ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. X. No. 41. December, 29th 1923. WEEKLY.

The Unrest of To-Day.

Extracts from Tchehov's "Three Sisters."

* *

Tusenbach.—The yearning for work, oh dear, how well I understand it! I have never worked in my life. I was born in cold, idle, Petersburg, in a family that had known nothing of work or cares of any kind. I remember, when I came home from the school of cadets, a footman used to pull off my boots. I used to be troublesome, but my mother looked at me with reverential awe, and I was surprised when other people did not do the same. I was guarded from work. But I doubt if they have succeeded in guarding me completely. I doubt it! The time is at hand, an avalanche is bearing down upon us, a mighty clearing storm which is coming, is already near and will soon blow the laziness, the indifference, the distaste for work, the rotten boredom out of our society. I shall work, and in another twenty-five or thirty years every one will have to work. Everyone!

Vershinin.— . . .They will forget us. Such is our fate, there is no help for it. What seems to us serious, significant, very important, will one day be forgotten or seem unimportant. And it's curious that we can't possibly tell what exactly will be considered great and important, and what will seem paltry and ridiculous. Did not the discoveries of Copernicus and Columbus, let us say, seem useless and ridiculous at first, while the nonsensical writings of some wiseacre seemed true? And it may be that our present life, which we accept so readily, will in time seem queer, uncomfortable, not sensible, not clean enough, perhaps even sinful. . . .

Tusenbach.—Who knows? Perhaps our age will be called a great one and remembered with respect. Now we have no torture-chamber, no executions, no invasions, but at the same time how much unhappiness there is!

. . . The unhappiness which one observes now—there is so much of it—does indicate, however that society has reached a certain moral level. . . .

Vershinin.— . . . Let us discuss something.

Tusenbach.—By all means. What?

Vershinin.—What? Let us dream . . . for instance of the life that will come after us, in two or three hundred years.

Tusenbach.—Well? When we are dead men will fly in balloons, change the fashion of their coats, will discover a sixth sense, perhaps, and develop it, but life will remain just the same, difficult, full of mysteries and happiness. In a thousand years man will sigh just the same, "Ah! how hard life is," and yet just as now he will be afraid of death and not want it.

Vershinin (after a moment's thought).—Well, I don't know. . . . It seems to me that everything on earth is bound to change by degrees and is already changing before our eyes. In two or three hundred, perhaps in a thousand years—the time does not matter—a new, happy life will come. We shall have no share in that life, of course, but we are living for it, we are working, well, yes, and suffering for it, we are creating it—and that alone is the purpose of our existence, is our happiness, if you like. . . .

Tusenbach.—Not only in two or three hundred years, but in a million years, life will be just the same; it does not change, it remains stationary, following its own laws which we have nothing to do with or which, anyway, we shall never find out. Migratory birds, cranes for instance, fly backwards and forwards, and whatever ideas, great or small, stray through their minds, they will still go on flying just the same without knowing where or why. They fly and will continue to fly, however philosophic they may become; and it does not matter how philosophical they are so long as they go on flying. . . .

Martia.—But still there is a meaning?

Tusenbach.—Meaning. . . . Here it is snowing. What meaning is there in that? (a pause). . . . I am going to work. If only for one day in my life, to work so that I come home at night tired out and fall asleep as soon as I get into bed. . . . Workmen must sleep soundly.

* * *

Vershinin.— . . . We have no happiness and never do have, we only long for it.

* * *

Vershinin.—And yet, in reality, what a difference there is between what is now and has been in the past! And when a little more time has passed—another two or three hundred years—people will look at our present manner of life with horror and derision, and everything of to-day will seem awkward and heavy, and very strange and uncomfortable. Oh, what a wonderful life that will be—what a wonderful life! (laughs). Forgive me, here I am airing my theories again! Allow me to go on. I have such a desire to talk about the future. I am in the mood (a pause). It's as though everyone were asleep. And so I say, what a wonderful life it will be! Can you only imagine? . . . Here there are only three of your sort in the town now, but in the generations to come there will be more and more and more, and the time will come when everything will be changed and be as you would have it; they will live in your way, and later on you, too, will be out of date—people will be born who will be better than you . . . (laughs). I am in such a strange state of mind to-day. I have a fiendish longing for life.

* * *

Vershinin.—Life is hard. It seems to many of us blank and hopeless; but yet we must admit it goes on getting clearer and easier and it looks as though the time were not far off when it will be full of happiness. . . . In old days men were absorbed in wars, filling all their existence with marches, raids, victories, but now all that is a thing of the past, leaving behind it a great void, which there is so far nothing to fill; humanity is searching for it passionately, and, of course, will find it. Ah, if only it could be quickly! If, don't you know, industry more mixed with culture and culture with industry.

Read EIRE The Irish Nation

Weekly Review of Irish Republican Opinion

PRICE TWOPENCE

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Working Lives.

I was in a County Court the other day, when a carpenter, with an ailing wife, living in London, made application for the ejectment of two old-age pensioners in a country cottage. The plaintiff was anxious, for his wife's sake, to get into the cottage which he had purchased out of his savings. The defendant was a man well over seventy, fast becoming feeble, and his wife, like himself, was a pensioner. The judge regretted having to make the order of ejectment, but said he had no alternative as the law stood. The plaintiff agreed to a period of three months; he also offered to pay the costs of the case, and, furthermore, promised "a little" compensation to the old couple on receiving possession.

This was one of the very minor tragedies of working-class life—but a tragedy nevertheless. Each side had a solicitor—and the plaintiff was offering to pay the whole of the costs out of his earnings as a carpenter, though he could have claimed all of them legally. Like a finer type of working-class representative, he was willing to concede three months when the judge would have allowed one. And his generosity extended to the idea of some "little" compensation to the aged couple.

One wondered if his sense of justice went so far as to condemn a system which placed working-class people in such a position as that in which he and the old people found themselves.

The defendant and his wife had lived for fifteen years in the little cottage, and his solicitor suggested that if turned out there was only the alternative of the workhouse. No wonder the old man shed a quiet tear—while his wife tried unobtrusively to comfort him.

And what, we wonder, did the interested clergyman, who accompanied the old people, think? Did his interest mean little more than sympathy for the victims of a system the evils of which he failed to realise with any real sense of responsibility towards them?

Not far from the Court was the Labour Exchange, with a long register of unemployed, including building trade operatives, and carpenters, and painters, and others whose skill when utilised goes towards the building of houses. Here was skill unemployed, and elsewhere was material, actual and potential, that would have given to innumerable people for whom orders of ejectment were being made in that Court the houses they required. But capitalism, ruthless against human life when money and profits are concerned, could not tolerate anything so simple as people building houses and supply other needs solely because houses and other things are necessary to the welfare and comfort of men, women, and children.

Communism would "deliver the goods"—food, clothes, houses, and everything. It is so simple—when the human mind has shed its sophistication and its cowardice.

BEE.

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Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

We shall see many new things in the New Year; but we shall not see a Parliamentary minority transformed into a majority without resort to a General Election.

We shall not see a Party elected on a mild Social Reform ticket become a Socialist Party.

Nor shall we see through Parliamentary Government any beginning of that social transformation which would be possible by the self-organisation of the people through the Soviets.

KEEP THE OBJECT CLEAR.

There is undoubtedly an advance in popular opinion; but the magnitude of that advance must not be over-rated. Above all, it must be remembered that the advance can only be checked by pandering to prejudice and intrigue in place of solid education and agitation.

We must keep our object clear.

FREE COMMUNISM.

The organisation of production, distribution, and transport on a *Workers' Council* basis.

The abolition of the private property system with all the ramifications of production and sale for profit, money, and wages.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION.

It is illuminating to observe Mr. Asquith demanding that the King shall refuse to dissolve Parliament until his Party has managed to slip into Office. The old gentleman complains that the Tories have said he is "a dotard . . . with no future except that which, sooner or later, is in store for all of us when we are arraigned and tried at the bar of judgment." Certainly Mr. Asquith is nearing the end of the span of life; he cannot defy old Father Time much longer; yet he seems as keen as ever he was to be sitting upon the Front Bench and pulling the strings of Government. It is unfortunate that the people still permit themselves to be at the mercy of such manipulations.

Nothing matters to the old gentleman and his colleagues, save that they shall be in Office. Their plan is ostensibly: first, that Mr. Baldwin's Tory Government shall be defeated by a Liberal-Labour vote, after which Mr. MacDonald shall form a Labour Government. Secondly, Mr. MacDonald's Government shall be defeated by Tory and Liberal votes. Thirdly, Mr. Asquith will be called on to form a Government, as the Leader of the only Party left. Mr. Asquith will then form a Coalition to carry on, or if Mr. Asquith thinks the moment opportune, he will perhaps find some reason why the King should withdraw his refusal to dissolve Parliament.

In order that this plan may work, Mr. Asquith and his "liberty loving" Liberals do not scruple to summon the autocratic power of the Sovereign to their aid.

Mr. Swift MacNeil, in the *Manchester Guardian,* discusses the problem as to whether the King may, or may not, refuse to dissolve Parliament. He decides that he may; but he should not in case he might make the Crown unpopular. What intriguing and wire-pulling there is behind the scenes of Government!

The *Manchester Guardian's* leading article thinks it would be nice if the King, by refusal to dissolve Parliament, would save us all from too many General Elections, though it adds that there was a time—in the past, of course—when abuse of monarchical power was still a serious danger throughout Europe; and then, of course, it was necessary to make sure that a Prime Minister could have a Dissolution when he thought fit.

To secure a temporary advantage to the Liberal Party, the time-serving Liberals of to-day are prepared to sacrifice all the constitutional safeguards against monarchic power for which their forefathers fought and sacrificed.

For our part we should experience no dismay were the King to follow the advice of Mr. Asquith, and refuse a Dissolution, in order to shorten the life of a Labour Government. Monarchies are a bad old survival of the past, which will all be abolished sooner or later. The more such institutions appears in the limelight of political and economic conflict, the sooner they will be ended.

THE OFFICE OF PRIME MINISTER.

Mr. Thomas Johnston, M.P., belongs to the Scottish Labour Group in Parliament which is popularly credited with advanced ideas. It is, therefore, very strange to find him, in the Glasgow *Forward,* upholding the view that, whilst the policy of the Labour Party is the concern of the Labour Party as a whole, the composition of the Labour Cabinet must be left to the decision of the Prime Minister alone.

Surely that is an old-fashioned view against which the Left Wing of the Labour Party might find itself advanced enough to protest.

Our boasted democratic Government is, indeed, very far from being democratic. As a matter of fact, a Parliamentary Party in Office is like a herd, with its driver and his assistants and his dogs—the Party Whips.

SCOTTISH GROUP TOES THE LINE.

The Scottish Labour M.P.'s, as evidenced by the *Forward,* at first opposed the view that the Labour Party should accept Office without a Parliamentary majority. The Scottish Group has evidently been called to order by the Party caucus since the *Forward* writers have now ceased to protest.

E. S. P.

Workers' Education.

The *Industrial Pioneer,* an I.W.W. publication, criticises some remarks of ours regarding Workers' Education. Those remarks, we are surprised to discover, the *Industrial Pioneer* has completely misunderstood. Amongst other things it says:—

> The idea that a certain section of the working class may be set aside to take the place of technicians and managers in the days to come is only theoretically possible, but otherwise there is nothing to it. These working men will know a lot about running industry on paper; but they will be without experience, and of no value, except to pose as half-baked intellectuals, to the detriment of the workers generally.

Besides, this idea is born of a misconception as to the mission of the working-class movement. This movement is not formed to create managers and technicians, but to organise the entire working class. Managers and technicians are being made by capitalism. And they are being ground down by capitalism; and are beginning to turn against it, as a result. They, too, must be organised as a part of the working class.

Take, for instance, the depression of 1920, when, according to the Press, over 5,000 technicians, engineers, etc., were out of employment, with many on the verge of starvation. This incident in their otherwise placid lives opened the eyes of many of them. They became very much discontented,, as a result. Another depression, such as is now again appearing on the horizon, will serve to open the eyes of still more of them.

In fact, some of the most prominent of American engineers are growing critical of the capitalist system. One of them, Mortimer E. Cooley, president Federated American Engineering Societies, and dean of the engineering schools of the University of Michigan, is quoted in a September *Industrial Pioneer* editorial as saying:—

> "Unless a new point of view is adopted which will remove the reasons for the growing distrust and suspicion in the ranks of the workers, an uncontrollable situation will result."

Such a situation is coming. Look at Germany, where the technical schools have made intellectual labour a drug on the market and driven the technicians into the ranks of the proletariat. The depression of 1920, already referred to, and the increasing number of situations wanted advertisements inserted in the leading Sunday papers, foreshadow a similar condition of affairs here also before long. The U.S.A. is steadily increasing its technical forces at a rate that precludes their complete absorption and use. Even now technical men, organised as Labour Bureaus, Incorporated, are giving labour organisations expert aid and advice in conflicts with employers and corporations. These tendencies will grow.

Under the circumstances, why set up another class of intellectuals, viz., the theoretical technicians and managers, to lord it over us? Why not seek to diffuse among all workers a widespread knowledge of modern production and distribution, while at the same time preparing to win the technicians and managers over to us? *Such tactics will tend to make all the workers under capitalism a unit against it.* Especially will this be the case in the event of a capitalist collapse following another war, such as appears in the offing. Then all men will tend to work against capitalism; and then may we hope most for its undoing and overthrow.

Organise the working class. Capitalism will take care of the creation of technicians and managers for the new society."

Those of our readers who read our remarks with care, and who are cognisant of the general views and policy of this paper, will realise that the above article does not represent our view. Observe the passage: —

> "Why set up another class of intellectuals, viz., the theoretical technicians and managers, to lord it over us? Why not seek to diffuse among all workers a widespread knowledge of modern production and distribution, while at the same time preparing to win the technicians and managers over to us?"

We have no desire to set up "another class . . . to lord it over" other people. That is precisely what we wish to avoid. We wish the workers, all the workers, or shall we say all who will and can, as far as they will and can, to gain, as the worker says, a "knowledge of modern production and distribution."

We were pleading, in the observations complained of, that it would be more useful for the workers to acquire a knowledge of what may be useful to them when they take over industry, to study those features of society which they will and must discard when they come to establish a workers' industrial republic on the basis of plenty for all.

We were suggesting that when a worker has acquired a general knowledge of the exploited position of the class to which he belongs and understands, that the evils which oppress him are due to the capitalist system; then there is no very great purpose to be served by acquiring a minute knowledge of capitalist methods of finance, banking exchanges, and so on. Workers who have a bent in that direction may doubtless give their leisure hours to that form of study; it has become fashionable in some proletarian quarters. We suggest, however, that they would find it more useful, when the revolution comes along, to have gained a knowledge of the industry they are engaged in, which the employer regards as unnecessary for them, because they are only required to perform perhaps a single operation, or some of the unskilled labouring work.

In Soviet Russia we know that the pre-revolutionary technicians were to a large extent opposed to the proletarian revolution, and that technical knowledge was very rare amongst the workers in general and the revolutionaries in particular.

The *Industrial Pioneer* writer tells us that the technicians are being ground down into the ranks of the workers. That is very good; but just because we do not appreciate that silly phrase, "Workers by hand and brain," and the snug thought that too often lies beneath it, we like, just as well, to see also the so-called "manual" and "unskilled" workers forcing themselves in knowledge up into the ranks of the technicians. The future society will not be the society we desire to see if it consists of classes of intellectuals and classes of manual workers. We wish to see a society in which all persons shall be apt, both for what is termed intellectual work, and for what is termed manual work.

We are no more prepared to permit technicians created by the capitalists to lord it over others, than technicians who have deliberately acquired technical knowledge, in their spare time and otherwise, with a revolutionary aim. Moreover, we are not prepared to accept the view that those who have studied such things as the gold question and the foreign exchanges should lord it over others. All that sort of knowledge will be useless when the new social order comes along.

We urge again that it is more important to prepare for the New Social Order than to study the Old Social Order.

"Organise the working class," says the writer in the *Industrial Pioneer.* Organise, yes, but let the organisation be with a view to taking the industry out of capitalist hands altogether.

Study production and distribution, yes; but study them always with the thought how production and distribution may be carried on for use, not for profit, and to produce plenty for all! Doubtless, the *Industrial Pioneer* agrees with us in that matter.

We must dissent very strongly, however, from one assumption in the *Pioneer* article. The writer says: "Some of the most prominent of American engineers are growing critical of the capitalist system." Then he quotes one of them:

> Unless a new point of view is adopted which will remove the reasons for the growing distrust and suspicion in the ranks of the workers, an uncontrollable situation will result.

We thought the *Industrial Pioneer* too wise a bird to be caught by such chaff. It simply means: treat the brutes a little more kindly, or they will get out of hand, and we shall cease to be able to keep them enslaved, which would be the greatest of all calamities.

To sum up: if you have time and will to seek expert knowledge, let it be of essential, beneficial, and permanent things, not futile, harmful, artificialities of banking, currency, and what not, which are part of the capitalist system. Do not be a mere tool in the hands of your employer, a mere cog in the machine; understand your place in society and your place in industry; understand the trend of the great machinery of production about you, always studying how it may be transformed in the great days to come.

Seek rather to acquire the qualities of a Watt or a Stephenson than a Rockefeller or a Rothschild. Determine that your faculties shall be used in the service of mankind as a brotherhood, not for the profit of a privileged few.

THE "GERMINAL CIRCLE."

The "Germinal Circle" exists to assist in promoting the expression of modern ideas and aspirations through the medium of the arts. To the Secretary, "Germinal Circle."

Lessons for Proletarian Schools.

CHRISTMAS.

Some of our wise young people may have read in the *New Leader* last week an article by Mr. George Lansbury, entitled "The Spirit of Christmas." If so, I do not doubt that they marvelled at the lack of enlightenment of the boys of Mr. Lansbury's day, when they read that at sixteen years of age the member for Bow and Bromley went out to sing carols, "and sometimes on a clear, frosty night would look above, striving to find the Star in the East, which so many centuries before was said to have led the Wise Men on their journey to the manger-throne."

None of our young readers would be so credulous as that to-day we fancy: Many of them, we think, could dissipate a number of other fallacies which still linger on the mind of the member for Bow and Bromley from amongst the motley jumble of old stories told him in his childish days. As December is the rainy season in Judæa, that Star in the East would scarcely have been seen had Christ been born in December; but that is a small matter to those who are prepared to accept the miraculous.

Some of the more obvious errors in Mr. Lansbury's article, which all the authorities would admit to be errors, although they may call themselves orthodox Christians, we shall now point out. Our readers, should they read the article, will find others for themselves.

Mr. Lansbury writes: "Somewhere about sixty years ago I first heard of 'Santa Claus,' and hanging up the baby's stocking." From the context it appears he imagines the Christmas stocking is symbolic of the stocking of the baby Christ. That is an explanation we have never seen before, and we do not think there is any warrant for it.

Dr. Brewer, in his Phrase and Fable, gives:

> *Santa Claus.* The Dutch name of St. Nicholas. Just before Christmas the children of Flanders, Holland, and several parts of Germany, put out their shoes or stockings for Santa Claus, or Knecht Clobes, to put a gift therein before morning, as a prize of good conduct.

Turn now to Dent's *Everyman Encyclopædia*:

> *Father Christmas,* or *Santa Claus,* who is supposed to come down the chimney, and place gifts in the children's stockings that are suspended by the fireplace, has a parallel in every European country. He is identified with *St. Nicholas* (the American name), *Robin Goodfellow, Knecht, Ruprecht,* and the French *Bonhomme Noël.* St. Nicholas Day is properly on December 6th.

Turn back now to Dr. Brewer: What does he say of Robin Goodfellow?

> *Robin Goodfellow.* A "drudging fiend" and merry, domestic fairy, famous for mischievous pranks and practical jokes. At night-times he will sometimes do little services for the family over which he presides. The Scotch call this domestic spirit a *brounie*; the German *Kobold* or *Knecht Ruprecht.* The Scandinavians call it *Nisse Goddreng.* Puck, the jester of Fairy-court, is the same.
>
> "Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
> "Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite
> "Called Robin Goodfellow. . . .
> "Those that Hob-goblin call you, and sweet Puck,
> "You do their work, and they shall have good luck."
>
> —Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Santa Claus leads us then, not to the State Religion, but into the land of folk lore. The legends and imaginings of folk lore are of the same fibre, and have as much, or as little foundation in fact as those which are found in the State Religion; but, since they have neither State nor Church to maintain them, are recognised to-day as fables invented by the peoples in the childhood of their knowledge.

Our young readers may find abundant interest in delving further into this subject.

Turn again to Mr. Lansbury's article:

> I believe because I must; so when people tell me Christmas is a myth which existed in men's minds centuries before Christ was born, my faith remains the same. The baby born at Bethlehem remains the incarnate Son of God. . . .

Most of our young readers will know what Mr. Lansbury means when he refers to Christmas being a myth which existed centuries before the time when Christ is supposed to have lived.

The first authentic mention of the celebration of Christmas, as a Christian festival, dates from the reign of the Emperor Commodus, A.D. 180-192. The early Christian church had no fixed time for celebrating Christmas; some branches did so in May, some in January, some concurrently with Epiphany.

The Roman festival of the winter solstice, the turning-point of the year, when the days begin to lengthen again, and all nature prepares for new life, was celebrated on December 25th. The Celtic and Germanic tribes and the Norsemen held the same season sacred for the same reasons.

The Christmas tree dates back to the Roman Saturnalia, the festival of Saturn.

Saturn was the Roman god time (the Greeks called him Kronos). He was supposed to devour all his children except Jupiter, *air;* Nepture, *water;* and Pluto, the *grave.* These time cannot devour.

During the Saturnalia public business was suspended, law courts were closed, war could not be commenced, and no malefactor could be punished. Class distinctions were more or less obliterated. Slaves were supposed to be able to ridicule their masters and to enjoy freedom, or something like it.

There was a tradition that in the reign of Saturn all men had been free and equal. And it is thought by some that this belief sprang from the memory of an early period in which the people lived under. Of Communism and private property and slavery were unknown.

The Christmas tree was not introduced into England from Germany until the reign of Queen Victoria.

The custom of giving presents to friends at Christmas dates from Roman times. That of giving Christmas boxes to servants also dates from Roman times.

The lighting of the Yule log is said by the *Everyman Encyclopædia* to be an inheritance from Lithuanian mythology.

The word *Yule* is associated amongst Northern peoples with the Festival of the Sun, kept, as it was, in Greece and Rome. The Saxons called Yule *Gehul,* the Swedish *oel,* the Danish *Gehul,* the Bretons *heol,* and the Welsh *häul.*

The practice of decorating churches at Christmas is Pagan in origin, and the mistletoe, as everyone knows, was the sacred plant of the Druids.

The Roman Saturnalia were celebrated on December 17th, 18th, and 19th. The period was afterwards extended to a week.

Some of our young readers may have wondered why it is that in England much is made of Christmas Day, and little of the New Year, whilst in Scotland and France the practice is the other way about. As late as the fifteenth century the New Year festivities in Scotland lasted from December 18th to January 7th. In ancient days, during that period, Yule-girth was proclaimed, and no court had the right to punish. January 7th was called *Uphalie* Day. In the Shetlands it is called *Uphellya.*

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AN OPEN LETTER TO A POLICEMAN.

It has often been said, "The choicest representatives of one profession never even hear of those of another," so perhaps a few remarks about the Anarchists and their creed, of no law, everyone a law unto himself, may be useful to you, as so many evildoers are nowadays described as Anarchists, who know no more about the different schools of Anarchist thought than you do, or did a certain police inspector a friend once told me about.

He was a nice man, when off duty, enjoying himself with one of his three favourite amusements—a game of chess, the cultivation of a cabbage patch, or explaining our duties to one another as useful citizens.

He once told a stupid, grumbling young fellow to be a good Christian, for Christ's command was, "To render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's," but he did not explain Cæsar's rights (so-called) to his land, or anything else, under any known law of nature, so the discontented one thought the inspector was like an amateur play actor, as Mark Antony, reading Cæsar's will to an ignorant Roman population, so as to win them over to his party in a Roman civil war; or a Bolshevik Labour candidate at the General Election trying to catch voters.

An enlightened nation, in a new generation, when they intend to reaffirm their natural rights to own and control their native land and all other natural resources necessary to maintain themselves, will for ever discard musty parchment deeds like Cæsar's will, or the artificial laws and Governments of a false society.

"The art of government is to make two-thirds of the nation pay all it possibly can pay for the benefit of the other third."—*Voltaire.*

An interesting account of an Anarchist's experience with the Paris police inspectors was published in the November number of "Freedom," and perhaps a first-hand study of Anarchist literature would be useful to you and other policemen in their too often disagreeable tasks in dealing with ignorant, discontented people, alleged to be Anarchists.

ELIZABETH HARRIS.

December, 1923.

DISSENTION CAUSED BY RUSSIAN N.C.P.

The "Daily Telegraph's" Riga Correspondent reports:—

"The Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communistic Party has decided to summon for the middle of January, 1924, a conference representing all the Communistic organisations of the Soviet Republics. All the principal questions with regard to the foreign and economic policy of the Soviet Government will be discussed at this conference. Great differences of opinion are to be foreseen between the Left and Right wings of the Communistic leaders. The Left wing, headed by Zinovieff, Bukharin, Radek, and Stalin, is associated with groups which are discontented with the course of the new economic policy, and with workers of the provinces. The second group is headed by Kamenoff, Rykoff, and Sokolnikoff, and is supported by the higher Communistic bureaucracy and business men of the Soviet trusts. It is expected that the opposition will vote against the policy of concessions, as well as against the exportation of grain from Russia and the many other regulations of the Soviet Government which, in the opinion of the Left groups, have caused the terrible impoverishment of the lower working classes. It is interesting to note that Trotsky and his military party are maintaining neutrality in the dispute between these two groups."

The information above is from the Capitalist Press, but it is in harmony with what we know and what we anticipate in regard to Russia.

The New Economic Policy, which is in reality the re-establishment of capitalism, is bound to be harmful to the workers and, in the long run, to the entire people. The export of grain whilst people are short of bread is indefensible.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

Bow Branch.

A rumour has just come to our notice that the N.U.W.C.M. is saying that the U.W.O. is trying to affiliate to that body. We wish to state that no effort has been made, or is likely to be made, to affiliate to such a body. Whether the N.U.W.C.M. is trying to throw out a bait for us, is another matter. Our members will not be so blind as to swallow it.

A. CLEVERLEY,
Hon. Sec., Bow Branch.

Certain members of the N.A.C. of the N.U.W.C.M. are spreading a rumour that the Unemployed Workers' Organisation is considering the question of re-affiliation to the N.U.W.C.M.

Nothing of the sort is likely to take place so long as the policy of the N.U.W.C.M. continues to be of the tea-pink nature it is to-day.

The U.W.O. is still growing, and is increasing its membership every day. Now, when the tomfoolery of the Election is over, we hope to get down to real business once more, and preparations for propaganda on a large scale are now being made.

G. E. SODERBERG,
Sec., Central Committee.

SUBSCRIBERS.

A certain number of subscribers have fallen into arrears with their payments, and as we need funds very urgently we urge them to pay up at once. Their papers are marked each week with the date when their subscription expired. Rates: 1s. 7½d. three months, 3s. 3d. six months, 6s. 6d. twelve months.

Some of our 1s. a week subscribers, too, need a reminder that their subscriptions are due.

Germinal

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A Complete play by Toller. Stories by Marsden, Gorky, Grant, and others.

32 Pages—Sixpence

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, meetings to explain the policy of this movement, can be arranged on application to the Secretary, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

SYLVIA PANKHURST is booking provincial lecturing engagements.—Apply for dates to "Dreadnought" office, 152, Fleet Street.

FOR SALE.—Engineer's Taper Guage, £1; Radius Guage, 7s. 6d. (Starrett's). Proceeds for "Dreadnought" Fund.

WANTED.—Second-hand copies: "How the War Came," by Lord Loreburn; "Economics for the General Reader" (Clay); "Brass Check" (Upton Sinclair), cheap edition; "Ancient Lowly" (Osborn Ward).

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

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The French Revolution, a historical study course, by Sydney Herbert, Labour Research Department, 6d., contains useful notes and a list of books; but the writer apparently has not read Kropotkin's *Great French Revolution* mentioned in the list. Had he comprehended that work certainly his notes would have been more illuminating. The class conflict and the conflict of ideas within the revolution, is scarcely indicated by Mr. Herbert. The policies behind the successive revolutionary governments, the terror and the execution of the various governments by their successors, do not seem to be at all clear to him. Michelet's history is not in the list—a remarkable omission.

Home and School, M. M. Gidvani. Sunshine Publishing House, Bombay, 1s. 8d. A plea for the independence of the child and against "parrot training," corporal punishment, and child marriages. The writer protests that Indian children are taught about England in the government schools rather than about India; that they are taught to study English rather than Indian literature, and that the teaching is in English, to the children a foreign tongue.

Municipal Banks: How to Run Them, by Thomas L. Johnston, M.P., I.L.P., 2d.

Is India a Conquered Country? and if so, what then? Sunshine Publishing Co., Bombay.

Six Pamphlets from the Labour Party. National Health Insurance. Medical Benefit. Post free 6½d.

Widowed Mothers' Pensions, by Rhys J. Davies, M.P. Foreword by Arthur Henderson, M.P. Post free 6½d.

The Cost of Living Index Number. What it means and how it is compiled. Post free 2½d.

The New Rents Act explained by W. H. Thompson. Post free 2½d.

Liberalism and Socialism: An open letter to Sir John Simon by Tom Myers. Foreword by Philip Snowden, M.P. Post free 3½d.

Labour and the Liquor Trade. Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Labour Party to inquire into the question of the Liquor Trade. Post free 3½d.

Barlow's Building Bluff. Exposed by George Hicks. Post free 1½d. (National Federation of Building Trade Operatives.)

Put song and music before thee,
Behind thee all evil things,
And remember then only joy,
Till comes that day of mooring
At the land that loveth silence.
—From an ancient Egyptian song,
translated by Flinders Petrie.

Political Portraits, Second Series. Charles Whibley.

Mr. Whibley is apparently a confirmed Tory and endeavours to make heroic not merely Bolinbroke, but Castlereagh, whom he insists "saved his country." The story of Castlereagh, even as rendered by Mr. Whibley, is anything but heroic. He was elected to represent County Down in the Irish Parliament, a mere youngster of twenty, after a contest which cost his family £60,000—an enormously greater sum in those days, remember, than it is to-day. How was the money spent? How else than in bribery? But Mr. Whibley does not mention that, on entering the British Parliament at twenty-four, he was "marked out for preferment from the beginning"; and how much did that cost, in many ways? He was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland at twenty-eight. Says Mr. Whibley:

"It was Castlereagh's duty to suppress by all means in his power the rebellion that threatened the peace, the very existence of Ireland." And if the rebellion had been successful would Ireland have sunk beneath the sea? History from one so biassed as Mr Whibley is not history, but special pleadings The book contains, amongst many absurdities, a ludicrous attack on Jean-Jacques Russeau.

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