having brought forward the general theoretic grounds, I will now proceed to prove, also by practice, that the Left Wing in Germany and England is right in general principles—in the questions of the Trade Unions and of parliamentarism.

First we will take the question of the Trade Unions.

As parliamentarism embodies the spiritual, thus the Trade Union movement embodies the material power of the leaders over the masses of the workers. Under capitalism the Trade Unions constitute the natural organisations for uniting the proletariat, and as such Marx, already from the very beginning, has demonstrated their importance. Under a more developed capitalism, and to a greater extent even in the age of imperialism, the Trade Unions have ever more become gigantic unions, with a trend of development, equal to that of the bourgeois State bodies themselves. They have produced a class of officials, a bureaucracy, that disposes of all engines of power of the organisation, the finances, the Press, the appointing of lower officials; often it is infested with even greater power, so that from a servant of the rank and file, it has become the master, identifying itself with the organisation. The Trade Unions can be compared to the State and its bureaucracy, also in this: that, notwithstanding the democracy that is supposed to reign there, the members are unable to enforce their will against the bureaucracy; every revolt is broken against the cleverly constructed apparatus of official ordinances and statutes, before it has been able even to shake the highest regions.

It is only at the cost of the most tenacious perseverance that every now and then an organisation manages in the course of years to obtain a moderate result, which mostly remains restricted to a change of persons. In the last few years, before and after the war, in England, Germany, and America, this often gave rise to rebellions of the members, who started strikes on their own account, against the will of the leaders, or the decrees of the union itself. That this should seem natural, and be accepted as such, is an indication in itself that the organisation does not represent the total of the members, but something altogether foreign to them; that the workers do not have the control of their union, but that the union is placed over them as an outward power against which they can rebel—a power which, all the same, has its origin in themselves: again, therefore, an ally with the State. Once the revolt is over, the old domination begins again. In spite of the hatred and impotent exasperation of the masses, this domination manages to maintain itself, owing to the indifference and lack of clear insight, and of a united, indomitable will in the masses, and upheld as it is by the inner need for the Trade Unions, the only means the workers have to gain strength through unity, in their struggle against capital.

Waning of T. U. Influence.

Fighting against capital, in a constant opposition against its tendencies of increased misery, and enabling the working class, through the restriction of these tendencies, to keep in existence the Trade Union movement, has played its part under capitalism, and has thus become itself a member of capitalist society. It is only at the beginning of the revolution, when the proletariat, from a member of capitalist society, is turned into the annihilator of this society, that the Trade Union finds itself in opposition to the proletariat.

That which Marx and Lenin demonstrated for the State: that its organisation, in spite of formal democracy, renders it impossible to turn it into an instrument of the proletarian revolution, most also hold good therefore for the Trade Union organisations. Their counter-revolutionary power cannot be destroyed or weakened through a change of staff, through the replacing of reactionary leaders by radical or revolutionary elements.

It is the form of organisation that renders the masses as good as powerless, and prevents them from turning the Trade Unions into the organs of their will. The revolution can triumph only if it completely destroys this organisation: that is to say, if it alters the form of organisation so fundamentally as to turn it into something altogether different. The Soviet system, the construction from within, is not only able to uproot and abolish the State, but also the Trade Union bureaucracy: it will constitute not only the new political organs of the proletariat as opposed to capitalism, but likewise the foundation for the new Trade Unions. In the party factions in Germany, the idea of a form of organisation being revolutionary has been mocked at, because it is only the revolutionary sentiment, the revolutionary mind of the members, that matters. However, if the most important part of the revolution consists in the masses conducting their own concerns—the control of society and the production—then every form of organisation that does not allow the masses to rule and to guide for themselves, must needs be counter-revolutionary and harmful, and as such it must be replaced by another form, which is revolutionary in so far that it allows the workers to decide matters for themselves.

Through their very nature the Trade Unions are useless arms for the West-European revolution! Apart from the fact that they have become tools of capitalism, and that they are in the hands of traitors, apart from the fact that through their nature they are bound to make slaves of the members, no matter what the leaders may be, they are also unfit for use generally.

The Harder Task of Europe.

The Trade Unions are too weak in the contest against the most highly-organised capital in Western-European States. These latter are powerful: the unions are not. To a great extent the Trade Unions are Professional Unions as yet, which cannot make a revolution, if it were for that fact alone. And in so far as they are industrial unions, they are not founded on the industries, on the workshops themselves, and are consequently weak. Also they are more unions for help than for fighting, dated as they do from the days of the small bourgeoisie. Even before the revolution, their organisation was already inadequate for the struggle; for the Revolution itself it cannot serve at all—in Western Europe. For the industries, the workers in the industries, make the revolution, not in the industries and profession, but in the workshops. Moreover, these unions are far too slow-working, complicated instruments, good for the time of evolution only. Even if the revolution should not succeed right away, and we had once more to revert to peaceful action for a while, the Trade Unions would have to be destroyed and replaced by industrial unions, on a basis of industrial or workshop organisation. And with these miserable Trade Unions, that must be done away with in any case, they want to make the revolution! The workers in Western Europe need WEAPONS for the revolution. The only weapons for the revolution in Western Europe are the Industrial Organisations. And these united into ONE big whole!

The workers in Western Europe need the very best weapons. They stand alone: they have no help. And therefore they need these industrial organisations. In Germany and England they need them at once, because there the revolution is nearest at hand. The other countries must have them as soon as possible, as soon as we can erect them.

It is no good at all, Comrade Lenin, your saying: In Russia we did it in such and such a way, for in the first place you had no organisations that were so inadequate for the struggle as many of the Trade Unions are here. You had industrial unions. Secondly, your workers were more revolutionary in spirit. Thirdly, the organisation of the capitalists was weak; and the State also. And in the fourth place, and this is the main point: you had help. You did not need the very best of weapons. We stand alone, we must have them. We will not win unless we have them. We will be defeated over and over again, unless we have them.

Also other grounds, as well as material, prove this.

Recall in your mind, Comrade, how things were in Germany, before and during the war. The Trade Unions, the far too weak but only means, were entirely in the hands of the leaders, who used them as dead machines on behalf of capitalism. Then the revolution broke out. The Trade Unions were used by the leaders and the masses of members as a weapon against the revolution. It was through their help, through their co-operation, through their leaders, nay, partly even through their members that the revolution was murdered. The Communists saw their own brothers being shot with the co-operation of the Trade Unions. Strikes in favour of the revolution were prevented, rendered impossible. Do you hold it possible, Comrade, that under such conditions revolutionary workers should remain in those unions? Especially when these latter are utterly inadequate instruments for the revolution! In my opinion this is a psychological impossibility. What would you yourself have done, as member of a political party, that of the Mensheviks for instance, if these had acted thus in the revolution? You

would have split the Party (if you had not already done so before)! You will reply: This was a political party, it is different in the case of a Trade Union. I believe you are mistaken. In the revolution, during the revolution, every Trade Union, every workers' union even, is a political party—either pro- or counter-revolutionary.

In your article, however, you say, and you will do so now: These emotional impulses must be conquered, for the sake of unity and Communist propaganda. I will show you, by means of concrete examples, that during the revolution this was impossible in Germany. For these questions must also be considered quite concretely. Let us suppose that Germany had 100,000 really revolutionary dock labourers, 100,000 revolutionary metal workers, and 100,000 revolutionary miners; that these were willing to strike, to fight, to die for the revolution, and that the other millions were not. What are these 300,000 to do? They must in the first place unite, and form a fighting league. This you acknowledge. Without organisation workers can do nothing. Now a new league against old unions, even if the workers remain in the old ones, is a split already; if not formally, at any rate actually, in reality. Next, however, the members of this new league need a press, meetings, localities, a salaried staff. This requires heaps of money. And the German workers possess next to nothing. In order to keep the new league going, they must needs, whether they like it or not, leave the old one. Thus we see that, concretely considered, that which you, Comrade, proposes, is impossible.

Build on New Foundations.

However, there are better material grounds yet. The German workers who left the Trade Unions, that wished to destroy them, that created the industrial organisations and workers' unions, stood IN THE REVOLUTION. It was necessary to fight at ONCE. The revolution was there. The Trade Unions refused to fight. What is the good then of saying: Remain in the Trade Unions, propagate your ideas, you will grow stronger, and become the majority. Apart from the fact that the minority would be strangled, as is the custom there, this would be quite fine, and also the Left Wing would try it, if there were only time to do so. But it was impossible to wait. The revolution had begun. And it is still going on!

IN THE REVOLUTION (mind, Comrade, it was in the revolution that the German workers split the Party, and created their Workers' Union) the revolutionary workers will always separate themselves from the social-patriots. In the struggle, no other way is possible. No matter what you, and the Moscow Executive, and the International Congress say, and no matter how much you dislike a split in the Party, it will always take place, on psychic and material grounds, because the workers cannot in the long run tolerate the Trade Unions to shoot them, and because there has to be fighting.

That is why the Left Wing has created the Workers' Unions; and as they believe that the revolution in Germany is not over yet, but will proceed to the final victory, they keep them up.

Comrade Lenin, is there another way out, in the workers' movement, when two trends come up, but that of fighting? And when these trends are very divergent, if they oppose one another, is there another way but secession? Did you ever hear of any other? And is there anything more opposed than revolution and counter-revolution?

For this reason again the K.A.P.D. and the General Workers' Unions are quite right.

And, Comrade, have not these secessions, these clearances ever been a blessing for the proletariat? Does not this always become evident after a while? I have some experience in this matter. When we as yet belonged to the social-patriotic party we had no influence—after our expulsion we had some—in the beginning, and very soon we won a great, a very great influence. And how about you, the Bolsheviks, after the secession? I believe you fared quite well. Small influence at first, very much later on. And all now. It all depends on the economic and political development, whether a group, be it ever so small, does become the most powerful party. If the revolution in Germany lasts, there is a fair hope that the importance and the influence of the workers' unions will surpass all the others. You should not be intimidated by their numbers—70,000 against seven millions. Smaller groups than these have become the strongest—the Bolsheviks, among others!

The industrial unions and workshop organisations, and the Workers' Unions that are based on them and formed from them, why are they such excellent weapons for the revolution in Western Europe, the best weapons even together with the Communist Parties? Because the workers act for themselves, infinitely more so than they did in the old Trade Unions, because now they control their leaders, and thereby the entire leadership, and because they have the supervision of the industrial organisation, and thereby of the entire union.

* It has struck me that in this controversy you almost invariably make use of private, and not public views of the opposition.

To be continued.

Workers' Dreadnought

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OUR GERMAN FRIENDS.

To-day the Communist women of Germany, across the blood-soaked ground where racial hatred and capitalist interests slew the flower of the manhood of Europe—to-day the women who suffered as none can tell, send to Comrade Pankhurst a message of solidarity and of hope.

The Communist women of Germany are not an insignificant fraction of the movement. On the contrary, by their activity and devotion, they are one of the principal factors in the work of emancipation. Amongst them, working closely with the rank and file, are women of great intellect and mental capacity.

It is not at the personal side of the message—however gratifying and consoling—that we look in order to gauge its importance.

It is rather to the fact that, through this message, we see visions of the new world that is being built amidst countless sacrifices and decisions, by the fresh, new and humane forces of mankind.

We see in this message—coming as it does from women who have passed through the suffering years of war waged on the field and of war brought close to the home by the blockade—that no longer, in the righteous world we are building, shall the home be the infectious centre where racial hatred shall be taught, even before children's lips are tenderly kissed, fully articulate.

That no longer the ormolu of the military uniform will cast its spell on woman's breast.

That no longer a soft and trusted mother's hand will guide her first-born to the field of battle, fought in the capitalist interests, to be blown to pieces in an uncalled-for death.

That no longer the press-forged lies will be believed which made a monster of the man on the other side of the frontier.

That no longer woman will be a chattel, preyed upon both by male sensuality and by capitalist callousness.

That no longer—for radiant dawn now breaks the sullenness of the heavy night—man will be alone in the struggle he often fought single-handed; but that, consoling and inspiring, a mate will be at his side, trusted, and valiant.

The message of the Communist women of Germany is a clear call that will go deep into the hearts of their English sisters.

Now that it is Easter, when the lingering voices of childhood still whisper in men's hearts with memory of home and of family: when people celebrate under the Church symbolism of a re-awakened Christ, in truth, the rebirth of Spring, this message of solidarity and of sisterly greeting urges against the windows of the cell of Holloway Prison, in defiance and hope, and will inspire all of us to assiduous and persistent work.

D.O.R.A.'s POWER GROWING.

The capitalist rulers are very busy making the world safe for capitalists; their latest safeguard being the Tribunals of Inquiry (Evidence) Bill, which strengthens the Emergency Powers Act passed last year. This Bill passed through the House of Commons very quietly and rapidly and has now reached the Report stage in the House

of Lords. We have not heard that the Labour Party, which is supposed to protect the interests of the workers, raised any strong protest against it, and yet, obviously, it has been introduced because of the increasing self-assertion of the workers and the development of Communist ideas.

It is "An Act to make provision with respect to the taking of evidence before and the procedure and powers of certain Tribunals of Inquiry."

The first clause determines the powers, which may be retrospective, of tribunals, which either House of Parliament deems it expedient to establish "for inquiry into a definite matter described in the Resolution as of urgent public importance . . . and appointed for the purpose either by His Majesty or a Secretary of State . . . the Tribunal shall have all such powers, rights and privileges as are vested in the High Court (or in Scotland the Court of Session) or a judge thereof on the occasion of an action in respect of the following matters:—

- the enforcing the attendance of witnesses and examining them on oath, affirmation, or otherwise, and the issuing of a commission or request to examine witnesses abroad;
- the compelling the production of documents;
- the punishing persons guilty of contempt, and a summons signed by one or more of the members of the tribunal may be substituted for and shall be equivalent to any formal process capable of being issued in any action for enforcing the attendance of witnesses and compelling the production of documents."

Under Sub-section (2) one member of the Tribunal is given power to sign a warrant of committal to prison for the purpose of enforcing the powers conferred by this section. It shall be addressed to the police constables of the place where the Tribunal is sitting, and may be executed at any place where the offender may be found, and shall specify the prison to which the offender is to be committed, for not more than three months.

(3) A witness shall be entitled to the same immunities and privileges as if he were a witness before a superior Court of Justice.

Section 2 deals with excluding the public.

Any of these Tribunals shall have power:—

- to allow or refuse to allow the public or any portion of the public to be present at any of the proceedings of the Tribunal.

Under (b) they may allow any person who appears to them to be interested to be represented by counsel or solicitor, but they may also refuse to allow it.

Thus we have a short but insidious Bill for secret Tribunals with power to imprison witnesses who disobey them.

It is a direct result of the misdirected, so-called patriotism of the people during the War, who allowed D.O.R.A. to become law, and instead of repealing it at the end of the War, allowed it to be replaced by the Emergency Powers Act. Even *The Times* is perturbed and says:—

"Under these regulation (D.O.R.A.) the citizen was left with comparatively few of the rights for which his forefathers suffered martyrdom to obtain."

These rights are being further curtailed by this Bill.

The *Daily Herald* considers that these Tribunals will mainly be used to make impossible any inquiry, open to the public, into official or non-official scandals and abuses. But we feel that it is much more sinister than this, and is directed against those who are fighting for their emancipation, whether in this country or in Ireland. The ruling class is getting afraid and is not taking any chances. It is setting up its barricades in good time and we also must complete our preparations.

ANOTHER IRELAND.

The Indian Emergency Committee, at a meeting at Cannon Street Hotel on the 17th inst., passed a resolution impressing on the Government "the grave nature of the situation which has arisen in India, imperilling the lives and interests of his Majesty's loyal subjects, both British and Indian, owing to the failure of his Majesty's Government to deal promptly and effectively with seditious agitation, and asserting the right of Parliament and the British public to be kept fully informed of the facts and of the measures which are being adopted for the restoration of confidence and tranquillity in India."

Lord Amptill said that there was a strange resemblance between affairs in India and in Ireland. In both countries the loyal, law-abiding and respectable people were terrorised and intimidated to such a degree that they were forced to side with the rebels. The Government had ceased to govern. In India as in Ireland men, convicted by the Judges of criminal outrages and rebellion against the Government, had been released and placed in a position to continue the outrages, and even placed in such a position that they had authority over law-abiding and loyal citizens.

Lord Sydenham said that the revolutionary forces in India had immensely strengthened in power in the last five years, and their purpose was to destroy British rule there. Mr. Gandhi had openly stated that he preferred Bolshevism to British rule.

Surely this is a severe condemnation of British rule. Perhaps if the noble lords studied the causes of this revolutionary tendency they would not be surprised at it.

They said that the British Government must reassert its authority in India at once or clear out.

Another resemblance to Ireland. When a nation is united in its opposition to an undesired and foreign domination, that foreign government is unable to reassert its power, even though it resorts to all the horrors and violence which are being witnessed at the present day in Ireland, and eventually it has to clear out. If British rule were so beneficent would the nations where it is being exercised sacrifice their lives to end it?

INTERESTING PROPOSAL PRESENTED TO MOSCOW.

Comrade I. Sweide has presented to the E.C. of the Third International an interesting suggestion concerning the Communist Press. We quote a few remarks of his:—

"A peculiar state of affairs exists in our movement, and that is lack of contact between the workers of various countries: it is the ignorance that exists in any given country of the social, political and economic conditions of workers abroad.

"It is therefore necessary to increase these relations, and that a Central Committee should collect, for the purpose of diffusing them, all the possible information."

"The E.C. should," says Comrade Sweide, "nominate a secretary in the E.C. of each national party, whose duty would be to keep the Central E.C. informed of the general situation of the country, from the Trade Union, Co-operative, educational, and political points of view."

Also that the E.C. of the Third International should convene in a town of Western Europe an international Congress of the Communist Press.

Before one can say, with effect, "Workers of all lands, unite," one must say, "Workers of all lands, try to know each other."

As a proof of the necessity of some regular and permanent channel of information, Comrade Sweide gives the present example of the Spanish and Rumanian workers being terribly oppressed, and of whom we know but little in detail and with accuracy.

The "Independent Hindustan," published by the Gadar Party at 5, Wood Street, San Francisco, U.S.A., states:—

"From information recently to hand it would appear that India is about to become the base of extensive military operations aiming at the conquest of all Central Asia, the Transcaspian territories of the former Russian Empire and of Northern Persia. While the British Government is carrying on desultory negotiations with the Soviet government, with the object of gaining time, we learn that rush preparations are on foot in Australia for the formation of an army, and that in New Zealand the organisation of a fully equipped army corps is in progress, Admiral Jellicoe being busy with the naval plans for the transportation to India. It is further reported that in anticipation of the landing of these forces in India, staff officers have already arrived there from Australia and are engaged studying the details of transportation over the routes leading into Russian and Chinese Turkestan, through the Himalayas, and through Persia into the Transcaspian Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara and to the Eastern Caucasus oil region on the Caspian.

"Press dispatches say that the Soviet Government is congratulating itself on the quiet prevailing on all the fronts which have for three years been the objects of attack; but it should not be over confident.

"That England should use Australia against Asia as a catpaw is a thing naturally to be expected, seeing the fear of the Australians of an Asiatic immigrant invasion."

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.

How the Money-Juggling Financiers Have Got the Strings of Government in Their Hands. The System of Make-Believe.

I.

What are the necessities of life?

Food, warmth and shelter.

How are they produced?

By the labour of the working class.

These are very simple questions; any child knows them. Yes. Any child knows them. Children are often wiser than grown-ups. Some grown-ups believe that *Money* keeps us alive. We do not eat money, we do not wear money, we do not make cocoons out of bank notes and use them instead of houses. Therefore money is of no use to us. Yet one may go to a meeting and hear even Labour men talking about restoring the money credit system and stabilising exchange, as if people lived on finance.

No. The working classes starve on finance.

The human race lives on the produce of the working class.

People who talk so much about the need for stabilising finance are more ignorant than a child of five years old.

Let us examine this and get our thoughts clear on the subject.

What is *wealth*?

Wealth is an abundance of the necessities of life.

Struggling for Existence.

There is a word here that we do not understand—*abundance*. Not because it is a long word; we understand the meaning of *starvation*, and that is an equally long word; but because we have never experienced "abundance" in our own lives.

What working class woman knows what it is to be free from anxiety? Is she ever certain that her man won't get the "sack" at the end of the week? Is any working class family more than a fortnight away from the workhouse?

What working class woman then understands the meaning of abundance? Can she buy the best milk for her infant? Can she take a month's holiday at the sea-side? If she is tired, can she stay in bed a day?

Therefore, the workers cannot understand the meaning of abundance; they can only get an intellectual idea of it.

This, however, they can understand; that it is *their labour which produces wealth*, and without their labour, wealth could not be.

Let us prove this:

London is said to be the wealthiest city in the world. Her docks and warehouses are choke full of goods, her shops overflow with costly manufactures; her streets in the business quarters are well-paved and brilliantly lighted. Railways come into her termini from all parts of the kingdom, bringing food and goods; her roads are filled with traffic of all kinds.

Worker Bees and Drones.

Suppose a sudden stroke of a fairy's wand, which lifted away from London and her vicinity the whole of the working class. Supposing that all those people, thin, starved wage-slaves who inhabit her slums and working-class areas, just vanished. What then? How long then would London remain the wealthiest city in the world? Would not the rats destroy all the food in the docks and warehouses and all the stuff in the shops? What would the non-producers do then? Who would bring in their milk, butter and eggs? Where would their wealth be now? Who would make gas and electric light; who would clean the streets; who would drive the buses and the trains? They would leave the City. Where would they get their petrol? Would the Bank of England and all the other banks help them if the working class were gone? I trow not.

How long would it be before London would be in ruins if the working class were not there?

Some of you who read this, are employed by the City Boroughs or the L.C.C., and you will know how much labour is needed to keep London going.

London, we say, the richest city in the world, would soon be ruins without the working



THE MAGICIAN AT WORK.

The Results of the Reparation Bill as seen by our cartoonist, "Redcap."

class. The Bank of England itself, though it may contain all the gold which it is supposed to have, would be absolutely useless without labour, which is the producer of all wealth, and yet English people think so much of the Bank of England. I wonder why? They should think more of their working people—the real producers of wealth.

Card-House of Credit.

The Bank of England and the money-credit system is really one of the biggest frauds that ever was invented by one set of people to gull another set. We must try and understand something of it by looking first at what happens in our own experience.

What is the Credit System?

We all know "uncle." We go round there, say, on a Monday morning and put our husband's Sunday coat "up the spout." In return for this, "uncle" gives us a sum of money and a ticket. We take back the ticket on Saturday with the sum of money that we borrowed (and something in addition—this something more is *Interest*. If we put the coat in pawn every Monday and fetch it out every Saturday, then we can multiply this sum by 52 and get to know the amount that "uncle" has got out of us at the end of the year.

Let us go on to Mortgages.

Spider's Web of Usury.

We all understand about lending and borrowing money; if you borrow a shilling from your mate, you will pay him back when and if you can; otherwise he has to go without and put up with it. If you want to borrow a large sum, say £100 or £500, as the case may be, you will have to give security on it: a house, a little piece of land. You will have to go to a lawyer. He will then look out for one of his customers (whom he calls a client), who has a sum of money to invest. Then the lawyer will get one of his clerks to write a lot of long sentences and rigmarole which no one can understand, on a piece of parchment, and then he gets a Government stamp for it, and that is what he calls a Mortgage Deed. It is a legal document. You sign the deed, and the other man signs it. You each pay the lawyer a fee—I was nearly forgetting that. The other man pays you over the sum of money and takes the deed, and you pay him interest every year. If you cannot pay the interest, the other man takes his deed to the lawyer, and the two of them have the law on you. They sell you up. The lawyer takes his fee, the other man his money, and you get a move on.

Now "uncle" and mortgages are ordinary finance. We will now go on to High Finance.

By High Finance we mean the National Debt, the Credit System, Stock Jobbing, Company and things of that kind. High Finance is at the bottom of all capitalist expansion wars. We shall not have time to get on to all that just now; but we will make a start on the National Debt.

About 180 years ago, the rich London merchants hit upon the plan of backing up the Government in order to make it their servant, so they lent it money, and this was called the National Debt. The Government was now in the hands of the business man, just as you were in the hands of the lawyer man whom you borrowed money of. The interest of this National Debt was paid out of the taxes on the people's food. Tea, sugar, tobacco, sometimes even bread was taxed to find the interest on the National Debt. Again, this interest was drawn and is drawn today from the food of the very people who make the wealth.

Government by Lawyers.

Rather dodgy, wasn't it? But you see, the Government of that time largely consisted of lawyers, and you know lawyers are clever people.

We have another point to consider also.

After a course of years, which varies according to the rate of interest, this sum gets all paid back to the lenders, and yet even after it has been paid back in this way, the lenders go on drawing interest just the same.

Let us work it out. We will suppose that the interest is 4 per cent.

£4 is the interest on £100 for 1 year.

£100 is the total interest on £100 for 25 years.

Therefore, at the end of 25 years, the lender has got back the whole of the £100 he lent and has also the £100 Government Stock. So he has his cake and has eaten it too, which is more than the workers can do, for they have to produce the food stuffs and then pay an extra high price for them, and then, for an intellectual treat, they go to a political meeting and listen patiently while the speakers tell them that the National Debt must be paid, and that Finance must be stabilised—and they believe it, too!

Will they always believe it?

I wonder.

A NOTE TO COVENTRY WORKERS.

Our worthy contemporary, *Solidarity*, reported recently regarding conditions appertaining at the works of the Triumph Cycle Co., as follows:—

"Recently the Triumph Cycle Works sacked about 800 men, and then told them that they could start work again if they were prepared to accept a 12½ per cent. reduction. This they refused to do, and the rest of the workers (about 1,600) came on strike in support."

A strike ballot should have been taken, but the Executive of the A.E.U. refused to sanction it. One thing we are glad to note, that is that the Coventry Unemployed Committee gave the whole of its support to the strikers.

That's the right spirit, dictated by a recognition of the unity of class-interests as between the workless and the exploited.

May the strikers win. May the workers and workless in Coventry prepare to make cycles for their own class on the basis of production for use. Production for profit has only resulted in increasing power and tyranny for the "bosses."

Last year, the very same firm which wants you to slave on a 12½ per cent. reduction weekly, made as much as £81,447 out of you. Fact!

So win!

C. B. J-W.

An excellent cartoon by Poy appeared in the *Weekly Dispatch* last Sunday, of the Coalition elephant, Mr. Lloyd George being the front legs and Mr. Bonar Law making off with the hind legs. All it needed to make it complete was that it should have been a White Elephant!

REPARATION BILL.

The Government, as usual, has drafted a Bill in a hurry, said to be based on a sudden inspiration which came to Lloyd George as he sped down to Chequers the other week-end. This question of reparations is a most complicated one, which cannot be settled in five minutes, and before it is put into force its instigators will find themselves tied up in hard knots, which can only be cut by the sword of the workers' revolution.

The main provision of the Bill is that the Allies are going to take 50 per cent. in sterling of the value of the goods imported from Germany, who have to collect it from Germany. The penalty for the failure of Germany to make good this seizure is to be an embargo on German trade with Allied countries carrying out the agreement.

A line of customs houses is being erected along the Western frontier of Germany, and the rich territory of the Ruhr Valley and the Rhine has been occupied by Allied troops. But the Western frontier is not the only outlet for German commerce, and, like water, it will find its own level.

In the debate on the Reparation Bill in the House of Commons last Monday, every speaker was opposed to it, though for varying reasons, the Prime Minister being its only supporter, as was natural, being the originator of the idea.

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who introduced the Bill, did not seem very confident that it would be a success, but then he is a financier, and no doubt fully realises its absurdity. He admitted that the Bill, to be a success, must have the co-operation of the German Government. But if the German Government has not accepted the Allies' terms, is it likely that it will co-operate? On the contrary, it will oppose it strenuously, with the support of the "great, rich industrial magnates." Already Stinnes is urging a boycott of British, French and Belgian goods and the stoppage of production in the occupied towns, by organising unemployment. A number of German banks, including the Reichsbank, have discontinued the purchase of cheques on London and Paris, and will only pay such cheques on advice of collection.

Mr. Chamberlain said that we could do without German goods. The only commodity of consequence for which we were dependent upon Germany being dyes (what has happened to the millions of OUR money the Government put into British Dyes, Ltd). We had a 12 months' stock and had the right to take 25 per cent. of Germany's production at any time. A large proportion of the factories was in the occupied territories. If we were as secure in regard to everything else as we were in respect of dyes, there was not much need for nervousness on our part. If Germany refused to make good to her exporters any part of the price which we deducted, the result would be an embargo on German trade with Allied countries carrying out the agreement. The only inducement for them to undertake it would be if it meant ruin to us as well as to the Germans.

Sir F. Banbury said that trade going through America would have a bad effect on the American exchange. The only way by which Germany could be made to pay was by taking something of hers which was valuable and keeping it until the indemnity was paid—possibly many years hence. He did not specify what it should be.

Colonel Wedgwood said we might take over such things as ground rents, land, monopolies, the Kiel Canal, and royalties on coal mines, which would not disturb our trade.

Lloyd George, in a flippant speech, turned down Wedgwood's suggestion, not because it meant getting the indemnity from the rich. Oh, no, he dealt with the expense of maintaining a huge army of occupation and another army of officials which would be needed to collect the millions of paper marks.

The capitalists are internationalists when defending their property; it is only the workers who lack international solidarity in defending themselves.

Bottomley's alternative of marching to Berlin was ridiculed for the same reason.

Lloyd George contended that neutral countries did not want German goods, so that Germany could

not do without us. She would lose from £70,000,000 to £100,000,000 worth of trade from Canada and India if they came in, and from France. He drew a rosy picture of how simple and easy a matter it would be for the German Government to collect the tax from the manufacturers, leaving them a fair margin of profit of 20 to 30 per cent., so that the "great, rich industrial magnates of Germany" would pay. And yet when that was done here, what was the result? Such a strong opposition on the part of the "great, rich industrial magnates" of Britain that E.P.D. had to be removed. They said trade was disorganised, wages must come down, and we have millions of workers unemployed. The workers pay every time under the capitalist system.

J. H. Thomas said that under this Bill the British workers would pay the indemnity in unemployment, and yet he said that the Labour Party did not wish to embarrass the Government or to encourage a belief that this country was divided in opinion as to the object of making Germany pay, and they would not divide against the Second Reading. That shows how much the Labour Party and Mr. J. H. Thomas care for the British workers, let alone the workers of Germany. It is their duty to embarrass the Government at every opportunity. The Bill passed the Second Reading, without a division, as Commander Kenworthy, a Liberal, was unable to get another teller.

Workers, are you still going to put your faith in the Labour Party Parliament, when the Members think only of their own positions and are afraid of standing up for their principles lest they lose their seats?

Workers, don't you realise that however Germany is made to pay, YOU will gain nothing? The Allied capitalists claim to have won the War, but the Allied workers have lost even the little they ever possessed. There is only one solution of the muddle in which we are, and that is the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism throughout the world. When are the workers going to realise this?

SUED FOR NON-PAYMENT OF RATES.

The other day I was summoned for not paying my rates, and was told to be at the local hall at 12.15 *prompt*. I very virtuously complied with this request, though when the magistrates did not arrive till 12.45, I regretted it. A few seats were provided in the lobby where we had to wait, not nearly sufficient for the number of defaulters. I got tired of standing, so took a seat in the Magistrates' room, but when a poorly-dressed man, timidly joined me at my suggestion, we were peremptorily told we could not sit there till the magistrates came; so I carried some chairs outside to the weary waiters.

What a condemnation of the capitalist system that patient crowd was! Women with thin, sallow faces, with want and privation stamped upon every feature, and men in like condition.

In the old days their rates were included in their rent, but since rates have risen to 25s. 4d. in the £, the landlords make them pay the rates separately. They told me that they had not refused to pay the rates, and they showed me with pride their rent books fully paid up, 12s. a week for houses that are so damp that the sister of one woman had died of pneumonia as a result. They were so bad that the women expected they would all be pulled down.

"You see that lady sitting in the corner? Well, her front door fell down when her husband was lying dead in the house, and it has been like that for months."

"Yes, it's all open to anyone that passes," said another.

"My w.c. was stopped up for four months, and I couldn't get anyone to see to it. Several men came and looked at it, but nothing was done. We had to use my neighbour's and ill-convenience her all that time."

One woman had four at home out of work, and only 12s. a week to live on.

I urged them not to pay rent or rates, but to stand solidly together, so that the bailiff would be afraid of going down that street, which has been successfully tried in other places.

"But we must have a shelter over us," they said.

The capitalist system has inculcated such fear into their souls that they dare not disobey those in a better position. Their lives are so awful, and yet they dread something worse. They have not realised the power of solidarity amongst themselves.

A few days later I spoke about it to one of the Guardians, a Communist, and all he had to suggest was that they should have put by a certain amount every week when they were in employment, so that they would pay now. But they have never had enough to live on!

One man had been employed by the Borough Council road sweeping for a few months, but was dismissed last September because he would not tip the foreman. Since then he could get no work and had the sense not to waste the little money

he could scrape together on rates, when it was needed for food for the family.

One broken down old man said he supposed we should have to have a revolution before things could be better, but he did not want that because of the loss of life that would be entailed.

I pointed out that the loss of life as the direct result of the capitalist system was far greater than any loss during a revolution—100,000 deaths of children from preventable causes every year; 1,100 deaths in mines every year, besides thousands of deaths and injuries in other industries every year. If only we could realise this we should not fear the revolution as much as we do.

I wish I could have been in the room to hear those women tackling the magistrates, but because I was better dressed I was let in first, which I was grateful for, as I had an important engagement to keep, though I resented the injustice of it.

"Seven days in which to pay" is the stereotyped reply, though why a miracle for any of us should happen during the next seven days I haven't yet discovered.

Once a year there is a Committal Court, when the defaulters are sent to prison. How the Borough Council thinks it is going to benefit by that is a mystery.

I am glad I did not pay my rates; seeing those women made me feel more keenly than ever the urgent need for fighting for Communism.

If only we could make those women understand what life would be like to them under Communism, we should have gone a long way towards getting it.
G.D.

COST OF LIVING: BIG FALL PREDICTED

Mr. Felix J. Blakemore, president of the National Chamber of Trade, speaking at the annual meeting of Belfast Chamber recently, said the whole world was in urgent need of the goods they made, but, unfortunately, had not the money to buy them. The urgent need, in order to rehabilitate industry, was to reduce the cost of production. This need not necessarily depend on vast cuts in wage values, increased production by greater effort on the part of the workers was one means; but the important factor was the reduction which was now taking place in the cost of living.

He predicted that this month there would be a further decline of 10 points, and in April a still further decline of 12 points, and that eventually the purchasing power of the pound Treasury note would advance from 9s. 8d. to 15s.

And yet on enquiring at a restaurant we were told that the baker said he expected a rise in prices in a few weeks. Workers, don't let your wages be reduced, for you will not be able to get them raised again when food costs more. And remember that rents and rates are still rising.

SOVIET RUSSIA AS I SAW IT IN 1920.

We stated last week that this book by our Editor, giving her impressions of Soviet Russia, had been refused by ten publishers and several firms of newspaper proprietors. One may ask: "Why was it refused?" The answer is plain and simple. It is a book written by a Comrade for Comrades, and in consequence, capitalist concerns are boycotting it.

The serial publication of it will begin in our next issue.

Our resources being slender, we shall print only the number of copies justified by orders received in advance.

Comrades are therefore advised to send at once a postcard to the *Workers' Dreadnought*, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, stating the number of extra copies they require. Usual trade terms to the Party and Trade Union branches.

- LIST OF CHAPTERS.
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 - CHILD.—XIII. BABIES' HOMES AND CLINICS.—XIV. THE COMMISSARIAT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.—XV. EDUCATION.—XVI. THE REST HOUSES.—XVII. A RED ARMY CAMOUFLAGE SCHOOL.—XVIII. WHAT RUSSIA THOUGHT OF THE BRITISH LABOUR DELEGATION.—XIX. A FIRE IN THE TRAIN.—XX. WHAT AND WHERE IS THE SHORTAGE?—XXI. THE POLISH WAR.—XXII. A WHIFF OF ALCOHOL.—XXIII. THE VILLAGES ON THE ARCTIC COAST.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.



Victory of the Revolutionary Trade Union in France.

The usual congress of Trade Unions in the Department of Calvados, ended with a decided victory for the revolutionary committees. By 46 votes to 11 they condemned the reformist policy of the Amsterdam International, and demanded that the French Trade Union movement should affiliate with the Red International. They also condemned the split in the Unions as a designed tactic of the Trade Union "Yellows." This event proves that, besides the Unions of the Seine Department, those of the Norman Federation also will fight resolutely in future for the revolutionising of Trade Union policy.

What will be the result of this?

Will English workers be sent across the channel to beat down the French workers, or will the French Government prefer to call in the — or German White Guards. Capitalism is international in its outlook. Workers, shall we be the same, or shall we prefer "Yellow" Social Democracy?

The Boycott of Spain.

The Portuguese Trade Unionists have decided to boycott all Spanish goods and to refuse to import Portuguese goods into Spain as long as the Spanish Government carries on "White" Terror against the Spanish workers. This action, together with that of the French dockers, should bring the Spanish capitalists to book. We congratulate our Latin comrades on their class solidarity. Our own workers have had so much dope that they have not yet even realised their duty towards Ireland.

Position of the Workers in Japan.

The prices of the necessaries of life have risen enormously. Rice has risen by 301 per cent., barley by 337 per cent., sugar by 207 per cent., meat by 269 per cent., milk by 175 per cent., and clothing material by 450 per cent. In comparison with this, wages have only increased from 75 to 80 per cent. since pre-war days. The number of strikes during 1920 had, in August, already reached 52, involving a total of 79,608 strikers.

Seven hundred Japanese organisations have resolved to support the opposition parties in their fight for general suffrage. We hope that the opposition parties are different from the West-European Labour faking fraternity, and that they are not afraid to "embarrass the Government," as Asquith, Henderson and Co. showed themselves to be last week. Truly, Comrades, Democracy is one of the Holy Mysteries, so we will leave it at that, and get on with Communism.

An organisation has been formed in Japan to resist Socialism, which "threatens the nation and is implanting unrest in the minds of the people." We thought that lack of food, housing, fuel, and other so-called necessities of life were the chief inducements towards "labour unrest," but perhaps the Kokosi-Kai knows best. What does the B.E.L. or the M.C.L. think about it? They are kindred organisations of this country.

Strike of Harbour Workers in Hamburg.

The Berlin *Tageblatt* announces a strike of the workers in Hamburg. Altona, who "downed tools" in resistance to a reduction of 10 marks a day in their wages. Our Hamburg comrades have our sympathy; we can truly say: "Same here." Wages are being reduced all round. *Working class wages*, not salaries for Cabinet Ministers.

The "White" Terror in Spain.

The assassination of the Spanish Minister, whether by Anarchists or by the Spanish Secret Service, is the excuse for acts of "White" terror against Spanish workers which can be best compared to the state of things in Ireland or Hungary. The capitalist system, exploitation of man by man, is always cruel, whether it sends armies of workers into the battlefield as cannon fodder, or whether it looks on pitilessly while masses of unemployed are dying of starvation.

Entente Plots with Horthy.

It is reported from Budapest that an agreement has been made between Horthy and the Entente powers, by which Hungary pledges itself to put in the field 300,000 soldiers "to support Poland or Rumania, in case either of these States is attacked by Soviet Russia!" The Entente undertakes to provide the Hungarians with munitions and supplies, and "should the help of Hungary be necessary and if Hungary fulfils its obligations, then the Entente undertakes to settle the question of Carpatho-Russia and West Hungary in favour of Hungary." Yes, Hungarian capitalists and landowners, no doubt! How about the Hungarian workers, who are perishing wholesale under Horthy's rule?

Revolution in Georgia.

News reaches us that the Menshevists, who were deposed by the workers and peasants of Georgia, have applied to the French for help, and the French battleships are firing on the peaceful population, killing women and children. Exactly so! That is what we always thought: (1) of our Menshevist Social

traitors; (2) of the Entente capitalists.

"Government Order" for Ammunition.

We hear that the Austrian Government has placed an order with a munition firm in Brunn for five million cartridges. Are the Austrians different from the rest of humanity? Do they live on munitions and not on bread? We suggest that the friends who are trying to save the Austrian children take note of this. Our foreign correspondent pertinently asks if the munitions are for the "Spring Peace"! We wonder.

Peasants in Hungary against the National Army

The peasants of Hungary are, at any rate, quite clear on the point, and are expressing a wish that they and their countrymen should *produce* and not *destroy*. They are rising against the twentieth century Mansfield, who is devastating their country, and raping their women. Some of the soldiers, too, have deserted, and have taken up field work.

Ferment in Roumania.

News has reached us that the Roumanian soldiers, who were promised so glibly by Mr. Take Jonescu as cannon fodder for the Allies, are demanding to be demobilised. Frequent mutinies are breaking out amongst them. These are, of course, put down to "Bolshevist-propaganda." We suggest that it is commonsense propaganda. These men know that their families are hungry, and they know that they will soon starve if the land goes out of cultivation. They want to sow their spring crops. Hunger, plus common sense, are in themselves excellent propaganda.

General Averescu, meantime, has introduced the death penalty for Bolshevist propaganda. Will he command the seasons to stand still? Will he punish the sun in the heavens? Can he create food? Poor fuddled fool! But weakness and cruelty go hand in hand.

"Man, proud man!

Drest in a little brief authority;
Most ignorant of what he's most assur'd—
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep; who, with our spleens,
Would all themselves laugh mortal."

THE WORLD MIND OF LABOUR.

By BASIL MATHEWS.

(Contributor to *Outward Bound*.)

The explosive slogan which Karl Marx sounded as the battle-cry of the class-war:

"Workers of the world, unite!

You have nothing to lose but your chains," has a world-wide audience to-day. The range is so vast that it would make even the author of that battle-cry rub his eyes with incredulous astonishment.

Even in these last few months a step has been taken quietly—almost secretly, indeed—which marks a new stage in the war of world-labour.

In China there has just been held a conference of Far East Socialists. Eighteen delegates came across the water from Japan, one from Formosa, three from Korea, and forty from different parts of China itself. At that conference these new leaders planned out a combined revolutionary propaganda and organisation which was to rouse and direct the mind of the labourers of China, Japan, Korea and India.

When we remember that China has miners hewing coal in her stupendous coalfields (the vastest in the world); that she has her enormous ironworks alongside her great rivers where ocean-going tramps take aboard the pig-iron for the steel-works of America; when we recall that in Shanghai children of eight work on twelve-hour shifts in cotton mills at the equivalent of a halfpenny a day; when, in addition, we try to visualise the millions of men, women and children labouring in cotton, milk, and other factories, which have sprung up like a vast crop of mushrooms in Japan; and if we add to these the swarms of workers in the jute mills of the Ganges and the cotton mills of Bombay; when we think of how thin now and amazingly rapid industrial revolution in the East is drawing millions upon millions of Oriental labourers into this cauldron, we see what vast issues for the future of the world lie in the hands of Eastern labour—not today, nor even, perhaps, to-morrow, but certainly the day after.

If we add to that great portent the universal upheaval of the human spirit in the ranks of labour, as much in Glasgow as in Westphalia, and equally in Chicago and Johannesburg, we shall hardly feel that it is going too far to say that what is in the mind of labour, looked at on a world scale, is the most important factor in the world's future. —*Outward Bound*.

GLASGOW COMMUNIST GROUP.

A Maintenance and Defence Fund has been started to assist Comrades McLeish, Patrick, Aldred, and Fleming, recently arrested. Financial assistance to carry on the fight, which is yours, too, should be sent to A. R. Haining, secretary, or to J. Parker, treasurer, 13, Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow, W.

BRANCH REPORTS.

(Inserted free. Copy should reach us not later than Monday, first post.)

The first meeting of the Poplar Branch of the C.P.G.B., on the 14th inst., at 361, East India Dock Road, was attended by thirty Comrades. The following resolutions passed:—

- (1) That no person be accepted as a member of the Branch unless he or she is known to at least two Comrades of the Branch.
- (2) That a Propaganda Committee be formed whose duties it shall be to advise the Branch as to outdoor and indoor meetings.
- (3) That a Literature Committee be formed to advise the Branch on the suitable literature for the indoor and outdoor meetings.
- (4) That the *Workers' Dreadnought* be sold at all indoor and outdoor meetings.
- (5) That a report of the Branch meeting be sent to the Communist Party and to the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

L. GOLDSTEIN, Secretary.

OUR COMPETITION.

1. The *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish and circulate at the lowest possible price, a pamphlet explaining in an easy and convincing style, the meaning of Communism and affiliation to the Third International.
2. No money prize will be given, but the author of the accepted MS. will receive free 300 copies of the pamphlet.
3. The MS. should reach the *Workers' Dreadnought* offices—in a registered letter (please note this point)—not later than March 25th, 1921.
4. The pamphlet should be of not less than 6,000 words and not more than 10,000. The MS. should be written, or typed, on one side of the paper only.
5. The MS. should reach us unsigned, and consequently the name of the author should not appear on any of the pages of the MS., nor on any part of the registered packet that contains it.
6. On the other hand, a *nom de plume* or a set of figures, should appear on the first and last page of the MS.
7. When sending the registered letter to us, the counterfoil must be kept, to be produced at a later date. The possession of the Certificate of Registration will be deemed the proof of authorship, both in the case of the successful competitor and of the others, to whom their MS. will be returned.
8. In an issue in April, the *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish the number of the registered letter that contained the accepted manuscript and will then invite the successful competitor to send in his or her name. Should the author desire to remain anonymous the *Workers' Dreadnought* will proceed without further delay to publish the pamphlet.
9. The *Workers' Dreadnought* reserves the right to publish at a subsequent date, either in full, or partially, in the paper itself, or in pamphlet form, the next best two MSS., and will announce the names of these competitors at the same time as that of the successful one.
10. The decision of the *Workers' Dreadnought* will be final.

Received this week:—

- (1) By registered letter, from an East Lothian town, a typescript of 20 pp., marked with a figure of four digits.
- (2) By registered letter, from a London district, a MSS. of 15 pp., signed by a feminine pseudonym of two words.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Carried forward	26	12	6
Mrs. Cooper	0	7	6
Miss Tigh	0	2	6
G. Vonsden (Poplar)	0	2	0
Total	27	4	6

COSTS OF APPEAL FUND.

Anon., £5; total, £27 14s. 7½d.

Donations to the Prisoners' Library, Holloway, of French and English books on philosophy, economics, sociology, history and poetry should be sent to: The Governor, H.M. Prison, Holloway, N.1.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE SHAKAI-SHUGI KENKYU.

(A monthly study on International Socialism and the Labour Movement. Kin Yamakara, Arai-ku, Omori, Tokyo, Japan.)

A publication in Japanese of 48 pages, plus eight in English, and this, the first issue of the third year, is "a special number for women."

There is an informative article on the status of women in Soviet Russia by a Japanese writer, and translations of articles by Lenin and Zinoviev.

The marriage laws of the Russian Republic are also given, testifying to the great interest that the Far East takes in the new society that is being evolved in Russia.

A Comrade has promised us the translation of the article on Kollontai and Spiridonova, which may finally appear in our pages, for it would be highly interesting to know the opinion of a Japanese woman on these two Russian women, so different intellectually and yet united by a common rebellious spirit.

The English pages of this publication give an interesting introduction to what will be the history of the struggles of the people of modern Japan.

RUSSIA—BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

(By S. Carlyle Potter. C. W. Daniel, Ltd., Graham House, Tudor Street, London, E.C. 4. 64 pages. 1s. net.)

This book, by our friend Potter, was published some time ago, yet, although things moved ever so swiftly in Russia, it is of interest still, being a well-compiled record of important facts and of views which found full justification later on.

The books of the House of Daniel have, every one of them, a special characteristic that they never lose their original interest, and they only grow old as good wine does; getting mature and more mellow.

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION.

(Thesis, etc., with an introduction. Communist Party. 16 pp. 2d.)

"Now, for the first time in the history of the Socialist movement in Britain, the agrarian question is to be considered as involving something fundamental in party work." The question is the question of "landlordism," plus the mentality and the psychology of the land worker, who, oppressed as he may be, kept in ignorance, is seldom as hungry as the town worker.

The theoretical discussion of this question is of no value whatsoever; one should remember that character in Dickens who, to get the boy to remember the spelling of window, had him clean it.

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM.

By BISHOP WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN, D.D.

A masterly analysis and contrast of Communism and Christianity from the revolutionary and scientific standpoints. A splendid work by a Marxian and Darwinian Scholar that should be read by every worker. It smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

Communism and Christianity has been warmly received by the American workers. The book is meeting with pronounced opposition from the entrenched interests. Members of a chamber of commerce are threatening the author and trying to suppress the work.

"Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason."

"Here is a book unlike any other ever written in America. It is one of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country. The second edition is even more wonderful and compelling than the first."

Paper, 204 pages, one copy 1s., six copies 5s. postpaid. Use International Money Orders only. Published in October, 1920. Thirtieth thousand now ready.

MODERN PRESS

BOX 206 MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK, N.Y. U.S.A.

THE "ALSO RAN."

Sunshine in the Strand, and the Nobility, the profiteers, the vulgar crowd of the newly-rich away up North at the equine carnival of the Grand National.

A procession of men passes, guided and chaperoned by benign policemen. Four abreast, with steady steps, a bannerette in front of it, the procession passes by.

Five and six years ago a similar procession was passing, four abreast, with steady steps: the Youth of England, answering an Asquithian call to arms for the defence of violated Belgium.

There were cheers, five and six years ago, and drum and fife; women halted to see the men pass and admired, joyfully feeling the thrill of war. Munitioneering and Committee-organising Venus waved her hand to khaki-clad Mars.

No cheers to-day; it is the procession of the "also ran" that passes.

The "also ran" in the race for the control of the wealth and the commodities of the country.

The prize went to the crafty, to the stay-at-home patriots; and the honours and the triumph and the dining and the joys and the luxuries of life is theirs.

The others, the "also ran," are to-day the unemployed, the dole-receivers, as Fleet Street calls them.

The winners in the race for control of the natural resources, the accumulated riches of the country and the products of labour are the favoured few. The "also ran," who have registered as unemployed, number about 1,250,000.

In addition to these, a further 750,000, it is estimated, say the papers, are working short time.

Some 100,000 do not receive unemployment benefit of any kind.

In other cases, the unemployment benefit is made up of funds from Trade Unions, from money, in other words, coming from the workers' pockets.

With the condescending grace of an alms giver, the Government says it has provided work for some 105,000 men who will work, as before, making profits for others, with the humiliation of being employed as per special favour.

An exciting rumour went round the other day that the Labour Party had assembled to deal with this "pressing" question.

The rumour went so far as to assert that Webb had proposed a scheme, that Henderson had said "Yes" to it, and that Thomas had made a speech.

What is the remedy for this state of things? There is none, within the structure of the present capitalist society.

The "also ran" of to-day will run again to make a field and be left behind again another time.

The unemployed will be working once more at full speed as soon as it will suit the big employers of labour who set the pace to the producing activity of the country.

No remedy, then? No, there is none; for in the sunny Strand the procession goes by, four abreast, with steady steps, escorting a delegation to some Mayor or another of the men put into power.

There is none at present; for the only one that could cure the ever-recurring disease could only be brought forward by an extreme sense of workers' solidarity; by a clear understanding of our position; by the destruction of the cobwebs of the mind that hinder vigorous thinking.

Producing for profit produces unemployment; producing for utility, for the commonwealth benefit would keep us all busy; all; even the Nobility, the profiteer, the vulgar "new rich."

To the utter disgust and surprise—we are ~~afraid~~ not a few even of the "also ran," who would say: "Oh, dear me, would that be really right?"

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Casey came into the Plate Room, and as he put his cylinder down it was noticed, with much amusement, that he had not wiped off the red ink from his hands too carefully.

Jack came up to him and, rolling his eyes in mock horror, remarked in what was meant to be a sepulchral voice—

"Blood!"

"Wharrer mean?" grunted Casey.

"After a hearty breakfast," continued Jack unheeding, "the doomed man walked steadily to the scaffold."

"A cross marks the spot where the body was found," said Henry, entering into the spirit of the joke.

"The arrow indicates the bloodstained footprints made by the murderer," went on Jack.

Casey reached for the mallet and Jack dodged round to the door, only to run into young Bert who was just coming in.

"Who are you a-shoving off?" he demanded, when he had recovered his balance, pretending to feel for a black eye.

"I just heard 'em yelling 'Sensational arrest of Bonar Law' just now," he said, by way of reply.

"Say that again," asked Jack.

Young Bert repeated his astounding item of news. There was much incredulity amongst the company, so at last it was agreed that Jack should send out for a paper, he being the only one in funds, and it being Friday.

It was found that it was merely 'Sensational resignation,' after all, so in the sacred interests of truth Young Bert was duly clumped on the ear and threatened with the mallet if he ever did it again, Jack vainly demanding his penny back.

"Catch me bringing you blighters any more news" young Bert yelled from a safe distance of the doorway.

"I wonder why they call it sensational," pondered Mac aloud when the important news had been read solemnly aloud by old James, who honoured it with an elaborate polishing of his "windows" and an extra pinch of snuff.

"Well, ain't it sensational?" demanded Jack.

"Depends on what you mean by sensational," put in James, diplomatically.

"I should think it would be the most natural thing in the world for Bonar Law to resign," assseverated Mac complacently.

"So you would," remarked Jack bitterly, "but we can't all be so thundering clever."

"Anyway, Bonar Law was bound to resign one of these fine days, wasn't he?" demanded Mac.

"Oh, I don't know," answered Jack. "Such a lot of things are bound to happen, but it don't make it any the less sensational if you went home to-night and found your house on fire."

"Well, I shouldn't find it sensational myself; and as for a politician joining the ranks of the unemployed, it would be more sensational if he did something for them."

"There's bound to be unemployment now and again," put in Casey. "I was in for it ten years ago myself."

"I agree with you," answered Mac. "But doesn't that show that it is all part of the system?"

"Depends on what system you mean," put in again the diplomatic James.

"What I mean by the present system," declared Mac, "is, of course, the capitalist system."

"Thought so," said James.

"Tell us something new," sneered Jack.

"I don't see why you are always blaming them capitalists," remarked Henry. "One would think from the way you talk that they made the world in six days."

"They own the earth to begin with," said Mac, "and as for having made it, I won't deny that they haven't had a big share in making it what it is now."

"How do you make that out?" he was asked.

"They have made all the laws to begin with. First of all they have got a good hold on the land, and in order to keep the people from taking it back they raised armed forces. In the old days every bold baron had his own little army."

"Perhaps so," said Jack, "but they don't have private armies now."

"Well, they have the present army anyway, as you see by Ireland, and there's always the police. Besides, if the British capitalists like, they can take a lead from America and have their own private detectives, who are always armed to protect themselves from the workers, who never earn enough to treat themselves to a Colt automatic for their own protection."

"That's what you read in the ordinary Press," answered Mac, "but if you could save a penny now and again for some Communist literature, you'd learn something. But," he added, "what about Ireland?"

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