

Communism and Its Tactics.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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KEIR HARDIE.

The death of H. M. Hyndman, last week, recalls his controversies with his infinitely greater contemporary, Keir Hardie.

William Stewart's just published biography* of Keir Hardie deals with some of the striking points of divergence in the policies of the two men. What a contrast they presented!

Keir Hardie and Hyndman.

Hardie was the child of a poor working woman. His mother toiled in the fields to maintain him. His stepfather was frequently unemployed. Hardie became a wage earner at seven years old, and was for many months the sole breadwinner for his mother's now numerous family. Hardie never went to school; he learnt to read at his mother's knee when he came home tired from his long day's work, and taught himself shorthand by the light of a pit lamp, whilst employed in the coal mine.

Hardie was always beset by poverty and the responsibility of maintaining others. No sooner were his cares as breadwinner for his mother's family lightened, than he married, at 25 years, and took on his shoulders the burden of a wife, and soon also the burden of a young family of his own. Nevertheless, with no one to lead him, he found his own path to Socialism.

Hyndman was the son of a rich man, and always lived in comfort. He was childless; yet with many other sources of income open to him, he plunged into Stock Exchange speculations, hobnobbing with shady financiers, cornerers of wheat and the international armament rings. Hardie, in every item of his private life and in all financial matters, adhered with absolute rigidity to the spirit and letter of principle.

That he refused £300 a year from the Liberals is not surprising—how cheaply these vulgar fellows thought they could buy a man of incorruptible fibre! He also refused—and that at a time of great financial embarrassment, both personal and on account of his paper, the *Labour Leader*—£300 a year from the Misses Kippen, two worthy old ladies, who, as time eventually proved, were entirely staunch and dependable. He refused Carnegie's cheque for his West Ham election fund, though, of course, money was urgently required, and sent it to Carnegie's employees on strike in Pittsburgh. He refused £20,000, offered if he would express approval of bi-metalism to aid J. W. Bryan's candidature for the American Presidency.

Throughout his early years of struggle, and during his first term of Parliament, he was never able to send to his family more than 25/- a week. Even when he lived at 10 Nevill's Court, during the latter part of his life, the rent of his lodging was but 11/- a week: he did the greater part of his own housework, cooked what little supper and breakfast he had—usually tea and bread, or Scotch scones. When he went on his world tour, to regain health after his first serious illness, persons abroad who desired to help him, advised him that a great boom in rubber was about to develop and that the investment of even a comparatively few pounds in rubber shares would provide a substantial return. Hardie refused to have any dealings in this gamble; he wished to keep his hands free of such speculations, which are at the root of capitalist Imperialism and the consequent exploitation of native peoples.

But these things, symptomatic as they are, are mainly personal; in the wider political fields the same differences may be observed. Hyndman

had the advantage of a University education, and the much greater advantage of association with the giant intellect, Karl Marx, whom he is said, by the way, to have irritated considerably, and of whom he was, especially in his latter years, a most unfaithful follower.

Nevertheless, Hyndman always boasted of being a Marxian and a scientific Socialist, and expressed the utmost contempt for great Keir Hardie. His followers, foolishly appraising the man at his own bombastic estimate, proclaimed him the Marxian of Great Britain and declared themselves Marxians, merely because they were followers of Hyndman, interlarding their articles and speeches with the phrase "we

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Marxians," even when they knew little and understood less of the master political economist's theories.

Keir Hardie as Marxian, Hyndman as Possibilist.

Nevertheless, we find, as Mr. Stewart records, that at the founding of the Second International in London, in 1889, Hyndman was with the "Possibilists," representing the S.D.F., in company with John Burns, Mrs. Besant, Thomas Burt and Charles Fenwick, the Lib.-Lab. M.P.'s and others, representative of the Fabian Society and Trade Union Congress. So much for the loud professing Marxian. Keir Hardie, on the other hand, was with the avowedly Marxian Congress, representing the Scottish Labour Party, in company with Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel.

Hyndman's Anti-German Pre-War Scare, Hardie's International Propaganda.

Many years before the war, Keir Hardie foresaw it and laboured against it, pioneering at home and in the International the idea of a general strike of the workers to prevent war, and seizing every opportunity to promote the international solidarity of the working class.

Hyndman, on the other hand, was, like Robert Blatchford, assisting the war-mongers and promoting anti-German war scares, and advocating a Citizen Army for this country (another name for Conscription) so early as 1908.

In that year he refused to speak with Keir Hardie at meetings arranged by the Clarion Van Committees at Holborn and Finsbury Town Halls. Hyndman gave as his reason for refusal, Hardie's attack on the Citizen Army proposal at a reception to German Socialist delegates, and an anti-war scare article in which he said:—

"Blatchford and Hyndman seem to have set themselves the task of producing that very feeling of inevitableness than which nothing could more strengthen the hands of the war-mongers. . . . Is that work worthy of Socialism? I assure our German Socialist and Trade Union comrades that Blatchford and Hyndman speak for themselves alone. . . .

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

We are prepared to co-operate with our German friends in thwarting the malignant designs of the small group of interested scare-mongers, who, in both countries, would like to see war break out."

It is unnecessary to recall Hyndman's jingoism during the war.

Keir Hardie and the General Strike.

It is interesting, and not generally realised, that Keir Hardie was early an advocate of the general strike, and of the International general strike. He advocated it when in his early twenties he was a miners' agent in Lanarkshire; he advocated it to secure the eight-hour working day and a general international standard of working-class conditions; he advocated it to prevent war; he advocated it to the end of his life.

It is interesting to recall that though he is best known as the great agitator for the ideal of the political independence of the working class in this country, he began as an industrial leader, was highly successful in that capacity, and was one of the founders and the first of the leading spirits in creating the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

A Pioneer of International Industrial Unionism.

How many people realise that so long ago as 1888, Keir Hardie, at the first International Congress he ever attended, moved a resolution tending towards International Industrial Unionism? This Congress was called in London by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress. The German Social Democrats did not attend, through a misunderstanding, but delegates came from France, Holland, and Belgium, and Lazzari came from Italy. Hardie's resolution was as follows:—

"First. That all Unions of one trade [this surely means industry, and would be so named to-day] in one country, combine in electing an executive central body for that trade in that country.

"Second. That the central bodies of the various trades in the different countries elect a central council for all trades.

"Third. That the central bodies of the various trades in the different countries shall meet in conference annually and an International Conference shall be held at intervals of not less than three years."

Hardie's resolution was not carried. That is not surprising since the delegates included Burt, Fenwick, Abraham, and Henry Broadhurst, whom Hardie, later, strove to impeach, at the Trade Union Congress as "not a fit and proper person to hold the office of Secretary," Broadhurst having voted against the Miners' Eight-Hour Day Bill in Parliament, and being a henchman of the Liberal Party.

* J. Keir Hardie: A biography by William Stewart Cassell and Company. 15s.

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Independence.

Keir Hardie fought all his life for the political independence of the working class: he was essentially class-conscious. This is well illustrated by a quotation from the *London Echo* on one of Keir Hardie's early fights for the unemployed. In 1893, Mr. Gladstone had replied to a Parliamentary question by Keir Hardie, that it was "not the business of the Government to deal with such questions."

In the following session, the Government, on Hardie's pressure, agreed to appoint a Committee to advise the Government as to what steps it might take to deal with the problem. The *Echo* said:—

"The chronologist will at least do him the justice of recording how he threw the Government of the day into a blue funk, forced their hand and then haughtily left the Chamber, disdainful with almost a refinement of cynicism, to support their tardy concession."

Class-conscious as he was, class-proud, class-loyal, Keir Hardie is said to have argued against the doctrine of the class war. So, in a measure, he did, at any rate against the use of the term "the class war." He said: "The working class is not a class; it is a nation. It is a degradation of the Socialist movement to drag it down to the mere struggle for supremacy of two contending factions."

The reason he used such arguments was, I think, mainly that, in his effort to induce the Trade Unions to work along with the Socialist organisations, he had to contend with reactionary Labour leaders, who wanted their fellow Trade Unionists to be either deaf and blind to politics (and here I do not mean Parliamentary politics, but politics in the widest sense), or hangers on of the capitalist parties. These reactionaries sought to arouse the prejudices of their members against the Socialist organisation by saying that they were composed of middle class people, which, to a certain extent, was true.

A Party Book.

Mr. Stewart's biography of Keir Hardie suffers greatly from the fact that it is largely a party book, and Mr. Stewart is wholly a party man. In his chronicle of the events following the formation of the I.L.P., the book is a history of the I.L.P., rather than the life of Keir Hardie. That Hardie bulks rather largely in it is due to the fact that Keir Hardie bulked much more largely in the I.L.P. than Mr. Stewart allows him to bulk in his book. Dealing, for instance, with the speeches made in Parliament, on the outbreak of the European war, Mr. Stewart gives a fairly long extract from MacDonald's speech, and a mere brief summary of Hardie's.

Mr. Stewart says:—

"If it be true that the letters are the raw material of biography, this particular biography has been produced at a disadvantage. That is not entirely true, however. Much of the material for a life of Keir Hardie is to be found not in his private, but in his public writings."

But why should this biography have been produced without the assistance of letters by Keir Hardie himself? As many of his friends are aware, he was a prolific, descriptive and most self-revealing correspondent.

In looking through the names of those whom Mr. Stewart thanks, in his Preface, for assistance in producing the book, one is astonished to find no mention of his closest friend, Frank Smith, who, of course, could have rendered the volume immeasurably more valuable, and would certainly have swept away a number of gross errors which have found their way into its pages. Harry Morris of Merthyr, too, had a large correspondence with Keir Hardie, and has preserved his letters, which would have made important reading for Hardie's biographer.

Indeed, we are at a loss to know why the I.L.P. did not secure Frank Smith to write Keir Hardie's life, if not as the sole author, at least as collaborator.

The volume, as a party book, is padded with tedious references to the doings of all sorts of people, whose services to the party must apparently not be overlooked.

Keir Hardie's early life, which was really an extraordinarily rich and vivid romance, as any

who have had the good fortune to listen to his own rare accounts of it can testify, is poorly rendered, a compound of guess work and inaccuracies; the tremendous intensity of the struggle, its extremely tragic quality, and the rich vigour and tenacity of the principal actor being largely missed.

A remarkable first chapter of his life story, which Keir Hardie had written and lost, and which was found only after his death, ought to have been incorporated in this book, but it has been omitted.

In the latter part of the book, Mr. Stewart largely substitutes the expression of his own opinions for the attempt to portray those of Keir Hardie. This is specially the case in the extraordinarily inaccurate account of the Suffragette Movement. Mr. Stewart's views are diametrically opposed to those of Keir Hardie on this question, and J. R. MacDonald, who contributes an introduction to the work, refers to Hardie's "waywardness" in regard to it. Mr. Stewart says that Keir Hardie neither supported nor condemned the early Suffragette manifestations. It will no doubt be surprising to him to learn that Keir Hardie procured the tickets which admitted the Suffragettes to Campbell-Bannerman's Albert Hall meeting, the first at which a Suffragette demonstration took place in London, and that he rejoiced heartily and with much amusement when he heard what an uproar the women had created.

Occasionally he thought some particular Suffragette tactics entailed more suffering upon the women who carried them out than the particular result warranted; occasionally he thought some particular tactics mistaken from the point of view of their efficacy; but in the main he approved and admired, and he always assisted the militant movement. As to the anti-Labour Policy, which was the latest development, he did not, of course, like it; but he admitted the Labour Party had disappointed and pained him in its lukewarmness towards this question (as it had on all questions). He definitely advised women suffragists to work independently of the Labour Party, frankly recognising that the Party would use the services of the women's organisations and give no more in return than public opinion would force on them. He advised the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies against supporting Labour Party candidates financially, and otherwise, telling them that their wisest course was to run their own independent campaign. He gave that advice as an honest man, viewing the situation from all sides, believing it to be the best in the interests of those to whom it was given, and knowing, sorrowfully, how little real fight in any cause was to be expected from the Labour Party. Perhaps, though I am not aware that he ever expressed the thought, he was not unmindful of the anti-Socialist tendencies that might come into the Party through the influence of a party of women who were merely Suffragists and almost entirely animated by bourgeois ideology.

As a Party man, Mr. Stewart naturally does not touch on the greatest tragedy of Hardie's closing years: his growing realisation of the failure of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the growth of reaction amongst its ranks. This was apparent not merely when war broke out, but from the moment of the Party's appearance in Westminster. Keir Hardie's abundant and too generous loyalty towards the Party continually placed him in false positions, which he would never have occupied but for his desire to present a united front to the capitalist parties. His Parliamentary association with Labour leaders who had either been his life-long opponents or had timidly followed in his footsteps whilst "differing" from him, till every one of his forward moves was found to be a success, now laid up for him many a conflict with the forward rank and file and dragged him back again and again from the position in the foremost vanguard of the movement which he had hitherto occupied.

When he had been that splendid Party of one in the old days he could fight with a freedom and spirit denied to him later on: how they harassed and curbed him, those time-serving colleagues!

A Party of One.

His Parliamentary fights as Member for West Ham; his ardent attacks on the citadel of Cap-

italism, and championship of the industrial workers and the unemployed have never been equalled in this country. Later, on his election for Merthyr, at the end of 1900, he opposed the Civil List, on account of his objection to monarchical principles, and in the same session, securing for the first time a place in the ballot for resolutions, he moved a Socialist resolution in the following terms, on April 23rd, 1901:—

"That considering the increased burden which the private ownership of land and capital is imposing upon the industrious and useful classes of the community, the poverty and destitution, and moral and physical deterioration resulting from a competitive system of wealth production, which aims primarily at profit-making; the alarming growth of trusts and syndicates, able, by reason of their great wealth, to influence Governments and plunge peaceful nations into war to serve their own interests, this House is of opinion that such a state of matters is a menace to the well-being of the Realm and calls for legislation designed to remedy the same by inaugurating a Socialist Commonwealth, founded upon the common ownership of land and capital, production for use and not for profit, and equality of opportunity for every citizen."

This resolution was, of course, merely a piece of propaganda; but no British Member of Parliament, before or since, has attempted such propaganda, which fulfilled a useful purpose in those early days.

As to Capitalist Imperialism, hear Keir Hardie as he wrote of it during the South African war:

"A great and extended Empire lengthens the period required for the change [from Capitalism to Socialism] and thus prolongs the misery, and it follows that the loss of Empire would hasten the advent of Socialism."

"The greater the Empire, the greater the military expenditure and the harder the lot of the workers. Modern Imperialism is, in fact, to the Socialist, simply Capitalism in its most predatory and militant phase."

Compare that with MacDonald's statement in the Preface to Stewart's biography on Hardie's visit to India:—

"... he was sorely struck by the brutally vile cartoon which *Punch* published of him when he was in India. I knew of letters which Lord Minto was sending home, expressing pleasure at his conduct in India, and I cheered him by telling him of them."

If Keir Hardie was worried about the stories of his Indian visit appearing in England, it was not on account of what this or that Lord or Minister thought of him, but on account of his Labour colleagues, his forbearance towards them, and his sense of responsibility to them in their timidity and partial state of enlightenment, and their eager desire to retain their Parliamentary seats. His old maxim was: "Never explain; never apologise." Only when he had Parliamentary colleagues to consider did he attempt to do so.

How they curbed him, how they "differed" from him, as Stewart and MacDonald record!

He towered above them, as a great mountain, something too big, too many-sided, ample and generous for them to understand.

How lightly a life of great usefulness may be sacrificed is shown by the unnecessary hardship he suffered, from which his colleagues might easily have saved him. So lately as 1900, the I.L.P. Executive, in arranging for his Merthyr candidature, was stating that his maintenance need not be considered, as "Hardie would continue to support himself by his pen." Yet his time was, of course, almost entirely absorbed by his voluntary work as Editor and general manager of the *Labour Leader*, as Member of Parliament, as general propagandist, guide, philosopher and friend to all and sundry in the movement. As a speaker, he charged little more than his expenses. Yet, somehow, he was expected to maintain a family. At last, in 1901, the I.L.P. raised a wages fund for him of some thing under £3 a week, £150 a year.

Little wonder that he was already becoming seriously ill and had a bad collapse in 1902-3!

Then, after he had borne the strain of

(continued on page 4.)

REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

(Continued from last week.)

II.

Boldness of thought and example to induce the masses to put into execution what they dare think—this is what has been wanting in actors in past revolutions. It is still what is likely to be wanting in the next.

Who has not asked, with grief, when studying the revolutions of the past: "Why such effort, such sublime devotion, so much bloodshed and so many families in mourning, so much destruction for such poor results?" This question constantly turns up in literature, in conversation, and in revolutionary propaganda.

It is partly because we do not make allowance for the immense obstacles experienced in every revolution from the blind or conscientious partisans. Their power is overlooked, as is their stubbornness in becoming turn-coats to save their privileges; we forget their conspiracies and intrigues when we are no longer face to face with them. We forget, in fine, that revolutions are made by minorities. And we forget also that if the revolutionaries have exhibited courage and formidable rashness in their acts, they have always failed in boldness of thought, aim and conception of the future. They dreamed of that future as assuming the form of that past against which they revolted. The past even held them bound in their enthusiasm for their future.

They dared not strike the decisive blow and kill the ancient régime in that which created its true strength: its religion, its future, its obedience to law, its centralisation, its army, its police, its prisons and all that sort of thing. They dared not destroy enough to open the wide gates of life, and of that new life, their conceptions were so vague and consequently so timid, so narrow, that they dared not, even in their dreams, touch the fetishes which they had allowed in their past slavery.

Could we expect great results from a timid brain, even when associated with an heroic heart?

When we reflect upon the events of the great Revolution, we cannot avoid being struck—as Quinet has so well said—with the rashness of the acts of our grandfathers, and the timidity of their thoughts. Proceedings, ultra-revolutionary; thoughts, timid and conservative. Prodiges of bravery and energy, supreme conception of life and its joys—and incredible timidity in the conception of the near future. Months and years elapsed before the people dared touch one of the chimeras which they surrounded with respect, before they compelled their leaders—the men whom they venerated and obeyed—to make the sacrifice of a single one of these institutions of the past. This is the distinctive feature of the revolution. It is the image of the soldier who proves courage and invincible rashness in capturing a battery from the enemy without daring to consider beyond the battery, without daring to cast a general glance at the war.

The unarmed people attack the thick walls and cannon of the Bastille; the women run to Versailles and bring back a prisoner; everywhere, in every little hamlet, men armed with clubs seize the municipalities, without caring if they are hanged the next day by the municipality returning to legality. A crowd of people over-run the Tuilleries and capture the King and crown him with the cap of liberty, and two months later, defying the Swiss Guard and the national bourgeois guard, they take the Tuilleries by assault. Ignoring the Convention, the obscure people take upon themselves the massacres of September. The Republic, without armies, undermined by the Royalists at home, resists the Allied Power. Danton demands boldness as the supreme means of saving the revolution. The scaffolds of the Convention, the drownings in the Vendée, the death-carts even, do not stop these revolutionists in their revolutionary proceedings; yet, throughout this grandiose drama, it is timidity of thought, not boldness of conception which hovers over all. Mediocrity of thought destroys noble efforts, grand passions and immense devotions.

Then, when royalty became nothing more than a memory, and was obeyed only by a few Swiss, Danton, Robespierre, and even the Cordeliers

feared the Republic more than they feared the King. Not until France was invaded by foreigners managed and commanded, in point of fact, from the Tuilleries, did they dare to think that France could dispense with a crowned sham.

When the clergy covered the whole of France with its vast conspiracy against the new régime, when that conspiracy included two-thirds of the population, the revolutionists surrounded the Church with their respect; they took it under the protection of the Revolution, and shortly they guillotined the "Anarchists" who dare to insult the Catholic worship.

It is evident that, in regard to economic questions, their timidity is greater still, and even more odious. The feudal system had ceased, and the lord of the manor, hunted by the peasants, had gone over the frontier; the seigniorial forests had been pillaged and the game exterminated; feudal quit-rents were no longer paid. But the leaders of the Revolution, even in the Convention, struggled to preserve the last wreck of the feudal rule and transmit it to the next century. And when the brilliant Girondins or the austere Robespierre heard the words "equality of fortune," they trembled at the simple idea that private property would no longer be respected by the people, because (they had owned some in the past), the State is based upon private ownership of property.

The leaders, it is true, are more backward than the people. The people are ahead of them in respect of emancipation from the past—they are further than the leaders; but their vision is so vague, so obscure, so wavering! In the heart of the people, even, ideas are so divided that this vagueness and hesitation spreads to the chiefs of the revolution.

The butcher, Legendre, who led the people in the attack on the Tuilleries, on June 20th, dare not even dream of dethroning the King—however tightly the people might hold the King under their pikes, they dare not push the point a little further and have done with royalty.

And later, when the Babeuf conspiracy was discovered, the Montagnards are taken by surprise. They have heard of vague popular aspirations towards Socialist equality; but they are quite thunderstruck at finding a programme. Their thought had never dared to go so far. But the people, none the more, did not know how to put their hopes into form.

The same happens in 1848.

After all the Socialist propaganda of 15 years, after Fourier and Cabot, after all that was said at a thousand meetings, and printed in hundreds of pamphlets, in favour of Communism—of the right to life and happiness—the revolutionists, that is to say, those who believed themselves to be and passed for such, and even the most advanced of these, are ready to shoot anyone who should speak of Communism. All they dare think is Republican Democracy, that is, association upheld by the State; and they leave to a Bonaparte exploiter the vague aspirations of the people, from which he makes himself a throne.

Repetition of the scene in 1871. These revolutionary heroes who are not stopped in their revolt by a hundred thousand men, have not one single revolutionary thought. They know nothing but previous revolutions—they believe only in turning against the old government the same weapons which it had used against its adversaries. But they could not bring forth any true Revolutionary Idea. They did not even know how to dispense with the policemen of the Empire, its courts-martial and its tinsel. They dreamed of the Commune, reproducing in miniature the whole State which they overthrew; and whilst ideas of equality worked in the minds of the people, they only dreamed of equality in submitting to their dictation. Had not Marat dreamed before them, and Marx, the modern god of the Socialists, had he not also preached popular dictation?

In short, no new idea, none of the thoughts which revolutionise the old world, sprang up in these minds, so revolutionary in their acts, so timid in their ideas, kneaded as they are into the models of the past, against which they declare war.

Are we better placed to-day, on the eve of the next revolution? Have we the boldness of

thought and initiative which make revolutions? In face of this past against which we rebel, in face of its submissiveness, of its authoritative organisation, its hypocrisy, its lies, have we the revolutionary thought which will know how to disown the past, not alone in its entirety, but in all its daily manifestations? Shall we know how to take the axe, not only to actual institutions, but to the ideas even which preside in their development? Are we revolutionists in word, in our thoughts as much as we are in our methods and in our acts? Will our revolutionary energy come to the service of a revolutionary idea?

We will enquire into this in the next article.

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

LESSON II.

The letter C in English is pronounced in two ways, sometimes as S, sometimes as K, as in cycle and cancer. In Esperanto it is only pronounced in one way, as TS in Tsar—excepting when there is an accent over it, Ĉ, and then it is pronounced as CH in Church.

The letter S in Esperanto is pronounced as in the English word Sister, but when it has an accent over it, Ŝ, it is pronounced like SH; thus ŝi, meaning She, is pronounced as we pronounce "she."

Remember these four letters, C, Ĉ, S, Ŝ, called TSO, CHO, SO, SHO; all the consonants' names end in O, being nouns.

ADVERBS.

We have seen that all nouns end in O, and all adjectives in A; we now find adverbs ending in E.

Bone, well (Bo-neh) Malbone, badly.
Plene, fully (Pleh-neh). Malplene, emptily.
Vere, truly (Veh-reh). Malvere, untruly.

These are words that you have learnt before, with the difference that they end in E, instead of A.

All adjectives can be made into adverbs by substituting E for A.

There are other adverbs not derived from adjectives, such as:—

For, away; sed, but; ol, than; pli, more; plej, most; tre, very.

VERBS AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

Verbs in Esperanto are very easy, because they all end alike, with no exceptions:

Esti, to be. Vidi, to see.
Paroli, to speak. Havi, to have.
Veni, to come. Iri, to go.
Kuri, to run. Skribi, to write.

If you give an order, you use the Imperative; Venu, come; Kuru, run; Iru, go; Parolu, speak.

The Imperative always ends in U, whereas the Infinitive ends in I; that is easy to remember.

Now for the tenses:—

Present Tense.

Mi venas, I come. Mi venis, I came.
Ci venas, thou comest. Ci venis, thou camest.
Li venas, he comes. Li venis, he came.
Ŝi venas, she comes. Ŝi venis, she came.
Ni venas, we come. Ni venis, we came.
Vi venas, you come. Vi venis, you came.
Ili venas, they come. Ili venis, they came.

Past Tense.

You notice that the only difference between the present tense and the past is that the present tense always ends in AS, and the past tense in IS, also that you have incidentally learnt the personal pronouns.

EXERCISE.

Carefully read aloud, pronouncing rightly, then write the translation and translate back into Esperanto:

La bona patro venas, sed la malgranda nevino iras.

La maljuna knabino estis pli malgranda ol la nova kokino.

La knabo kaj la nevo kuras bone.

Iru for, malgranda knabo!

Venu filo, parolu vere.

Jes patrino mi parolas tre plene.

Mi skribis pli ol vi, sed li skribas plej.

La onklo kaj la onklino venis kaj mi kuris for.

Ni estas onklo kaj nevino kaj ŝi estas la filino.

Vidu patro, ili venas, kaj li iras.

Ili skribis tre mallonge, sed ŝi parolis pli longe.

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THE IRISH WAR.

The Government still keeps silence on the Irish terms. Lord Birkenhead has made a statement to the Conservatives at Tunbridge Wells which might mean that some further concessions have been offered to Sinn Fein, or may only mean that Lord Birkenhead has omitted some of the old clauses in the terms already made public, and rejected by Sinn Fein.

He says Sinn Fein has been offered Dominion Government, except that the British Navy is to control Irish harbours and no tariff walls are to be raised. He does not mention the war debt, of which the Prime Minister and Sir Worthington Evans, at Liverpool, declared Ireland must pay what they count her share. Lord Birkenhead added that Ulster is not to be coerced, and is to have all the powers granted by the present Government of Ireland Act, but is asked to consent to an all-Ireland Parliament for Irish affairs. The present Government of Ireland Act provides for an all-Ireland Council of sorts: is this the old proposal dressed up again? Lloyd George's usual practice is to talk of peace, conciliation, and concessions till people grow to believe in them; then bring forward some old solution, long since discarded, gilding it with the glamour of fine phrases, in the hope that the imposition may not be noticed till the agreement is signed. Sinn Fein, however, is vigilant and suspicious; how far Sinn Fein may think it worth while to compromise now, in order to fight again, time will show; but our impression remains that neither side will concede anything substantial, and the Conference will break down. This view is now shared by our contemporaries who lately spoke as though peace were assured. If, as we expect, the Conference breaks down, there will be war, or a General Election, perhaps both.

What will British official Labour do in either event?

Will it continue to sit on the fence, uttering meaningless platitudes, whilst, in the event of war, it gives a tacit assent to the Government policy, by taking no step to hinder it.

Will the rank and file tolerate such a policy on the part of official Labour?

We urge all workers to take every possible step against the war. Had we the necessary organisation of revolutionaries in every workshop, in every industry, a halt could be called which would effectually stop the Irish war and many things beside.

We have not: that work remains to be done. Unfortunately the tactics of the Third International and the Red Trade Union International, by demanding that Communists shall work in the Labour Party and the old Trade Unions, is postponing the initiation of the bed rock revolutionary work that must be done in industry.

If opposition to the Irish war should accelerate the rise of revolutionary unions, built on a workshop basis, it will have brought about one valuable asset.

We urge all comrades to set about forming such unions without delay.

In order that the policy of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress may be clearly seen, we urge comrades to demand the calling of delegate conferences of those two bodies, and to get discussed there, resolutions pledging the organisations to support of the Irish Republic, and to a general strike in the event of war.

LABOUR PARTY v. COMMUNIST PARTY.

The London Labour Party has voted that the Labour Party should admit the Communist Party to affiliation if the Communist Party will pledge itself to abide loyally by the Labour Party constitution and programme. The Communist Party says it will, and the Labour Party may soon remove the ban. Meanwhile, we learn that the E.T.U. Executive has ordered its branches to expel revolutionary members from the ranks of its union.

If the E.T.U. policy spreads, as spread it will, the Communists within the unions will have to lie low, and be more than sparing in their Communist propaganda. In the Labour Party they will have to be still more careful if they desire to avoid expulsion; their revolutionary wings will be clipped and their propaganda claws drawn.

The Communist Party will either be forced to change its policy or to move ever further to the right. As it possesses a large centralist element it is fairly certain to take the latter course.

The way will thus be left clear for a genuine Communist Revolutionary Party.

The time is not yet, but it will come.

WASHINGTON.

It is quite evident that the Washington Peace Conference is by no means a pacific affair. America is, of course, trying to boss the situation, and at present it is not easy for the other nations to defy American domination. Whether Japan is to be the Germany of the Far East, and is to be crushed as a penalty for her desire to expand and her imitation of Western Imperialism by agreement between America and Britain is not clear yet. As for China the Powers have, by their coercion and intrigue, kept her in a ferment since her revolution, and are obviously determined that she is to be reduced to a state of complete dependence. Hear this *Times*:

"Foreign Powers, no matter how well disposed, cannot set up an independent Chinese Government. They can show a disposition that would facilitate the creation of such a Government, and they can so help in the reorganisation of Chinese finance as to supply such a Government with the wherewithal to assert and maintain its authority."

"Indeed, without the reorganisation of finance, which is impossible save under honest foreign supervision, no Chinese Government can acquire or retain the necessary authority or be independent of the influence of individual foreign Powers."

A nation is indeed doomed when the Great Powers begin to express a desire for its independence and integrity.

BRITAIN—FRANCE—GERMANY.

British foreign policy under capitalism, as successive Governments of both parties have frequently declared, is continuous; it is the same whether Liberals or Conservatives are in power. British capitalist foreign policy is always animated by hostility to its most powerful rivals—especially if these are territorial neighbours, or competitors in the same kinds of enterprise. In any case, the most powerful country in the world outside the British Empire is always the country against which British Foreign Office hostility is directed. Alliances with other Powers of all sorts are contracted in order to form a bloc against the hated rival. At present there are two rival capitalist Powers on which the British Foreign Office is casting suspicious eyes—France and America. Therefore there is a British Foreign Office tendency to draw nearer to its late enemy Germany. It is now rumoured that Germany is to be let off paying the war indemnity for four years, and, thereafter, altogether. There are rumours that Stinnes, the powerful German capitalist, during his visit here, has been fixing up this, and also the beginning of what may become a secret Anglo-German Alliance against France, and, perhaps, against America.

Stinnes has also certainly been feathering his own nest; he says to British capitalists: "If you cannot make your business in Britain pay, I can." It is said that he is not only interesting himself in Cornish tin, but also Welsh coal.

Our "patriotic" Government, which feared so much the German menace, and the German character, is content to let him go his way. It may be a key industry, or it may not, but if there is money in selling it, let it be sold, say our capitalist patriots.

When British labour raises itself to fight it will find Lloyd George and Stinnes closely collaborating to maintain the citadel of Big Business against the workers' attack.

AN OMINOUS WORD.

The Social Democratic organ of Buda Pesth, *Nepszava*, announces:—

"The chief of police has sent the following decree to the Secretary of the Social Democratic Party:—

"I herewith forbid the workers, organised on a Social Democratic basis, to make use of the form of address 'Comrade,' in meetings of any kind, in Trade Union assemblies, as also in economic discussions, and inform you that the use of this form of address will en-

tail the closing of the meeting, and legal punishment."

It is explained that the use of the word "Comrade" is to be forbidden, on the ground of the preservation of political and social order, as it reminds people of the darkest days of the Hungarian nation (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), and also of the spiritual affinity with Russian Bolshevism.

KEIR HARDIE.—Continued from page 1.

financing and editing the *Labour Leader* for ten years, he was compelled by failure in health to hand it over to the I.L.P.

The Executive appears not to have had the wisdom to ask him to retain the editorship and keep it open till his recovery.

How keenly Hardie felt his severance from the *Labour Leader* may be gathered from these words, quoted by Mr. Stewart:—

"From the first it has been my intention that the paper should one day become the property of the Independent Labour Party. That, however, I thought would be when I was no more. The thought of parting with it is like consenting to the loss of a dearly-loved child. But circumstances are always bigger than personal feelings. I have no longer the spring and elasticity of a few years ago, and that means that the pressure of work and worry must be somewhat relaxed. But, and this is really the deciding factor, the interests of the I.L.P. require that it should possess its own paper."

If those in control of the I.L.P. had been possessed of political insight and selfless commonsense, they would have taken the financial strain off Keir Hardie's shoulders and left him to edit the paper in freedom.

But it was not to be: moreover, remember, they were inclined to "differ."

When, later on, Hardie started a project for a Socialist Daily, and began raising a fund with this object, his love of democracy again bade him turn the project over to the I.L.P. Executive.

The Executive, in flat contradiction to his express desire, went to the Labour Party Executive, offering to make the paper a "Labour" daily and to give half the directors' seats to the Labour Party. The result was that shameful rag, the *Daily Citizen*.

The last Conference speech Keir Hardie made, the last Conference resolution he spoke to was on Russia; a protest against the imprisonment of the five Socialist Members of the Duma and 53 members of the Russian Seamen's Union, whose secretary had been arrested in Egypt and taken to Russia, and there condemned to Siberia.

Had Keir Hardie lived to see it, he would have rejoiced in the Russian Revolution.

Had he been here, the I.L.P. would never have taken the feeble, halting position that has reduced it to impotence. Had MacDonald and Snowden adopted their present counter-revolutionary attitude in face of Keir Hardie, either they or he must have left the Party.

It is interesting to recall that Keir Hardie was opposed to the expulsion of the Anarchists, Free Communists, and anti-Parliamentarians from the Second International at the London Congress in 1896.

Other times; other manners. The European war and the Russian Revolution began a new epoch; new tactics are needed now; other tactics are now possible than those which alone seemed open to Keir Hardie when he began his struggle to create a politically-awakened working class in this country.

Mr. Stewart's book contains much interesting matter; it is well bound, printed, and indexed; but as a biography of Keir Hardie it is a disappointment. We hope that some more adequate book may yet appear.

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COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

II.

Since the overthrow of capitalism would be resisted by the possessors of wealth, whether this were effected by Act of Parliament or by a sudden revolt of the people, it is absolutely necessary for the Communists to prepare the working class for such resistance. Many people still doubt that capitalist resistance to the overthrow of capitalism will go to the length of civil war; yet there is abundant contemporary evidence to prove that such resistance will be made.

Here in Britain we have the Ulster capitalist's preparations for armed resistance to the Asquith Home Rule Act. The civil war threats and preparations by Ulster capitalism were and are supported by British Toryism. That is why it succeeds. Since British and Ulster landlords and capitalists have thought it worth while to resort to the extreme of civil war on the Irish question; how absolutely certain it is that they would do so to prevent the establishment of Communism and proletarian rule!

In Finland, in Central Europe, in Russia, the same thing has been seen; when capitalism is in danger capitalism resorts to force of arms to protect itself. In Italy, too, the fascisti, with their armed attacks on Communists, Socialists, Trade Unionists, and Co-operators; attacks organised by the capitalists who use these disorderly bands as their tools, are but another evidence of the same fact: when the established order is in danger its beneficiaries aim to protect it; its supporters and opponents come to blows, civil war breaks out, and, for the time being, peace is no more.

Is that as it should be? It is as it is. The inevitable must be recognised and prepared for. A determined struggle for supremacy inevitably accompanies the overthrow of capitalism.

Experience shows that the crisis arises suddenly: the old relationship has been growing more and more strained, and suddenly the bonds are snapped and the storm bursts. We do not say that a Parliamentary crisis could not be the last straw that would precipitate the revolution, but in none of the contemporary revolutions has this been so. We have now the experience of Russia, Finland, Germany (where there have been a revolution and several attempts at further revolution), in Austria and Hungary to look to.

Great economic pressure, fired by a great rebellion against the actions and ideology of those who have been in power, is the factor which produces the proletarian revolution. Parliament must be overthrown with the capitalist system if the proletarian revolution is to succeed; there must be a clean break with the old institutions of Government; the revolution must create its own instrument.

Parliament would have to be sacrificed with the overthrow of capitalism, even were it conceivable that an Act of Parliament will formally abolish the capitalist system. The capitalists would resist by force the first attempt to put the Act into practice, and Parliament is not the body that could carry the proletarian revolution through to success in face of capitalist revolt, which would be one of both armed and passive resistance.

The workers would be compelled to meet such a revolt with all the forces at their disposal; their most characteristic weapon is their industrial power, for the effective wielding of which they would have to be co-ordinated industrially. Every industry would be divided against itself; the owners and part of the management would take the capitalist side; the mass of the workers the side of the working class. As in all the countries where the revolutionary crisis has appeared the naval and military forces would be divided in the same way, though

the old training and discipline would probably cause a larger proportion of the working class rank and file to support the side of the master class than would be the case in industry.

A little consideration of such a situation must reveal to anyone who thinks seriously that Parliament and the local governing bodies, the county and borough councils, the boards of guardians, and so on, could not be the guiding and co-ordinating machinery of such a struggle; that such machinery could take no other form than that of the Soviets.

Even in a war between rival capitalist governments Parliament becomes a cipher in the struggle; the machinery that carries out the war is the Cabinet composed of the heads of the various Departments of State, all very much controlled by the expert managers of those departments. On the military side the political and military heads of the War Office work in contact with a machine which is composed of all the officers from the highest to the lowest in the army, and the men under their command. On the industrial side the political and technical heads of the departments work through a machine which is composed of the owners, managers and workers in all industries, factories, workshops.

So it will be in the proletarian revolution, but this being a struggle between the workers and their masters, the officers and the managers will be proletarian leaders chosen by their fellows. And contact with the rank and file will be by delegates and mass meetings. The services of the rank file will not be based on compulsion and wagery, but on consent and enthusiasm and a voice in responsibility for aims and policies.

War experience will show us that even capitalism found that shop stewards and councils on which Trade Union officials co-operated with the management were helpful in securing greater output, which was necessary to their success in war.

Some people may say that the Soviets could be abandoned and Parliament reverted to after the clash of civil war had passed; and that, as they hope there may be no such clash, they will not interest themselves in the question of Soviets. Further consideration should show them, however, that even were hope of avoiding a struggle with capitalism justified, Parliament would have to go and the Soviets would become necessary at least for some time after the overthrow of capitalism.

Consider the position here in London with capitalism abolished; the tubes, trams and buses, the main line stations, the docks, the reservoirs, the gas works, the electric generating stations, the bakeries, food preserving, clothing and other factories, the slaughter-houses, butchers, bakers, green-grocers, grocers, and other wholesale and retail shops and the markets. Millions of people are waiting for their daily supply of milk and bread to be brought round to them, to find their daily supply of provender in the shops where they deal, their habitual means of transport. If any of these things stop, then at least some people will not arrive at their daily work, and masses of others may thus be deprived of accustomed necessities. Perhaps the workers are already engaged in a general strike; perhaps the wheels of industry and transport are already dislocated, and everyone is already living a hungry makeshift existence.

Whichever way it be, everything has to be reorganised and built up on a new basis; production for use, not for profit, and capitalism is overthrown. Undoubtedly some of those who used to manage the big concerns under the old system have refused to function any more; undoubtedly many others cannot be trusted to occupy such important positions of trust; already they have shown their hostility and have taken

to sabotage. And there are the people, the hungry millions of all sorts, clamouring to have their wants supplied, each with their peculiarities, their likes and dislikes, their reasonable and unreasonable prejudices, and crowds of them ready to start looting if they are kept waiting or denied what they are accustomed to have and what they think is their due. Everyone, both as worker and consumer, has new hopes and desires and new claims upon life, for has not the Workers' Revolution come? Everyone demands more leisure and more congenial labour, more food, more clothes, more pleasure; only the patient people are prepared to wait, and everyone is finding his daily work, assuming he is prepared to do it as of old, quite dislocated. Everyone, too, is demanding a new independent status, and a share in deciding how things shall be done.

Imagine bringing unfortunate Parliament into such a dilemma. Frank Hodges and T. C. Cramp besieged by a mob of Westminster housewives who cannot obtain either fish or butter. Will Thorne, who is told the electric supply is cut off in all the suburbs. Ramsay MacDonald, some of whose constituents are tramping to London to tell him that Leicester can get no coal.

The only chance for that Parliament would be to call the Industrial Soviets into being!

As to the borough councils: we remember the simple little matter of the food rationing, and the groups of housewives here and there who, through the muddles of the local food committee and the Ministry of Food, found themselves as "outlanders" prohibited from buying at the shops where they had hitherto dealt, and unable to procure commodities anywhere else.

The only people who could deal with the great new situation would be the people who do the work and the people who use the produce. All interlocked as they are in this busy hive of overcrowded life the Soviets would be the only solution. The workers in the factory in a turmoil of dislocation would come together and talk the matter over; appoint one of their number to answer the telephone, another to fetch supplies; others to take stock; others, according to their capacities, to mind the various machines, others to acquaint the absentees that the factory is at work again, others as organisers and instructors. They would send to the workers in other factories for more supplies and organise exchanges.

The women rushing frantically about in search of supplies, and threatening to start looting and rioting because their children are hungry, would be called together by the more level-headed, would enumerate their wants and place their demands before the workers responsible for production and transport.

Thus, by mutual aid and co-ordination the difficulties will be solved.

To be continued.

ON SALE NOW.

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

What Readers say:—

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From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE,
152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

New South Wales Unemployed.

New South Wales Labour Ministers have refused to meet deputations of unemployed demanding work or maintenance in Sydney.

Moscow's Washington Prophecy.

The III. International Executive recently made the following prophecy regarding the Washington Conference:—

England will take the part of Japan and endeavour to secure a compromise rendering it possible for her to keep up the alliance with Japan and to include America formally in the alliance. This compromise will give:—

To Japan certain rights in Siberia.
To America concessions in China, and from Britain a share in the exploitation of Mesopotamian oil wells, etc.

At the first opportunity England and America will form a trust to despoil Japan of her war gains in China and Soviet Russia in the interests of America.

This understanding will be the starting point of new groupings and complications.

Antagonism will continue and grow sharper between:—

England and America.
England and France.
The Allies and Germany.
The Allies and Soviet Russia.

American Railway Bosses.

In 1920 American railways gave increases in wages to their workers amounting to 600,000,000 dollars, but they raised passenger and freight charges not only 600 million dollars, but also a further billion dollars. In 1921 railway workers were reduced 12 per cent., giving the railways an extra 450 millions a year, and now the railways are trying to enforce another wages cut of 10 per cent.

Japanese Show Solidarity on Hawaii.

The American I.W.W. organ *Solidarity* records its hope of securing solidarity between American workers, Japanese and Philipinos in Hawaii. American capitalism has begun an attack on the Chinese Exclusion Act, with the object of importing indentured Chinese coolies to break wages. The Japanese workers in Hawaii contributed 1,500 dollars towards the workers' joint effort to counter this move.

GERMANY.

Unfolded Prosperity for German Capital.

This fraudulent Government—politically influenced by the treacherous Social Democrats and economically dominated by the Stinnes (German peoples) Party, does everything possible to protect and safeguard the accumulated wealth of the large capitalists, nay, it seeks to enable them to further increase their huge incomes and profits by leaps and bounds. The large industrialists are given facilities to resist and defy the workers' demand for increase in wages merely to cope with the rapid rise in the prices of commodities. Many capitalists are now obstinately trying to push aside the legal eight hours' day. The international financial speculators on the Stock Exchange have driven down the value of the mark to a minimum, and a paddening rush for foreign values has set in, under the cover of which German unscrupulous profiteers are succeeding in sending German-made wealth in enormous quantities abroad. All the capitalists—large and small—are enjoying untold prosperity—while the workers have a hard, desperate struggle against want and misery. By the time a rise in wages is assented to by the employers the prices of commodities have so rapidly and enormously gone up that the amount the workers are forced to live upon is gradually on the decrease. Besides, this artful Wirth Government understands thoroughly to keep in the favour of the Conservative parties by encouraging the large agriculturalists in raising their prices for agricultural products to an extent out of all proportion to the wages earned by the toiling masses.

Workers Crushed.

So, briefly, the situation is: The large capitalists increase and extend their exploitation, directly by encroaching upon the actual wages, working time, and other working conditions of the workers, indirectly by exporting large quantities of goods at huge prices, and artificially raising the inland prices of goods by forming secret trusts and pools.

Capitalists Refuse Taxes offer Credits.

On the other hand, they decline to find the necessary taxes and duties to pay their foreign and home charges. But in order to avoid a financial State collapse the large industrial capitalists declare themselves ready to grant a certain credit to the Government. Before, however, that is to come about they require an assurance from the labour leaders on behalf of the organised workers that these latter will in future work "quietly and contentedly" at the rebuilding of "poor, down-trodden" Germany, so as to rapidly restore its former prosperity.

Capitalists and Labour Leaders Confer.

With this object in view a big meeting of the Central Mutual Corporation of employers and workers took place yesterday, at which, besides the prominent labour leaders, the most important leaders of the German industrialists like Stinnes, Burcher, Borsig, Silverberg, took part. The meeting lasted several hours, and was adjourned, in order to give the representatives of the workers an opportunity of thoroughly "consider" the position. The main

question is namely to turn the nationally-owned railways into the private property of Stinnes and company. The supposed reason is the necessity of sufficient security for the credit to be granted, and the need for restoring the State finance to sounder conditions, but the actual reason is the desire on the part of the capitalists to thoroughly enslave the workers to their gigantic Stinnes system of restoring the prosperity of "poor, crushed Germany."

Speaking in reply to the general complaint with regard to the enormous rise in prices of commodities the German Minister of Economy Schmidt said, on the 17th inst., in the Reichstag:—

"The Government regrets the rise in prices and looks to the future with great anxiety. This rise has caused much excitement and political embitterment in the population. But the reproaches against the Government are not justified, as the rise in prices can only be attributed to the fall of the mark, and especially with regard to goods imported from abroad. Although this has its influence on home-made goods, yet a difference is maintained between prices of such and of those obtained from abroad. Agricultural products, however, are forced up quite artificially in price, as, for instance, potatoes which have risen to 14 times the price of 1914. Neither cost of production nor insufficiency of profit justify such gambling prices. The rise in prices has been much encouraged by foreign buyers. So, for instance, in September, 121,000 persons alone have crossed the Danish frontier to make purchases in Germany. In consequence the Government has ordered the keenest vigilance and suppression of this unhealthy gamble in German products."

Unemployed Loot Shops.

In Berlin the unemployed have since a few days entered a new phase of their struggle against starvation by plundering large stores and shops. Only articles of food and clothing were carried away by men, women and children. The plundering is not confined to one or two parts, but to the whole of Berlin, and although the police are now actively arresting and knocking down some of the "evil-doers" the attacks of the "starvelings" continue. Finally, this mode of revolt will again be abandoned, as the authorities are already preparing to increase the amounts of unemployed assistance by 50 per cent. But as, even with such increase, the assistance given is quite inadequate, the unemployed problem will continue and play its important and invaluable part in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

A Gas Workers' Strike is just over.

Threats of strikes and actual strikes for increased wages owing to the rise in prices are continually taking place. A gasworkers' strike is just over, and all municipal workers of Berlin have given notice of the intention to cease work if financial aid were not forthcoming at once. At present a compromise has been arrived at by granting them advances of wages, but the trouble is not ended, and will soon break out afresh.

ON THE IRON GRID.

J. H. T. and Communists.

The Right Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., is reported in the Capitalist Press as having said that he believes in trade union activities and solidarity, and that he had the courage to fight the Communists. Let us see. First, this fellow-worker took a title from the master class. Can any wage worker, who so far forgets his slave position, as to accept a title of any kind from the plutocrats be worth his salt to the toilers? He acted the part of Judas to the English miners, and in doing so he only did the bidding of his masters, the Capitalists.—*Australian Seamen's Journal*.

The Workers and the Privy Council.

Mr. Bob Williams, of the Transport Workers' Federation of England, said: "There are members of our own Labour Movement who are under an oath of allegiance as members of the Privy Council, which may be more damaging to the working class movement than the commitments of the 'Red International.'" He added: "The dictatorship of the 'proletariat' was a mere phrase."

We have often wondered why Williams joined the Communist Party, and we have wondered still more why the Communist Party of Great Britain accepted Williams as a member. His latest effusion, of course, discovers to us many a reason why he should be outside the Communist Party.—*Australian Seamen's Journal*.

The Benefit (?) of a "Labour" Government.

There are thousands of willing workers unemployed in every State in Australia. In two of those States a party of the working class has political control, but the workless toilers in those States are no better off than in the States where representatives of the master class direct the legislative machines. Appeals to the State Treasurers in the States of N.S.W. and Queensland for work or food meet with refusal. It is impossible for any present-day Government to solve the problem of the unemployed. Capitalism must have its reservoir from which to draw its slaves, but the Governments could enact a law enabling them to take charge of the available food supply and hand it out to those in want. This proposition was suggested to the Treasurer of New South Wales by the present writer a week or two back, but he called it clap-trap. Fancy, my com-

rades, it is clap-trap to seriously propose to feed hungry children, but it is strictly orthodox to give a State luncheon to a useless globe trotter like Lord Northcliffe.—*Australian Seamen's Journal*.

== CORRESPONDENCE. ==

BIRTH CONTROL.

F. Martin, 177, Queen's Road, Peckham, S.E., asks why we consider the appeal of Dr. Stopes' Birth Control Society to the Minister of Health to direct the unemployed to the use of contraceptive methods as "infinitely tragic."

The reply is that, in our view, it is infinitely tragic in the twentieth century to suggest that the remedy to often to workers who are left workless and destitute through no fault of their own is not to give birth to children. Surely the remedy for starvation should be to feed the hungry. We do not think the Birth Control Society will carry their point with the Ministry of Health, but they will enable numbers of well-to-do people to gull their consciences with the excuse that the poor are to blame for their poverty because they continue to have large families.

F. Martin further says he has the impression that the Birth Control Society is "quite anti-capitalist," yet the writer anticipates for it opposition and gaul with evident relish.

Our correspondent is mistaken in both impressions: firstly, the society is by no means anti-capitalist; a study of its literature proves that. Secondly, we are by no means opposed to the Society's propagation of knowledge; knowledge, in our opinion, should be accessible to all; our objection is to the view that prevention of births should be considered a remedy for evil social conditions. We regard it as a gross insult and cruel injustice to say to poor people: "You are poor; therefore you should not have children." AD members of the community have a right to demand from the community adequate support of their children. We want to see the poor rise in righteous anger and force the rich, who control the wealth of the community, to give them their rights.

NEWS OF THE CORNISH MINERS.

A correspondent writes from Cornwall:—
"I am going to try to get the miners here to read your paper. Poor fellows, they are in bad shape! I have been invited to make a speech to the unemployed in the Miners' Institute here on conditions in Canada and U.S.A. I told them yesterday that they should not buy the mine owners' press and Sunday papers like *News of the World*: full of rot, murders, Bluebeards, and prisons; they should get working-class papers from London. They are followers of John Wesley not Karl Marx as yet, and the news must be broken gently to them. It is like breaking a young horse for the first time or ploughing new ground. I told them what I read in your paper about the miners in South Africa, of miners' phthisis, and how Cornish miners who go out there fail to pass the South African health tests and are left stranded. I am always grateful for back numbers of the *Dreadnought* to give away: they are needed in Cornwall."

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND TERRORISM. By Karl Radek. The Marxian Educational Society, Michigan, U.S.A. 1s.

An interesting pamphlet dealing with the Terror of the Jacobins, the Paris Committee, the Russian Revolution: it is a reply to Kautsky's attack on the proletarian dictatorship in Russia.

OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM. By George Barrett. Freedom Press. 4d.

A series of questions and answers put and answered by the author. Here is one:—

"What will you do with the man who will not work?"

All social theories must obviously be based on the assumption that men are social; that is, that they will live and work together naturally, because by so doing they can better enjoy their lives. Therefore all such difficulties, which are really based on the supposition that men are not social, can be raised not against Anarchism alone, but against any system of society that one chooses to suggest.

[All books reviewed may be obtained from the *Dreadnought* Book Service, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.]

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THE VULTURES.

Those Russian Debts

Dear Editor,—I must venture to crave a little space in your paper in order to correct a misrepresentation in your article on my letter to you.

I attribute the misrepresentation to forgetfulness. For if you turn up your files to my previous letter you will see that you acknowledge I seek no interest on the 12 1/2 money I had in Russian railways. My concern is small. But the principle which the Soviet Government adopted is wrong, I think. Hundreds of French peasants had scraped together savings and invested such in Russia. Now they are told that all such debts are repudiated. Lately, an offer has been made to recognise the £700,000,000 (is it?) of the pre-war debts, but no one takes the offer seriously, I find. In my previous letter I distinctly said I desired no interest, and only the capital as the Russian Government were able to repay it. Is this being a vulture?

If your printer, having done your work, asks for payment, as you are, able to pay it, is he a vulture? When I read over my letter which you now print kindly, it does not seem to me to have much of the vulture about it; and I do not think your readers will think so either.

The Soviet Government has found much money for wars; and though hard up now, may have a better future.

As for my neglecting the unemployed, that is a matter on which you have no information, of course. I have just finished a correspondence to try and get one man employed; and I do what I can in other ways, of course.

Why do not more women take up domestic work under good conditions now available?

Do you not think the *Dreadnought* and all the Socialist papers would succeed better if they tried to co-operate more with people who see eye to eye on nine points out of ten. Why exaggerate our differences? Your "leader" on page one on "Communism" gives an excellent ideal, much on the lines of William Morris' "News from Nowhere," on which I am speaking at a meeting shortly.

We shall never get a real, general revolution, deep and cheerful, too, while we are so eager to condemn one another. I read *The Communist*, but am not helped by its pages on the mistakes of some men. Let us help one another to expose the State and all ways of exploitation and lust; and show a constructive policy as to how to build up a new order of Brotherhood.

Faithfully yours,

GILBERT T. SADLER.

Mr. Sadler has taken our comments to heart, and some of his friends have also written to us on his behalf; but he and they still fail to understand the true position.

Mr. Sadler says he does not want interest on his money; he only wants it "repaid as the Soviet Government is able to repay it."

Mr. Sadler, of course, recognises that he cannot be treated individually; all the creditors must be treated alike; if he gets one per cent. or 50 per cent. of his capital repaid, so must they. Our contention is, firstly, that Soviet Russia cannot afford to repay anything—and this is generally recognised, because, as Mr. Sadler observes, Russia's promise to repay the pre-war debts when she can "is not taken seriously." Even were Russia not bowed down with famine Mr. Sadler should surely understand that for the generation of Russians that is repaying the debt, repayment is more difficult than paying interest, unless the annual repayments are no larger than the interest.

Mr. Sadler says that French peasants have scraped together savings to invest them in Russia. Does not that strike him as rather remarkable, and even a little immoral? (The Bible has something to say about usury). If the French peasant is able to live comfortably on his land and to save a surplus, then he can do without the surplus; his land is always there; its productive power will never cease. Why should he desire to live on the interest on invested capital, which is really obtaining a lien on the labour of other workers?

Mr. Sadler says the Soviet Government has found money for wars. Quite so; it was forced to defend itself against Mr. Sadler's fellow investors, and would-be investors who objected to Russia trying to establish Communism. Let Mr. Sadler turn his argumentative guns against Winston Churchill, Lloyd George, and the rest of the British Government on that account.

Mr. Sadler says we accuse him of "neglecting the unemployed." We merely point out that whereas he invested money in some Russian enterprise, probably a mining company, and now complains that the Russian miners do not give him any money back, the British miner who spent the best years of his life in the pit has no claim on the industry if the owner tells him his labour is not required any more. The injustice lies in the fact that the miner has no claim to the wealth he has created beyond his miserable wage. Whether Mr. Sadler finds someone willing to give him a job does not affect the situation.

As to women and domestic service, we do not see why women should be forced by starvation into a trade they dislike, and do not feel suited to. There is a growing dislike amongst women to being the servants of other women who are idle.

Someone will write to say that all who employ domestic aid are not idle. That is true, but many are. Moreover, domestic service is a poorly paid occupation, and restricts the freedom of the servant whose work is never done.

U.S.A. AGRICULTURALISTS HUNGRY.

H. M. Ware, in the *New York Toiler*, gives a graphic story of the hungry American Agriculturalist. Tramping to Aberdeen, South Dakota, he arrived with a band of migratory labourers, who were held up by armed legionaries and business men, who searched them for red cards and drove them out of town, because the commercial clubs had decided that farmers should pay no more than three dollars a day, and the labourers had begun to organise.

In great areas of the South East, cotton is the only crop; it is the only crop that the negro tenant knows how to produce; if the crop fail, he has no money and cannot even use his own crop. In good years he only clears off the debt made in bad ones, and remains "broke." The Cotton Belt is also the Black Belt, where 80 per cent. of the Negroes live. Convict labour laws, and legal and mob persecution make the Negro's life a hard one. Racial antagonisms prevent white and black workers from joining in the class struggle.

In Texas and Oklahoma, white farmers raise beef. Farmers owning over 100 acres often cannot afford either sugar or coffee. They complain that, on shipping cattle to Kansas City, they get in exchange nothing but a bill for freight charges!

From Colorado to the Pacific Coast, big farms of thousands of acres are worked by hired labour and run like a factory. Here are the real Unions of migratory labourers. The "Fruit Tramps" follow the packing season of the various fruits. They are skilled workers specialising in one of the many fruit packing operations. The I.W.W. is active amongst them.

From Montana to Washington there is a blending of proletarian and semi-proletarian producers. Three years of drought in North Montana has reduced farmers to the point of offering to sell their farms for 30 or even 25 dollars. The producers of grain are selling their labour in grain prices far below the rate of city wage slaves.

Crops have been somewhat better in the Dakotas, though the farmers from North Dakota to Kansas are in debt.

North Dakota is the seat of the Non-Partisan League, which was formed by the farmers to defend themselves against the grain gamblers of Minnesota. Republicans and Democrats, Big Business, Bankers, Middlemen, and Railways have formed an Independent Voters' Association to oppose the Non-Partisan League. In this part of the country, the small town bank has the power to break almost every farmer in its community. The small town Commercial Clubs decide the wages the farmers must pay to the harvesters, and banks this year lent money to farmers on condition they paid only three dollars a day. In North Dakota, 40 per cent. of the harvesting is done by hired help; in the United States, as a whole, only 17 per cent.

The East, from Iowa to the Atlantic, is the land of general farming. The farmers here are largely controlled by the American Bankers' Association, which owns the press, the schools, and often the very farms. "For the farmers," says the writer, "general bankruptcy is only a matter of time." The average farm, even in good years, yields only 2 1/2 to 3 per cent.; every cent borrowed by the farmers costs 6 per cent. The 1920 census showed that the farm mortgage debt had increased 200 per cent. and in some States 500 per cent., during the last ten years.

CYRATIONS OF AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

MORAL: More Courage.
Rome Was Not Built in a Day.

Our comrades of the Communist Party of America have got themselves into a fix; they believe that their policy for two years has been wrong; they declare that "as a factor in the class-struggle" their party "practically does not exist," and they proclaim a right-about-face.

This is what they say in their official organ:—"It cannot be denied that the Communist Party of America practically does not exist as a factor in

the class-struggle. The truth of this statement can be inferred from the fact that the slogans, appeals and proclamations of the former two Communist Parties never caused even a ripple on the surface of the class struggle. We called upon the workers to boycott the last national elections. We called upon the workers to demand the recognition of Soviet Russia. We called upon the unemployed to organise. We agitated in favour of the Red Labour Union International. What has become of all this? What is there to show that our propaganda has not been in vain?

"All along we have been working contentedly on the theory that by spreading general communist propaganda and building up active nuclei in the labour movement, the desired end will be achieved. This is a very simple theory. What has been its result? Almost complete failure. It is high time for us to evaluate our experiences. After nearly two years of existence our Party numbers only ten thousand. It is obvious there is something wrong with the Party.

"The whole truth does not mean telling the workers, at every turn of the game, that the seizure of power will have to be accomplished by force of arms. The injection of the idea of armed force, whether as a means of defence or offence, at the wrong psychological moment can only harm the revolutionary movement. There are stages in the class struggle that do not call for the introduction of the idea of armed force. Telling the workers the whole truth about a given situation does not mean giving the workers the full Communist program. A Communist program is not a Bible to be brought to the workers always in full, with all its implications. It is a guide to action for the advanced guard of the working class—The Communist Party. It is to be applied in practice according to the demands of every particular situation.

"We must also remember that the broad labouring masses never fight for general, abstract ultimate ideals. They struggle for immediate, concrete, tangible needs. The contents of the demands for which the masses fight may vary, but the needs are always pressing. To-day the call for Proletarian Dictatorship or even workers' control may be far off; tomorrow they may be the burning questions of the hour. The masses are not concerned with the problems of the future. They are driven to death in their efforts to eke out a bare living. Hence they are interested, not in the glory and happiness of the future Communist Commonwealth, but in the degradation and misery burdening them in the everyday hell of Capitalism. . . . We might talk ourselves blue in the face about our holy cause, about the wonders of Communism, about the necessity for shouldering guns against capitalism, and yet not enhance the revolution by an iota.

"Mere talk, regardless of its eloquence or volume, will not expose the capitalists to the working class. The Communists must put forward concrete proposals. Tangible, immediate demands in line with the workers' interests must be made on the government. . . . When we make these definite demands on the government, when we put forward our legislative immediate demands, we do so, not with the idea of solving the insoluble—the contradictions of capitalism—but in order to rally the masses around practical concrete plans of combat which will further draw them into struggle against the State and expose its class character. A proposal on our part to have the government set aside Two Billion Dollars, let us say, for the relief of the unemployed, would rally the masses around our banners against the government."

Have Patience.

What is the moral of all this? Why, simply, comrades, have courage: have patience; show yourselves worthy of the pioneers who went before you. Karl Marx and Bakunine did not lose heart and change their coats like that; Lenin did not through long years of exile and labour; your own De Leon did not; Debs and the others in prison do not; and you Communists, you would-be leaders of the proletarian revolution must not.

After two years your party only numbers 10,000, you say: what of that? It is a very substantial result, indeed, comrades, if the membership is really sound and genuine, having regard to the backward state of feeling in America when you began your labours.

You say that your party practically does not exist as a factor in the class-struggle in America, because when you called on the workers to do certain things, only a few out of the great mass appeared to notice you; but, comrades, if you had, during these two years, called on the masses to do things they were ready to do, then your demands must have been mildly reformist, indeed, and even then you would have failed to move them, for the masses were not prepared for action and only a minority of them were even prepared for the assimilation of advanced ideas. Moreover, you yourselves were few in number: it is true that a little leaven leavens the whole lump, but even the leaven takes time to work. The U.S.A. Communists are expecting their results to appear too quickly; let them try again.

E.T.U. BOSSES TO EXPEL REVOLUTIONARIES.

Have you heard, Mr. Communist, that the E.T.U. Executive has sent a circular to its Branches, ordering them to expel revolutionary members from the Union?

That is a funny piece of news, isn't it, Mr. Communist? It used to be said that the E.T.U. was the "most live" Trade Union in the country—"As live as a bug," is what Mr. Left Wing Communist, who used to belong to the River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee, calls it.)

You think it is a new move that the E.T.U. has taken, Mr. Communist? It is new in this country, perhaps, but the German Trade Unions have been doing it for some time, and, as you know, our British working-class movement is following that of Germany, because Germany has gone several steps nearer to the Workers' Revolution than we have done. It was this action of the orthodox Trade Unions in Germany that hastened the formation of the Revolutionary Workers' Union, the A.A.U.

It is a funny thing, though, Mr. Communist, that your Communist Party should have given up the revolutionary industrial movement, and is trying to "bore from within" the old Trade Unions, and to get itself affiliated to the Labour Party just at the moment the Trade Unions are beginning to turn their Revolutionary members out; for, of course, your Party should know what is going on in Germany.

You think it is curious, Mr. Communist, that the E.T.U. should have made this move just when the London Labour Party, a very cautious body, has passed a resolution to let the Communist Party come in to the Labour Party.

Ah, Mr. Communist, you are not very sharp! Don't you ever read between the lines: don't you ever try to find out what is working in the other fellow's mind? Did you read the terms of the London Labour Party Resolution?

That resolution stated explicitly, that the Communist Party should be permitted to affiliate, provided that it is "prepared to abide loyally by the constitution and programme of the Labour Party."

You know, Mr. Communist, that the Communist Party cannot do that unless it ceases to be a Communist Party. Now that is precisely what the compromise diplomatists of the Labour Party and the *Daily Herald* desire. They want to tone down the Communist Party and white-wash the Third International. They want to convert them to a soft, pale, innocuous pink; and they have succeeded more than they thought possible in the short time that has elapsed.

Have we not William Paul, ex-S.L.P., whose main item of policy was to expose and attack the reactionary Labour Party, now in the columns of your own weekly edition of the *Daily Herald*, the *Communist*, appealing to Communists, good, pink Communist "realists," to support Labour Party candidates? Have we not Harry Pollitt (and many others of the same stamp, who used to be sharp thorns in the flesh of the Trade Union leaders when the Shop Stewards' Movement was booming) now telling you all to work patiently in your Unions "boring from within"? What could be better for Thomas, Clynes, and Henderson? They rub their hands with satisfaction; and well they may! Now when the workers and workless are turning bitterly from the Labour Party on local bodies and in Parliament come McManus, Paul, Bell, Ramsay and Murphy to the rescue, saying: "Vote for Labour candidates: work for Labour candidates: boost the Labour Party!" The workers are beginning to turn in disgust from the old Trade Unions that have failed them, and will continue to fail them; but to reinforce the old leaders come some of the loudest fighters in the old Shop Stewards' revolt, crying: "Back to you Unions. Never mind about the old machinery, the eight-years' Committee members, the life officials and the rest, back to the old machines."

"But what about turning the revolutionaries out of the Unions?" you ask, Mr. Communist. Is that what you are worrying about? Do not worry; you belong to a party of "Realists" now. Your Party leaders agree—McManus has said so—to abide loyally by the Labour Party Constitution. No doubt your Party will teach you how to "bore from within" so quietly that no one will know you are boring at all.

Come, don't look like that, Mr. Communist, you old fire-brand! If you don't take care, you'll find yourself turned out of the Communist Party of Great Britain! The plum tree won't shade you from the sunlight any more.

Then you will be classed among those revolutionaries of the Communist Workers' Party and the Fourth International. Don't you understand that there will have to be a purge in the respectable Communist Party of Great Britain, and that all the anti-Parliamentarians and industrial revolutionaries will have to keep their opinions to themselves, or be expelled?

My dear Mr. Communist, if you have not learnt that yet, you must be going about with your eyes shut and your ears stopped up with cotton wool. Wake up: can't you?

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