

Revolutionary Essays by Peter Kropotkin.

Workers' Breadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

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THE INDUSTRIAL MUDDLE.

By W. J. Braddock.

Seas of red ink have been spilt by the Communists in vilifying the Social Democrats, but there are dark suspicions in the minds of many that this is merely a smoke bomb thrown in order to blind the fact that the official Communists are area thieves, that they are stealing the household chattels of the Social Democrat family while the turgid clouds of abuse hide their nefarious intentions. The smoke blinds the fact that the Communist Party pantechicon is awaiting the most treasured possession of the Social Democrats—the sacred and time-honoured Trade Union. "Kings may come and Empires may go, but the Trade Union goes on for ever."

There is much to be said for the clever and witty arguments that the Communist Caucus place before the hobbled and blinded "proles," in order to bolster up their dark deeds. They point out how the aforesaid "proles" will be able to go much quicker to their goal—because it is downhill, "Facilis Descensus Avernus," whilst to break away from the time-honoured hardy annual would mean climbing up hill, with a hard road to traverse.

For many moons the Workers' Committee Movement has been a living corpse waiting to be sent out in war canoe to travel the great waters in search of peace, and at last the canoe has been launched. Waugh! the great white chiefs have spoken!

The Liverpool Workers' Committee Movement was so disgusted at its representatives' report and so disheartened by the sleepwalking methods of the N.A.C., that they have decided to form an Industrial Union Propaganda League—of which more will be heard later.

After meandering round the Trade Unions and filling in time by playing with the Red International of Labour Unions, the Scottish section has decided to nationalise the remnants of the movement, after a series of manoeuvres, one of which was the closing down of *Solidarity* in favour of the Scottish organ, *The Worker*. But according to report, when the discussion of tactics was beginning, the C.P. representatives butted in and gave the W.C.M. a good spanking (which it no doubt deserved) and, in short, it told them to hurry up and bury "that stinking corpse."

Time after time the official caucus in the W.C.M. have deliberately refused to divulge information to the rank and file, have refused to allow any criticism by the rank and file, have used the finance of the W.C.M. to save its own skins, and only when the movement became a total wreck—through the inability of the official caucus—did they dream of a re-election of officials, did they allow the rank and file to put into operation one of the fundamentals of the movement—rank and file control.

To any who look deeply into this state of affairs it will be seen that there are two outstanding features: one, the conservatism of the old officials, and, two, the total inability of the W.C.M. to function as a separate body and, at the same time, work within the Trade Unions.

The correct attitude, with regard to working within the Trade Unions, is undoubtedly that of the C.P. The W.C.M. could never have functioned in face of the opposition of the two elements: (1) the Trade Union leaders who had the power to expel those working inside with the finite policy of forming a national organisation of Workers' Committees, apart from the Trade Unions; (2) the opposition of the C.P. industrial nuclei, whose policy is to alter the Trade Union so that they will be like a young maiden who has

taken Dr. Williams's Pink Pills for Pale people—tinged with RED. The sincerest wish of a one-time member of the W.C.M. is that they will not rattle its bones to remind us of our shame.

The Communist Party policy, that the immediate conditions will throw up the necessary organisation, is a correct assumption, that has been proved time after time; but that is correct only because the organisations they wish to use are incapable of functioning in a time of crisis.

Their own theories, when placed in the laboratory of experience, only go to prove that conditions will bring forth weapons of defence and offence, because the Trade Unions as weapons are obsolete, and by the same line of reasoning the W.C.M. can be relegated to the realms of History.

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When one sifts away from the Communist policy all the "long lines," "all powers," "orientations," the new phraseology which has been imported from Russia, one will find, stark and naked, the policy of the S.D.F., outlined over fourteen years ago by Quelch in the *Social Democrat*.

The Pendulum has returned—if it has ever stirred in this country, for some bad-minded individuals are suspicious that the S.D.F. caucus the B.S.P. caucus, and the new "orientation," the C.P. caucus, have got mixed up in the clock wheels. The following quotation from the *Social Democrat*, September 18th, 1907, can very well be mistaken for the policy to-day; nay, it is the policy of to-day plus the phraseology:—

"We do not wish to capture the Trade Unions, nor to exploit them for the support of principles in which they do not believe, or of men with whom they do not agree. Neither are we afflicted with the insane idea that we should 'fight' them; or with the equally insane and absurd notion that it is our duty 'to endeavour to organise rival organisations to them in their own special field of action. Such efforts could only be futile; but even if they were successful, they would be but the more mischievous in still further weakening the power of the existing Unions. Social Democrats can have no interest in opposing, antagonising, or disrupting the Trade Unions. What we have to do is to inspire the rank and file with a consciousness of the reality and magnitude of the class struggle in which, whether they will or no, they are engaged. We have to convert the Trade Unionists to Socialism. If any say that is impossible, that is equal to saying that Socialism is impossible; because Socialism without the working class is inconceivable; and whatever may be their defects, it must be borne in mind that the members of the Trade Unions are the elite of the working class. If we cannot convert them to Socialism there is very little hope of the others. But we are converting them. Year by year and month by month, the numbers of conscious and avowed Socialists in the ranks of the Trade Unions increase, and at no distant date, the whole of the organised

workers will be enrolled under the Red Flag of Social Democracy."

No one can deny that the quotation is, in essence, the Communist policy of to-day; the only difference is that such stalwarts as Comrade D. J. Shackleton, whose support was counted on in that article, have been found out, and "Order of the Red Banner" Williams and "Dodges" Hodges have taken their places. It would be advisable for all Communists to obtain a copy of that *Social Democrat* and thus avoid the pitfalls of the new phraseology; also, the industrialists should obtain a copy, instead of going to see Charlie Chaplin: they would enjoy themselves much more.

Quotation after quotation crops up which has not even to be altered to fit in with the C.P. official policy:—

"There is still too much narrow 'sectionalism' and trade conservatism in the Trade Unions; but Trade Unionism is no longer that conservative institution, that aristocracy of labour which it had become a quarter of a century ago. Trade Unionism has become democratised and now embraces every branch of industry; and there is no need for any individual worker to be outside the pale."

Or, for instance, the very words of the Stuttgart Conference resolution:—

"There is an ever-widening domain in the Proletarian struggle of the classes, in which they can only reap advantages by concerted action and by co-operation between the Party and Trade Unions."

Who will dare to label this "C.P." or "S.D.F.," and still we have thrown to the scrap-heap our real name, "Social Democratic Federation."

Take the position of the Red International of Labour Unions (yes, dear reader, it does rile you):—

"As a Party, therefore, we are quite content that the Trade Unions should be represented at the Congress, so long as the Socialist basis of the Congress is maintained unimpaired and the Unions represented frankly accept that basis and the fundamental principles which the Congress is held to promote."

That quotation is from the S.D.F. policy, but it admirably fits into the R.I.L.U. Right through the machinations of the Third International we find that, while on a political basis the organisation is strong and iron-bound,* on the industrial basis it is merely a reflection of the by-gone S.D.F. and one can surmise that the Communists have spent so much energy on the political "iron discipline" that their strength was spent when they came to the Industrial bog, with the result that they have stepped once more into the quagmire of S.D.F.-ism. Yet they excuse themselves by saying that "the mass proletariat is in the quagmire, and their place is with the masses."

(Continued on page 2.)

* Comrade Braddock will presently discover that is no longer the case.—EDITOR, W.D.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

By PETER KROPOTKIN

V.

We have already said that the massacre of the bourgeois as a means to secure the triumph of the Revolution is a senseless dream. Their number, even, is opposed to it; because, over and above the millions who ought to disappear according to the hypothesis of modern Marats, there would still be millions of half-bourgeois workmen who would fail to succeed them. In effect, these only ask to be allowed to become capitalists in their turn, and would aim to become such if class interests were attacked in their results and not in their causes. And as for organised and legalised Terror, it serves no other end, we have said, than to forge chains for the people. It kills individual initiative, the soul of revolutions; it perpetuates the idea of obedience to a strong government. It prepares the dictatorship which throttles the revolutionary tribunal and knows how to manage it with craft and prudence, in its own interest.

Terror, the arm of government serves, above all, the governing classes; it prepares the ground for the less scrupulous of them. The Terror of Robespierre necessarily ended in that of Tallien, and this in the dictatorship of Bonaparte. Robespierre hatched Napoleon.

To overcome the bourgeoisie, something totally different from brute force is required; other elements than those which it has so well learned to manage. This is why it is necessary first to see what creates its force, and to oppose to it a superior force.

What is that has allowed the middle classes, in effect, to juggle all the revolutions since the fifteenth century, to profit by them and enslave and enlarge their domination on a solid basis other than the respect for religious superstition, or of the rights of birth of the aristocracy? It is the State. It is the continual growth and enlargement of the functions of the State, based upon that foundation, much more solid than religion and birth-right—the Law. And so long as the State last, so long as the law remains sacred in the eyes of the people, so long as future revolutions work for the maintenance and enlargement of the functions of the State and law, the bourgeois will be sure to conserve power and dominate the masses.

Lawyers make the State omnipotent; it is the origin of the middle classes, and further, it is the omnipotent State which constitutes the actual strength of the bourgeoisie. By the Law and the State they have become possessed of Capital, and have constituted their authority. By the Law and the State they maintain it. By the Law and the State they even promise to cure the evils which make society blush.

In fact, so long as the affairs of the country are entrusted to a few persons, and these affairs have the inextricable complexity which they have today, the bourgeoisie can sleep in peace. It is they who, adopting the Roman tradition of the omnipotent State, have created, constituted and elaborated this mechanism: it is they who were its support throughout history. They study it in their colleges and universities; they maintain it in their courts of law, they teach it at school, they propagate and inculcate it by speech and pen.

Their minds are so accustomed to State tradition that they never give it up in their dreams of the future. Their Utopias even bear its seal. They cannot conceive anything beyond the principles of Roman law concerning the State and property; and if they meet with institutions developed beyond these conceptions, whether in the life of French peasants, or elsewhere, they destroy them rather than acknowledge them. Thus the Jacobins continued Turgot's work of destruction concerning the popular institutions of France. Turgot abolished village councils, finding them too tumultuous and "disorderly"; the Jacobins abolished communities of families—the compound families which have escaped the Roman axe—they gave the death-blow to communal possession of the land; they made Draconian laws against coalitions of workmen and their strikes; they preferred to drown the Vendéens by thousands rather than give themselves the trouble to understand their popular institutions. And the modern Jacobins,

on finding the Commune and federation of tribes among the Kabyles, preferred to destroy these institutions by their tribunals, rather than forfeit their conceptions of property and Roman hierarchy.

The English bourgeois have done the same in India.

Also from the day when the great Revolution of the last century embraced in its turn the Roman doctrine of the omnipotent State, sentimentalised by Rousseau and represented by him with the label of Roman Catholic Equality and Fraternity, from the day when it took for its base of Social organisation, property and electoral government—it was to the grandsons of the lawyers of the 17th century, to the middle classes, that the task fell of organising and governing France according to its principles. The people had nothing to do with it; creative force was in quite another direction.

And if, unhappily, at the time of the next revolution, the people, once more, do not understand that its historic mission is to break up the State, created by the codes of Justinian and the edict of the Pope; if they allow themselves once more to be dazzled by conceptions of Roman law, of State and property (that for which the State-Socialist labour so hard), then they may again abandon the care of that organisation to those who are its true historical representatives, the bourgeois.

If people do not understand that the true work of a popular revolution is to destroy the State, which necessarily is hierarchical, to endeavour to replace it by the free understanding of individuals and of groups in free and temporary federation (always with a determined aim), if they do not understand the necessity of abolishing property and the right to acquire property, to sweep away elected government, which has substituted itself for the free consent of all; if the people renounce the traditions of the liberty of the individual, of voluntary groupment and of voluntary rules of conduct; if they remain passive, if not consenting to the abandonment of these traditions, which have been the essence of all preceding popular movements and of all the institutions of popular creation; if they give up all these traditions and adopt that of imperial and universal Rome, then they will do no more for the Revolution; they should leave everything to the middle classes, ending by asking for a few concessions. Because the conception of a State is absolutely foreign to revolution; happily revolution understands nothing of State-craft, it does not know how to use it. It remains imbued with conceptions of what is called the common right—conceptions based upon ideas of reciprocal justice between individuals, upon real facts, while the right of the State is based sometimes upon metaphysics, sometimes on fictions, sometimes on interpretation of words created at Rome and at Byzantium, during a period of decomposition, to justify the exploitation and suppression of popular rights.

(to be continued.)

THE INDUSTRIAL MUDDLE.—Cont. from Page 7.

The masses are in the quagmire, certainly; but how can the Communists hope to help them by submerging themselves also?

The fighting force of the Trade Union is gone, and with that its usefulness. We see the T.U. leaders receiving a salary out of all proportion to the service they render, ay, Communists, too, and banding themselves together to fight their members against a reduction. The T.U. is only useful to them in so far as it provides T.U. leaders with a salary (paid by the workers direct) for doing Government arbitration work which should be paid for by the Government. Were it possible, they would be dismissed and Government nominees put into their places, but the workers must be kept believing that the Trade Unions are working-class bodies owned and controlled by the working class.

We see in Russia that the Trade Unions there have become merely departments of the Govern-

ment; if they had been real revolutionary organisations they would have been the producing and distributing governing bodies; for it is, really, only industry that requires governing, almost everything else in a Workers' Republic could be left without stringent laws to coerce the workers.

The position in Russia is upside down; the political change has arrived before the industrial change, and now tremendous efforts have to be made to right it—with many disastrous results. Look at the problem as we may, the Trade Unions have become obsolete, the Trade Union leaders—even Communists in name—have become reactionary, and to entrust to this obsolete machinery and reactionary cesspool, the moulding of a new organisation for the overthrow of the system which upholds them is as mad an idea as the Elixir of Life. To follow with a dumb fervour the edicts of the Russian revolutionaries may please Mammon, but it won't get the people out of that quagmire.

No man, however able, immersed in the erection of State Capitalism (as Lenin admits must be done in Russia) and from the enormous problems of a reactionary peasantry can, at the same time view, with a mind clear of the tactics these problems demand, the industrial problems of Germany, England and America.

Neither can these problems be solved by T.U. officials—however revolutionary these officials may seem to be—for they also have minds distorted by a sub-conscious vested interest in the Trade Unions.

Viewing the industrial situation from all aspects, we inevitably find the capitalist industrial power becoming centred in fewer and fewer hands, the failure of Trade Unionism stamped everywhere, and the master class binding themselves in an organisation which is industrial in structure and class in outlook.

We of the working class must forge a similar weapon; an organisation which is industrial in structure and class in outlook, with the ultimate objective of the Industrial Commonwealth.

Trade Unionism has ceased to be a weapon, it has become an historical experiment from which we must take the lesson of industrial organisation. Its later development has become, of necessity, the Revolutionary Industrial Union.

That is the lesson of the struggle between the employing and the working class; and no matter what bankrupt social Democratic policy, or what timid reactionary individual stands in the way, the titanic forces of a revolutionary working class will sweep them from the path we must travel to the workers' industrial Commonwealth.

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CHINA AND JAPAN.

(Continued.)

The Peninsula of Korea, jutting out so that, but for a narrow strip of water, it forms a bridge between China and Japan, has long been a lively source of contention between them. China was the suzerain of Korea from very early times, and Korea was saturated with Chinese culture: Korean dress is still based on the Chinese dress of the Ming period.

In 1871 the United States, eager to trade with the countries of the East, sent a special mission to Korea, and the American gunboats were fired on by the natives. The Americans replied by capturing and destroying the Korean coast forts. China was apparently indifferent, but Japan, foreseeing further visits from the West, proceeded to form an alliance with China, the two countries having been for some time mutually isolated and unrepresented at each other's courts.

Japan, once the vassal, now dealt with China as an equal.

The 1871 Treaty between China and Japan declares:

(1) That the two countries shall treat each other with mutual respect and commit no acts of hostility towards each other.

(2) That their friendship shall be "intimate" and "reciprocal."

(3) That they shall assist each other against another State with which either may be in dispute or mediate between the parties.

(4) Each country gave the other extra-territorial rights at the ports open to trade where the country in question had a consul. That is to say, Japanese at trading ports in China were subject, not to China, but to Japanese law, administered by the Japanese consul, and the same was true of Chinese subjects at such ports in Japan.

This is a very important point. To-day Japan and all the Great Powers have extra-territorial rights in China, and these are not confined to the ports, but extend throughout the length and breadth of the land. China, however, has no corresponding rights in the territory of those Powers.

China's extra-territorial rights in Japan lasted from 1871 to 1894. Meanwhile Japan was gradually gaining the ascendancy.

The Loochoo Islands had paid tribute to China as their suzerains since 1372. In 1451 Japan forced them to pay tribute to herself also. In 1871, less than three months after the signing of the above Treaty, some Loochoo Islanders were murdered by the Formosans, and in exacting compensation, Japan successfully claimed the Loochoos as her subjects, thus establishing the precedent that peoples who paid tribute both to China and Japan are Japanese subjects.

Meanwhile Czarist Russia was becoming a menace in the East. In 1860 Russia had annexed the province of Manchuria and founded the City of Vladivostok, and in 1861 had attempted to occupy the island of Tanishima, which commands the Korean Straits. In 1877 China annexed a strip of forty miles of land which for centuries had been neutral on the Chinese side of the Yalu River. In 1882 the Americans secured a treaty to trade with Korea. China then abolished the prohibition of sea trade between China and Korea, saying that—

"As foreign countries entertain trade with Korea by water, it becomes necessary to remove at once the prohibition of sea trade hitherto enforced between China and Korea; the regulations affecting the exchange of produce on the frontier will also, as time may require, be modified."

China had long lived on the walled-in principle; the West was forcing her to make doors in the wall.

Korea was still a tributary of China, but Japan wished to reverse the position. The Korean royal family was now torn by a pro-Chinese Party, led by the Queen, and a pro-Japanese Party. In 1882 the Japanese Legation was destroyed, and Yuan Shih-kai landed in Korea with 3,000 Chinese troops. The same number of Japanese troops followed. Intermittent landings and fighting by Chinese and Japanese troops followed till 1885, when a convention was signed by which China and Japan mutually agreed to evacuate Korea, and to invite the King of Korea to raise a force able to ensure his country's own public security, instructed by officers of a Third Power. American officers were then called in to drill Korean troops. This move was to keep Russia out, and Britain, who had occupied Port Hamilton for the same purpose, now retired.

British influence was not, however, withdrawn; a British admiral was joint commander of the Chinese Navy. Yuan Shih-kai was installed as Chinese Imperial Resident in Korea.

Britain was perhaps hesitating whether to help China or Japan. She decided for Japan; the British admiral disappeared from the Chinese fleet—the ostensible reason is of no moment. Britain and Japan in 1894 signed a Treaty in which Britain gave up her right of extra-territoriality in Japan; a right which gives much opportunity of oppression to the Power which exercises it, and is most humiliating to the country in which it is exercised, unless the right is mutual.

Immediately after the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, Japan went to war with China, in order to secure the abolition of China's extra-territorial rights in Japan, whilst still claiming her own in China, and extending them so that they should be equal to those

PUTNAM WEALE'S VIEW.

held in China by the Great Western Powers. Japan once the vassal, now aspired to be the overlord of China. Japan's other object was to secure the mastery of Korea. Japan, being victorious, forced China to pay her \$40,000,000 sterling, which enabled Japan to establish a gold exchange standard. It is a curious fact that Japan keeps her main stock of gold in London. Korea was made independent of China, but Russia, supported by France and Germany, refused to allow Japan actually to annex Korea. Britain refused to intervene, and preserved a friendly attitude towards Japan. Japan annexed Korea later on in 1910, after having beaten Russia in the Manchurian War of 1905. British and American interests, as well as Russian, were striving for Japan's expansion on the Asiatic mainland.

Mr. Putnam Weale indicates how fickle British diplomacy, which had helped Japan against China, now turned to help certain interests in China against Japan.

In 1917 came the Chinese Revolution and the abdication of the alien Manchu ruler in 1912. Yuan Shih-kai, who had been the war leader under the Manchus, had fought Japan in Korea, and for many years had been a great opponent of Japanese policy, became the master of the situation in China. The Manchu Court, in fear of the genuine Republicans, gave its confidence to Yuan Shih-kai, and agreed to abdicate on condition that he should act as temporary president. The foreign Powers also backed Yuan and the Republicans assented to his being temporary president, to placate the foreign Powers, and to avoid civil war. Vain dream! The foreign Powers provided Yuan with the means to make war on the revolution, and to crush the power of the young Republic. The first full Parliament of the Republic should have assembled in Peking in October, 1912; but owing to Yuan's obstruction it did not meet till 1913. Yuan procured, moreover, the assassination of the Republican leader, Sung Chiao-jen, and many others. In spite of the opposition of Parliament and the protests of its officials, he illegally forced through the foreign Reconstruction Loan which was to supply him with funds to make war on Parliament. England, France, Czarist Russia and Japan supported his action, and their representatives signed the agreement with Yuan in spite of the protests of China's democratically elected Parliament. By intimidation and bribery Yuan got himself elected president for five years, and on 4th November, 1913, he unseated all the Southern Members of Parliament. Two years later by an elaborate ballot fraud he made himself Emperor of China. He died in 1916, and the 1913 Parliament returned to the capital; but in 1917 the Northern militarists, inheritors of Yuan's policy, forced the President Li Yuan-lung to dissolve Parliament.

The Manchu dynasty was then restored for eleven days, only to be overturned by the Northern militarists, who, on a new electoral law of their own making, secured the election of their own nominee as president.

Mr. Putnam Weale says little, in this book, about the revolution and the revolutionaries; but he has an earlier volume: "The Fight for the Republic in China," which deals with this phase. It must be understood that the Chinese revolutionaries were not Communists, but many of their proposals were in advance of those advocated as practical policies by the leaders of the British Labour Party. They were largely under the influence of American Reformists, and many of them were Single Taxers.

China has been engaged in civil war ever since Yuan Shih-kai came to power, though Yuan himself has passed from the stage of life. Japan rivalled the other Powers in loans of money to Yuan, her old enemy, in order to obtain concessions in China. That a tyrant was thus imposed on the Chinese people was of no moment.

When the Great War broke out in 1914 Japan tried to use the presence of Germans in China, and the pretext of expelling them as a means of obtaining control there. China largely frustrated these manoeuvres, and in 1915 Japan served its famous 21 demands on China, which gave Japan many oppressive special privileges, especially in Shan Tung and Manchuria. In 1916 Japan, as the Secret Treaties Show, made Czarist Russia a party to her schemes of exploitation in China. The Lansing-Ishii notes were also a victory for Japanese diplomacy in its negotiations with America for liberty to subjugate China.

In 1918 came the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Nevertheless, the rivalry of America still remained, and Britain was also determined to secure her share of the plunder. Says Mr. Putnam Weale:—

"England, still the chief Western Power in Eastern Asia, did not recede from the position she took up in her Treaty of 1911—that she possessed special interests in China as well as Japan, and that these special interests, British as well as the Japanese special interests, must be maintained. This is a very important fact which has never been given its proper importance. It is a fact which even now troubles Japan."

When Japan is made the Germany of the East, and we are summoned to war against her because she has cruelly attempted to subjugate China, let us remember that our Government has claimed to stand on the same footing with Japan in cruelly exploiting China.

* "The Truth About China and Japan." By Putnam Weale. George Allen and Unwin.

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

ERRATUM.

In the Exercise of Lesson VI, line 18, for "La patrino lacigas sed la muziko lin gojos eble" read "La patrino lacigas sed la muziko sin gojos eble," because patrino is feminine.

apply to both sexes: gepatroj, parents; geknaboj, Geknaboj en la lernejo lernas Esperanton pli

Lesson VII.

Other important suffixes are:—

UL denotes the person described in the first part of the word. Thus: libera, free, liberulo, a free man; malliberulo, a prisoner; blinda, blind, blindulo, a blind man; serco, a joke, ŝerculo, a joker.

IL implies a tool or instrument, as: tranĉi, to cut, tranĉilo, a knife; ludi, to play, ludilo, a toy; ligi, to bind, ligilo, a cord or bond.

A large number of prepositions can be added to words to extend their meaning. We have already seen that iri, to go, and for, away, can make one word, foriri, to go away; the prepositions al, to, sub, under, super, over, tra, across, go to make subiri, to go under, superiri, to go over, trakuri, to run across.

Many words can be formed (home-made, if one may say so), and with a little experience, the reader will easily take the word to pieces and understand at once.

Pronouns can be made adjectival by the addition of A. Mia, cia, lia, ĝia, mean my, thy, his, its, and so on; they take the J for plural, and N for accusative.

The particle GE, prefixed to a word, makes it apply to both sexes: gepatroj, parents; geknaboj boys and girls; gesinjoroj, ladies and gentlemen.

The particle RE indicates reiteration, as in English: diri, to say, rediri, to repeat; nombri, to count, renombri, to count again.

The word SI (not to be confounded with ŝi), means himself, herself, or itself: ŝi legas al si, she reads to herself; li vestas sin, he dresses himself; ĝi sin fermas, it closes itself.

SI also takes the adjectival form SIA, and means her own, his own, its own.

La barbiro tranĉas sian haron, the barber cuts his own hair. La barbiro tranĉas lian haron means the barber cuts his hair (that of some other man).

Ŝi combas sian haron, she combs her own hair. Si combas ŝian haron, she combs her (some other woman's) hair.

EXERCISE.

Multaj malliberuloj estas en la malliberulejo, unuj estas blinduloj, kaj ili estas duoble malĝojaj.

Mia frato estas ŝerculo, li ligis la katon al arbo en la ĝardeno, kaj multaj birdoj ĝin ĝoje vidis, sed la kato havis grandan malĝojon; ni tamen (however), tranĉis la ligilon kun tranĉilo kaj liberigis la katon.

Geknaboj en la lernejo lernas Esperanton pli facile (easily) ol liaj gepatroj: junuloj lernas tre facile sed ne maljunuloj.

Ŝi havis antaŭe (formerly) tre bonan tranĉilon, Samideano, sed nun (now) ĝi estas malnova, kaj hodiaŭ ĝi ne bone tranĉas.

Hodiaŭ ni, post multaj jaroj, revenas al niaj gepatroj kun mia fratino, ŝi foriros morgaŭ.

Malgraŭ (in spite of) sia maljuneco ŝi skribas tre bone, legas facile, kaj vidas pli bone ol sia amikino. Ni amas ŝin kaj ŝiajn amikinojn multe.

La reĝo (king) Georgio la kvara mortis en la mil-o-kcent-dektria.

(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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"Best report yet published."—CHARLIE BEECH.

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

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INDIA AND IRELAND. India Going Sinn Fein.

Gandhi was a passive resister; but now that he finds his cause supported by forces able and willing to fight for it, he casts his pacifism to the winds and says: "I am a man of peace, but not of peace at any price."

Gandhi is acting like all reformers who really care for the reforms they advocate and who are struggling against the oppressions maintained by force. The oppressed early discover that their arguments, their prayers and their righteousness are unavailing. Then if they can, they employ stronger measures.

Therefore we need not be surprised to find that Gandhi, who fasted and prayed because some of his followers used ineffectual violence, now takes a responsible part in enrolling an Indian Volunteer Army for use in the struggle for Indian Independence.

We say, advisedly, Indian Independence, because, though the Home Rule slogan is still for the present retained; it is but a smoke-screen behind which the Independence forces are mustering strength while their more timid adherents are gaining courage to enter upon the Independence struggle. Gandhi plainly indicated that in urging the Congress not to vote for Independence yet.

To declare for Independence obviously means war with Britain; there can be no pretence that it is merely an amicably negotiated minor legislative reform which is desired, when the vague term Home Rule is discarded and Independence is substituted as the immediate object of the national movement.

The methods that have been so forcefully applied in Ireland are being closely repeated in India, and in spite of the racial and geographical gulf between the two subject peoples the same mental attitude towards the struggle is clearly discernable. Absolutely typical of the Sinn Fein attitude was the refusal of the Indian National Congress to propose a round-table conference with the Government. It was argued that the dignity of the Congress would suffer if it were to ask to meet the Government at a time when the Government has announced a policy of continued repression. The backwardness of India is evidenced by the fact that the Congress appointed a single individual, Gandhi, as the sole executive authority. That is a proof that there was a considerable lack of diversity of opinion and initiative, and an absence of democratic tendency; but the mentality which made the single appointment possible will not last long; in the throes of the swiftly-moving struggle, the people who take part in it will develop quickly. Gandhi still appeals to the movement not to use violence. His appeal, however, is not based on the ground that violence is wrong, it seems, but on the score of unity.

Egypt is also developing on the lines that have proved so successful in building up in Ireland and India, movements strong and ready in action.

The growth of these great insurgent movements in Ireland, in India, in Egypt should cause Communists to consider deeply: why are these movements so flourishing and so capable of action, whilst the working class movement is languishing in apathy and ineptitude?

Conditions for the rise of a revolting Labour movement have never been so ripe as to-day. The workers, after a period of war prosperity and in-

dependence, are being thrust down far below the pre-war economic level; yet there is scarcely a stirring in the despondent indifference of the masses.

The Third International calls to its followers to bore within the Labour Party; to bore within the Trade Unions. This entails a policy of long continued inactive waiting. There can be no action, little propaganda for action for those who are striving to capture, from within, the official positions in the old conservative organisations of Labourism. Yet to appeal to the masses, one must offer them a policy of action: they only rally largely and with enthusiasm to a movement that is moving: to people who are doing things.

The formation of the Indian Volunteers and the great advance of the Indian Nationalist movement should strengthen the hands in Ireland of those who are ready to fight on for the independent Republic. The revolt in India will be so vast when it comes, that Ireland may be confident that the British Government will find itself in a difficulty likely to prove "Ireland's opportunity."

AMERICA, RUSSIA, JAPAN, FRANCE.

That France and America should be quarrelling over the spoils to be got in Russia, and that France should have called in Japan to keep America at bay, need not surprise us: it is the old "Balance of Power" plan which we were promised should end with the "War to End War."

Britain used Japan in precisely the same way to keep the power of Russian Czarism from spreading to China and throughout the Far East.

The capitalist Powers are brewing another war for themselves, beside fighting the Workers' Revolution.

WILL THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL RETURN TO THE SECOND?

Our correspondent of the German Communist Workers' Party (K.A.P.D.) sends us the request for unity between the Second, the Third, and the Vienna International, which the Communist Party (K.P.D.) has addressed to the Executive of the Third International in Moscow:

"In view of the international situation, especially of the dangers that threaten the working class, on account of the Imperialist rivalries, the crisis in the reparations question, the growing unemployment question, the famine in Soviet Russia, and its economic setting aside, the Central Executive of the K.P.D. resolved, on December 21st last, to request the Executive of the Communist International to arrange for common action of all international organisations of the working class (Communist International, the Red Trade Union International, the International Trade Union Amalgamation (Amsterdam), the Working Amalgamation of Socialist Parties (Vienna), and the Second International (London)."

"The objects of common action on which the K.P.D. propose to base this combination are:—

"1.—The international repudiation of all war debts.

"2.—The prohibition of armaments.

"3.—The prevention of forceful methods on the part of French Imperialism, such as the seizing of the Ruhr territory, the starvation of Austria, etc.

"4.—Forcing the recognition of Soviet Russia.

"5.—Credits for the relief of the famine and the rebuilding of Soviet Russia.

"6.—Securing the international recognition of the eight-hour working day."

Will the Third International agree to this proposal of its German section?

We have long noticed, with deep regret, the withdrawal by the Third International from its original bold position, and its steady reversion to the compromising policy which led to the downfall of the Second International.

The original policy of the Third International, the slogans raised at its inception as a natural

sequel to the great uprising in Russia caused the Second International to collapse. The Third International was left triumphant whilst only a few fragments of once large parties remained to dispute with it in the field of International Socialism.

Since that victory the Third International has steadily surrendered, one by one, its original principles and what appeared at first to be its essential characteristics. Lenin's "Infantile Sickness of Leftism" was not the first sign of this deterioration. It marked, however, very forcibly, the unfortunate break which the Executive in Moscow was making with the elements in the movement which are striving for International Revolution, in the way the October Revolution taught us to believe to be the Bolshevik way.

Those who have not seen, or have refused to see, the retrogression which has been taking place in the Third International will not believe that the Moscow Executive will agree to the German Communist Party's proposal.

Those, on the other hand, who have been watching the trend of events, both carefully and impartially, have been for some time expecting a reconciliation either open or secret, between the official elements of the Third and Second Internationals. The policy of the Moscow Executive has for some time been heading strongly in that direction.

The Executive of the German Communist Party is in close touch with the Moscow Executive: indeed, it is not too much to say that the German Executive is under the Moscow Executive's control. More than one prominent member of the Russian Communist Party has a seat on the German Executive.

It will be remembered that in 1919 there was a split in the German Communist Party: one section going Right, to form the Parliamentary Communist Party (K.P.D.), which bores within the Trade Unions; the other going Left, to form the Communist Workers' Party (K.A.P.D.), which opposes Parliamentarism and has formed a one big revolutionary industrial union in Germany.

The Moscow Executive, from the first, favoured the K.P.D. and boycotted and excluded the K.A.P.D.

Since that time, the K.P.D. has moved steadily to the Right, with the approval of Moscow, and has formed a united front with the parties it once fought so bitterly: the Independent Socialists and the Scheidemann, Noske Social Democrats. Nationally, therefore, the German Communist Party has adopted the policy it now asks the Third International to adopt internationally.

The Moscow Executive forced co-operation with the British Second Internationalists upon the British Communist Party when it insisted on the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party. The proposal to form a 'bloc' for election purposes, as a makeshift, because the Labour Party has refused to admit the Communists to affiliation is, at least, not displeasing to Moscow, or William Paul would not have put it forward. Moreover, Lenin himself makes the proposal in his "Left Sickness."

Thus, the Third International will accept the German proposal, to join up with the Second International.

Those who still hold to the original policy of the Third International must reluctantly find themselves outside its ranks to-day, whilst it is manned by the sluggards and compromisers who were opposed or indifferent to the Third International in its early fighting days.

We are happier in the young rebel Fourth International than we should be in the Third, which has gone back on itself and falls into a premature decay.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

OUR OLD FRIEND
L. A. MOTLER
WRITES AGAIN
NEXT WEEK.

MINNIE LANSBURY.

Minnie Lansbury will be much mourned in Bow and Bromley. She has worked with the neglected poor, and fought their battles inch by inch. She was already an active worker when she came to be Assistant Secretary to the Workers' Socialist Federation and to aid with the work of the League of Rights for Soldiers and Sailors and their Wives and Families. She undertook also the greater part of the work of the "Herald Pensions Campaign." She became a Labour member of the Bow and Bromley War Pensions Committee, and later on an Alderman of the Borough of Poplar.

To all this work she brought the determination—rare among the holders of such office—to fight to get the greatest possible advantages for the workers concerned. She made no pretence of impartiality between the Government and the applicant. She regarded herself as the advocate of the applicant, and fought, as a lawyer does, to get the best possible terms for her client. Therefore the people, especially the women, knew her as their friend; therefore they love her and mourn her.

Her way differed from ours: she stayed to tinker with the system; to try to ameliorate its cruel hardships, after we took our hands from such tasks and set our faces towards revolution.

Yet she was moving in our direction; for whilst some time ago she left us and helped to form the Poplar Women's Labour Party, she had lately joined the Parliamentary Communist Party—the half-way house towards the revolutionary standpoint which we hold.

Minnie Lansbury was, of course, one of the Councillors who went to prison for refusing to levy the L.C.C. and M.A.B. Rate on over-burdened Poplar. Our knowledge of Minnie tells us that she was in the forefront of the struggle to induce the more backward elements on the Council to fall into line.

In her efforts for the emancipation of the workers—for that was always her goal—she was ardent and unflagging, with a gay buoyancy that carried her, and others beside her, through times of discouragement and difficulty.

"She will be hard to replace," were the words on the lips of poor people who left the Bow Baths meeting, on hearing of her death. They were true words, spoken with genuine feeling. The sorrow that is felt for the loss of Minnie Lansbury in thousands of homes in Bow and Bromley, is the keen personal sorrow only felt for one who is constantly seen and welcomed as an intimate and an ever-helpful friend.

We shall not see any more her alert and boyish striding figure, her twinkling eyes, and ready, humorous smile.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT THE "HERALD."

It has been said for some time that the *Daily Herald* is about to be taken over by the Labour Party. Everything was settled, an enterprising contemporary declared, waxing indignant over the alleged dismissal of Red members of the staff. Even the *Herald* itself foreshadowed its passing over to the Labour Party: then a front page article by George Lansbury indicated a hitch.

It is now rumoured that if the ownership of the *Herald* is transferred, it may not be to the Labour Party at all, but to another big body, which has a financial stake in the *Herald*, too large for the Labour Party to buy out. The body in question, it is said, is no other than the Co-operative Wholesale Society, which is supposed to be insisting that if the Labour Party becomes the owner of the paper, it must buy out the Society's interest.

SPILSBURY THE ARBITER.

We do not wish to cast any reflections upon Dr. Spilsbury the Home Office Analyst, but we consider he accepts a responsibility which ought to be cast on no one individual and which no one individual should accept.

The Press has gloated over the description of Dr. Spilsbury making a post mortem in a cottage near a cemetery, by the light of an oil lamp and some hurricane lamps, in the presence of Detective-Inspector Crutchett and some policemen. The Pressmen were also near by, but whether they were actual spectators of the scene, or merely waiting about the door for news of it, is unknown. Dr. Spilsbury proceeded to remove certain organs from the dead body just exhumed from the churchyard, and then took them away to examine them.

No one with medical knowledge appears to have been present at the post mortem: apparently no one is told off to check the operations of Dr. Spilsbury. That the life of a man charged with the murder of his wife, hangs on his evidence, as so many other lives have hung on the evidence of the same sole analyst, arouses, it seems, no indignation. No one claims that an analyst representing the accused or some impartial organisation, should be present when the remains of the alleged victim are analysed. Yet Dr. Spilsbury is a policeman hired by the Crown to obtain conviction and to bolster up the reputa-

tion of the criminal department for detecting crime.

When the unfortunate accused comes to be tried, all the resources of the Crown will be used to convict him: the advocate for the Crown will have the first and the last word to the judge and jury.

He must provide the means for his own defence, and it is impossible that he can spend on it the thousands of pounds which the Crown will lavish to procure his conviction; for once having committed themselves to the case, the police are out to win it.

If he be acquitted, the accused will probably be financially ruined by the legal costs he has incurred for his defence, and these will not be made good to him as they would in a private action.

Meanwhile, the police provide the Press with sensational "tit-bits" about the alleged criminal and his alleged crime, for the torturing of his unfortunate family.

If such barbarisms had been the invention of some Soviet Republic, what an outcry there would be in the smug ranks of Capitalism.

THE BORSTAL HORROR.

Boy after boy attempts suicide or escape from the Borstal prison at Portland, although official inquiries assure us it is a most genial institution.

The latest lad to attempt to escape by death from this place of doom chose the fearful expedient of setting fire to his mattress and rolling amongst the flames. Only a very desperate state of mind could have inspired the grim courage required for such an act.

WITH THE MINERS' FIGHT ALONE ONCE MORE.

There may be a desperation strike in South Wales, because wages are below subsistence level. If so, will the miners fight alone and lose alone yet once more?

Will the workers still refuse to learn the lesson of solidarity? The Reds should be at work preparing for all contingencies.

THE SLAVE'S SLAVE.

"Four o'clock; two more hours to go, and then, thank God, I'll be finished for the day." The muttered words came from a thin, hungry-looking young man, as he ceaselessly worked at a machine which was making a certain section of the product for which his firm was famous.

"Faster, faster, faster," hummed the machine, or, at least, it seemed so to the man whose brain was tortured by the from six in the morning until six at night.

"Ah, well," he continued, "the boss is not looking, I think I'll ease up a little."

"Faster, faster, faster," hummed the machine, and the young man stared, for he was sure that the machine had actually spoken. He glared around to see if anyone was behind him and then he stared again at the machine, wondering if the ceaseless toil had affected his brain.

"Don't stare like that, slave!" cried the machine. "Feed me, for if I do not work smoothly, my master and yours will throw me on the scrap heap to rust, just as he has done to you slaves for ages."

Terrified, the workman obeyed like a man in a dream, for his brain rejected the idea that the machine had spoken, and yet his ears kept on transmitting the message.

"Slaves you are," continued the machine, "slaves of the iron slave; for my master has been kind to me and has provided me with slaves to feed me, slaves to clean and oil me, and slaves to attend to me when I am sick." And the machine rattled with devilish joy:

"For years you have tended me, getting in return, little food and less enjoyment, and I, the Iron Slave, whom you slaves created, see your foolishness. Day in and day out you care for me, never leaving me for one instant, less your master and mine should take away the little food you have. Ho! Ho! Ho!" and the machine rattled and shook with merriment. "The Human Slave of the Iron Slave of the Great Master."

"Faster, faster, faster." The machine ceased to talk, and the young man, waking up as from a dream, glared with hate-ridden eyes at his iron slave of a master.

"Curse you!" he shrieked. "Curse you! you have kept me in toil and agony for long weary years, watching me and sucking my life blood like the vampire you are. No more will you cry 'Faster, faster, faster.'"

By this time the foreman and two or three workmen had noticed the queer antics of the young man, and had heard his cursing and shrieking above the hubbub of the machines' roar, so they raced across to him; but too late.

Raising a steel rod above his head, he battered at the costly machine until its murmurs of "Faster, faster, faster," had died away and its wheels and rods were bent, twisted and broken.

Fighting and cursing, they led him away to the ambulance room, whispering to each other that he had gone mad. But they did not hear the other machines roar "Faster. Faster. Faster."

"WOBBLY."

SHOP STEWARDS ON THE UNDERGROUND.

We are informed of strange happenings in connection with the Shop Stewards on the Underground.

The workers in electric, building, and engineering sections of the Underground were electing their own shop stewards, and their organisation was so efficient that on one occasion the manager, in conceding one of their demands, said: "You are holding a pistol at my head. I must give in."

The management, recognising the power of the workshop organisation, has decided to make a workshop organisation under its own control. It has issued to the workers printed memoranda explaining to them its own organisation, in which it desires them to co-operate, and instructions as to how the stewards are to be elected.

We are informed that the workers are 'is-banding their own stewards' organisation and joining the one which the employers have started. This seems almost incredible.

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

BY HERMAN CAHN. 10s.

Briefly states the Marxian Theory of Value, and explains contradictory functions of money, handicaps of money system, inadequacy of gold basis, theory of money tokens, money of account, social insolvency, cycle of industrial capital, etc. A valuable study.

COLONEL MALONE.

After six months' imprisonment and having been bound over to keep the peace for a further six months, Colonel Malone emerges from seclusion and contributes an article to the *Communist* this week.

It is interesting to notice that Colonel Malone, the only Parliamentary representative of the Parliamentary Communist Party of Great Britain is, in practice, a strong anti-Parliamentarian, for during the last six months he has made no attendances at Westminster, although, undoubtedly, the order binding him over to keep the peace could have no application to speeches made on the floor of the House of Commons.

Evidently Colonel Malone has learnt in the practical school of experience that Communists can do nothing of any value in Parliament.

THE HONOURS LIST.

The giving of peerages and other Honours to persons who have served the Party in power is a heritage of feudal times. It is now purely a mercenary business, but to cast a redeeming glamour upon it for the gulling of the people and in order to keep up the market value of the titles which are so profitable to the capitalist party we chest, a few persons, distinguished, or, at any rate, fashionable, in the realms of art and science are usually included in the list. One of those whom posterity will recognise as genuinely distinguished is Dr. Ethel Smyth, the composer, who has received the minor "honour" of Dame Commander. The work of this eccentric genius is exceedingly original. Of all her compositions, perhaps the weird chorus "Hey Nonny No" best expresses her peculiar characteristics. It should not be forgotten that she was an enthusiastic militant Suffragette, and served a sentence in Holloway prison. Her incarceration was during a period when the popularity of the movement had induced the Home Office to show considerable latitude to the Suffragette prisoners. Dr. Smyth and a number of her companions were put into a hospital ward, which was reserved for them, and left to do pretty much as they liked. Dr. Smyth, ever bubbling over with enthusiasm for her art, thereupon trained her companions in choral singing and taught them, amongst others of her compositions, "The March of the Women," which, by the way, by no means reaches her average level of attainment though it is undoubtedly a competent work.

With the impetuosity which manifests itself in her music, Dr. Smyth had jumped from the position of a strong anti-suffragist to the position of a militant suffragette. Meanwhile, she still held firmly to her original Conservative views, and proudly displayed to her fellow suffragists a history of her family which she had written, in which she elaborately traced her relationship to Lord Gort, and chronicled with pride the speech of one of her forbears who had led his troops against the franchise reformers of the early nineteenth century, exhorting his men to fire unsparingly upon the "rebels"!

Havelock Wilson is probably the most unworthy recipient to be found in the Honours List, for whilst the others who have received titles for their services to the party of privilege are following the traditions of their upbringing and bolstering up the order to which they belong, Havelock Wilson, who is paid by the workers to be their champion, has made himself the servant of the reactionary oppressors of Labour. Havelock Wilson's C.B.E. proclaims the fact, already well-known, that he left the cause of Labour long ago, and is on the side of the employing class.

A GENERAL ELECTION?

Lloyd George's New Party?

Rumours of an early General Election are persistent and Lloyd George appears to be martialling support for himself in preparation for the event. On January 21st he is to appear before a Liberal Convention in London as a Liberal leader. His Government has dealt roughly with established Liberal principles and showered the bulk of its

offices and honours upon Tories. Nevertheless, Lloyd George desires and hopes to obtain Liberal support. One of his henchmen, Mr. McCurdy, the chief Coalition Liberal Whip, declares:

"We are building a new temple for Liberalism, and Mr. Lloyd George will, I hope, lay the corner stone."

The National Liberal Club has shown itself unfriendly to the Lloyd Georgitis which is called Liberalism. Therefore, Mr. McCurdy dismisses that edifice and its smoke-rooms as being unsuitable to "house the Angel of Dawn," whom he would have gullible people believe to be the patron saint of Lloyd George and his supporters.

How near is the new Liberalism of Mr. Lloyd George to the old Adam of Toryism may be gathered from McCurdy's phrase: "Conservatism is becoming more progressive day by day. Surely Liberals cannot be the only politicians who have learnt nothing and advanced nowhere?"

McCurdy declares that it is Lloyd George's "peculiar and transcendent merit that he gets things done."

On the contrary, Lloyd George's special characteristic is that he creates an impression that he is going to bring about great reforms, and then usually either does something which is quite the opposite of what he promised, or retires without doing anything at all.

After twenty years of Tory Governments, when the Liberals first came into power, in 1905-6, he succeeded in attracting considerable popular enthusiasm; again, in the reactionary period of the war, he secured the plaudits of masses of the more ignorant workers. In these days, however, he will find it more difficult to secure an electoral backing. He can no longer ride into power on a gust of popular feeling. He is obliged to look out for a party of supporters who have plenty of money to spend on the election and strong local influences in the constituencies; the influence which the rich employer exercises over those he employs, and the clergyman over those to whom he gives charity.

TO CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES.

By A Wage Slave.

You are working for a Co-operative Society, an organisation of working people; but your conditions are little, if any, better than those of other wage slaves.

What are you looking forward to as a Co-operative worker? What are your ideals and ambitions, not for yourself merely, but for the class to which you belong.

Do you look forward to the abolition of Capitalism and the emancipation of the workers?

If so, what do you expect the position of workers like yourself to be in the future of your desire?

It is gradually becoming an axiom with all who desire the abolition of Capitalism, that, in the future, there must be workers' control of industry, and that employers of labour are to disappear.

How are you, Co-operative employees, to get control of your industry?

Are you looking forward to the perpetual rule of Co-operative committees, which represent, not you, but the shareholders for whom you work? Surely not. Surely you anticipate that you Co-operative employees, like the rest of the working class will manage the industry in which

you are engaged, through your own Soviets.

The Russian Revolution has shown that the Soviets will be the administrative organs of the Communist Revolution. The German revolution, as yet in its earlier stages, it proving that, in highly organised industrial communities, it is necessary for the workers to prepare the organisation which shall form the Soviets before the Revolution.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

It may interest readers to know something of our work; it might be the means of inducing someone to follow our example.

We hold three indoor propaganda meetings in the City of Glasgow every Sunday at 1 o'clock, all the year round, and that meeting flies our flag, a red flag, with the words on it: "Proletarian School."

We sing, fancy that, we sing, "Come Workers, Sing A Rebel Song, A Song of Love and Hate." That's a song written by Jim Connolly, 20 years ago, and the melody is by Councillor G. W. Crawford of Edinburgh; both words and music are good. On this point I would like to tell the workers all over the country, that we have taught the workers in Glasgow, who have any guts, to sing, and further, the Editor of the *Communist Review* prints a song, words and music in the November issue, saying that they are going to give songs to the workers of Britain, as they have got nothing but a few Church hymns, etc.

Let me tell him, we have got 60 Songs, all original words and music, and he does not know we have Fighting Songs, Naming Service Songs, Burial Service Songs. We have Comic Songs: "Fat is Dead," "I heard the Gaffer Say," "Will You, My Brother, Come?" etc. And the supposed intelligencia do not know (will they please learn), we give a play twice a month, and you ought to see the workers when one of the members of the players "prays"; they can't look up. Why praying? I expect the Editor of the *C.R.* will next write a prayer for us.

We have Swimming Clubs, for girls, boys, women and men; also a large Physical Culture Class, Dancing, Socials, Rambles and an open air class. We are very bad girls and boys, men and women, in the eyes of the ordinary respectable law-abiding worms. We are building, and there is no other way. You must build. Pricking political balloons are only for the more backward comrades, and suits them, but it is not building. We have nothing to do with political work; it is absolutely useless and a waste of good time. We are not connected with any political party, and there is not much difference in any of them; they will all be compelled, by the force of events, to march onward, as the working class rises.

We are endeavouring to create a new ideology for the working class, and, in so far as we succeed, just in that measure will the march for the Revolution be made possible.

What are you doing, Fellow Worker, nothing? That is a pity. Everyone can do something. Everyone should. Why not start a Proletarian School; it only requires a President and a Secretary, and you can appoint yourself for life.

Think that over. No backward committee to keep you back; no comrades telling you what you should do. Does that astonish you? Why should it be otherwise? You are a teacher and a builder. Don't be afraid of the Church, they will respect you when they see you doing something; they may at the same time hate, but they will admit that you have got some pluck. Why not then start to build, Fellow Worker? If you can get no one to help you, start yourself. Never mind the political comrades and democracy; these are only stunts and they are not required in the building. Just do as I do—smile! and you will grow, and then the comrades will come and say you ought to have a committee; only smile, and say "Many thanks, comrades, we are building, and we don't require any timekeepers."

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The *Kommunistischer Arbeiter Zeitung* (Communist Workers' organ of the Non-Parliamentary German Communist K.A.P.D.) reports:

"A member of the K.A.P.D., the Roumanian, Henry Kagan, has been arrested in Russia, because he is suspected of having entered into relations with Left Social Revolutionaries, and with the Workers' Opposition. The true ground for this arrest is probably to be found in a decree lately given out by the Soviet Government, in accordance with which, all who oppose the new economic policy are to be treated as enemies of the State. In order to make room in the prisons for our comrades, the comrades of the Workers' Opposition and the Left Social Revolutionaries, all those were amnestied who have fought, weapon in hand, against Soviet Russia, that is to say, the White Guards and the counter-revolutionaries."

German Coffee Merchants' Swindle.

A large coffee warehouse collapsed lately in Hamburg. The event occasioned a remarkable discussion of the state of the Hamburg coffee market, in the middle-class *Vossische Zeitung*, which organ is certainly not hostile to the merchants. The paper described the appearance of the ruins. In all the storeys that remained standing, nothing was seen but full sacks of coffee, piled ceiling high. The warehouse was so crammed with coffee that the beams literally bent and finally gave way.

This overladen warehouse was no exception, but one of many; because, on October 23rd, a considerable increase of the duty on coffee had come into force, and a thoughtful government had taken care that the merchants should become acquainted in good time with this increase. The German merchants had accordingly bought in all the available supplies of coffee in Brazil, Central America and Java, and brought them to Hamburg, where they were warehoused on the right side of the boundary of the free-port, by October 22nd to avoid the increased duty.

The coffee thus brought into Germany at a low duty is now being sold at prices based on a considerably higher duty.

The enormous profits of which the merchants swindled the State are easily appreciable. A kilogram of the finest coffee cost, in Hamburg on October 22nd, 64 marks, already rising on the 24th to 80 marks, and a further rise is announced.

That the German State is swindled out of increased receipts of which it is in dire need, does not trouble the Hamburg coffee merchants, who belong to that class whose patriotism consists in exacting from the working class the sacrifice of the eight-hour day and the living wage in the interest of (the capitalists of) their country, and that the demands of the Allied capitalists may be satisfied without interfering with the profits of the capitalist beasts of prey at home.

"Margarine."

"The price of margarine has risen again in Germany by 6 or 7 marks, having thus reached three times the pre-war price. Since one of the leading firms of the trade, the A. G. Van den Bergh's Margarine Factories, which disposes of its output principally in Germany, reached, in the trading year of 1920, a clear profit of 57 millions of Dutch gulden, it cannot be contended that such a huge rise in price is justified."

(The sum mentioned is equivalent, at the present paper money value, to about 450 million marks.)

So said the Christian *Deutsche Gewerkschafts Bund* (German Trade Union League), in a protest made to the Ministry of Food.

These things will continue so long as you admit one class of men to make any profit at all out of the labours of others. Whilst you do so, you have no logical right to try to draw a line between "justifiable" and "excessive" profits; a man would be just as reasonable who would have complained to a thief that he had robbed him *too much*. The whole system of production by one class for the profit of another class is robbery, and till the workers, by introducing a system of production in common for the common use of all, put an end to the robbery

altogether, the thieves, despite protests and legislation, will continue to take all they can get.

A. IRVINE.

More Foreigners.

The Prussians have always fought the foreigner on the ground of the well-known Governmental conception that "all foreigners are Bolsheviks, Communists, Socialists, or otherwise suspicious elements, and that Communism, the political activity of the proletariat, is best combated by rendering the 'alien agitator' harmless."

The Prussian Minister, Domineus, recently brought in a drastic piece of anti-alien legislation: that aliens may only be admitted into Germany, whose residence is considered "desirable." For all others, the frontiers shall remain barred. Those who have already settled in the country shall be deported if they have shown themselves "unworthy" of remaining, or have become "a burden to the State."

Any alien can be deported on the score of a criminal misdemeanour, profiteering, lack of papers of legitimation, or if he acts politically "in a sense inimical to the State." Anyone who cannot be at once deported is to be interned.

We know, of course, that the agitators in this country are mostly aliens, Germans, Jews, Russians and so forth, revolution being foreign to the law-abiding traditions of the true Briton; now we find that the same is the case in Germany, and, no doubt, on inquiry, we should find that France and other countries are also in the same box. How it comes that all these countries, whilst supplying agitators for foreign consumption, should be forced to rely for home consumption on imported "alien agitators," is, no doubt, another of the mysteries of foreign exchange.

A. IRVINE.

At the Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress, representatives were present from Soviet Georgia, Soviet Azerbeidjan and Soviet Armenia—it spreads!

In the Moscow inter-Urban telephone centre, a new telephone apparatus, invented by Professor Kovalenko, is being tested. This apparatus obviates noises in long-distance conversations. The new telephone will be soon given over to general use.

An All-Russian Institute for Oriental studies is being founded.

A library has been opened in Moscow containing Russian and foreign books of the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, which are now rare.

The Ukrainian Commissariat for Education has set up a special commission for the study of the history of education and for the collection of statistics on this subject.

Spanish Labour Calls For Help.

H. Arlandis, in *La Vie Ouvrière*, calls the whole Labour world to the assistance of two Spanish workers who are in danger of being extradited from Germany whither they had fled.

Luis Nicola Fort and Joaquina Concepcion are accused of having taken part in the assassination of the Minister Señor Dato.

The Spanish Government, to justify their demand for extradition, claim that the crime was not a political one, as Dato was a friend of the workers.

A friend of the workers, indeed! Dato who transported 27 Syndicalists, in August last year, without trial, to the African Island of Fernando Po, where they still languish, unless fever and torture have already killed them.

Dato, whose Civil Guards on several occasions and as late as last January, shot their prisoners on their way to prison.

Dato, who made it a criminal offence to pay any Trade Union subscriptions, and under whose régime 600 workers have perished, besides several barristers who had laboured on Labour's behalf in the Courts!

Dato, a friend of the workers! this ghastly joke will not deceive the German Government, if only Labour raises its voice against it in time. This man and woman must not be extradited.

A.S. writes from Saskatchewan, Canada:

"The crops here are very poor most farmers having practically no return from their crops and many have lost money. After paying freight charges on cattle to Winnipeg, they frequently do not get enough from selling the cattle to pay expenses."

== CORRESPONDENCE. ==

DEAR COMRADE—

On reading the article headed "Birth Control and Unemployed," it made me think it would be a great piece of propaganda work if a few people, in towns where children are slowly starving to death, would go around to collect and advertise for funds to establish a home where hungry children could be painlessly killed and put out of their misery in order that So-and-So could keep useless pet dogs, and other people indulge in extravagances that you know all about better than I do. Put before the public in such a manner, surely it would make a few people think and ponder whether, after all, our system might not be improved on.

Yours etc.,

ARTHUR STRATTON.

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VANISHING.

Have you noticed, Fellow Worker, how the benefits, for which you are asked to be thankful, are vanishing away?

The pensions, by which our rulers declared they would prove their appreciation for the men who went to fight, are dwindling dangerously. Bill Jones's mother has had her pension cut down by half, and now they tell her it is going to stop altogether; although Mrs. Jones is not more, but less incapable of maintaining herself than she was when the pension was granted.

Tom's disablement pension has been reduced; Dick and Harry, poor wrecks who cannot get work, have found theirs stopped on some pretext or other, and no one listens to their complaints.

The Unemployment Insurance Donation stopped long ago; the insurance benefit is about to be reduced again.

The old age pension is to be reduced.

The wages are coming down every day.

The likelihood of retaining one's job is disappearing as rapidly as anything else.

You watch all your boons and benefits disappearing, Fellow Worker, and you remain a passive observer of the unpleasant spectacle.

The Irish disliked the British Government's method of managing their affairs. They adopted the slogan "Sinn Fein," which simply means "Ourselves." They decided to manage their own affairs and they set up their own legislative courts of law, police and soldiers, levied their own taxes, refused to use British goods, and dealt exclusively in Irish produce and manufactures.

The Indians and the Egyptians are adopting the same policy: the Sinn Fein method under other names is spreading like wildfire in both countries.

When will the British workers adopt a Sinn Fein policy for themselves and refuse to co-operate with Capitalism, as the Egyptians refuse to co-operate with the British Government?

You are told that the time is not ripe: that Capitalism is too strong and the workers are too weak, too ignorant, too indifferent for a blow to be struck and a fight to be made to change the system. James Connolly and his comrades, when they headed the revolt that led to their execution and sowed the seeds of to-day's great Sinn Fein movement, were undeterred by the ignorance and apathy of the Irish people, profound though they were. On the contrary, they said that only a revolt like theirs could arouse the Irish people from their apathy, to fight for freedom.

The Indians were more backward, more disorganised than the British workers; yet they are gathering to fight, as the Irish have fought, for the kind of freedom in which they believe.

Some people tell you, Fellow Workers, that you must not attempt to build up a revolutionary organisation which, because of its industrial construction, could function as the Soviets, and which, because it would only be composed of men and women, enlisted for that purpose, would be willing to do so. You are told not to form a revolutionary organisation like that, but to bore from within: you are even told to tack your political organisation on to the Labour Party, because it is said that everything must develop gradually from something else, human nature being too conservative to believe in anything new, and too timid to come forward and help to build up an organisation from small beginnings.

You should, however, consider the Irish and the Indians: they have not been afraid to build up an organisation to rival and fight the British Government organisation. They have not been afraid, even, to build an army to fight the British Army, under the very guns of the British troops. They are succeeding by building on a new foundation, whilst you are failing by "boring from within."

If you are not prepared to show the same courage as the Irish, the Indians and the Egyptians are showing, you had better give up the fight to emancipate the workers.

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