another Irish Soviet.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

OL. IX. No. 11.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1922.

WEEKLY.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

MOSCOW.

greeted thee in the haze of the morning; the haze of the great heat I saw thee, city of blue domes, city of blue domes and golden stars.

the haze of the great heat I saw thy people; v people in long drab garments, thy wayside peddlars,

people submerged in the peddling of ages, hy people who sit and wait upon thy stones.

the great heat I drove over thy cobbled road.

thy great heat my sore feet pressed thy cobbles,

shoulders were bowed with a burden as of the ages,

ghosts of thy chlidren were crowding about my knees.

saw thy churches that bar thy roadways; y shrines of the past that bar thy progress, heir priests mid the dim gold walls, who hold

their ritual, rk priests with their 'broidered robes and jewelled fingers.

the burning sun I saw the Cathedral of Basil; the burning sky its domes of green and vellow,

ts wierd, wild fruits, the dream of a madman, he flowery patterns meandering over its stones.

the blaze of the heat I saw the walls of the Kremlin;

n the great heat I saw the cool of their pink and grey,

heir chequered marbles the hand of Time hath fondled,

heir curious carvings that Time hath wrought with his fingers.

passed within the gates of the Kremlin,

passed by the sweeping road that gazes over the plain,

he road that gazes over the murmuring haze of Moscow,

hat sees the ancient city with all its domes.

passed through the Kremlin, the home of a hundred churches; is stones are fewer than the tale of its iniquities.

saw its mosaics in their splendour, its gold, and its porphyry, heard the clash of its bells.

passed to the House of the Czars, with its great portal,

entered the House of the Czars, with its wide stairway,

saw there the long, red banners of Revolution, he red, wild banners of Revolution that hung in the House of the Czars.

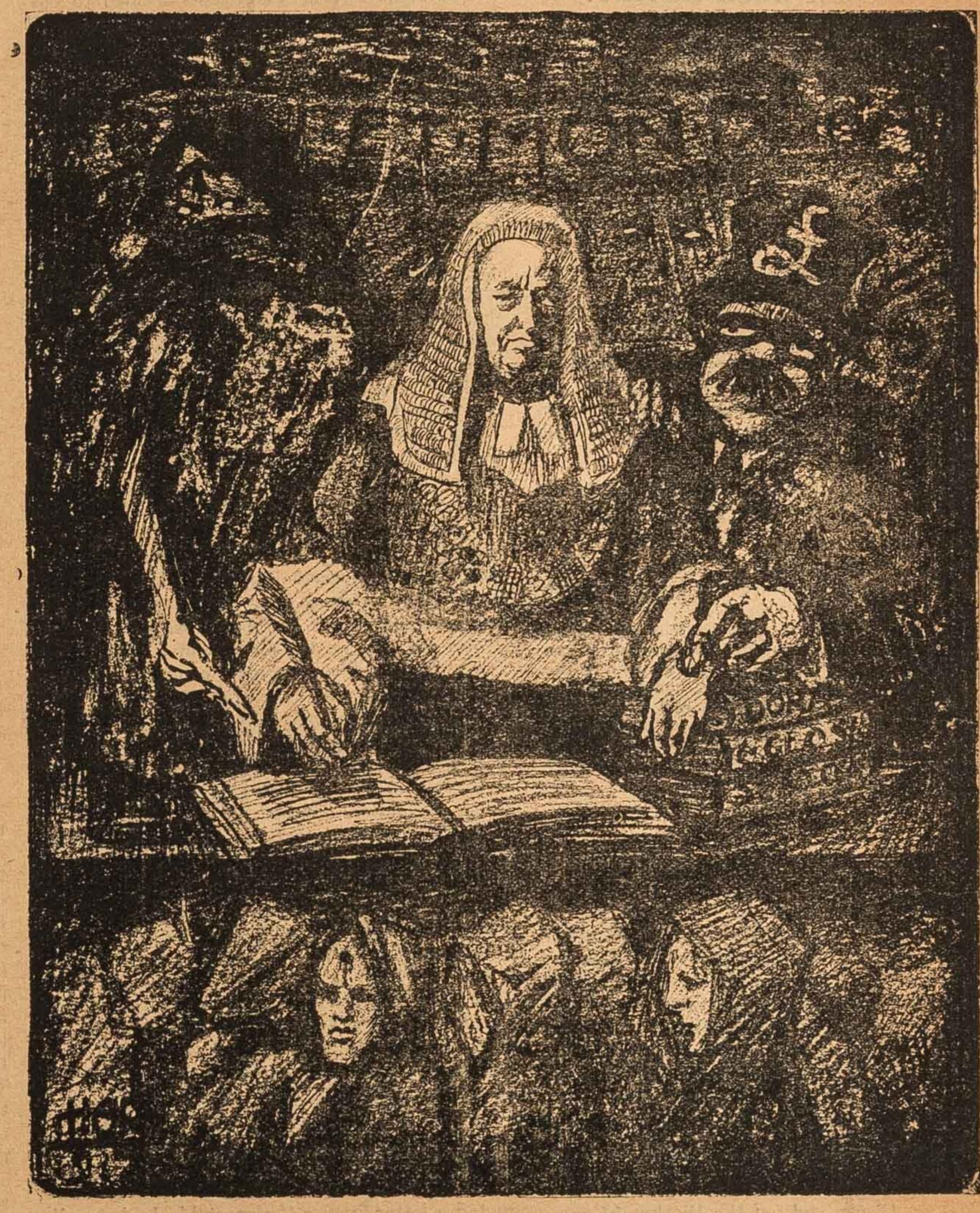
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

Increased Postal rates and the high cost of production

of the paper necessitate prompt payment.



BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THE WORKLESS.

A Trafalgar Square Protest.

On March 29th the Camberwell Unemployed joined with the locked-out engineers in raiding the Albany Engineering Works, Camberwell, in order to induce blacklegs to down tools. This object was achieved. Two C.I.D. men attempted to interfere, but without success.

Later the same day two unemployed men, who had nothing to do with the raid, were arrested. One of them has made the following statement as to the manner in which they were treated. Although there was abundant evidence to prove that the arrested men were not present at the raid, they were both sentenced to fines and imprisonment, the magistrate saying that in his judgment "Two such worthy officers could not make a mistake."

A protest meeting in connection with this case is being held by the Camberwell Unemployed in Trafalgar Square at 3 p.m., Sunday, March 27th.

STATEMENT BY ONE OF THE VICTIMS. We were arrested soon after mid-ty, just past Glengall Read. We were then taken on a No. 63

bus from Trafaiga- Road to a turning near Rodney Road, which led to the police-station. Hawkins and I walked along together; Police constables C- and W- walked behind us. On reaching the policestation. Police-constable W- told Hawkins to go in first, and went in with him. I then followed with Police-constable C- behind me. On entering the charge-room I saw Police-constable W- strike Hawkins on the jaw with his right fist. Hawkins then fell to the ground, near the cupboard with some prize cups on top. Hawkins then got up again, and W- then kicked him. W- then turned to me and said, "It's a good job you are a cripple, or you would get the same." He then said to Hawkins, "sit down there, you dirty b--." Hawkins sat down. C- then said to me, "Sit down over there. you carny cripple s-, or I'll knock your b- head off." I sat down on a form near the table with the cupboard near by, the table being in front of me. I then saw C- hit Hawkins in the face and knock him off the seat on to the floor. C- then kicked Hawkins and said, "Get up, you unemployed --." Hawkins then got up and sat on the seat again. C- and W- then went into the office near the front entrance, and were out of the charge-room for about ten minutes. W- then came back with some papers and sat down beside me. Soon after, Ccame in and leaned over the table and said to W-, "What shall we charge them with?" W- then shrugged his shoulders, but said nothing. C- then said, "Will assault and wilful damage do?" W ---

(Continued on page 8)

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240, ... Post Free 3/3 THREE MONTHS (13 weeks)

SIX MONTHS (26 weeks)

ONE YEAR (52 weeks)

Saturday, May 27, 1922.

. . 13/-

ANOTHER IRISH SOVIET.

The employees of all the butter factories of Messrs. Cleeve, in the South of Ireland, have seized the factories of their employers and are operating them successfully through a Soviet of the workers.

The manager, on behalf of the Workers' Council of Action, wrote to us the other day from the Workmen's Hall, Tipperary, asking us to find a market for 40 tons of first-quality butter, and offering to present a large quantity of sweetened condensed milk to the Russian Famine

proached the Friends' Famine Rel'e Committee, always does. and received by way of reply the following communication :-

FRIENDS' EMERGENCY AND WAR VICTIMS' RELIEF COMMITTEE.

DEAR SYLVIA PANKHURST,-We are in receipt of your kind offer of the 18th inst., and very much thank you for bringing this to

We regret, however, that at the present moment we we have bought up considerable supplies during the last week or so, and it leaves us unable for the o consider any other offers, particularly as it relates to milk, of which we have shipped rather larger quantities than our particular area is requiring immediately, on account of the fact that we were able to purchase very advantageously.

Again thanking you, we are, Yours sincerely,

HAROLD L. WALKER, Supplies Department. 10 Fetter Lane, E.C. 4. May 18th, 1922.

Having noted that the Friends had as much condensed milk as they can use in faminestricken Russia, we telephoned to point out that, while the milk was a gift which could be stored or transferred to other areas, the actual commodity for sale was butter. The reply was that the Friends' Relief Fund has purchased of butter also as much as it can handle for some time to come. To say the least of it, we were greatly astonished to hear that the famine-stricken area is so abundantly supplied. Indeed, we could not forbear to wonder whether, had the offer come from Messrs. Cleeve and not the Workers' Council of Action . . . ?

IRELAND.

ANOTHER PARLIAMENTARY DEAL.

De Valera and those who still support him have agreed to accept the Downing Street Treaty. De Valera and his supporters will protest that they have not done so, but the facts declare they have done so. The De Valera Party has accepted the Treaty in agreeing to put forward jointly with the Treaty Party a National Sinn Fein Panel for the Dail elections, the number of candidates of each party beng equivalent to its present strength in the Dail. This gives the Treaty Party a majority without the matter being voted upon by the electors. The electors cannot give the De Valera Party a majority of seats because it will only run enough candidates the trains, trams, light, water supply, and so to maintain its present minority. The election on, in order to win the engineers' lock out, FINANCE AND FOREIGN EXCHANCE. in June will therefore be a mere farce so far as appear to be mere drum-beating to keep up

the agreement, the Cabinet shall contain a expedients being officially made to the empl majority for Griffith, Collins, and the Treaty or the Government. If the proposed how

The reason given for the compromise is that it about will have to take the initiative will "The national situation requires the entrusting waiting for the officials in the Union offices." of the Government into the joint hands of those Man, who appears to be the principal export who have been the strength of the natonal situa- of the hold-up project, should take st tion during the last few years."

Thus, after all the fire-eating that has gone on concerned if he really wants anything to ha the De Valera Party has accepted the Downing At such times as this the absurdity of loc Street Treaty, and has done so in such a way as for direct action to the old, hide-bound. to prevent the Irish people from declaring them- farious trade unions becomes apparent. It is e selves upon the issue. Since after pretending to that such action as the hold-up advocated by hold out against the Treaty, it has capitulated Tom Man will not take place until the work just before the elections, the De Valera Party who do the work are organised on a workshop has practically cut out any others who might have basis, with the clear self-confessed object question at the elections.

The Irish Labour Party had decided to contest the elections. Whether it will now with. draw its candidates and leave the way clear for the Sinn Fein Coalition, as it has done before, remains to be seen. In any case, the Labour Party will not make the Treaty the test issue. Its officials support the Treaty, and it will put forward a Reformist Labour programme.

The British Government, nevertheless, has suddenly objected to the Sinn Fein politicians' deal. It is afraid of the Treaty question being allowed to drift, lest Irish public opinion against it grows in strength. Winston Churchill is calling the Treaty Party to heel and complaining We at once sent the information to the Daily that the Griffith-De Valera deal is an infringe-Herald, in order to make it known to the various ment of the Treaty. The British Government Labour organisations in so far as the Workers' is again playing the part of the big bully and Council might not have done so. We also ap- rattling the sword as capitalist Imperialism

Griffith and De Valera factions as being what Ireland needs. It adds a note of regret that the truce does not actually settle the differences of the respective parties, since neither side has openly given way' on the Treaty versus. Republic controversy. Nevertheless, says the Herald, the truce will provide a firm government, and "a firm government is the first essential. It is

always essential on the morrow of a revolution. Ah! that is where we part company with the Daily Herald; the revolution that the Daily Herald regards (prematurely, perhaps) as finished with in Ireland is little or nothing to us: we are looking to the proletarian revolution that is to come. We do not wish to see the proletarian revolution opposed by a strong Government. We wish it to be as weak, as disorganised, as divided against itself as a Government may be, that the struggle of the p'roletariat may

the more quickly be entered on. The Daily Herald wants a strong Government in Ireland "to cope with silly sporadic disorder." What is the silly sporadic disorder? The Daily Herald doubtless means the guerilla warfare between North and South, but we suspect that Griffith and De Valera are still more concerned about another form of disorder: industrial disorder, industrial Soviets like these which, at the time of writing, are controlling the butter factores in the South and West of

The Morning Post, in a leader of May 22nd, quoted a letter from a "respectable Irishman"

"The country is getting worse and worse. Last week railway stations were raided all over the place, and goods taken out of the trains by the Transport Union. I am told that when the railway staff appealed to the Free State police at - station to stop the robberies, the police replied that they belonged to that Union themselves, and couldn't help it."

The conditions of the Irish workers have long been intolerable; more and more they are beginning to act for themselevs in procuring temporary redress. Their ambitions and capacities are growing in this direction.

By this same road the British workers must also travel at last. They are slow to begin.

THE ENGINEERS' LOCK OUT.

The resolutions and speeches about stopping the De Valera and Griffith parties are concerned. the spirits of the rank and file. The negotiations After the election, according to the terms of still drag on without any threat of such drastic

is to take place, the men who have got to by bring about a business conference of the

decided to make opposition to the Treaty a test taking just such action in furtherance of the class

Those who are prepared to take such action should, moreover, prepare themselves to go fr ther; for when they do so, they place the selves upon an inclined plane which leads to the overthrow of the capitalist system. To retr from that plane, once it has been entered v means not merely ignominious defeat, but br down upon the workers who retreat ruthles timisation and cruel punishment.

The present position of the engineers and the working class in general is indeed a pitial one. Unless they are prepared to enter the gri struggle to overthrow capitalism, it is obvor that they are far from having reached the of what they will be called upon by the empl ing classes to endure.

The firm of Arrol Johnston, Ltd., an auxiliar of the great Beardmore engineering combine, h just issued, through its managing director The Daily Herald hails the truce between the Charles Pullinger, a remarkable document, whi is doubtless the forerunner of a new policy. This document states that the shop will be a nonunion shop, as before the war:

"The only condition will be," says the docu ment, " that I shall ask you to sign an undertaking that you have no connection with a tra union, and that you agree whilst in our employment neither to join nor subscribe to funds of any such organisation."

The workers were asked to give a reply, teld that if they failed to accept the cond to they would be regarded as having "definit severed their connection with the firm."

The Trade Union-Labour Movement is by attacked by the employing classes in three div tions: (1) Wages are being cut down and r cast out of work; this apart from the suffer to the workers concerned, undermines the finar cial strength of the Trade Unions. (2) The pretige and power of the Trade Unions is bei attacked by the refusal to tolerate the interfer ence of the Union officials in questions of manag ment; the engineers' lock out on this questic is but a symptom of the general tendency (3) The Trade Union Amendment Bill respective the political levies imposed on their members Trade Unions will have a most serious effect on the Labour Party funds, because these funds are mainly gathered from the dues paid by apathetic members whose acquiescence is merely passive and whom it will be difficult, if not impossible to beat up to take an individual responsibility fr the political fund.

Faced with the present intensification of the class struggle, the old Trade Unionism Labourism is howerless. The old moveme must be replaced by a conscious movement for the overthrow of the present system. The new movement must be constructed on Soviet lines, in order that the workers who have overthrown the old system may be prepared to administer production and distribution when the old capitalist administrators have disappeared.

The Russian attempt to create a proletarian Republic has failed in many directions; and in no direction more com'pletely than the Sovietisation and workers' control of inclustry. It behoves us to learn by the mistakes that have been made in Russ'a.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

BY A. WAIGHT. 9D. CLOTH - - 6D. PAPER. FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson. ne Sunday morning I was cycling to ock, and when I came to a spot called n's Well " I dismounted.

was calling to me. It was the June. The corn said "Good mornthe tatie field said "How are you? ythorn hedges were laughing, and with tears were dropping off each leaf. The led me from the middle of the field, "See the golden sky," then he soared o in the air singing as he went, "Soviet, Soviet," till the strain died away. turnips in the fields were bobbing

ves as if to say "Good morning, The wheat, with stately pride, seemed Are you alone? " and the birds were a note of joy as they flew over my en the rabbits were playing in the d the cows and the sheep were chew, ewing, at the velvety grass. The sed his head and looked at me as if to

"Do you stay here?" glorious. It was Sunday morning. y is Sunday, the day on which the iss of the slaves are allowed to go

coughed. I looked round and saw ng a piece of bread, behind a clump "Good morning, miss," he said, fted his weather-worn cap. "Good I replied; "you are at breakfast. early, it has just gone eight." "Yes, "I always take my breakfast earlier a tramp, one of the great unwashed;

face he had, not an old man, about vears of age. g to church, miss? "

I replied; "I am too old for that."

d! you will be a sinner."

be a bit of a lady." little bit," I replied.

and laughed. "No," I said, "I are early on the road."

I said, "I am going to open School in Kilmarnock.' letarian School, miss. Is that the t all the papers are squinting

ou are a Proletarian. Oh! I see, class war girl," and with that he

and I would have liked to kiss ournt tramp, but modesty forbade e vou a Proletarian? " I said.

comrade, look at me; no mise my mentality, again no miswith that he extended his hand. shake," he said, "for the Social

was burning; I felt the tension on and eyes. I felt I would like to man's story, so I said:

u tell me your name and a little of ence? It might be useful for my

'clay'; it's my only bad habit. smoke, comrade? "

you are better without it."

then. First, I was born in on the 17th December, 1871, of cent, God-fearing parents. I was n Rose Street Free Church, and rename of Donald McLeod McLachen. only child, and I was educated in Grammar School in Crown Street, I was a little above the average, on several bursaries. My mother lost my love." liked to make me a minister of the ny mentality.

"It's too long a story, comrade, to tell you of the books I read at his suggestion, but the first two were Darwin's 'Origin of Species' and Grant Allen's 'Evolution of the Idea of God.' I served my 'time' as a watchmaker and optician, and my 'time' was just out when I lost my dear mother, and the blow to dad was too much for him, for he died within

a year afterwards.

"We are a very curious family, we Mc-Lachlans; there is some weird in our nature, and I have it in my blood. I need not tell you about that; it would take too long. I was now twenty-one years of age and I had a love of romance. Comrade, you will excuse me if I get a little sentimental on this part of my story. I am a great believer in love; these may seem strange words coming from the lips of a tramp. Man, comrade, has taken thousands of years to learn love; it is one of the attributes of the race, it is the affinity of the sexual tie; and that's one of the dark spots of my life. My love of all that is beautiful in the human was crushed; my light was put out by the losing of my love. One thing remains to me yet, and one thing only-my first kiss. Those lips seem to me even here now-the panting breath, the little struggle. My arms around her, and again I kissed her, and plighted my troth.

"I had been taught privily by my mother. She was a noble woman. She told me all about the sexual tie; she prayed with me and for me that I might be good and true and holy and never defile myself, but keep my purity and love for the woman I had vowed to.

"I am only a tramp and I have kept the vow that I made to my mother, that I would live a pure life.

" But strange things happen.

"My girl was the daughter of a minister, and when I went to ask his permission to be- schools that are assisted by voluntary subscribers come betrothed to Margaret-for that was her and donors, because the word meccnataj is an actly, somewhere between a saint name—he became frightfully angry.

" Whai are you?" he said. 'A watchmaker, a workman. What can you offer her? Nothing; nothing but a home in a slum. Nothing but starvation and penury during her life. I would rather,' he said, ' see her dead there at my feet than marry into that.'

"I stood like a child, dazed and bewildered, and said nothing, the hot tears running down my cheeks.

"Then he calmed down and said: Donald, I am giving you this advice for your own good. The children of our class cannot marry into the working class; they have nothing in common, and I am surprised that Margaret has allowed you to pay attentions to her. Take my advice, Donald, and marry, say Mary, our servant. She will be able to bear hardships and rear a family on next to nothing if need be, and I will do all I can for both of you.'

"The spirit of the McLachlans arose within me, and I caught him by the throat. 'Beast!'

"I served my sentence. You will never know, comrade, what it is to be put away for comrade, certainly. Just wait ten years—that story's too long. The day comes at last and I am set free, and as I left the prison the word came to my lips, 'Margaret!' I walked down the street. 'Yes,' I

said aloud, 'I will go and see Margaret.' "I learnt on coming to Glasgow that Margaret was drowned trying to save a child's life at Rothesay, the year after I was put away.

"So here I am. I have visited every village projects that the French have made for May 31st in your Empire and also in France, Germany, in case of Germany defaulting in the payment and Russia, and even to far-away China and of reparations. Pierpont Morgan is believed to India I have set clocks a-going.

"I am a wandering Proletariat and I have

I was crying when he finished, and could say that was not to be, for I became little. "Comrade," I said, holding out my with a friend of my father's who hand, "good morning. Here is our little evolutionary Socialist. This man magazine you will find me through it."

And the tramp bowed his head.

ESPERANTO.

KANTO DE STUDENTOJ.

Goju, ĝoju ni, kolegoj, Dum ni junaj estas! Post plezura estanteco, Post malgaja maljuneco Sole tero restas.

Vivu la akademio Kaj la professoroj! Vivu longe kaj en sano, Ciu akademiano, Vivu sen doloroj!

Vivu. floru nia regno Kaj regnestro nia! Kaj am koj meconitaj, Protegantoj estimataj De l'akademio.

Vivu ĉluj la knabinoj Belaj kaj hontemaj! Belaj kaj hontemaj! Vivu ankaŭ la virinoj. Amikinoj kaj mastrinoj, Bonaj, laboremaj.

Mortu, mortu, malgajeco Mortu la doloro Mertu ĉiu intriganto Kaj malamon konservanto Longe en la koro.

L. L. ZAMENHOF.

Note.—This "Gandcamus" schoolboy song, put into Esperanto by Dr. Zamenhof himself, is very easy to learn.

The third stanza is appropriate in the case of adjective derived from the name Maecenas, of a wealthy Roman of the days of Augus'us, who was an open-handed supporter of arts and

THE REWARD OF VALOUR.

The soldiers who went from England to the great scrap in which they could have no possible interest have been nobly rewarded. Some of them are already in the workhouses in t e old land, and some of them are starving in every city in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The representatives of the masterclass who went to the war as generals or admirals are in altogether a different position—as far as rewards go, anyhow. Admiral Beatty received £100,000; Admir I Jellicoe, £50,000; Admiral Maddene, £10,000; Admiral Sturdee, £10,000; Admiral Roeback, £10,000; Admiral Keeys, £10,000; Commander Tyrwhitt, £10,000; General Haig, £100,000; General French, £50,000; General I said; 'I will have your life—you are not fit Allenby, £50,000; General Plummer, £30,000; to live! 'I strangled him and got ten years' General Rawlinson, £30,000; General Byng, penal servitude for it. He did not die then, £30,000; General Horne, £30,000; General but in about three months afterwards; and Hankey, £25,000; General Robertson, £10,000; when the warder told me in Peterhead that the General Birdwood, £10,000; General Wilson, Rev. Donald McTavish was dead, I shouted £10,000; General Trenchard, £10,000.

BANKERS' RULE.

The Chicago Tribune reports that the bankers representing France, England, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Holland, and America will meet in Taris on May 23rd. The American point of view, which is believed to be supported by the British and Italian delegates, and probably by the Dutch, is such that will probably change all the have been charged to demand that the gre ter part of the Allied forces actually on the Rhine should be immediately withdrawn to give Germany greater possibilities to meet the reparations obligations.

As is well known, the Reparations Commission has practically put the entire problem of the reparations in the hands of the bankers.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

(Continued from last issue.)

Among the rural population Lenin's agrarian with some kind of opportunist policy. Lenin

Russia's collapse and disintegration is partially them, in the name of the revolution, the greatest the fault of the Bolshevists; but, apart from that, possible liberty to the control of their own desthe objective difficulties of the situation were tinies. It was analogous to the policy the Bolgreatly increased by their political principle. shevists observed in their dealing with the peasto self-determination, which in reality amounted land satisfied by the pledge of a direct confiscato the disintegration of the Russian State. It is tion of the estates and property of the nobility, a formula that has been proclaimed time and and were thus to be tied to the standard of the again by obstinate dectrinaires as the right of revolution and to the proletarian Government. the divers nationalities of the Russian Empire Unfortunately, in both cases events proved that to determine their own fate independent of ex- there had been a miscalculation. Lenin and his ternal pressure (going so far as to include the commades obviously expected their fight for right to break away from Russia and set up a national freedom (in which they showed a willing- and was master of the situation in all matter new and separate State). As such, it became ness to grant complete State separation of Finthe special battle-cry of Lenin and his comrades, land, the Ukraine, Poland, Livonia, the Balkans, the century, before Ukrainian nationalism began when in fierce opposition to the imperialism of Caucasia, etc., to result for them in so many loyal to flirt with the Karbowentr and the "Univer Miliukov and Kerensky. After the October re- allies of the Russan revolution; but we have sals"; before Lenin had fallen a prev to the volution it reappeared as the main item in the since witnessed how matters turned out quite the idea of "an independent Ukraine," the Rue Bolshevist domestic policy, and constituted the reverse. One of these "nations" after the sian Ukraine was regarded by Socialists as the whole of their platform at Brest-Litovsk; in- other availed itself of the newly-bestowed free- stronghold of the Russian revolutionary move deed, it was the only weapon with which they dom to proclaim itself the deadly enemy of the ment. It was from there, from Rostof and could attack the powerful position of German Russian revolution, one after another sealed a pact Odessa, from the plains of the Donetz, that imperialism.

have stuck to this slogan with such obstinate The side-issue fought out with the Ukraine at of flames. It thus prepared the way for the declaring that it would shortly liberate the Rusthe Press and of speech. In short, to the whole not of a mere fortuitous exception, but of a these provinces have played an outstanding rôle. Russian Revolution itself, but which enabled the 2.7 acres. apparatus that maintains the basic liberties of a typical phenomenon. democratic people (in Russia all these matters Of course, in all these cases it is not really the and in just these particular proivnces, the counter of liquidating the whole of the world war. could be classed under the "right to self-deter- "nations" that are carrying out this reactionary revolution suddenly won the day? It was simply is important that we should make a thorough mination"). Yet they handled the right of nations policy; it is that the bourgeois and the petty because the working masses of these provinces, examination of the policy of the Bolshevists into to self-determination as though it were the very bourgeois classes, finding themselves involved torn away from their Russian comrades, and these matters. The right of nations to selfsign and symbol of democratic politics, and for in a bitter conflict with their own proletarian with their movement crippled by the national determination, coupled with the League of the sake of which all real criticism founded on masses, have adopted the "national right to self- movement, were left to the mercy of the national Nations and disarmament in a Wilsonian sense, the actual conduct of affairs must be silenced. determination" as an instrument of their bourgeoisie of these border countries. Instead never been at all impressed by the idea of every- just the crux of the whole question—now we see class-policy (which they upheld in other material geois world will be fought out. It is as clear order." body in Russia being given the opportunity to the Utopian-petty-bourgeois character of this ters); instead of endeavouring to realise the most as daylight that this pre-occupation with selfvote for the Constituent Assembly; that is, they phrase, for in the harsh reality of our class-ruled compact union of the revolutionary forces determination and the whole of this national thought nothing of that state of affairs in which society, and especially in a time of very acute throughout the whole territory of the Empire; a people, in the complete liberty of a popular antagonisms, it is simply transformed into a instead of defending with tooth and nail the inrepublic, gives voice to its opinion on the basis means for maintaining the supremacy of the tegrity of the Russian Empire as being the of that democratic suffrage which exists in all bourgeois class rule. The Bolshevists and the revolution's realm; instead of opposing each inquarters of the earth. On the contrary, in very revolution will have to pay dearly for the know- dividual national aspiration by proclaiming their solemn and critical declarations they declared its ledge that under capitalism's rule there is no such supreme political command to be the homeresults to be null and void. Nevertheless, we thing as the self-determination of a nation, that geneity and the indivisibility of all proletarian the tragedy of the Russian Revolution that the see them at Brest fighting for all they are worth in a class-governed society each class endeavours elements existing within the domain of the to secure a "plebiscite" of Russia's alien to "determine itself" in its own way, and that Russian Revolution, the Bolshevists have taken death in the spider's web of this phraseology. nations to determine which State they shall for the bourgeois classes all the aspects of a contrary line of action. By taking up the high belong to, as though this plebiscite were the very national freedom are secondary to those of class falutin nationalistic phraseology of "the right" example to the international proletariat. palladium of liberty and democracy, the unadul- supremacy. The Finnish bourgeoisie, like the to self-determination even to State separation," terated quintessence of popular opinion and the Ukrainian petty bourgeois classes, was completely they gave the bourgeoisie in all these border dictatorship of Germany. From the Brest Peace political fate of nations.

that of one nation by another.

reform has created a new and powerful array of and his comrades undoubtedly reckoned that enemies to Socialism, whose resistance will be there could be no better way of getting the many far more dangerous and obstinate than was that alien nationalities that exist within the Russian of the big landed nobility. Empire fettered to the revolutionary cause, to the That military defeats should have led to cause of the Socialist proletariat, than by giving This principle was the so-called right of nations ants. These were to have their craving for the with German imperialism, under whose protec- first lava streams of the revolution (as far back It is surprising, when we come to consider tion they were then able to carry the flag of the as the years 1902-1904) broke forth and made these facts, that Lenin and his comrades should counter-revolution into Russia itself.

consistency, because it is so obviously contrary Brest, which brought about a decisive change in 1905 outbreak. The same thing happened in sian people from Carism. It fell to those who to the much-vaunted centralism of their general these negotiations, as well as in the whole in- the present revolution. We find, indeed, that policy, just as it is contrary to the attitude they ternal and external political situation of the Bol- the best troops of the proletarian phalanx are Socialists—to the Bolshevists—to provide water have always adopted towards the other demo- shevists, provides an exemplary illustration. The drawn from the South Russian proletariat for the mills of the counter-revolution by their cratic principles. Although they were never attitude of Finland, Poland, Livenia, the Baltic Provinces have been since insistance upon the right of nations to self- land were under cultivation for every hundred of the tired of belittling all matters relating to the Con- Provinces, and the nations of Caucasia, shows 1905 the most powerful and reliable centres of stituent Assembly, universal suffrage, freedom of most convincingly that we have here a question, the revolution in which the Socialist workers of ideology which was not only able to throttle the

supreme decisive factor in questions involving the united in preferring the German rule of force to countries the very finest opportunity and excuse Treaty to the "Supplementary Treaty."

more incomprehensible in view of the fact that The "plebiscite" was the main issue at Brest, instead of warning the proletarians of the border the democratic forms of the political life of each and if Lenin and Trotski took up in all serious- countries that any kind of separatism was pure country have to be considered (as we shall see ness the idea of turning the real class relationships trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie, the Bollater) as being positively the most valuable—nay, upside down by its means; if they honestly be- shevists have managed to confuse the masses of further, the essential foundations—of Socialist lieved that by supporting it they were putting a all the border countries by their watchwords, politics, whilst the notorious "Right of all confidence in the revolutionary masses of each and have delivered them over to the democracy nations to self-determination" is nothing but nation that would result in a majority vote for of the bourgeois classes. As a result of the empty, petty bourgeois phraseology and hum- a pact with the Russian revolution; then their advocacy of nationalism, they have themselves bug. Honestly, what does this right mean? It optimism remains quite incomprehensible. Even brought about the disintegration of Russia, and is just the A B C of Socialist politics to combat if they meant it merely as a tactical move in their have placed in the hands of their own enemies every kind of oppression, including, of course, encounter with the German policy of force, they the weapon that was to strike at the heart of the were playing with fire. Supposing there had Russian Revolution. If Lenin and Trotski, and those who are back- been no German military occupation, then if a We know without the assistance of German ing them up have a reputation for being sober plebiscite had actually taken place in the border Imperialism; without "German bayonets in and critical politicians; they make ironic gestures. States the mentality of the peasant masses and German hands" (as it was expressed in Kaut each time they are confronted with that Utopian of the broad layers of still indifferent prole- sky's "Neue Zeit"), the Lubinski's and the species of phraseology dealing with disarma- tarians would have come under the influence of other Ukrainian poltroons, as well as the Ericks ment, League of Nations, etc. If. neverthe- the petty bourgeoisie, and the whole vote would and Mannerheims of Finland and the Balty less, they have this time got a mania for empty. have been captured with the aid of the thousand- barons, would never have been able to get the phrases in the same category, we can only and-one means at the disposal of the bourgeois better of the Socialist proletarian masses in their

have had anything to rejoice over. It is almo an inviolable rule that every time a plebic upon any question of national concern crops the ruling classes know how to oppose it snow fully if it does not suit their purpose, or is in their interests they will make use of and devices which secure its acceptance. obtain the result they desire in either case fact which clearly shows that Socialism cany possibly be obtained by means of the vote

National aspirations and separatist tendene develop apace in the midst of revolutionary co flicts. Not only do they develop, but, as the Brest Treaty disclosed, they are pushed to the fore and made the shibboleth of Socialist revolutionary policy. This fact has caused ore consternation in the Socialist ranks. It he been most damaging to the struggles of the n letariat in those border countries of Russia. long as the Socialist proletariat of Finlan fought as part of the solid revolutionary phal of Russia, it commanded a dominating position in its country; it claimed the majority; Landtag and in the army, it had succeeded completely crushing the Finnish bourgeois connected with the land. At the beginning the whole of Southern Russia a veritable ocean

How was it, then, that in all these provinces. The contradiction that yawns here is all the bound up with the threat of Bolshevism. their counter-revolutionary aspirations.

explain the mania by supposing that it fits in classes, so that nowhere would the Bolshevists respective countries. National separatism was

wooden horse in which the German "comves." with fixed bayonets, were drawn into all these countries. The real class antagonisms and mestions of military expediency and strength were responsible for Germany's intervention on ussian territory. Nevertheless, the Bolshevists ere to blame for the ideology which served to mask this counter-revolutionary campaign: they themselves strengthened the position of the ourgeoisie and weakened that of the prole-The most telling evidence is supplied by the Ukraine, which was destined to play such an ortunate rôle in the fortunes of the Russian Revolution. The Ukrainian nationalism in Russia was something quite different from that of the Czech, Polish, or Finnish nationalism. was nothing more than a vagary, a bit of gooseing by a doezn or two petty bourgeois in- lishing Co., 5/-. ellectuals. It was in no sense rooted in the ircumotances of the country. It was lacking in historical tradition, because the Ukraine had never constituted either a nation or a State. was without any special national culture (except its reactionary romantic poetry), and was absoincapable of assuming a definite political structure until a sponsor appeared in the shape of the "right of all peoples to self-determina-

This phrase has assumed from time to time a

very real importance in the history of the class nflicts. It is the unfortunate lot of Socialism to have been destined in this world-war ply ideological pretexts for counter-revolutionary policy. At the outbreak of the war German social-democracy hastened into the Marxian umber-room to find an ideologic shield for the marauding expedition of German Imperialism, were the direct opposites of the Government determination. By so doing they supplied an population. In 1921 only 58 desystinas were culticounter-revolutionaries to carry out their plan will form the battle-cry behind the coming conmovement, matters which are at present constituting a very grave danger for international Socialism, have been strengthened to an extraordinary degree by the Russian Revolution itself and the Brest negotiations. We shall have to deal with these aspects in greater detail. It was Bolshevists should have been caught and bled to This should henceforth serve as a warning

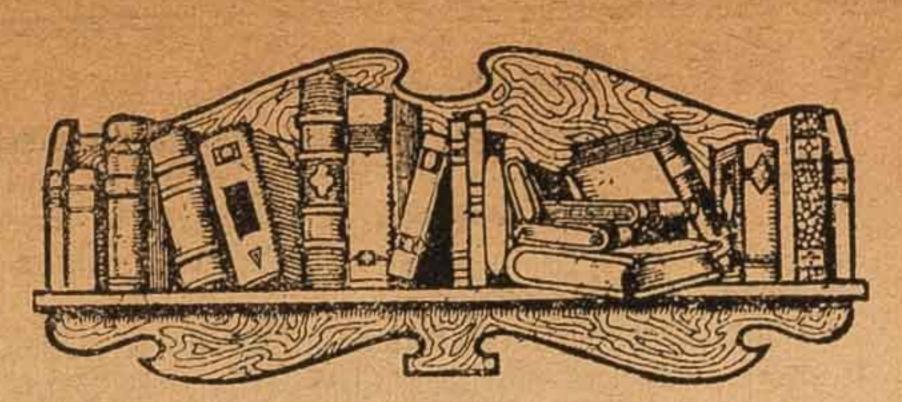
We see how this state of affairs resulted in the national independence if the latter were to be for which it could wish, to unfurl the banner of 200 expiatory sacrifices in Moscow. This situation naturally led to the Terror and to the stifling of democracy.

(To be continued. We can supply readers with back numbers containing previous chapters.)

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

GERMANY VERSUS BRITAIN. THE POSITION OF LABOUR IN 1921. ierman population Norkers on strike Total number of strike days . Trade Unionists unemployed out of 6,631,567 Trade Unionists .

British population Workers on strike Total number of strike days . nemployed, according to Trade Union Returns, November 1921 Total insured unemployed



RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Restoration of Agriculture in the Famine Area j Russia. Being the Interim Report of the State Economic Planning Commission of the Council for Labour and Defence of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. Published by the Labour Pub- must be provided; strange to have it noted down

The translators are to be congratulated on having roubles (a gold rouble is worth 2/2). Two hundred , political, and spiritual conditions and acquired sufficient mastery of a difficult language and five draughtsmen's sets will have to be provided. to render this rather dry report into easy prose. Much as well as some hydr meters, meteorological apparatus. of the book will be found rather tedious by the gonio-meters, levels, and plane tables. One conjures ordinary reader. On the other hand, it is hardly so up the amazing spectacle of gigantic Russia's reconexhaustive or so technical as to satisfy those who may be studying Russian conditions with a view to practical work there. Many of the details given are merely

dull instead of being definitely informative. Nevertheless, the observant reader will cull many the Report. It is stated that for 910 skilled workers

from which data are lacking) has a population of Kropotkin, what sayest thou? 18,260,000-i.e., 16 per cent. of the total population of Soviet Russia and the Ukraine. The rural popula- to irrigation by mechanical-power plants on a large tion is 16.180,000, and the urban 2,080,000. Barely scale 4 per cent. of the people are employed in non-agricultural work. The rural population of this area in 1916 was one-fifth of the total population of European Russia at that time. Its cultivated area comprised 21 per cent. of the whole cultivated area of European Russia. It contained 23 per cent. of the draught horses and 17 per cent. of the oxen in European Russia. Its annual export of grain between 1909 and 1913 averaged 187,821,000 poods-i.e., 24 per cent. of the total export of the entire Russian Empire and 55 per cent, of the export of European Russia, with the exception of Ukraine and Northern Causica.

A Russian pood, it should be noted, is 36.11 English pounds averdupois; 3 poods are approximately 1 cwt.,

In the year 1916 an average of 92 desystinas of

SOVIET FARMS.

It is intereting to bserve that the Soviet farms in the famine area number only 654, and comprise only 1,115,861 desystinas as compared with the 56,430,000 which are contained in the whole famine area, not

Half of the Soviet farms in Russia are in the famine area. These farms are mentioned as valuable for experimental work, and as examples to the peasants: but, as the Report says:

"The work of these farms is only in the initial They gave the world to understand that they had counter-revolutionary policy. But—and this is of acting in the spirit of the real international socialism with the bour- stage. They are engaged in setting their house in

> "Many of the Soviet farms . . . have not yet been inaugurated. The land is still to be surveyed, and the farms exist only in embryo."

For example: "The Novouzensk belt has been handed over to the Gomza [State machine shops] to the extent of 452,358 desystinas, and no more than 11,000 desystinas of this are under cultivation. Out of the 170,597 desyatinas assigned to the Soviet farms in Tsaritsin province, the greater part consists of steppe pasture land, and no more than 32,000 desystinas are cultivated. In Astrakan province, where horticulture is the predominant form of husbandry, the cultivated land amounts to little more than 2,500 desyatinas."

All this is disappointing. In the early days of the Soviet Government much was said of the splendid intensively cultivated private farms of the dispossessed great landlords which were to have been taken over as The Soviet farms, in order that the peasants might learn thereby the value of modern methods of agriculture, and, above all, of co-operative work? After five years report against them. We also learn that comfortable we had hoped to hear good news of these Soviet farms The war and the counter-revolution have much to answer for. Are they wholly to blame for there being nothing more than this to report?

The proposals for agrarian reorganisation made in the Report deal with the people, the cattle, and the soil. It is said that the nomad people, "wherever the natural conditions render it possible, should b gradually transformed into a stock-raising population settled on the land." There has been a tendency throughout history for the nomads of the desert to move on to the fruitful lands and settle down there. To enforce such settlement, however, would be an interference with human freedom and development not to be tolerated. The Report indicates that "the plan of agrarian reorganisation" includes the marking out of a land reserve for the Kirghiz and Kalmuck elements which are nomadic. We hope there will be no them.

attempt to confine these peoples to the reservation. The Report indicates that stock raising will be 43,000,000 transformed from "the keeping of herds on pastures to the keeping of stall-fed beasts."

Without laying claim to any expert knowledge of stock raising, one cannot forbear a sigh fr the unfortunate beasts. The proposal in vasty Russia seems 1,865,170 to the lay mind that of the expert run mad.

It is proposed to abolish "the huddling together of the population into closely-set aggregates of farmsteads, forming huge villages along the lines of the Volga and its tributaries, and also in those parts which come within the influence of the railways." It is proposed to create instead settlements ranging from 1,500 to 2,000 desystinas in extent. It is also proposed to form a State colonisation reserve for the population of provinces where there is a scarcity of

Such schemes can only be realised if irrigation and means of transport are provided; for it is, of course, to obtain these that the population congregates along the rivers and the railways.

A considerable part of the Report deals with the irrigation question. Amongst the details of millions of people, millions of desystinas, millions of poods which fill the Report, it seems somewhat incongruous that we should be informed that for each kind of investigation necessary for these vast schemes draughtsmen's requirements, drawing materials, etc., that amidst a great expenditure of 39,000,000 gold struction waiting for 205 paint-boxes.

The Report informs us that industry and trade is moving Eastward, and one is reminded by that phrase that nothing of Socialism finds its way into on the irrigation schemes, 9,050 labourers and 8,820 The famine area (apart from the Uralsk region, carts and horses will be needed. Shade of Peter

One of the most interesting sections is devoted

It is pointed out that, owing to increasing deforestation and the importance of forests in producing humidity, wood must not be used for fuel, except in small quantities floated down from the upper reaches of the Volga. The widespread utilisation of peat fuel is said in the Report to be "out of the question." Bituminous shale, of which a new variety has been found, and of which there is a large quantity in the lower and middle Volga region, can, however, be used. Shale is enormously heavy, and produces five times as much ash as either peat or coal. Therefore, the electric plant for which it is to be used should be situated near the mines. The electric plant can also be used for working the mines. This, unlike so many other projects, is not wholly in the air. Civil engineer Regirer already last winter built the first Russian furnace for burning bituminous shale; and the furnace, says the Report, has been burning satisfactorily for six months. Experimental furnaces have been built, with a view to planning power stations supplied with shale fuel.

In Saratov and Tsaritsin, which it is designed to make centres for cutting up and transporting timber, it is proposed to erect electric pant served by wood

In the southern part of the area natural gases are found, and these also it is proposed to use for fuel for the electric powe rstations when a searching investigation into these resources has been held. The winds of the area attain a notable velocity.

It is therefore proposed also to use wind power for generating electricity, using asynchronous generators for the electric power stations when a searching inof the motive force.

It is intended to develop the industries of the region and to transfer thither those industries which are carried on in the North of Russia with the products of the South-East, and which have, it is claimed. an altogether artificial existence in the North.

BE AUDACIOUS.

In our issue of May 13th "The Searchlight" referred to the case of Charles and Mary Whybrow, who were sent to prison for cruelty to their children because they took refuge in a tool-shed when unable to get a house. "The Searchlight" further suggested that if the Inspector of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children had called on the people who were living under tarpaulins in Camberwell, the same fate might have befallen them. We now learn that the Camberwell Guardians asked the Society's representative to call on this family, but he refused to neighbours objected to the fumes which arose from a bucket of burning coke with which the family tried to warm their habitation. The police-constables also refused to report against the unfortunate family.

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small Dreadnought show cards with a fine decorative drawing in which the worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the Dreadnought office by those who will display

POEMS OF REVOLUTION By L. A. Motler.

RUSSIAN WORKERS v. SOVIET GOVERNMENT. By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued.)

The rank and file worker is observant. He sees that so far the problems of hygiene, sanitation, improving conditions of labour in the shops -in other words, the betterment of the workers' lot has occupied the last place in our policy. Further than housing of workers' families in the inconvenient bourgeois mansions we did not go well as into the Communist Party which begins for instance, that Hungary and Russia are prewhat is still worse, so far we have not even touched the practical problem of housing in re- crisis in our party; there are, first of all, the to provide the world markets with cottons, in gard to workers. To our shame, in the heart of supreme objective conditions under which Com- ware, and coal; Belgium with woellen cloth, and the republic, in Moscow itself, they are still munism in Russia is being carried out and real- so on. Nay, within each natron, each region living in filthy, overcrowded and unhygienic ised (the civil war, economic backwardness of had to have its own speciality. So it has been working men's quarters, one visit to which the country, its utter industrial collapse as an for some years since; so it ought to remain. For makes one think that there was no revolution aftermath of the long years of war); the second tunes have been made in this way, and will concannot be solved in a few months, even years, population (7 millions of workers, the peasan- claimed that the wealth of nations is measured and that due to our poverty its solution is conever-growing inequality between the privileged groups of the population in Soviet Russia and the rank and file workers, "the frame-work of the dictatorship." breed and nourish the dissatis-

official and the practical man lives and how lives problems. he—he on whom rests the dictatorship of the prodetariat? He cannot but see that during the revolution the life and health of the workers in the shops commanded the least attention; that where prior to the revolution there existed more or less bearable conditions, they are still maintained by the shop committees, and where the latter did not exist, where dampness, foul air and gases poisoned and destroyed the workers' health, these conditions remained unchanged. "We could not attend to that; pray, there was the military front." And yet whenever it was necessary to make repairs in any of the houses occupied by the Soviet institutions they were able to find both the materials and the labour power. What would happen if we tried to shelter our specialists or practical men engaged in the sphere of commercial transactions with foreign capitalists in those huts, in which the masses of workers still live and labour? They would raise such a howl that it would become necessary to mobilise the entire housing department in order to correct "the chaotic conditions " that interfere with the productivity of our specialists.

The service of the Workers' Opposition consists in that it included the problem of improving the workers' lot together with all the other secondary demands of workers into the general economic policy. The productivity of labour cannot be increased unless the life of the workers will have been organised on the new Communist

The less that is undertaken and planned out (I do not speak of something that has been carried out) in this sphere, the deeper is the or a woman, or even a girl or a boy, without the are inseparable; and the combination, the inmisunderstanding, the estrangement and still knowledge of any handicraft, without any con- tegration of both brings about the grandest reworkers. There is no unity, no sense of their employed in, and who is only capable of making comes everybody's virtual domain; in proportion identity of needs, dmands and aspirations. all day long and for a whole life the same in- as it becomes international, and can be concealed The leaders are one thing, and we are some- finitesimal part of something: who from the age no lenger, each nation acquires the possibility thing altogether different. Maybe it is true that of thirteen to that of sixty pushes the coal cart of applying the whole variety of her energies to the leaders know better how to rule over the at a given spot of the mine, makes the spring the whole variety of industrial and agricultural country, but they fail to understand our needs, of a penknife or the eighteenth part of a pin? pursuits. Knowledge ignores artificial political our life in the shops, its requirements, and im- Mere servants to some machinery of given de- boundaries. So also do the industries; and the mediate needs; they do not understand, and do scription; mere flesh-and-bone parts of some im- present tendency of humanity is to have the not know." From this reasoning follows the mense machinery; having no idea about how and greatest possible variety of industries gathered instinctive leaning toward the unions, and con- why the machinery is performing its rhythmical in each county, in each separate region, side by sequent dropping out of the party. "It is true movements. Skilled artisanship is swept away side with agriculture. The needs of human that they are a part of us, but as soon as they as a survival of a past which is condemned to agglemerations correspond thus to the needs of get into the centres they leave us altogether; disappear. For the artist who formerly found the individual; and while a temporary division they begin to live differently; if we suffer, what æsthetic enjoyment in the work of his hands, is of functions remains the surest guarantee of

unions are drained of their best elements by the in the home of his ancestors—the future home tual, industrial, agricultural—corresponding to party which sends them either to the front or of his children—in his love of the field, and a the different capacities of the individual; as well to the Soviet institutions, the weaker becomes keen intercourse with Nature, even he has been as to the variety of capacities within every human the direct connection between the rank and file doomed to disappear for the sake of division of aggregate. workers and the directing party centres. A labour. He is an anachronism: he must be sub- When we thus revert from the scholastics of chasm is growing, and at present, therefore, this stituted, in a Bonanza farm, by an occasional our text-books, and examine human life as a division manifests itself even in the ranks of the servant hired for the summer, and discharged as whole, we soon discover that, while all the beneparty itself. The workers, through their the autumn comes; a tramp who never again fits of a temporary division of labour must be Werkers' Opposition, ask: Who are we? Are will see the field he has harvested once in his life maintained, it is high time to claim those of the we really the prop of the class dictatorship, or —such is, we are told, the agricultural labourer

are we just an obedient flock that serves as a of the future. "An affair of a few years," the support for those who, having severed all ties economists say, "to reform agriculture in accordwith the masses, carry out their own policy and ance with the true principles of the division build up industry without any regard to our labour and modern industrial organisation." cpinions and creative abilities under the reliable Dazzled with the result of our century of mar cover of the party label?

Whatever the party leaders might do in order economists and political men went still furth to drive away the Workers' Opposition, the latter in their dreams of division of labour. They prove will always remain that growing healthy class claimed the necessity of dividing the whole force which is destined to inject vitalising energy humanity into national workshops, having each into the rehabilitation of the economic life as of them its own speciality. We were taught

to fade and bend low to the ground. Thus there are three causes that bring about a the manufacturing countries; that Britain b cause is the heterogeneous composition of our tinue to be made in the same way. It being probourgeoisie, men of affairs of all professions, who that the largest profits are made by the specialisainfluence the policy of Soviet institutions and tion of labour, the question was not conceived penetrate into the party); the third cause is the to exist as to whether human beings always inactivity of the party in the field of immediate would submit to such specialisation; whether improvement of the workers' life coupled with nations could be specialised like isolated workthe inability and weakness of the corresponding men. The theory was good for the day-why The rank and file worker sees how the Soviet Soviet institutions to take up and solve these should we care for to-morrow? To-morrow We can supply readers with previous chapters.

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM. By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Who does not remember the remarkable chapter on the Division of Labour by which Adam Smith opened his inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations? Even those of our contemporary economists who seldom revert to the works of the father of political economy, and often forget the ideas which inspired them, know that chapter almost by heart, so often has it been copied and re-copied since. It has become an article of faith; and the whole economical history of the century which has elapsed since Adam Smith wrote has been, so to speak, an actual commentary upon it.

"Division of Labour" was its watchword. And the dvision and sub-division—the permanent sub-division-of functions has been pushed so far as to divide humanity into castes which are almost as firmly established as those of old India. We have, first, the broad division into producers Each nation is a compound aggregate of tastes and consumers; little-consuming producers on and inclinations, of wants and resources, of the one hand, little-producing consumers on the capacities and inventive powers. The territory other hand. Then, amidst the former, a series occupied by such nation is again a most varied of further sub-divisions: the manual worker and texture of soils and climates, of hills and valleys, the intellectual worker, sharply separated from of slopes leading to a still greater variety of terrione another, to the detriment of both; agricul- tories and races. Variety is the distinctive featural labourers and workers in the manufacture; ture both of the territory and the inhabitants; and amidst the mass of the latter, numberless and that variety implies a variety of occupations. sub-divisions again—so minute, indeed, that the Agriculture calls manufacturers into existence, modern ideal of a workman seems to be a man and manufacturers support agriculture. Both ception whatever of the industry he or she is sults. In proportion as technical knowledge bedo they care? Our sorrows are not theirs any substituted the human slaves of an iron slave. success in each separate undertaking, the per-Nay, even the agricultural labourer who formerly manent division is doomed to disappear, and to And the more our industrial establishments and used to find a relief from the hardships of his life be substituted by a variety of pursuits—intellec-

vellous inventions, especially in this country. destined by Nature to grow corn in order to feed (To be continued.) might bring its own theory!

And so it did. The narrow conception of life which consisted in thinking that profits are the on'y leading motive of human society; and the stubborn view that supposes that what existed yesterday would last for ever, proved in disaccordance with the tendencies of human life; and life took another direction. Nobody will deny the high pitch of production which may be obtained by specialisation. But, precisely in proportion as the work required for the individual in modern production becomes simpler and easier to be learned, and, therefore, also more monotonous and wearisome—the requirements of the individual for varying his work, for exercising all his capacities, become more and more prominent. Humanity perceived that there is no advantage for the community in riveting a human being for all his life to a given spot, in a workshop or a mine, and depriving him of such work as would bring him into free intercourse with Nature, make of him a conscious part of the grand whole, a partner in the highest enjoyments of science and art, of free work and creation.

Nations, too, refuse to be specialised.

Continued on page 7.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

interesting piece of Parliamentary manipu on took place on the Tory Private Members' to provide that a Trade Union shall not sh a political fund except by a majority of per cent. in a ballot in which at least 50 per of the members voted. The Bill also prothat, instead of the unwilling member being fixed to notify the Union that he does not and to contribute to the fund, the member no to comply with the decision of the Union grand to the political fund must fill up a each year promising his contribution. This pill is a Private Members' Bill, but it is going sough, in spite of all the whining by Clynes

s become an axiom that Private Memredit attendant upon introducing it, and the owners last year. mageure will be said to have been carried by

you remember, fellow-workers, and espehe women, how the Speaker for a quarter ary refused to give the closure and allow tote to be taken on the Private Members' Bills we votes to women, which came in like hardy muls year by year? The Speaker was supmosed to be acting entirely on his own initiative. his excuse was that the subject was too important to be treated by a Private Members' Bill. course, the Speaker was acting on Governorders against votes for women. Of course is acting on Government orders now against he Labour Party; for what has happened? This measure, introduced for the first time on May passed to a Second Reading with the eaker's permission, and passed on to the comwittee stage by a majority of 165 to 31 votes. corge Younger said that the Bill had been stroduced because of the pressure brought to nionist headquarters by Unionist Labour The Breakdown of Our Industrial System .application forms to be used by Trade monists not wishing to subscribe to their nicn's political fund. A quarter of these had een sent to Unionist Labour Associations. The tries do not relax their propaganda amongst the

bour party financially showed that these tural and manufactured produce.,, dons had a membership of 1,710,869. Of aly 504,734 voted in the ballot for polition and 3,861,563 alone actually voted in rt, and 117,564 against. Therefore nodded his head, meaning yes. C- then wrtoe in of any unofficial paper.

king apparatus as it pleases.

ELIEF FOR THE LOCKED OUT.

oards of Guardians have consulted Sir that " relief cannot lawfully be granted sign our names on the charge sheet.

ussed by the House.

STARVING THE MINERS.

greater than last year the total price was only court. The other policemen treated me all right. 10 per cent. more; that the miners were being This statement I swear is the truth. starved, their wage being only £2 2s. a week, 20 per cent. above 1914, while the cost of living Thomas that the Labour Party has prevented in the mines, and many thousands are unem-

Charles Edwards (Lab.) said some miners in Bills have no chance of becoming law with- South Wales are earning 36/- a week and payvernment assistance; but this so-called ing 15/- in rent. No reduction had been made e Members' Bill is getting assistance. in mining rents and royalties, which had pro-George assists it, but avoids some of the vided a million and a-half pounds for their

Fred Hall (Lab.) complained that Yorkshire mine-owners are breaking the wage agreements. J. C. Gould, a Unionist and a coal-owner, thanked the miners for their sacrifices in working eye-witness of the South Braintree shooting with for starvation wages, for they had benefited the country, he said; but, of course. they have merely benefited the bosses.

To Labour members' complaints of the agreement forced upon the miners at the close of last year's lock out, the Government representative replied: "Read your Daily Herald, and you will see that the Secretary of the Miners' Federatin

says the agreement is a good one." Frank Hodges has done the work of the Coal

Association more than once. On May 16th the Government proposal to are still in prison under sentence of death. make the teachers contribute to their pensions was defeated. On May 17th a resolution to increase the pensions of pre-war soldiers and sailors was opposed by the Government and defeated.

Continued from p. 6.

economy has had enough time to preach division. buy, or read other than the official Party organ; We proclaim integration; and we maintain that not to act except by order of the Party Executhe ideal of society—that is, the state towards tive; not to think other than the officially sancwhich society is already marching is a society tioned thoughts. Now R. W. Postgate, in quitof integrated labour. A society in which each ting the editorial chair of the Communist, de-6. N. Barnes (Labour Renegade) said there individual is a producer of both manual and in- clares: "The readers make the paper: the paper a good deal to excuse, if not to justify, the tellectual work; where each able-bodied human only lives if the readers are a part of it." He The measure was supported by three other being is a worker, and where each worker works concludes: "And more and more, as the Herald e Union delegates now in the C.N.D.P.— both in the field and the industrial workshop; falls into the power of the Labour Party officials, Isses. Jesson, Stanton, and Walton-whose where each aggregation of individuals, large as the various weekly 'Social'st' papers wilt enough to dispose of a certain variety of natural away and become more and more official. What promoters of the Bill pointed out that a resources—it may be a nation, or rather a region paper but the Communist is there that will exrelating to 42 Unions which support the -produces and itself consumes its own agricul- press that working-class Reality?",

96,735 members, the vast majority, took no his notebook and said something to Hawkins which I did not hear. I then heard Hawkins say, "It's a is, of course, an impudent interference Hawkins on the left shoulder. Hawkins put his around. the liberties of working-class organisations; right hand on his left shoulder and twitched with capitalism in power manipulates the law- pain. He called C- a rotten bully. C- then said to Hawkins, "Shut up, or you'll have another one."

C— and W— were then called outside. Wihle they were out, I and another police-constable had a con
welcome to Doug. and Mary. If Charlie Chaplin It shows, moreover, the widespread to write on his paper. C— then asked Hawkins and Morning Post. dence with which the mass of workers myself our names, ages, addresses, and occupations. their Trade Union affairs and the Labour When I told C- my trade he sneered, and said to Labour Party politics leave the

When I told C— my trade he sheered, and said to
W—, "Look what calls itself a surgical bootmaker."

When I told C— my trade he sheered, and said to
W—, "Look what calls itself a surgical bootmaker."

The book what calls itself a surgical bootmaker."

W— laughed. C— said, "I'm proud that I'm a alternative but some similar Parliamentarian workers untouched. In the class Britisher, and not a lousy Communist. The place ding power will always use the law to you came from is not fit to be seen, it's only a dirty lousy bug hutch. Why, you only have a wash once a month." He then laughed and spoke to W-

W- then told Hawkins to stand up and get over there, the other side of the office window. He then told me to sait down on the chair previously occuas to granting relief to the locked- out the charges. Hawkins said, "I know nothing ers whom the employers now nvite about it; it's a got-up charge." I said, "Those men Work if they will betray their Union, are liars. I was not there." The sergeant made us

man for whom work is in fact available."

W— then searched Hawkins and C— searched me.

He took my cards of membership of different organ
t n, £1; R. E., 10/-; C. J. Delahunti, 4/-; overnment helps the bosses to beat the isations away, also a badge I was wearing. C— then Wren Road Meeting, Collection, 11d.; Green badge he had taken from me into the office. Another Total, £161 3s. 1d.

constable took Hawkins to the cell, then came back Mr. Bridgeman (C.U.), Secretary of Mines, for me. C said, "I'll see to min. C took me to a cell, and when I was inside he said, "Now what said the coal trade is reviving. In the first you got to say for yourself?" He then punched three months of the year British coal exports to me on the right side of my face with his left fist, Western Europe were only 6 per cent. below then on the other side with his right fist, saying, those of the "great year" 1913, whilst to every again on the left shoulder. I called him a coward. country outside Europe except South America He then tried to punch me in the eye with his right they were greater. They were actually greater fist. I stopped the blow with my right arm and to France. Labour members, however, com- called him a dirty rotter. He then struck me another plained that the coal had been almost given blow under the left ear, which made me feel giddy away; that whilst the export was 54 per cent. did not see him again until the next morning in the

(Signed) JAMES LANCASTER.

SACCO AND VANZETTI. A motion for a new trial has been filed in the Superior Court of Massachussetts, U.S.A. It is based on two important affidavits.

The first is that Louis Pelser, one of the four witnesses put forward by the authorities to identify Sacco and Vanzetti, now admits his testimony to have been perjured. He says when he gave his testimony: "I couldn't have been in my right mind. I don't think I was exactly sane. I must have been forced by someone." Pelser declares that previous to the trial he insisted on speaking to the District Attorney-General that he had not seen enough to

The second affidavit is that of Roy E. Gould, an which Sacco and Vanzetti are charged. He was within five to ten feet of the bandit car and was shot through the coat. He retains a vivid memory of one bandit, whom he declares was neither Sacco nor Vanzetti. The defence has only just discovered Gould, but the police knew of the evidence he could give in defence of Sacco and Vanzetti from the very day of the crime. The police did not put Gould forward because their object was to secure a conviction. The case of robbery and murder with which Sacco and Vanzetti are charged took place on April 15th, 1920. More than two years have elapsed, and Sacco and Vanzetti, obviously innocent men, arrested simply because they were active workers, agitators,

WOBBLING AROUND.

The wave of Right Wing Communist discipline has broken. Six months ago the orders of integration of labour. Individualist political the Right Wing Communists were not to sell,

So as the C.P.G.B. becomes more and more merged in the Reformist United Front it will change its tune, and for the cry " Party Discip-BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THE WORKLESS .- Con- line" it will substitute "Unofficial." Hitherto, remember, it has decried the very existence

This is how those who have not quite made up their minds what they are fighting for wobble

n reveals the bogus character of the versation; he was well spoken. C- and W- then had got no better "national welcome" than that, Party's claim to represent organised came back and stood together by the desk. C— was he would have sacked his publicity agent.—The

chosen by some similar Caucus.-Mr. G. K.

I cannot help thinking that the English Bar is probably the oldest and tightest trade union in the world .- Mr. Patrick Hastings, K.C.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

peaker refused to allow the matter to get you six months." C— then took the cards and 7/-; Anon, 2/6. Total for week, £2 7s. 8½d.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT BOOK SERVICE.

152, FLEET STREET

(ENTRANCE, FIRST DOOR ON LEFT IN BOLT COURT FROM FLEET STREET.)

We can spply you with any book, magazine, or newspaper you desire, new or second-hand, from British Colonial, or, foreign publishers Give us all particulars you have, and send a deposit.

By buying books from us, irade discount is transferred to propaganda; for this reason, send your order direct to us, and not through other societies.

At our office you may consult publishers catalogues and place your order for any book not in stock.

If you order by post, you must add. . . the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage.

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price at current rate of exchange. Purchasers will save themselves trouble by opening an account of 10/- or 20/with us, in order to avoid the repeated sending of emall postal orders, which means paying useless done to the Government.

poundage to the Government.	
WE CAN SUPPLY!	
Books on History, Economics, etc.	
Cloth Covers.	4/6
Woman and Labour (Olive Schreiner) Social Theory (G. D. H. Cole)	4/6
Carital Taday (Cahn)	10/-
Clarenment and People (Contad Gitta)	7/6 3/6
A D C of Communism (Buildaring	3/0
The Inequality of Incomes in Modern Communities (Hugh Dalton, M.A.). 8vo	10/6
Origin of Poverty, and Formation of the	
Williams Community (J. Dt. Dewitter,	8/6
D.Ec.Sc., Brussels) The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions	
in Great Britain in the 19th Century	ele
IT C A knowles, Intt.D.I. 402 pp.	6/6 8/6
Creative Revolution (C. & E. Paul) Justice and Liberty (G. Lowes Dickinson).	3/-
The Next War (Will ITWIN)	7/6
Padient Motherhood (Marie Stopes)	6/-
Married Love (Marie Stopes)	3/6
Powerty of Philosophy (Marx)	7/-
Coiongo and Revolution (Untermann)	3/6
The World's Revolutions (Untermann) Marxian Economics (Untermann)	6/6
Aparchiem and Socialism (Ptechano)	3/6
The Collapse of Capitalism (Cann)	3/6 10/-
Capitalism To-day (Cahn)	3/6
Social Studies (Lafarque)	3/6
Sists The Evolution of Property (Lajargue)	3/6
ing t Memoirs of Marx (Wilhelm Liebknecht) Sec Origin of the Family (Engels)	3/6
Essays on Materialist Conception of History	cle
(Labriola)	6/6
Wages, Prices and Profits Men and Steel (Mary Heaton Vorse)	3/6
Capital (Karl Marx)	7/6
Civil War in France (Karl Marx)	1/6 6/6
Socialism and Modern Science (Ferri) Economic Causes of War (Achille Loria)	6/6
Alphabet of Economics (A. R. Urage)	2/6
Fields, Factories and Workshops (Kropothin) Conquest of Bread (Kropothin)	2/-
greate Hugo Stinnes (H. Brinckmayer)	7/6
Wor International Labour Legislation (H. J. W.	4/6
Hetherington, M.A.)	110
The Irish Labour Movement (W. P. Ryan)	2/6
Left Wine Trade Unionism in France (Fierre	
Monatte and others)	1/6
Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power? Oil (!rancis Delaisi)	2/6
The Eighteenth Brumaire (Karl Marx)	1/6
Socialism Utopian and Scientific (Engels)	1/6
Study Course in Scientific Socialism No Compromise (Liebknecht)	8d.
Marvism and Darwinism (Pannekoek)	8d.
The Rights of the Masses (George D.	8d.
The Right to be Lazy (Paul Lafarque)	
Anarchism and the World Revolution (Frea	
S. Graham)	1/-
The More I had a resident to the state of th	Bullion St. St. Berrie

The Way Out (Wilfrid Wellock) 1/-

Reform or Revolution (Daniel de Leon) ... 2d.

Who Pays the Taxes (Daniel de Leon) 2d.

Socialism and Evolution (H. S. Aley, M.D.) 1d.

Novels, Poetry, etc., with a Communist Tendency

Cloth Covers.

Looking Backward (Edward Bellamy) 3/-

The Red Lily (Anatole France) 2/-

Penguin Island (Anatole France) 2/-

Thais (Anatole France) 2/-

Backward" (L. A. Geissler) 3/-

stiff boards 3/6

(I)aniel de Leon) 2d.

Marx on Mallock: Or Facts v. Fiction

Looking Beyond: A Sequel to "Looking

Dreams (Olive Schreiner)

The Industrial History of Modern England	
(G H. Perris). 603 pp	IN
The Working Life of English Women in the 17th Century. 8vo	IN
Paper Covers.	
Twenty-six Men and a Girl (Maxim Gorki) 1/-	
The Kiss and other Stories (Anton Chekov). 1/- Poems in Prose (Baudelaire)	- 11
Factory Echoes (R. M. Fox)	all Sc
Songs of Labour (Rosenfeld) 3/-	
The Red Dawn (Albert Young)	
Our Grandfather (Viteslav Halek) 9d.	
Poldik the Scavenger (Viteslav Halek) 4d. Crises in European History (Gustav Bang) 1/-	
Useful Work and Useless Toll (W. Morris) 20.	
Monopoly (W. Morris) 2d.	
A.B.C. of Communism (Bucharin)	
The Extinction of Mankind (Sir Walter	
Strickland)	F
God and the State (Bakunin) 8d.	
The Organisation of the International	
Bakunin)	
Michael Bakunin, Communist (Guy A.	
Aldred) 6d.	
Communism and Religion, Part I. (Guy A. Allred)	
Through Dictatorship to Democracy (Klara	
Zetkin)	
(John Thomas, B.A.) 8d.	4
Communism and the Family (Alexandra 4d.	re th
A History of Trades' Councils, 1860—1875	wl
(Cicely Richards)	
Reflections on Modern Science (Huxley) 1/- Labour, Nationality and Religion (James	th
Connolly) 1/-	
The Axe to the Root (James Connolly) 3d.	
Shop Talks on Economics (Mary Marcy) 8d. Modern Science (Leo Tolstoi)	
The Logic of the Machine (W. F. Hay) 4d.	
Pictures of Holloway Prison and Cells, 2d. each Don't you want to know what it is like	
behind the bars?	I
FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.	
Appeal to the Young (Kropotkin) 2d.	
Appeal to the Young (James Stewart) 2d.	
Haw-Milton Palace (John Davidson) 8d. The Round Table (Tom Anderson) 2d.	
The Ten Proletarian Maxims (Tom Anderson) 20.	t
The Betrothal and the Rehearsal (Tom Anderson)	t
When I'm a Man (Tom Anderson) 2d.	F
Rebel Songs (Tom Anderson) 2d.	
Communist Song Book 4d.	Entra Maria
Communist Song Book	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	I
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/- Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/3 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/- Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/3 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d.	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) Starl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) Starl Fails ford) Red Europe (Frank Anstey) Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI.	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brails ford) Red Europe (Frank Anstey) Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles Name or Title Price Price	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	0. 4/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	0. 4/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/- Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/3 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 4d. Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphies Name or Title Price Price Rach. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 1½d. 1/- Housing and the Workers' Re-	0. 4/- 8/- 5/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/7 Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 3/8 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles Name or Title Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 Housing and the Workers' Revolution (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6	0. 4/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/7 Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/3 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 40 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlet Name or Title Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 1d. 1½d. 1/- Housing and the Workers' Revolution (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia	0. 4/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 Fhe Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/7 Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/3 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 4d. Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles Name or Title Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia (Ransome) 4d. 8/- 12	0. 4/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/- Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/8 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 4 4d. Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 1½d. 1/- Housing and the Workers' Revolution (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Frinnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia (Ransome) 4d. 8/- Programme of the Russian Com-	0. 4/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brails ford) 6/- Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 3/8 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 4d. Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia (Ransome) 4d. 1/6 Programme of the Russian Communist Party 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	0. 4/- 8/- 8/- 2/
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/- Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/3 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 4d. Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlet Name or Title Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia (Ransome) 4d. 8/- Programme of the Russian Communist Party 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) 9d. 8/9 The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) 2/6 A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Tarrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) 3/6 The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) 6/7 Red Europe (Frank Anstey) 8/8 Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions 2d. The Russian Republic (Ccl. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) 3d. Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) 6d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 6d. Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 4d. Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress 2d Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles Name or Title Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) 1d. 6d. Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) 2d. 1/6 Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) 3d. 2/6 The Finnish Revolution 3d. 2/6 The Truth About Russia (Ransome) 4d. 1/6 Programme of the Russian Communist Party 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) 9d. 8/9 The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 Ireland (Gorter) 1d. 9d.	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend)	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) Fhe Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) Red Europe (Frank Anstey) Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) Che Hinternational Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlet Name or Title Price Price Price Rach. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) Solf-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) off (Sylvia Pankhurst) The Truth About Russia (Ransome) Programme of the Russian Communist Party 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. Red Russia (Reed) 3d. 2/6 Red Russia (Reed)	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) The Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) Red Europe (Frank Anstey) Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) net. 2/6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) ARUSSIA in 1921 (Tom Mann) The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2. 9d. The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles (Lenin) Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) (Lenin) 3d. 2/6 Self Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) Loyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) off (Sylvia Pankhurst) The Truth About Russia (Ransome) Mensone of the Redsian Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoview) 2d. The Truth About Russia (Ransome) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoview) 2d. Ireland (Gorter) Letth About Communist Hungary (Alice Riggs Hunt) Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution (J. T. Walkon Newbold) Newbold Red Russia (Reed) Appeal to the Young (James	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) She Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) Red Europe (Frank Anstey) Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions The Russian Republic (Col. Malone, M.P.) The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) A Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) The International Labour Movement, Vol. 2 The R.L.U. International, Vol. 10 Bulletin of E.C. of Communist International No. 4 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI. Indian National Congress Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles Name or Title Price Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) Soviets or P	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-
Communist Song Book Tolstoi for the Young (Townsend) A Large Stock of Russian Literature. The Defence of Terrorism: A Reply to Karl Kautsky (L. Trotsky) She Russian Workers' Republic (H. N. Brailsford) Red Europe (Frank Anstey) Constitution of the Red International and Labour Unions The Russian Republic (Ccl. Malone, M.P.) net. 2,6 The "Reds" in Congress (J. T. Murphy) Russia in 1921 (Tom Mann) No. 4 Manifesto to Delegates of the XXXVI Indian National Congress Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphles (Name or Title Price Price Each. Doz. per 16 Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin) Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin) (Lenin) Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky) Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst) Housing and the Workers' Revolution (Sylvia Pankhurst) The Truth About Russia (Ransome) Programme of the Russian Communist Party 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev) 2d. 1/6 The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt) The Communist Hungary (Alice Riggs Hunt) Alice Riggs Hunt) Alice Riggs Hunt) Alice Riggs Hunt Alice Ri	8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/- 8/-

LEAKEY'S

ITRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO La Lingvo Internacia Price 4d., post free.

Clear, simple and entertaining for students of ages. Specially recommended for Proletarian hools and Classes.

THE AXE TO THE ROOT BY JAMES CONNOLLY. New Edition, 3D.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

Price One Penny.

WRIT ON COLD SLATE. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Price 1s. 7d., Post Free.

" Writ on Cold Slate' is so beautifully and terribly ealistic that when reading the poems I suffered again ne mental anguish an understanding mind feels hilst in prison.

"Great as is the artistic value of the poems, to me neir most precious quality lies in the way the veil rent and the naked truth revealed." -CLARA GILBERT COLE.

NEW HALFPENNY LEAFLETS.

4½d. a dozen, 2s. 6d. per hundred, post free. Dreadnought Publishers, 152 Fleet St., E.C.4.

THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollontay.

Describes and explains the Communist Prolearian Movement which has grown up in Russia to oppose the Soviet Government's "New Economic Policy " of reversion to Capitalism.

THE GERMAN BIG REVOLUTIONARY ONE UNION.

Programme and Rules of the Revolutionary Union, which includes all industries and is built up from the workshop basis.

JUST OUT.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS. By Edward Carpenter. A TELLING SATIRE.

Price - 4d. FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP. 152 Fleet Street, London E.C.4.

YOU NEED A FOUNTAIN UNION SELF-FILLING PEN

Complete with clip. Always ready for use Does not leak.

Do not miss this opportunity. Send a postal order for 1/1 to-day to the Workers' Dreadnought, and you will receive the pen by return of post.

Profits to the Dreadnought £500 Fund.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS-1d. a Word.

-Wants to buy Rationalist Literature. F. DENT, 156 Whitecross Street, E.C. 1.

HAND-MADE STRAW HATS, 10/- each, in all colours, plain, and variegated, to harmonise with your ow material. Proceeds to the Workers' Dreadnought £50 Fund. Apply: Box 1 D, Workers' Dreadnough Office.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152. Flee Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by 8. at 10, Wine Office Court, Flest Street, London, B.O. 6.