Prisons in Soviet Russia. By Louise Bryant.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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CRAINQUEBILLE. [*Translated from the French.*]

A Proletarian Story by ANATOLE FRANCE.

I.

The majesty of Justice resides in its entirety in every sentence pronounced by the judge in the name of the sovereign people.

Jerome Crainquebille, itinerant hawker, knew how august is the law when he was brought to the Police Court for insulting an officer of the police force.

Having taken his place in the dock in the magnificent and dimly-lighted hall, he saw the judges, the clerks, the barristers in their robes, the usher wearing his chain, the armed police,* and behind a partition the bared heads of the silent spectators. And he saw himself, elevated upon a high seat, as though even the accused had received, in appearing before the magistrates, a calamitous honour.

At the far end of the Court, between the two assessors, was seated the presiding magistrate, Mr. Bourriche. The insignia of Officer of the Academy were attached to his breast. An allegorical bust of the Republic and a Christ on the Crucifix surmounted the Bench, and thus the complete legal codes of all the laws, divine and humane, were suspended over the head of Crainquebill. He conceived from them an appropriate terror. Having nothing of the philosopher's spirit, he did not ask himself the significance of the bust and the crucifix; he did not consider whether Jesus and the State were working together in the Court.

However, it was matter for reflection, for after all, the Papal doctrine and the ecclesiastical law are opposed on many points to the Constitution of the Republic and the code of Civil Law. The "Décrétales" have by no means been abolished, as everyone knows. The Church of Christ teaches, as in the past, that only those powers are legitimate to which she has given the investiture. But the French Republic still pretends not to derive its authority from the the Papal power. Crainquebill could have said with some reason:

— Messieurs the Magistrates, the President of the Republic has not been annointed; this Christ hung over your heads, challenges you through the medium of the Ecclesiastical Councils and the Popes. He is here to remind you of the rights of the Church which invalidates yours, or his presence has no significance.

To this his Worship could perhaps have replied:

— Prisoner Crainquebille, the Kings of France have always quarrelled with the Pope. William of Nogaret was excommunicated and did not abandon his power for such a small reason. The Christ of the Bench is not the Christ of Gregory III, and of St. Boniface VIII. He is, if you will, the Christ of the Evangile, who knows not a word of Ecclesiastical Law and has never heard of the Décrétales.

Then it would have been permissible for Crainquebille to reply:

— The Christ of the Evangile was a poor beggar. Moreover, he suffered a condemnation that for nineteen hundred years all Christian peoples have regarded as a grave judicial error. I emphatically challenge your Worship, to condemn me in his name even to forty-eight hours of imprisonment.

But Crainquebille did not open his mind to a single historic, political, or social question. He remained overcome by astonishment.

The paraphernalia with which he was surrounded created in him a high idea of the administration of Justice. Deeply impressed with respect, submerged in fear, he was ready to place himself in the judge's hands with regard to his guilt. In his conscience he did not think himself guilty, but he felt how small is the conscience of a hawker of vegetables before the symbols of the Law and the Ministers of Social vengeance. Already his lawyer had half persuaded him that he was not innocent.

An examination, summary and rapid, had revealed the charges which weighed upon him.

II.

Crainquebille's Adventure.

Jerome Crainquebille, itinerant hawker, used to go through the town, pushing his little barrow and shouting: "*Cabbages, turnips, carrots!*" And when he had leeks, he used to cry: "*Bunches of asparagus,*" because leeks are the asparagus of the poor. Now on October 20th, at midday, as he went down the Rue Montmartre, Madame Bayard, the shoemaker, came out of her shop and approached the vegetable barrow. Picking up disdainfully a bunch of leeks:

— Your leeks are not very good. How much the bunch?

— Sevenpence-halfpenny, missis. There are no better.

— Sevenpence-halpenny for three bad leeks!

And she threw the bunch back on the barrow with a gesture of disgust.

PROLETARIAN: What are you doing there?
DAVID: Making a Place for Heroes to Live in.

It was then that Officer 64 appeared and said to Cranquebille:

— Move on!

Crainquebille, during fifty years, had moved on from morning to night. Such an order seemed to him legitimate and in conformity with the nature of things. Quite prepared to obey, he pressed the shopkeeper to take what would suit her.

— I must have time to choose the goods, she rejoined tartly.

And she again felt all the bunches of leeks, then kept the one that pleased her most, holding it to her breast, as the saints, in the church pictures, press to their breasts the martyr's palm of triumph.

— I am going to give you sevenpence; it is quite enough, and I shall have to get it from the shop, because I haven't got it on me.

And, holding the leeks in her embrace, she re-entered the shoemaker's shop, where a customer carrying a baby had preceded her.

At this moment Officer 64 said to Crainquebille for the second time:

— Move on!

— I am waiting for my money, answered Crainquebille.

— I did not tell you to wait for your money; I told you to move on, replied the officer, with firmness.

Meanwhile the shoemaker, in her shop, was trying blue shoes on the eighteen months old baby, whose mother was in a hurry; and the green heads of the leeks lay on the counter.

During the half century that he had pushed his barrow through the streets, Crainquebille had learnt to obey the representatives of the law. But on this occasion he found himself peculiarly placed between a duty and a right. He had not the judicial spirit. He did not understand that the enjoyment of an individual right did not exempt him from the accomplishment of a social duty. He considered too much his right, which was to receive sevenpence, and he did not apply himself enough to his duty, which was to push his barrow and to keep moving on and always on. He remained stationary.

For the third time, Officer 64, tranquil and without anger, gave him the order to move on. Contrary to the habit of Sergeant High-and-Mighty, who threatens unceasingly and never arrests, Officer 64 is temperate in his threats and quick to report. Such is his character. Although he is certainly a little sour, he is an excellent servant and a loyal soldier, The courage of a lion and the gentleness of a child. He knows nothing but his orders.

— Don't you hear when I tell you to move on?

Crainquebille had a reason not to move on, which was too big in his own eyes for him to think it insufficient. He told it simply and without artifice.

— In God's name, when I tell you I am waiting for my money!

— Do you want me to b—— well run you in for obstructing? If you do, you've only to say so.

Hearing these words, Crainquebille slowly raised his shoulders and cast upon the officer a sad look which he raised thence to heaven, and which clearly said:

— As God sees me, am I a law breaker? Do I laugh at the by-laws and regulations which govern my life as a licensed hawker? At five o'clock this morning I was at the market. Since seven o'clock I have been wearing the skin off my hands dragging my barrow and crying: *Cabbages, turnips, carrots.* I am more than 70 years old. I am tired. And now you ask me if I am going to raise the black flag of revolt. You are making game of me and your scoffing is cruel.

Was it that the meaning of this look escaped him, was it that he did not find in it any excuse for disobedience, the officer asked in a short, harsh tone if he had made himself understood.

Just at this moment the congestion of the traffic in the Rue Montmartre was very great. Cabs, carts, furniture vans, omnibuses, drays, pressed one against the other, and seemed indissolubly assembled and wedged together. Over their pulsing immobility arose oaths and cries. The cabmen, leisurely and from afar, exchanged epic insults with the butcher boys, and the 'bus conductors regarding Crainquebille as the cause of the congestion, addressed him as "dirty leek."

Meanwhile the curious gathered on the pavement, attentive to the quarrel. The officer, seeing himself observed, had no other idea than to demonstrate his authority.

— Very well, he said.

And he drew from his pocket a dirty notebook and a very short pencil.

Crainquebille was thinking of his money and was obeying the subconscious dictates of his mind. Moreover it was impossible for him now either to advance or to draw back. The wheel of his barrow was unfortunately wedged in the wheel of a milk cart.

He cried out, tearing his hair from under his cap:

— But when I tell you I am waiting for my money! What a misfortune! Misery of miseries! By the blood of Christ!

By these exclamations, which nevertheless expressed less of revolt than of despair, Officer 64 thought himself insulted. And as, for him, all insult assumed necessarily the traditional, regular, consecrated, ritual form, aye, the liturgic form of: "*Mort aux vaches!*"†

It was under this form that the words of the offender were gathered and became concrete in his ears.

— Ah, you have said: "*Mort aux vaches!*" Very well. Follow me.

Crainquebille, in the excess of his stupor and distress, regarded Officer 64 with his great eyes inflamed by the sun, and with his broken voice that seemed to issue, sometimes from his head and sometimes from his heels, his arms crossed on his blue blouse:

— I said: "*Mort aux vaches?*" I? Oh!

The arrest was welcomed by the laughter of traders' assistants and little boys. It satisfied the taste that the mob possesses for violent and ignoble spectacles. Just then, having pushed a passage through the people, an old man, very sad, dressed in black and wearing a tall hat approached the officer and said to him very gently and very firmly in a low voice:

— You are mistaken. This man has not insulted you.

— Mix yourself up in what concerns you, answered the officer without offering any threats, for he was speaking to a well-dressed man.

The old man insisted with great calm and tenacity. The officer then ordered him to make his statement at the police station.

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* The *gendarme* is a much more military, fearsome and majestic person than our English policeman.

† "*Mort aux vache,*" literally: "Death to cows," originally meant, in French slang, "Down with the informers"; the simile of the cow being used to suggest that information may be drawn from informers. Later it came to be applied to the police.

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LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE.

A CANADIAN VIEW.

The following article appeared in the "Western Clarion," the official organ of the Socialist Party of Canada. We reproduce it because we think it will prove interesting to the miners of this country to know how our "Cousins" regard their tactics.

The central argument of the miners—equal pay for equal work—produced the demand for the national pool, and also the subsidy proposed by Hodges—a proposal which (commercially) weakened the case for the miners by exposing them to the derision of master class economics, which left them without an answer to the practical exigences of trade, and which afforded the ruling class an opportunity—quickly taken up—of confounding and confusing the first issue.

In this confusion, equal pay for equal work was conveniently forgotten. It was an excellent trade slogan. It commanded consideration. It was a puzzle to the henchmen of capitalist equities. It was conceded to be eminently "fair and reasonable." Lloyd George was so hard put to it that he was driven for refuge in the "act of God" idea. But—unwittingly—friend Hodges turned the trick, demonstrating once again (if demonstration be required) that no association of slaves, however strong, incognisant of its fundamental interest—the abolition of wages—can transmute the trademongering vicissitudes of commerce into higher standards of social betterment.

That was a serious blow to the miners. The break-up of the Triple Alliance was another. We had heard much talk "about it and about," but when the strain came upon it, the Alliance wilted like a plucked flower. And for the same reason precisely: it was separated from the source of its sustenance—the sustenance of a common interest. Now wrath and its abandon are much in evidence, "treachery" and "betrayal" are frequent terms, bitterness and disgust keen and acid-tongued among the disillusioned worshippers of numbers. Quite natural perhaps, but quite futile.

But the consequences may not be so futile. An organisation so imposing as the Triple Alliance can hardly dissolve without producing far effects. Great stress was laid upon its power and cohesion, the "mighty works" it was to accomplish. It was almost the symbol and guarantee of the coming triumph of labour. Action and reaction being equal and opposite, the rebound can hardly be other than violent, the sense of disappointment as cuttingly deep as the enthusiasm of anticipation was passionately keen.

Yet as all things that have been, so too with this. Its strength was but an appearance, its unity an imagination. The bubble has been burst, and with its bursting there falls away from us another fallacy of idealist misconception. And that is a very real advantage, although as yet its incidence is but vaguely realised.

Disappointment may fly to egotistical extremes for a time, but material conditions compel a return to the realities of daily existence, and out of the reaction will arise a new organisation with a spirit sharpened through failure, and with an understanding vitalised with the friction of fact. And in that understanding resides impregnable power.

The stoppage of the mining industry, implying as it does, the stagnation of almost all industry, is at the present juncture of world affairs, a serious impasse—so serious indeed, that we may almost prophesy that the lost ground can never be regained. With the losing of that ground, will certainly follow a tenser struggle, and a deeper misery. Yet evil though that be—evil i.e., in its immediate effects on the workers—it is a necessary prelude to the new discipline and unity which must weld the exploited masses together for their emancipation from wage labour. As it clears away the status and possession of the middle classes, so, also, it clears away the obsessions of the workers to their slave gods, presenting the fundamental problems, the inherent antagonism of class, in bold and unequivocal relief.

The Triple Alliance did not topple over because of its bulk—indeed, it was not large enough. It did not fail to function because it lacked discipline or ability. Nor did it stand back for want of courage or fear of consequences. Not at all. Courage and ability are in the fibre of the working class, interwoven in their being by the historic development of progress. That is the backbone of every class that has ever risen to power, and in the last analysis, our hope of final victory is founded there. No. The flaw does not lie there, but in the immediate form of the organisation itself.

The Triple Alliance is—or was—a more or less artificial alliance of sections of labour, united principally by the transient juxtapositions of self-interest. Like all Trade Unions, it represented the preservation of particular interests, and those interests are its dominating influence, on those interests it must stand. But craft interests, being patterned on trade associations, are trade interests. They are chiselled out of commercial purpose, and being so, are bounded by the adventitious circumstances of the moment. To the moving influences of the moment they must of necessity respond; to hazard an ideal is to gamble with their existence. And, by the same token, they are individualistic in character—for trade needs are compelling—and as such, are grimly in conflict with the fleeting substance of industrial relationships whose conditions drive us irremediably towards sociality and collective endeavour.

That is why the Triple Alliance failed. The interests of the component elements were trade interests, unequal and diverse. They were not united on the fundamental of exploitation. The pressure put upon the miners did not affect the economic interests of the others, and until the economic interest is touched, none will, or perhaps, can move.

But the lever to touch the economic interest is being steadily applied. Capitalist production has entirely lost its original individualism. The process has become a social collectivity. No one is a unit; no category stands by itself. All are irrevocably bound together, mutually interacting and dependent. What befalls one to-day happens to all to-morrow. Capital is world-wide; its exploitation is single and complete. As single and as world-wide does it engender antagonisms to itself, arousing the conditions where social necessity meets and oversteps class law, and which compel all creating labour to organise, not on craft lines for trade-mongering benefits, but on the broad foundation of class unity, to carry the class struggle to victory and extinction, and society to the further and higher achievements of economic freedom.

R.

RED YOUTH NOTES.

By T. Islwyn Nicholas.

Unity.

In response to the call of the Y.P.C.S. for unity, the various young revolutionary organisations in Britain are preparing the necessary plans for the holding of a unity conference, which will be attended, it is hoped, by the Y.W.L., the I.C.S.M. and the C.P. of Gt. B. Also the Y.P.C.S. are making arrangements for a delegate from Germany, representing the International, to be present. The date for some has not yet been settled.

Bulgarian Conference.

The Congress of the Communist Youth of Bulgaria was opened on May 10th, 1921. There were 146 delegates present, representing 98 local groups. The following points were discussed:—

(1) Economic, political, and mental situation of Bulgarian Youth.

(2) Propaganda activities amongst the peasant youth.

(3) Young Communist International.

The Bad Bolsheviki.

For the children of the workers and peasants employed in the sugar industry, 65 kindergartens, 53 play-grounds and 13 children's homes have been instituted by the Soviets; these institutions have over 95,000 children under their care, and 10,000 children of the peasants working in the sugar-beet fields of Soviet Russia.

In Japan.

In that dear little country of the rising sun, 15 year old workers are working for over 60 hours per week. The young movement in Japan is confronted with a heavy task in its struggle against the most brutal and bloody of the whole capitalist pack.

Red Youth in Transylvania.

In this country exists a Y.C.L., which has groups in all the great cities, but owing to its being under the reign of the White Terror, work in the villages is an impossibility. An organ entitled "The Young Proletarian" has appeared but once, the second number being confiscated by the police, who banned the reappearance of the paper. It cannot even be stated how many members the organisation has, because communication with the Central Council is difficult, as well as dangerous.

"The Young Comrade."

In Germany the White Terror has lost none of its fury. One of its latest deeds has been to suppress the press of the Communist Youth, and, especially the well-known international magazine for children, "The Young Comrade." The magazine was forbidden on account of a poem "Civil War," which was written by a boy 14 years old. This poem has shaken the very foundation of the republic, which is built upon bayonets and jails, and in whose programme the murder of proletarians has been given a prominent place. Is it any wonder, then, that the magazine which dares to speak the truth is suppressed?

To the Youth of all Countries.

We, the Communist Youth of France, thank you for your brotherly sympathy sent to us on the occasion of our first communist youth congress! We know well how heroically you have struggled in your countries for the realisation of our common ideas, the realisation of International Communism. From the bottom of our hearts we wish that the ties that bind us will become more solid and our mutual connections more close in the common struggle which we are undertaking in common with you. There is but one enemy—World Capitalism! We know that true revolutionaries of all countries will gather around the same standard—the Red Flag, and that they will unite in the one revolutionary organisation—the Third International. Comrades! We are tied by a tie which no power on earth can separate, the International, and sending you our brotherly greetings of our congress, we are asking you to join us in our wish:

Long Live the Third International!

Long Live the Young Communist International!

Continued from page 1.

Meanwhile Crainquebille cried out:

— So I have said: "*Mort aux vaches!*" Oh!

He uttered these words of astonishment when Madame Bayard the shoemaker came to him with the sevenpence in her hand. But already Officer 64 held him by the collar, and Madame Bayard, thinking that one owes nothing to a man who is being taken to gaol, put the sevenpence in her apron pocket.

And, seeing all at once his barrow shunted away, his liberty lost, an abyss beneath his feet and the sun put out, Crainquebille muttered:

— Well, well!

At the police station, the old man declared that, stopped on his way by a congestion of traffic, he had been witness of the scene: he affirmed that the officer had not been insulted, and that he was absolutely mistaken. He gave his name and qualifications, Dr. David Mathieu, Physician-in-Chief to the Ambroise-Paré Hospital, and Officer of the Legion of the Honour. In other days, such a testimony would have sufficiently enlightened the inspector; but in France, at that time, scholars were suspect.

Crainquebille, whose arrest was confirmed, passed the night in quod, and in the morning was taken away in the Black Maria.

The prison did not seem to him either doleful or humiliating. He thought it necessary. What struck him on entering was the cleanliness of the walls and pavement. He said:

— For a clean place, it is a clean place! One could eat off the floor.

Left alone, he wished to pull out his stool, but he perceived that it was fixed to the wall. He expressed his surprise aloud:

— What a funny idea! That's a thing I should never have invented.

Having seated himself, he twiddled his thumbs and remained wrapt in astonishment. The silence and solitude oppressed him. He was bored, and he thought with anxiety of his barrow, hidden away and still all laden with cabbages, carrots, celery, salad, and dandelions.

And he asked himself anxiously:

"Where the dickens have they shoved my barrow?"

The third day, he received a visit from his lawyer, Mr. Lemerle, one of the youngest members of the Paris Bar and President of a branch of the Patriotic League of France.

Crainquebille tried to explain his affair to him, which was not an easy matter, because he was not accustomed to sustained conversation. Maybe he would have succeeded with a little assistance; but his solicitor, shaking an incredulous head and fingering some papers, was murmuring, "H'm, h'm, I cannot see anything of that in the depositions."

Then with an idle and bored gesture, he said, stroking his blonde moustache:

— In your interests perhaps it would be better to plead guilty. I really think that your system of complete denial is absolutely foolish.

From that moment Crainquebille would have pleaded guilty had he known of what he had to plead guilty.

[*Next week we shall follow Crainquebille to the Police Court.*]

EAST LONDON'S UNEMPLOYED.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

There are 15,000 unemployed in the Borough of Poplar.

To whom £2,264 a week is paid in Out-relief.

That works out at about 3/- per head of the unemployed—a starvation pittance on which a person cannot be maintained.

The Out-relief for the sick in Poplar Borough amounts to £2,264 a week, and the Out-relief for the families of sick and unemployed people is £19,168 a week.

Unemployed Face Starvation.

The State Unemployment dole and the Trade Union benefits slightly ease the position during the first period of unemployment, but these become exhausted.

If the workless are still unemployed when the benefits cease, what is to happen?

The prospect for the unemployed is desperate. What is to become of them?

The East-End, where unemployment is rampant, becomes greyer and more hopeless week by week. It is in the grip of a growing starvation.

Rates soaring above the Rents.

Meanwhile, because of this large weekly aggregate that is paid out to thousands of poor people; this paltry pittance that is so inadequate, Poplar Rates have risen to such a height, that those who pay their Rates separately, find to their consternation that their Rates amount to more than their rent.

The present Rate levied in Poplar Borough amounts, in fact, to £1 5s. in the £.

Borough Council Bankrupt.

But the Borough Council is not yet levying the Rate necessary to make the Council solvent. At present there is a heavy deficit, and because of this deficit, the Council is in debt to the London County Council to the tune of £135,778 1s. 6d., in respect of the County Rate.

Councillors prosecuted by L.C.C.

The London County Council is now suing the Poplar Borough Council for an instalment, £33,994 10s. 6d. of the £135,778 1s. 6d.

Rates £1 8s. 6d. in the Pound.

To make the Poplar Borough Council solvent, it would be necessary for the Borough Council to levy a Rate of £1 18s. 6d. in the pound. The rates would then be nearly double the rent!

Rents will be Raised to Pay Rates.

"Let them Pay!" one might cry, in contemplating the big factories dotted here and there throughout the borough; the factories where Poplar men, women, and children toil to build up fortunes for their employers.

"Let the employers pay! Let the exploiters of this enfeebled population, from which they have drained the vital flame of energy, bear the expense of maintaining those of the people whom the exploiters' system of Government has rendered unemployed or unemployable."

It would be just to make those who benefit by the capitalist system pay for its wastage. In that day of reckoning, many a fortune would go toppling downward. But our ruling classes have managed things to suit their own interests to allow of that!

The factories, as everyone knows, only pay a proportion of the Rates, and of that proportion, the factory owners avoid the burden by reducing wages or raising prices, as occasion serves.

The Poor Pay the Rates.

But the bulk of the Poplar Rates is raised from the working class houses in the borough. The landlord actually pays only the Rates, it is true, for the Rates are included in the rent; but the landlord raises the rent to meet the increased Rates. The Rent Act specially provided that he should do so. Even the Labour Party in Parliament was agreed that the landlord must not be made to bear the burden of Governmental expenditure. The people must pay, as they pay every time. The bug-ridden, neglected, tumble-down hovels of Poplar must pay the enormous Rates levied in Poplar, because Poplar contains an enormous number of poor people.

Council dare not not levy the Rate.

But the Borough Councillors are afraid to levy this Rate of £1 18s. 6d. in the pound. Moreover, they do not wish to. They themselves would personally feel the pinch of it, though not so much as their poorer neighbours. Some of them have only quite modest incomes. They are surrounded by mile upon mile of dreary little houses, whose tired, white-faced occupants are only just existing, and who, crushed as they are between the upper and nether mill-stone of low wages and high prices, must deeply, bitterly object to an increase in the rent.

The consciences of the Poplar Borough Councillors tell them the rents must not be raised. Their political self-interest whispers the same thing; for how on earth can they expect these exploited workers to vote for them if they add so grievously to their burdens?

The Poplar Councillors have therefore refused to levy the Rate and neglected to pay the L.C.C.. The King, styling himself "*George the Fifth*, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King Defender of the Faith" therefore sends "Greeting" to "Our Metropolitan Borough of Poplar, in our County of London"; and with the greeting he sends to every member of the Borough Council a writ, "firmly enjoining them" to pay the money which the Poplar Council owes to the L.C.C., and to levy a Rate for this purpose.

Will the Councillors be sent to Prison?

So now the Poplar Borough Councillors are wondering whether they will be sent to prison, and if so, whether they will get First Division treatment.

Circumstances have pushed Poplar into bankruptcy first; but other Borough Councils will follow.

It means the bankruptcy of Capitalist methods of ameliorating the lot of the working class.

So far from coming to the rescue, the Government is cutting down the unemployment dole, and so increasing the embarrassment of the local authorities.

But Poplar's revolt is a very feeble one; it gives but a bare, paltry pittance to the clamouring destitute, and meets many applicants with a cold denial of relief, in the interests of national economy.

The Unemployed Suffer.

The unemployed, the workers whom capital does not find it profitable to employ just now, are the people to suffer.

And they suffer quietly. No outcry of theirs troubles the comfort of the well-to-do.

They suffer, thousands of them, without realising that they are the victims of a criminal social system; that they are robbed unjustly and unjustifiably of what is their right as human beings—the means of subsistence. Thousands of them suffer, believing that though it is unfortunate for them, it is just and natural that they should go hungry when no capitalist employer desires to give them work.

They firmly believed, when they were employed, that the present state of affairs is right and natural; but now they are unemployed, that belief is inclined to wane, and their minds are fertile ground in which to plant the Communist seed.

Comrades, do not allow their resentment to smoulder away, heated only by fugitive side issues. Seize this moment to urge upon them the fact that Communism alone will bring security to the workers.

The programe of the Third International calls upon members of the Party who sit on public administrative bodies to lead the unemployed in demonstrations, which will expose the cruelty and futility of the present system.

The Communist Borough Councillors.

The tactics of the Third International call our Borough Councillors to lead the unemployed to the Council Chambers and to the Houses of Parliament to demand redress, and when redress is denied, as denied it will be, to lead the unemployed and the employed to further action, which, when the time is ripe, will cause the setting up of Soviets.

Now, Communist Borough Councillors, let us see what you can do.

On the rest of us is laid the duty of agitating outside.

We appeal to the comades in every district to take action and to send us reports of their activities.

Tell us, comrades, what the local authorities are doing, and what the Communist and Labour members of those bodies are doing.

This is an hour in which the futility of Reformism within the machinery of Capitalism is most cruelly being proved by the miserable plight of thousands.

PRISON LIFE IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

A Favorable Comparison with the Prisons of "Democracy."

By LOUISE BRYANT

A prison is like a mirror reflecting the character of the government above the prison. What could be a more faithful likeness of the Wilson Administration than the jails at home full of people still unforgiven for opposing a war that the whole world is disillusioned about? Last week I visited one of the Communist prisons—Andronovski Lager. As I went about observing how the Communists manage people who are a menace to their peace and safety, like a shadow beside me went the thought of Dannemora, where Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow pass their hard days.

Andronovski Lager is a beautiful place. Before the revolution it was a monastery. Above the chapel hang the sweetest bells in Moscow. There is a lovely garden and numerous low buildings and surrounding it all a high Chinese wall. We drove up to the big iron gates in an automobile from the Foreign Office. Santeri Nuorteva had charge of the expedition and carried the kind of papers from the Extraordinary Commission that allowed us to wander freely about once we were inside.

We passed beneath arches with holy pictures painted on the sides and unlit shrines in the corners, and came to the Commandant's office, which overlooked the garden. The Commandant was a very mild young man, about as much my idea of a prison warden as Scott Nearing. He gave us tea and told us about the people he had in charge. I wanted especially to see the American Captain Kilkpatrick, who was taken with Wrangel. He proved to be but a stripling—a Southerner whose love of adventure had carried him along, even after the war was over, "hunting Bolsheviks" as they hunt Mexicans in Texas or "niggers" in his native element. Kilkpatrick doesn't like it known that he was taken prisoner by a woman. But that is only because he is a Southerner; the woman who captured him is one of the best soldiers in Russia, and is the commander of a cavalry brigade.

When one talks to Kilkpatrick one forgives him much. He has been fed on Southern prejudices and knows nothing about life. He is terribly disillusioned and hurt because "his government" so promptly forgot him. He told me he would "prove to history and the world" that he never meant to harm the Soviets. He asked Nuorteva to send him a lot of Communist literature. The Commandant, he said, was "one of the dearest fellows—and so delicate about giving orders to the prisoners."

No Locked up Cells.

As we walked through corridor after corridor knocking at doors and being joyfully received, it suddenly occurred to me that there were no bars or locks. Upon investigation I found that only the wall was guarded. As far as the rest of the camp went one could go about freely. Prisoners are allowed to go unaccompanied into the town, coming back without proper papers and being refused permission to enter for hours. The craziest thing about these stories is that they are usually true. I know it was true in the case of the Anarchists who were let out to attend Kropotkin's funeral. They stood outside for a whole hour trying to persuade a doubtful guard to allow them to return to solitary confinement!

Kilkpatrick escorted us to the quarters of friends of his who proved to be of the cream of the Hungarian aristocracy. They are held to exchange for Hungarian Communists as Kilkpatrick and other Americans are held to exchange for Larkin and Gitlow. One of them, Count Szechenyi, is a cousin of our American Vanderbilts.

The most charming person in the camp was Brown Stackelberg, the eminent scientist. We did not discover what brought him there, and he entertained us in such an easy, amusing way that we did not have the heart to ask him. However, he volunteered the information that he would return in a few days to his post in the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, and laughingly added, "of course always subject to an invitation to return here." He had spent his time in prison making a comparison of the English and German languages.

Unwashed Emir of Khiva.

As soon as we learned that the Emir of Khiva was one of the "guests" we insisted on seeing him, but for a reason we could not then fathom the Commandant was very loath to comply with our request. However, he gave way and at last led us into the main room of the chapel where the Emir, the Crown Prince and all the ministers were living with their beds ranged round the great room, a poor copy of Ivan the Terrible's chapel in the Kremlin. There were the same curved ceilings, low windows and holy pictures. But it was not possible to think of the architecture because of the horrible stench of unwashed, unhealthy bodies which for the moment overwhelmed us. We discovered very quickly why the dapper Commandant had been so reluctant to exhibit his royal guests. He was deeply ashamed of their habits. He told us a tale of how he had arranged everything comfortably and well, but from the very first they had made their quarters a menace to the camp. They refused to use the bath tubs because according to their religion water must be poured over hands from a carafe. The Commandant had no carafes, so it became a matter of literally bathing in a tea cup. And that was not all. Like magpies they gathered bits of glass and all sorts of odds and ends of clothing and piled them under their beds and refused to clean out their rooms. In desperation the Commandant herded them all together. Without countless servants they did not know how to manage their lives. They became more and more filthy.

The Emir's room was the only dirty spot in the Andronovski. I want to record that the prisoners there have more food and much more heat than people in Moscow generally.

Nuorteva brought a little joy in his wake because he was able to inform half a dozen Finns that according to the new treaty they would be immediately released and sent home. The war prisoners from Hungary who had not even heard from home in six years looked at the Finns very wistfully.

Communists Group in Prison.

The most interesting spot in the prison was a reading room where the Communist beat met. We found an American Communist there on hunger strike. Kilkpatrick thought that the Communist was hunger-striking because he wanted to get out of Russia, but when I explained that he was striking because he did not want to leave Russia until he was exonerated from the charge of being a spy, Kilkpatrick's eyes grew round with wonder. "My God!" he said, "he is striking because he doesn't want to get out. He must surely be insane."

It is a long story about that Communist. His brother has been proven an agent in the American Department of Justice, but no one is quite sure about this one. All the Soviets ask him to do is to leave Russia. He refuses, so they hold him in prison.

Time went very quickly in the camp because there were so many stories to hear. When we came through the gates again we found a night of stars. Andronovski is built on a knoll, and from there one gets a splendid view of turreted Moscow. Now it lay far below, shimmering under the moon like blue velvet and dotted with lights. We were all too tired and too saturated with impressions to be articulate, but I still remember how Nuorteva sighed as we climbed into the car, and exclaimed, "Moscow is such a damned lovely city!"

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ABLETT VERSUS HODGES.

The *Daily Herald* says:—

"Surely the Federation which stood together with magnificant loyalty for the great principle of Unity (which, as Frank Hodges himself explained so well, was what the pool was designed to secure) is not going to waste its time and energy in internal dissensions now."

This is a standpoint with which we emphatically disagree. We think that from the defeat of the Miners' Federation in the Great Lock-out the Federation and the Labour Movement in general may learn many lessons. The circumstances surrounding the great defeat ought not to be hushed up and shut away, like an awkward skeleton, in the cupboard and forgotten as soon as possible.

They ought to be discussed and probed to the very bottom. That is the only way to learn by the defeat, and ensure that the workers shall not be beaten in the next struggle. We think that Noah Ablett is entitled to the gratitude and respect of the whole movement for having revealed the secret negotiations between M.F.G.B. officials and the Government, and for having denounced the Executive's defiance of the ballot vote and the rules of the organisation.

We consider that the tactics of Frank Hodges throughout the strike were exceedingly bad, so bad that they can only be characterised as "defeatist," although we do not accuse him of not acting sincerely according to his lights.

We never felt much enthusiasm for the pool proposal of the M.F.G.B., nor did we feel much enthusiasm for the M.F.G.B. Nationalisation proposals.

On the other hand, we think the abandonment of both those schemes after the Executive and M.F.G.B. Conferences had declared that the schemes would be fought for to the bitter end, a weakness of a very serious kind. Bluffing words are a futile and contemptible weapon when not followed by deeds.

Hodges says: "The Ablett type was responsible for prolonging the stoppage and for much of the misery which has been, and is yet to be endured, by our people."

If Frank Hodges and the Executive majority which finally defied the ballot vote of the organisation were of opinion that the employers' terms should be accepted when the ballot papers were sent out, why did they not intimate that to the rank and file before the ballot was taken?

If they thought the pool demand ought not to be maintained, why did they not say so publicly to the rank and file as soon as they came to that conclusion?

If they thought the employers' terms should be accepted, they ought to have said so, and then have given the rank and file the opportunity to decide.

When Hodges says that a better wages' settlement could have been obtained if the "pool" had been abandoned before March 31st, we think he shows that, if he makes the statement sincerely, he does not understand the situation which the working class of this country (including the miners) is facing at the present time, and the tactics which the employing class is at present pursuing.

Surely it is obvious, in view of the scrapping of the agricultural labourers' minimum wage by the repeal of the Corn Production Act and its four years' guarantees, the cutting down of Poor Law relief, the preparations for cutting down pensions and the determined attack upon wages in every industry, that this cutting of miners' wages is part of a great concerted movement, and that mining being a basic key industry is the last one in which capitalism would allow wage cuts to be evaded by negotiations or "by the turn of the tide."

If the miners had got a settlement in March, which did not satisfy the ambitions of capitalism, there would certainly have been another attempt to cut wages later.

Only by winning in a trial of strength with their employers could the miners prevent the decrease. In that trial of strength they were beaten because the workers in other industries were not fighting with them.

We repeat that the loss of the Miners' Lock-out, if the workers comprehend its true meaning, will cause them to use the general strike when the next great fight comes. But it does not appear that Frank Hodges has learnt that lesson.

AN UNFORTUNATE MATTER.

Manchester is a great city; it is a very sentimental city. It has been predicted that it will be one of the last places to "go dry"!

It is very dry there this June, in spite of its umbrella notoriety. The dole seekers are dryer still; especially when, like the rain, the dole cometh not; but the city is very sentimental.

Leaving the unemployed for the nonce, let us glance over a recent issue of the *Manchester Evening News*. It is a very interesting issue. We learn that there are ten thousand people in lodgings, otherwise homeless, in the city.

The poor children, on the other hand, are being well thought about. There is a "Children's Treat Fund" in existence, and "thousands of pennies" have been gathered in, that the dirty-faced, bedraggled, blue-eyed kiddies of the dole-loving proletariat may be sent to the Parks for a few hours' gambol in in the sunshine. How Jolly! The paper explains that these poor prattlers spend their ordinary life hemmed in by narrow streets and choking courts." How unfortunate! Good old capitalist city of the North; six hours sunshine at the cost of 9d. per curly head, out of the 365 days. How generous!

In the same issue, a distressed dame advertises. Sentimental Phyllis has lost her Felix. In the ordinary columns we first see a couple of diminutive lines:

Large Reward. Lost: Thin grey-barred cat; Friday; very frightened; answers 'Mary.'"

OUR PRESENT FINANCIAL POSITION

COMRADES—

Our present financial position is considerably better than it was a month ago; but we are still in arrears with our payments, and therefore we must appeal to you for another effort.

WE ASK YOU TO:

1. *Send a donation by return of post.*
2. *To become a shareholder in the Dreadnought Publishing Company.*
3. *If you have not paid what you owe to the "Dreadnought," to pay up at once.*
4. *To help to increase the circulation. See that there is a newsagent who sells the "Dreadnought" in your district. If you do not know whether there is or not, find out by writing to the "Dreadnought" office. See that there is an agent who sells the "Dreadnought" at all meetings in your district.*

Dropping the optics a little, one sees another "ad." 2½ by 2 inches. The large reward has now become an enormous reward. The Cat is very thin. Anyone returning him (his name is Mary) "will relieve intense misery, as, on the same day its companion cat was killed."

On another page there's another "ad." about the size of half a page of the *Workers' Dreadnought!* Next day the poor dear was bombarded by considerate Henry Dubbs's, each bearing along a miserable feline. 'Twas verily a sight for a Louis Wain! All this for a pet of the panderous, ponderous bourgeoisie. Poor "Mary." How unfortunate!

An "enormous reward" for a petted pussy; and for a proletarian prattler—six hours' sunshine per year!

If we had all been working, the poor cat might never have been found, and he was *thin*! Is it nothing that millions of men, women and bairnies are growing thin?

One thing, those who sign on are spared a good deal of State propaganda. Aye! the wage-earners "queue up"—in a different manner.

The Industrial Publicity Bureau has issued a wee pamphlet, which explains the why and the wherefore of unemployment. Some of you have seen their "Payday Talks for Tiresome Proletarians. In the Cotton City they are very generous with their explanatory literature. There's a reason! If we have everything "explained," why worry if our wages grow short?"

The one under notice is No. 5. It starts off to state that "unemployment is a most unfortunate matter." Then: "Why are people employed?—To make things people want for *use*."

Quite simple that; it fairly bowls over the Communists' contention that things are produced for *profit* under this lovely system. *Use*, my boy, *use*; no profiteering in G.B.!

Then it says: "So long as things are *wanted*, people will be employed to make them." And it follows that we are workless nowadays, because people don't want *things*.

Oh, Henry, have you you and your Lizzie and the children got all you want, all you need? Have the 3½ millions of Britishers who are starving got all they need? I *know* the answer!

The pamphlet says that "numbers of people would *like* to buy, but cannot." "High wages were paid during the war . . . but the country *could not afford* to go on paying these high wages for long, and . . . people now have less money to live on . . . and cannot afford to buy many things that they would like."

The Government and the bosses cannot afford it; it's about time the cheque-holders of this bankrupt system ordered their burial shrouds!

But the Government *can* afford to spend £1,393,000 more on printing this year than last year; a good hunch of which goes to the printing of "explanatory leaflets" of the sort under notice; and the bosses *can* afford big dinners—wasteful gourmandising in brotherly conviviality with traitorous Labour leaders.

"Employers are every bit as anxious about the condition of trade as the workers," asserts the pamphlet. "*They know* what the trouble is, and how it could be overcome, *if only the workers all over the country would back them up!*" The workers, the indispensable workers, the Mugs and the Dubbs, who, out of their sportive hearts, will *back up* anybody but themselves, greater than traitorous leaders, are the workers, in their ignorance traitors to their class!

The reason of the trouble is high prices; prices are high because the cost of the "machinofacture" is high; "*workers are earning more money, but doing less work for it.*"

Shush!

We are losing our wages in bits, or cuts, or altogether, and *we are taking it all lying down.*

First one section of our class is whipped into cravens defeat, then another; and we haven't the tenacity of a limpet, the fellow-courage of an ant—except the splendid mine-slaves, and *we have traitorously deserted them!*

Now for the remedy. "Let us all work with a will, to turn out as much as possible—*to do our level best to co-operate harmoniously with the employers.*" But they have got their own splendid system so much round their necks that we of the "three and-a-half millions," we cannot even follow out the boss-inspired remedy! Go and talk to the dole-folk and the rest of our starving slaves. Why, we haven't a blessed employer to co-operate with!

How exceedingly unfortunate!

VOICE OF A COMMUNIST: "Why don't you smash the System?"

ECHO: "We haven't the Guts!"

C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK.

COAL FOR CHILDREN'S HOMES.

"Novij Put" reports that the miners of the district of Guschevo have held two "Subotniks" and have handed over the coal that was produced to the children's homes so that they shall have a sufficient reserve stock for the winter.

What "The Times" dare not Report.

We have received the following report from Helsingfors: Professor Ingelstrom, who has just returned to Helsingfors from Petrograd, gave the following impressions that he had gained in Soviet Russia:—

Thanks to the kindness of the Soviet government the Finnish Relief Committee for Russian Savants has succeeded in establishing a permanent connection with the Petrograd "House of Savants."

The Commissariat for Foreign Trade has given permission for the export of scientific books which are intended for the Finnish universities and for those in the West. On our side we shall supply the Petrograd university with foreign scientific material. We hope that our committee shall be the intermediary between the Russian Savants and foreign countries.

In the "House of Savants" we were received with open arms and conducted around all the museums and collections of Petrograd so that we could convince ourselves personally that all the foreign reports of the destruction of the art treasures of Russia are nonsense. I can certify that all the art treasures which were deposited in the Petrograd museums have been considerably enriched by new acquisitions. The theatres are enjoying an unthought-of success. Creative science has also not died. I need only refer to the fact that a number of new works have appeared, and many others are waiting to be printed. One is obliged to pay respect to those unselfish men who did not flinch from the want that is unavoidable in the time of a revolution, and who did not leave their posts as many others did. The majority of the scientists are Independents who stand, however, on the ground of Soviet work with the Soviet government. Then there is the Left Wing, the Red Professors, and a small number of irreconcilables for whom the House of Savants is a Soviet institution. That, however, does not prevent them from coming regularly to receive their food rations. We spoke also concerning the Emigrants. The attitude of the savants to the Emigrants is purely negative. "They are all 'Have-been's,' they say," and they do not speak the same language as we. What they write out there has no value. These people will remain Emigrants even if they ever return to Soviet Russia.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Mrs. E. Wright 3s. 6d., Mr. A. Holdsworth £1, Mr. S. N. Ghose 5s., Anon. 3s., Mr. Beavis 5s., Mr. Pratt £1, Mr. F. Lawes 4s., Mrs. J. S. £1. Total, £4 0s. 6d.

PRISON LIFE.

A Debate between Capt. ARTHUR ST. JOHN. of the Howard Penal Reform League & SYLVIA PANKHURST

Our Statement.

In the *Worker' Dreadnought* of June 11th, appeared the following statement, as part of an article by Sylvia Pankhurst, entitled "Prison Life":

There are several reform societies, but not one of them has a programme of reform drastic enough to make any substantial difference to prison life.

Such reforms as the following would ameliorate prison conditions, and I recommend them to the attention of prison reformers; but we Communists must concentrate on the abolition of the causes which produce economic crime:—

All prisoners to be supplied with writing materials, encouraged to use them, and allowed to preserve and take out with them anything that they may write.

Prisoners to be allowed to write and receive letters from their friends as often as they choose, and to receive weekly visits. The present notepaper, with or without the address of the prison, to be supplied as the prisoner desires it.

The "General Search," which is carried on fortnightly, to be abolished.

Hospital prisoners and all prisoners confined in cells during the day to have exercise twice a day.

Meals to be taken in a common dining room (there are buildings which could be used for this purpose). The officials to partake of the same meals. Food to be wholesome and ample, and no attempt made to punish through the dietary.

Clothing to approximate to the clothing worn by average people outside prison, and to be arranged in sizes, instead of being served out haphazard as at present, prisoners constantly having to return garments that are grotesquely too small or too large.

The prison library to be increased, and prisoners to be allowed as many books as they can read.

No prisoner to work more than six hours a day. Sewing and other work to be done under proper teaching and supervision, so that the prisoner may learn to work efficiently, if unable to do so on admission.

Prisoner to be given facilities for learning languages, shorthand, etc., which will assist them in after life.

Prisoners to be paid for their work in prison at Trade Union rates, in order that they may have money to re-start life with on quitting the prison; prisoners who are too ill to work, to be paid the average wage earned in the prison.

Prisoners to be given facilities for seeing relatives who are seriously ill.

Prisoners who are ill, to be removed to hospital or convalescent homes.

Political Prisoners.

The question of political prisoners is a very urgent and pressing one. Our comrades are being arrested in large numbers. Shall we tamely submit to the breaking down of their health, to the waste of their fruitful energy, their mental productivity which the present regulations entail?

We must see to it that political treatment is secured for our political prisoners. The Revolution, the propagation of Communist thought and action claim our first activities, but we must not neglect the duty of preserving the energies of our soldiers in prison as far as we can. As for the liberty-loving Reformers, their duty to secure political rights for political prisoners is clear.

Political prisoners should, of course, be allowed—

To have writing materials and permission to write and preserve or send out from the prison what they please.

To carry on their profession whilst in prison.

To receive visits from their friends, without restraint, and to write and receive as many letters as they please.

To wear their own clothes.

To receive their own food.

To receive books and newspapers as they please.

To have suitable grounds set apart for their exercise, and to exercise there as often and as long as they choose.

To be exempt from all prison work.

Captain St. John's Protest.

In reply to this article was received the following letter from Captain St. John, Hon. Secretary of the Howard League for Penal Reform.

Dear Editor,—I am interested in your articles on "Holloway Prison," but must protest against your statement that not one of the prison reform societies has a programme of reform drastic enough to make any substantial difference to prison life."

This is quite untrue as regards the Penal Reform League, or, I think, the Howard Association, now amalgamated into the Howard League for Penal Reform (7, Dalmeny Avenue, N. 7). In fact, our programme is in some respects more drastic than yours, for you say nothing about the organising of "prisoners' responsibility"; or of industry in consultation with industrial representatives, which would make a proper wage system possible.

No doubt you have not found time to read the publications or hear the propaganda of the P.R.L. I think we can even claim to have constantly referred to the social injustice at the root of crime; though in a society such as ours, one is so often taken up with little grievances which affect prisoners, that one appears to be too much occupied with the surface. Also, one has to be constantly parleying with authorities on behalf of their victims, and it is not much use talking to them of ideals. The fundamental matters are dealt with in propaganda directed to the public mind.

I hope you will find space for this friendly protest.

Yours,

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

On receipt of Captain St. John's letter, we asked him to furnish the programme of his organisation; whereupon he wrote:—

Dear Editor,—I have received your note asking for a programme by return.

I am not sure whether "your programme" in this case means my personal programme, or that of the Howard League for Penal Reform. But in either case I should not know quite what to answer. One's programme varies from day to day, and I do not know that we have any short definite programme which would be comprehensive and quite up-to-date. At any moment one's programme is apt to depend on one's last thoughts or some opportunity or opening. No drawn up programme is final or satisfies long.

However, I enclose three pamphlets which contain programmes of sorts. I am afraid we have nothing which contains a worked out industrial scheme. Any how, that would have to be worked out by industrial workers.

Yours, etc.,

A. ST. JOHN.

'This second letter from Captain St. John seemed clearly to establish our original contention. A study of the literature sent by Captain St. John reveals no concrete programme of any kind. The programme for organising "prisoners' work and responsibility," and industry in connection with industrial representatives to which he refers, does not appear; as he says, it has "not been worked out." In any case, our view is that the real need is for assuring to prisoners rights, set forth in rules, to which they can appeal for protection.

With the Report of the League's activities during the years 1914-17, there is bound up a "Memorandum of Recommendations to the Russian Minister of Justice." There appear to have been compiled whilst Kerensky was in office, before the Bolshevik Revolution.

It is a little amusing, a little sad, that a British Penal Reform Association has only got to the point of putting forth its ideas, on the subjects it exists to promote, in an address to New Russia. There is no reason to be surprised by this fact, for all Reformers find very hopeless and barren of result the task of appealing to our capitalist Governments on behalf of the poor and friendless.

But Soviet Russia is the country to which we look, not to give us prison reform, but for the early abolition of prisons and all things penal, because under Communism, the motive and reason of stealing, and all crimes arising out of the attempt to secure money and the means of life will also disappear.

The society which issues Recommendations to Russia, has as its Vice-Presidents, Mr. Cecil Chapman, Metropolitan Magistrate, Judge Atherly Jones, K.C., and a number of J.P.'s Privy Councillors, Members of Parliament, Earls and other titled persons, some of whom are sending unfortunate Britishers to gaol every day. They would occupy a more dignified position if they exerted themselves to get their ideas put into practice here, than by sending them out to Russia. But, of course, it is Captain St. John who has compiled the recommendations; the important-sounding Vice-Presidents probably have not even glanced at the printed copy.

But now to the recommendations. We shall pick them out as well as we can and set them forth in tabular form, though this has not been done by those who compiled them.

What the Penal Reformers Advocate.

Our comments are in italics.

1. An appeal to be made to the Universities to train people to deal with criminals.

[*A more important task for Soviet Russia is to train people to aid in producing an abundant production which will abolish scarcity and want, and thus remove the motive for economic crime.*]

2. Offenders to be placed, where possible, on probation, instead of in prison.

3. Probation to be spent either (*a*) in the offender's own home; or (*b*) in an institution.

[*All institutions where offenders are compulsorily detained are prisons, whatever they may be named. That is one of the reasons why those who wish to alter prison life must state concisely what changes they desire; loose talk about treating prisoners as "guests" really does not better the position of the unfortunate individual who is in the clutches of the penal machine. Prisoners are declassed and outcast; they need definite rules to which they may appeal for protection*].

4. The Minister of Justice, or a Committee of the Duma or of the Union of Zemstvos might appoint a General Superintendent of Probation. Local Superintends also to be appointed.

[*In Soviet Russia the Duma and Zemstvos are, of course, swept away now. The Soviets have taken their place. But this programme, we believe, is sent to us as the programme of the Society for Britain also. Does Captain St. John think it would improve matters much to put penal affairs in the hands of the County and Borough Councils? Looking to the fact that many prisoners tell us that some Workhouses are worse than prison, we feel no enthusiasm for the suggestion*].

5. Probation Committees to be established to work with the Superintendents.

6. Where offenders are detained, there should be Reception Houses for men, for women, for juveniles, for young persons of both sexes.

7. "These should be, as far as possible, home-like and cheerful places with plenty of work going on," with provision for inquiry, examination, diagnosis and treatment. The staff of the women's reception house would be mostly women. The probation office to be in or near the buildings; the court in the same building or near by.

[*Anyone who has been a prisoner will at once say that no institution can be home-like under the shadow of the Probation Officer, who will always be a spy to the offender, however good-hearted a spy, and the Court where the offenders are to be tried. Why not look things squarely in the face and realise that? The penal "Homes" to which juveniles and juvenile adults are sent in this country are often more dreaded by them than prisons, as everyone knows*].

8. There should be "Children's Homesteads," to which children and young people whose needs cannot be met by their own homes, may be sent; amongst these would be delinquent children in need of special care or training. Children's homesteads should be presided over by a woman, or man and woman of special qualifications, probably the Chief Juvenile Probation Officer for the district. There should be a clinic for psychological examination, probation officers, etc. "Here the Juvenile Court (if any) should be held."

[*The idea of keeping children in an institution where a Court is held and where are probation officers is repugnant to us. We cannot understand what could have induced anyone to make such a suggestion, imagining it to be a reformative one, suitable for adoption by a country trying to build up Socialist institutions and to discard the cruel methods of the past. Delinquent children are the products of the ignorance, folly and vice of the adults who have reared them. Defective children require special care and treatment, of course—but by educationalists, physicians and nurses, and certainly not in the neighbourhood of a Juvenile Court; certainly not under the control of Probation Officers! All children, whether defective or not, require to forget all about the penal code and its paraphernalia, to be given a good time, plenty to eat, plenty to learn and plenty to do. If this treatment fails with the normal child, the adults in charge are the persons to blame. The question of delinquent children is a poverty question. Delinquent children amongst the rich practically never come into the hands of the authorities*].

9. There should be schools for mental defectives.

[*Yes, but these should be in no way connected with the penal system. Once it is established that a person is mentally defective, the penal authorities should release him absolutely to his family and those responsible for the care of lunatics and mental deficients*].

10. There should be hospital colonies for inebriates, criminals, prostitutes; after-care departments should be in touch with relatives, visit the homes of those leaving the colonies, and prepare the way for them. The regime to be "cheerful and invigorating."

[*All that sort of thing will never be done without cruelty and injustice, under Capitalism; the well-to-do generally arrange these things without officialdom prying into their affairs.*

Soviet Russia has solved the inebriacy problem by prohibition. Prostitution is already almost extinct there].

11. Persons sent to penal institutions to be admitted as "guests," become "candidates for membership," and stand for election as "members" of the institution. Two years after release they should be eligible as "Fellows," if they master "simplicity and economy in living," and show "capacity for helping those in need." "Guardians" to be appointed from the "Fellows" and officials.

[*In this elaborate scheme, Captain St. John seems to forget that people do not wish to make the fact that they have at some time been punished by the community for a breach of law, a permanent feature of their lives, to be made known to all comers.*

Such schemes as this would never be devised by prisoners, only by Social Reformers, who regard prisoners as interesting objects, as a naturalist regards a butterfly or a beetle. No one thinks of himself or or herself like that. Most prisoners are just ordinary people who, finding it costs them more to live than they have got, attempt to solve the problem by breaking the capitalist laws, devised to protect property].

Captain St. John expresses the hope that New Russia will be able to do without either police or detectives. He assumes, however, that there will be a militia, under local control, for arresting criminals.

He suggests that offenders should be tried by their neighbours, or by a Probation Officer, with the right of appeal to committees of their neighbours, and that young people should be organised in clans, with a discipline of their own, and punished by their fellows if they break social regulations.

All this has no application to the prisons of this country, with their cells, their low diet and their padded rooms.

We again recommend to the penal reformers of this country the proposals set forth at the top of this page.

GAMES WITHOUT BREAD

By ARCTURUS.

Among the Romans the plebs were kept amused and rendered amenable to "law and order" by means of free issues of bread and the organisation of games and gladiatorial contests, whence arose the famous dictum, *panem et circenses*, meaning bread *and* games. To-day the bulk of us are bemused with sport—no, it is less than that, only newspaper accounts and hoots about sport, while for many bread is not forthcoming. That is why I head this article Games *without* Bread.

Thought on this subject was borne in on me as I stood at Marble Arch waiting for a bus on Saturday afternoon. Loranorder came along in a sidecar from across the park and turned up Edgware. I noticed that the man in blue who occupied the sidecar made a sign to the stop on point duty. He held up four fingers. I had hardly time to wonder what he meant, when four luxurious limousines went by. Then I tumbled to it. It was the royal party proceeding to Hendon—unnoticed. How wonderfully organised it all was. There was dear old George and his mother Alexandra off for an afternoon out. He had done a very good day's work that day. Among other things, he had, by deputy, given his royal assent to the Government proposals (which said proposals were dictated to them by the banks) for the reduction of the unemployment dole to fifteen shillings a week for men and twelve shillings for women. I mentally figured out the petrol bill for the trip to Hendon, fifteen bob's worth of petrol would not take those wonderful limousines very far. Still royalty, like other parasites, must have its recreation, even though the plebs starve in the process. Moreover, the middle class snobs would feel they hadn't had their money's worth if royalty wasn't present. So off to the aerial gymkhana. Long live the Games!

Aeroplanes performed stunts and tricks at the hands of skilled pilots. Real efficiency, however, was displayed by the destruction of a mock village from the air—a comforting show for any of our masters disturbed by the recent strikes. Fat went home comforted, blessing the sporting proclivities of the people.

* * *

On the same afternoon members of the British and American capitalist class with an odd Spanish royalty or so foregathered at Hurlingham to play polo. This is no game for the fatman of the cartoons. Like prize-fighting, it demands physical fitness. Only in the metaphorical sense does it demand fat—lots of it. Essentially it is a game for the rich. An odd prole or two may be employed as grooms to train the ponies, upon whose intelligence and training the game depends. That is as far, however, as he can progress. For there are no *professional* players at polo. Racing—the sport of kings—does permit the dispossessed to look on, to hang on, to gamble, and even in an employed capacity to take part. Jockeys came from the prole class. Polo—the sport of millionaires, however—is exclusively reserved for the nobs. Therefore, on the polo ground royalty may unbend without fear of contamination by contact with the vulgar. In fact, royalty and the millionaires are inseparable these days. Time was when a Jew moneylender had his ears slit or his eyes gouged out at the king's pleasure. To-day High Finance and Royalty are great chums.

* * *

The press blathers a terrible lot about the virtues of sport. "Men cannot be brave and hardy unless they have learnt to dare and to endure, unless the spirit has been trained to overcome the fears and the weakness of the flesh," writes one of the Sunday scribes. I had an idea that the proles had learnt all that in the war. I am sure the same scribes told us we had. Don't you remember what fine fellows we were? And what the trials of war did for us? This scribe, however, has now turned himself on to advocating sport, and then more sport.

Golf, tennis, cricket, hunting, motor racing and boxing are all held up to admiration. I for one would like to take part in all these, and swimming and yachting and sculling, and even skittles and shove-halfpenny. But I must have money. I cannot keep fit for even the merest novices' boxing tournament on fifteen shillings a week. And if I am in employment I cannot find sufficient time, for I must have rest in order to recover the energy I have given to my employer. Moreover, with the results of this energy, and that of my fellow workers, all the employing class become rich and can enjoy sport. For they then possess the pre-requisites for enjoyment, viz., leisure and money.

* * *

When the worker has a little money he has no leisure. When he has leisure he has but little money. Of course, I see a lot of people coming to the city with their tennis rackets and their golf clubs ready to depart for the sports ground when the day's work is done. The daily press is very insistent on this fact. It is written-up quite a lot. It is the subject for cartoons. For myself, however, I have never seen a million of these workers with racquets, etc., but I know from the official figures that there are 2,178,000 unemployed and 990 odd thousand on short time. There are also those who are not counted in the official figures. So, even when the miners go back to work there will be over three millions of the working class with leisure—but without money.

You cannot buy an ordinary tennis racquet even on fifteen shillings a week. With the exercise of the greatest dietetic skill you cannot keep fit on such an income. There must be a reason for all this misery in the midst of this sporting world. And the reason supplied is that we have fought the greatest war in history, and like other people must suffer for it. These are the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the golf courses, and tennis clubs, are flourishing. It is difficult to find any evidence of suffering on the part of the middle classes.

With the superior exploiters things are also going well. Racing is in full swing. The proles may gamble their dole away. Yachting at the Isle of Wight and on the Clyde is being carried on as it was before the war. These are the more expensive sports. Motor cars and motorcycles have enormously increased since last year (see official statistics of the Ministry of Transport). There is motor racing at Brooklands; and flying races are still held. Try and imagine the amount of petrol that was consumed on Derby Day or Ascot Day, also the cost of the women's dresses. There is Goodwood yet to come. And to keep the dispossessed quiet their £1 a week dole is reduced to fifteen bob, because the country cannot afford any more. Can't it? Use your eyes!

* * *

The press dopers and politicians tell us that "the coal strike" has ruined the country. I see no cracks in Buckingham Palace. Luxury and waste of all kinds still abounds in high places. Yet there is a large amount of respectable poverty among the black-coated workers, who are too snobbish to kick. They think it is too vulgar. The trade unionist also is beginning to feel the pinch. Good for him. He may become tired of being led by the nose by his middle class muddle-headed officials into accepting reductions in the standard of life. So much for those in work. Then there are the unemployed on the dole—three million of them. Even that confirmed optimist, the Minister of Labour, who is always seeing patches of rosy sky above a cloudy industrial horizon has to admit that he expects to have on his hands a regular body of unemployed for the next twelve months amounting to at least a million and a half. What a winter they will have to face. But we are a sporting nation. Everybody is to have a sporting chance. It sounds fine, but what chance has a woman on twelve bob a week. Dr. Macnamara, a good old Radical, takes his £5,000 a year. The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson has a good screw. So have most trade union leaders. So also have the whole crew of exploiters. They have had their war, and we are now paying for it, paying for it in misery and slow starvation. This process of payment is more developed on the Continent, but the symptoms are rapidly spreading here.

Why not apply the rules of sport to ordinary life. Play the game! That's the motto! Yes, but the rules of sport, like the rules of religion, are only in use over the week end. For ordinary life the rules of war apply, even the rule of the jungle: Eat or be Eaten. Exploit or be exploited. Games and Press Dope, but no bread; that is our portion. How much longer shall we be content with it?

CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN.

At the sitting of the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, on June 28th, Lazzari, the representative of the Italian Socialist Party, defended the tactics of his party, and explained that the plan of action did not signify a complete subordination to, nor a complete independence of, the Third International. In the immediate future there will be a conference of the party, which will deal with the decisions of the Third International Congress. Lazzari hoped that the Italian Socialist Party would not be excluded from the Communist International.

Lenin replied that it is a great misfortune for a workers' party if it does not manage to get rid of its reformists at the right moment. A year ago Serrati could not bring forward one convincing reason for the continued presence of the reformists. Now the congress had waited with impatience for Lazzari to present any kind of a new reason. In spite of the fact that Italian Communism has shown a great growth, it has been possible for the Italian bourgeois, thanks to the class treacherous policy of the Italian Socialists, to pass over to the offensive. Lenin ended his speech by expressing the strong conviction that the Italian workers would support the decision of the congress over the exclusion of the Italian Socialist Party from the Communist International.

In the evening sitting Zinoviev made the proposal that the congress would allow the German Communist Labour Party to hold a congress in the next two months in which the most important questions of the day should be dealt with.

The speakers who followed him, Rakovsky and Klara Zetkin, unmasked the policy of the Italian Socialist Party. Klara Zetkin demanded a decisive break with the reformists. She demanded also that one should inform the workers that 50,000 Lire, that came from the pockets of the bourgeois, had been sent from Amsterdam to Italy. Klara Zetkin closed her address with the words: "We must not be nationalists, but only internationalists."

After Klara Zetkin had finished her speech Comrade Trotzki gave a clear account of the tragic situation of the Italian proletariat who had been brought to the point of action after long years of propaganda, and now that it was beginning to win its rights it was handed over to the bourgeoisie. Trotzki rejected most decidedly the claim of Serrati that Soviet Russia was endeavouring to bring about an international rising merely to save itself. He claimed that the Russian Communists examine the situation from all sides, and do not act too quickly. So far Soviet Russia is the only stronghold of the international revolution and the proletariat of all lands has the duty to protect Russia.

The congress accepted the reports of the activity of the Executive Committee with satisfaction, and considered its policy as correct. The congress agreed that the 21 conditions drawn up by the second congress should be carried out in all lands. The efforts of the Executive Committee to create great Communist mass parties was approved. The congress expressed complete agreement with the decision of the Executive concerning the Italian Socialist Party, and urged the Italian Socialist Party immediately to exclude the reformists from the ranks, as otherwise the Italian Socialist Party cannot belong to the Communist International. In case the Italian Socialists accept the proposals of the congress the Executive Committee is to take steps for the formation of United Italian Section of the Communist International.

As to the German Communist Labour Party the congress considered the attitude of the Executive here also as correct. In case that this party did not unite in the near future with the United Communist Party of Germany the Executive Committee was authorised to exclude them from the Communist International, and to decline even to recognise them as a sympathising party.

The congress approved the manner of applying the twenty-one conditions to the French Party, and demanded that the Executive Committee should pursue a firm decisive policy towards the Czecko-Slovak Communists and not allow them to turn into the path opportunism.

The congress protested most energetically against the objections raised to centralising the Communist movement, and demanded, on the contrary, that all parties should send their best talent into the Executive Committee. The Parties must see that a still stronger political leadership of the Communist Parties is necessary. Especially in the question of unemployment is the lack of leadership noticeable.

The congress expressed the hope that the Executive Committee will succeed, in co-operation with all parties of the Communist International, in creating a better apparatus which will ensure a common working of all parties, and will permit them to come up in a great measure to the tasks that are set by the international situation of the Communist International.

After a short address by Zinoviev the resolution was unanimously adopted without amendment. The sitting closed with the singing of the "International."

TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

Comrades, so far from making a new heaven and a new earth, as was promised, so far, even from finding you a job, Lloyd George's Government cuts down your dole to 15s. for men and 12s. for women.

During the war, when work was plentiful, you turned with indifference from those who told you that unemployment would follow the war, and that the only way to preserve all workers from its menace is to re-organise society on a new, a Communist basis.

Now that you are out of a job, now that you see the predictions of the Communists verified, we urge you to study the question for yourselves. You have time to read, use that time to acquaint yourself with the facts of which you are the victim. Write to the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office for advice as to what to read and how to get it.

Knowledge is power, and when by study you come to understand your position in society and the conditions of which you are the victim, you will desire to take an effective share in altering the conditions under which masses of people are suffering.

THE WAR IN IRELAND.

The Irish Bulletin gives the following figures of actions and casualties inflicted on British forces:—

From July to December, 1920: Attacks, 243; killed, 169; wounded, 227.

From January to July, 1921: Attacks, 875; killed, 280; wounded, 558.

Prisoners taken and released unhurt from January, 1919, to June, 1921 including constables and marines, 850.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Scrapping the Agricultural Labourers' Minimum Wage.

Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen (C.U., Minister of Agriculture) moved the Second Reading of the Government Bill to repeal Part I. of the Corn Production Act, which established a guaranteed price of corn to benefit farmers, a guaranteed minimum wage to benefit labourers and Government control of production as an insurance against famine in case of war. This Act was greatly boosted at its inception, and Lloyd George especially was eulogised for his great goodness to the agricultural labourer. As usual he played loudly to the gallery at that time, declaiming: "No sheaf is to be taken to the farmer or landlord until the labourer has got his due." The Corn Production Act was extended six months' ago, and the Act declared that its guarantees could not be withdrawn without four years' notice. Nevertheless, the Government has now decided to scrap them. Sir A. G. Boscawen said the Government had come to this decision because, firstly, the House of Lords had thrown out the provisions for Government control; secondly, the fall in corn prices had been heavier than anticipated; thirdly, "the financial position is infinitely worse to-day than when the Bill was brought in"; for the last he greatly blamed the coal strike, and even said: "The proximate cause of the repeal has been the coal strike." Fourthly, the Government has decided that there shall be no more subsidies, and that every industry shall be put back on an economic basis: agriculture could not be differently treated, he said, though he admitted the Government had boosted the agricultural subsidy as an insurance against war risks. This year's subsidy, he said, would cost from £15,000,000 to £35,000,000, which is certainly an estimate too wide to be considered businesslike.

When it finished with agriculture that evening the House went on to vote a supplementary grant of £27,197,000 for salaries and expenses of the Middle Eastern Services!

Mr. W. R. Smith (Lab., Wellingboro') taunted the Minister of Agriculture with the fact that last year he told the House he did not believe public opinion would ever allow the Agricultural Wages Board and the minimum wage to disappear. He also pointed out that the Under-Secretary whom the Government had appointed to the Department had been a bitter opponent of the Act, and had begged the House of Lords to reject it.

Sir A. Boscawen attacked the way in which the Wages Board, composed of farmers and labourers, had done its work; the Board was defended by members of the Capitalist Parties, but that sneak C. Roberts, the renegade Labour man of Norwich, said of the Board: "I believe it has been too rigid and that there has been too much of a tendency to apply conditions which, while suitable to factories, are altogether unsuitable to agriculture." This means, of course, that the Board fixed an hours' limit beyond which overtime must be paid. He patronisingly added:

"Trade Union representatives would learn by experience that you cannot take more out of an industry than is produced within it. . . . When a reduction of wages was proved to be absolutely essential in order that agriculture could be carried on, the Trade Union representatives would have had the courage to recommend acceptance of the reduction."

Poor Mr. Smith (Lab., Wellingboro') said:—

"We sometimes speak of this House as a model to be copied and looked up to . . . but if this House cannot honour its bond . . . what chance does it stand of commanding the honour and respect of those who are told to look up to it?"

Poor Mr. Smith, was he born just yesterday?

"I do not want to see disturbances," he added, "I am anxious not to see anything that might lead to a disturbance," but, he declared, "the spirit of the labourer is such," that, if the farmers try to reduce wages, he will resist.

George Edwards (Lab., Norfolk, S.) said:—

"Who is the most patriotic labourer, the man who is going to put his back against the wall and says: 'Never, so far as I am concerned, shall you drive my wife and children back to the position in which my father was," or the man who will cringe and accept any conditions? The man who will stand for his wife and children is a thousand times more patriotic than those who go and talk in the way some of them do on platforms. I want to warn the Government on this matter. I am with the labourers in this struggle, whatever course they may take. Heaven forbid that I should be called upon to lead the labourers and give them advice in open revolt against the great and terrible injustice that is about to be inflicted upon them under this Bill. . . .

"I could describe the pallid face and the sunken eyes of the labourer's wife struggling along and seeing her children starve . . . in consequence of the conditions which prevailed in pre-war days. Many graveyards have grown fat with the bodies of labourers' wives who, under better conditions, might have been alive to-day . . ."

The Bill was carried by 278 votes to 113.

The Washington Labour Conventions.

Mr. G. Barnes (Labour) was one of the British representatives at the Washington Labour Conference. His part in that Conference and his connection with the League of Nations Labour Office is one of his excuses for having taken Henderson's place in the Coalition Cabinet when Henderson had been kept on the mat and for remaining in the Coalition after the Labour Party came out.

Naturally, therefore, Barnes takes an interest in the Washington International; it is the one peg on which he tries to hang his reputation.

On July 1st the Minister of Labour—Macnamara—moved that the House approve the Government's policy in respect of the Washington Conventions and Recommendations. Macnamara revealed the fact that the Government has only agreed to ratify the Washington Conventions, which go no further than the already established practice in this country. The Government has refused to ratify the compulsory 48 hour week, and the Convention making provision for maternity insurance for a period before and after childbirth to enable wage-earning mothers to rest during that period.

The Government's excuse for not ratifying the 48 hour week convention is that the hours of labour in this country are largely governed by agreements between employer and employed, and that on the railways the workers have a 48 hour week with additional Sunday duty occurring every second or third Sunday.

The Government's excuse for not ratifying the Maternity Convention is that "we have worked along certain lines for years, and it would be a pity to scrap all that."

George Barnes, who seems to regard the country as a limited liability company, of which he is one of the directors, replied most cordially to Macnamara, and said: "nothing astonished me so much as to find that in certain matters other countries are far ahead of us." He wanted this country to ratify the Conventions, but apparently only for the sake of its reputation, for he plainly showed that he had no love for the maternity Convention. He said:

"I did not vote for it, but at the same time I am not against it. I was relieved to find that the cost was not so very high. . . . I did not vote for it at Washington, but while there is no obligation on the Government to adopt it, I would have no hesitation in voting for it if it could be fitted into our conditions."

As it appeared to be thought that Sunday work is specially dear to the railway man, Barnes suggested that men working Sundays should have Friday or Saturday off as compensation. But one of the Tories declared that this would be no use, because the workman would not be able to share his holiday with his mates.

The Motion to approve the Government's refusal to ratify the Conventions was carried by 164 votes to 53. Lady Astor voted against the Government, as she desired the ratification of the Maternity Convention. She observed that the workers are "not working hard enough."

Russian Trade Delegation Arrests.

Mr Cecil Harmsworth (C.L., Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) said that the 18 members of the Russian Trade Delegation arrested in Constantinople were amongst "52 undesirable persons" arrested by the British military. Oh, these arrogant fellows in the ruling class who describe as undesirable all who are opposed to them! Harmsworth said there was a plot to create a revolution in Constantinople and to assassinate General Sir C. Harrington, the British Commander.

Colonel Ashley (C.U.) said the Russian Trade Delegations all over the world are simply camouflage for Bolshevik propaganda.

Ormsby-Gore (C.U.) and Lieut.-Colonel Archer-Shee (C.U.) demanded that, in view of the plot Harmsworth alleged, the Soviet Government should be asked to give an explanation precedent to the denouncing of the Russian Trade Agreement.

Cornered thus, Harmsworth blurted out that he would deprecate further discussion as the "information at my disposal is very limited, but I am endeavouring to increase it."

Kenworthy endeavoured to move the adjournment to discuss the matter further, but the Speaker intervened.

So Anti-Communist charges are recklessly flung about by Members of His Majesty's Government!

Pressed by Kenworthy (L.), Harmsworth said: "Perhaps it would have been better if I had said 'alleged undesirable persons.'"

Colonel Newman (C.U.) asked that the Mexican Government should be told Great Britain will not recognise it unless it pays what British capitalists claim to be due to them from investments there.

Harmsworth said that the Mexicans are fully aware of the importance which the British Government attaches to this question.

There can be no doubt of that!

Ireland.

W. Lunn (Lab.) and MacVeagh (I.N.) called attention to eight murders by masked men, five of which took place in a single night, there being, said Mr. MacVeagh, no doubt, that they were committed by special constables.

Mr. Brown (C.U., Solicitor-General) said he had no information of such evidence.

Mr MacVeagh: "You never have, but you will never give an inquiry."

The Speaker intervened, saying it was "not desirable to pursue these questions."

Devlin: "With all respect, I would say that human life is very sacred to these people . . . I want to press for some protection for these innocent people who are subject to this treatment."

Mr. Lunn asked if Patrick Murphy of Cork was murdered by the forces of the Crown on June 29th.

Mr Brown had not yet received the finding of the Court of Inquiry.

Blockading Ireland.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy raised the fact that the sailings of the "Orient Star" and the "Better Hope," laden with foodstuffs for West Donegal, were officially cancelled and the crews compelled by Crown forces to unload all foodstuffs. There is great distress in parts of Donegal owing to lack of foodstuffs.

Captain W. Benn (Lib.) asked after the health of Miss M'Grane, M.A., Professor of English at Dublin University, who is serving four years' penal servitude in Liverpool Prison as an ordinary convict, because arms were discovered in her flat.

Mr Shortt (Chief Secretary for Ireland) said: "There is no reason to think that imprisonment is affecting her adversely."

India—British Bosses left without cooks.

Col. Yate (C.U.) complained that the non-co-operation movement in India had caused the cooks and servants of Europeans and loyal Indians to strike.

Democracy!

Niel Maclean (Lab.) said the Anglo-Japanese Treaty will be referred to a referendum of the people in Australia and Canada, and asked whether the same would be done here.

Austin Chamberlain (C.U., Colonial Secretary) said the answer is in the negative.

Civilisation!

Kenworthy asked for the abolition of birching in the Navy.

Lieut.-Col. Amery (C.U., Financial Secretary to the Admiralty) refused.

More Civilisation!

Jack Mills mentioned that the Shoreditch Employment Exchange (Woman's Section) is infested with vermin, and the staff's request for the removal of an infested carpet was met with the reply that the girls should not let the vermin crawl over them.

The White Terror.

Tyson Wilson (Lab.) pointed out that in the police raid on a Dublin Branch Meeting of the N.U.V.B. £25 6s. 4d. was taken by the police and only £22 17s. returned; that the Secretary's bicycle was taken and not returned; the branch box and emblem damaged, and five officials arrested lost five days' work.

Mr. Brown said the military are considering the Society's claim to compensation.

Sweating.

Mr. T. Griffiths (Lab.) said the rates fixed by the Grocery Trade Board for women shop assistants are lower at 21 by 12s. per week than the wages fixed by agreement between the National Union of Shop Assistants and certain private firms in Wales.

Heavy Cost to Nation of Fighting Coal-Owners Battle.

Charges falling on Exchequer of measures taken by the Government during the coal Strike, "so far as they can be estimated at present":—

Defence Force, Army Reserves and additional expenditure on Regular Army	£7,000,000
Navy	1,225,000
Civil Emergency Organisations	300,000
Subsidy	18,525,000

This is nearly double the £10,000,000 coal subsidy given to relieve the great fall in wages. When all expenses are finally reckoned the direct cost of helping the owners to defeat the miners will prove enormous, and will leave the £10,000,000 subsidy far behind.

Sir R. Horne (Home Secretary) said: "There may be a further charge in respect of losses arising out of coal purchase operations. . . . As regards indemnification of railway profits, it is not at present possible to allocate accurately." He did not *think* the last item would exceed £10,000,000.

Penal Servitude for Life.

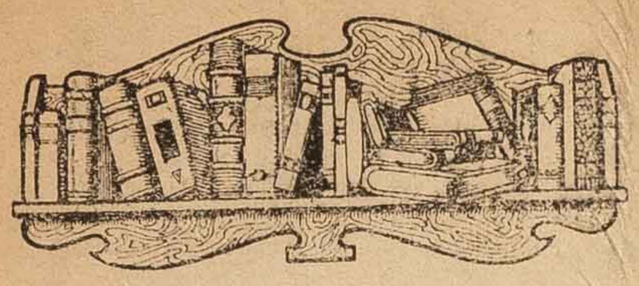
Jack Jones (Lab.) urged a reduction of sentence upon Edith May Roberts, who was sentenced to death, and whose sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life, saying: "In view of the fact that this girl was the innocent victim of some other person, surely something might be done."

Sir J. Baird (C.U., Under-Secretary of the Home Office) said the case will be reviewed and the sentence reduced later. It is too soon at present to advise a further reduction. We are following the normal course which is usually taken in these cases.

What a refinement of cruelty to keep the prisoner under the horror of unnecessarily believing she is to spend a life sentence in prison!

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE SPY.

(By Upton Sinclair. Published by Werner Laurie. (May be obtained at the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office.) Price 3s. 6d.)

This is an unpleasant story. The worst of it is that one knows Upton Sinclair always works on facts in constructing his novels. He investigates with more thoroughness than a factory inspector, more vigilance than a detective, and spares neither time nor pains to build up an armoury of facts and impressions drawn from actual contact with the persons and scenes he intends to pourtray. His novels are reports of conditions and things as they are rather than romances. Therefore in "The Spy," which deals with the methods of American capitalism and the American in the Class War, we are presented with a story of what is actually going on, and it is a very ugly one.

The Tom Moony case is well-known in this country; all its details as given in official reports and evidence are familiar to us. The Moony case is the starting point of Sinclair's story, and the accuracy with which he has dealt with this case, thinly disguised as the Goober case, is the measure of the accuracy of his reporting in regard to the rest of the book.

One warning, however, we would extend to all who read "The Spy." It is that "The Spy" is an isolated phenomenon amongst the large masses of good Communists and industrial Comrades, and honest people of all shades of opinion. One must shape one's life and one's propaganda in the main for the masses of sterling people. Do not look for a spy at every corner; to do so is absurd; to do so encourages cowardess and hinders energetic, enthusiastic work for the movement.

In an Appendix the Author gives a list of some of the documentary evidence on which he has worked, and a statement as to which parts of the book are founded upon actual events. Unfortunately he includes the statement that "Santeri Nourteva of the Soviet Bureau in New York has charged that Louis C. Fraina, Editor of the 'Revolutionary Age,' was a government agent, and Fraina wrote into the platform of the Communist Party the planks which were used in prosecuting and deporting its members."

Upton Sinclair is correct in stating that the charge against Fraina was made by Nourteva, but the whole matter has been investigated by the Executive of the III. International, Nourteva and Fraina both being present, and the charge being disproved, the Executive of the III. International has issued a statement affirming Comrade Fraina's innocence.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Annual Report and Balance Sheet, 1920. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks.

Labour Party. Report of Executive Committee, 1921.

The Working Class and Their Children. An appeal to proletarian parents. By Edwin Hoernle. Published by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Bulletin of Information for the Foreign Comrades of the Italian Communist Party. Published monthly in French and German. By the Italian Communist Party. Milan, Via Paolo Sarpi, 22.

Die Klassenkamff Organisation des Proletariats. By Herman Gorter. The Communist Labour Party of Germany. 2 marks. 3

Die Allgemeine Arbeiter-Union. Wirtshaftsbezirk Gross-Berlin. 1 mark.

ASSIST "THE PLEBS."

The ruling class dominates the workers not only by the physical force at its command, but also by the subtle power of education. From the elementary school up to the secondary and the university the capitalist State prepares the mind of the student to the respect, aye, to the veneration of capital and of the unjust existing order of things. Since education is an expensive matter requiring a long preparation in its machinery, the working class has as yet but tentatively attempted to form schools of its own to impart an independent class-conscious education.

As an oasis in a barren desert stands the "Plebs' League," which now is sadly in need of money.

To raise it, the "Plebs" are offering for sale 75,000 penny stamps, in two colours, of the design here reproduced. You can stick them everywhere, and do a bit of propaganda also in that way.

Therefore send as many sixpences as you can, in P.O.'s or postage stamps, plus one penny for postage, to "Plebs' League," 11a, Penywern Road, Earl's Court, S.W. 5.

MOSCOW TO BRITISH MINERS.

The British Delegation to the Congress of the Comintern has sent to the workers of England a message "hailing with pride the magnificent decision of the British Miners to reject the proposals of compromise offered by the mine-owners, backed by the Government."

The message further states that:—

"The heroic struggle is being followed here by the numerous delegations which represent the revolutionary workers from all lands, and in your single-handed fight against the tremendous concentrated power of the boureoisie,g you have earned the reputation as the champions of the working class."

The message is signed by the following delegates, of the Communist Party of Great Britain, now in Moscow:—

T. Bell, W. Hewlett, J. Vaughan, F. L. Kerran, T. Quelch, N. Watkins, N. Smythe, James Black, J. T. Murphey, G. Browne, Gray, Bamber, and Elizabeth Mackenzie.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MEYNELL, BEVIN AND THE *HERALD*.

Dear Editor,—In the "Workers' Dreadnought" of the 25th June I commented on a statement made by Francis Meynell in the "Communist" that he had sub-edited the speeches of Ernest Bevin "which he had paid for at advertisement rates, and which had earned him the title of the Dockers' K.C. and many a cheque and presentation piece of furniture."

My comment was to the effect that the main interest of this revelation by Meynell was that it showed a man could buy his way to fame through paying for advertisements of himself in the news columns of the *Daily Herald*. Everyone who read Francis Meynell's statements must surely have asked himself how many other reputations have been made by the *Herald* at the same price.

Francis Meynell, on seeing my comment in the "Dreadnought," wrote to its editor protesting that he had intended no reflection against the *Daily Herald*, that the printing of the reports of the Dockers' Inquiry "at greater length than their news interest warranted" had been paid for by the Dockers' Union, and that the *Herald* had stated this in printing the report.

Anyone who cares to look up the files of the *Herald* will find Francis Meynell's statement in regard to the reports, but he will also find that the front page articles puffing Bevin and describing him as the Dockers' K.C. were separate from the reports, and that these Dockers' K.C.'s articles were accompanied by no statement that they were paid for at advertisement rates, as Meynell had alleged.

In my answer to Meynell's letter, which the Editor of the "Dreadnought" had passed over to me, and which was published in the "Dreadnought" with Meynell's letter, I asked whether the Dockers' K.C. articles had been paid for at advertisement rates, and if so, by whom.

Francis Meynall has not replied to me, nor has the Editor of the *Daily Herald*, to whom I also addressed my question.

The Editor of the "Communist" (is it still Francis Meynell?) printed Meynell's letter of reply to my first comment, which appeared in the "Dreadnought"; but the "Communist" did not deal fairly enough with me to print my comment to which Meynell was replying, nor my answer to Meynell's reply.

I again ask, were the Dockers' K.C.'s articles paid for at advertisement rates?

If so, by whom?

And is the insertion of paid puffs a *Daily Herald* custom?

Yours for Communism,

J.A.

Other Correspondence held over till next week.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. Willis (Cumberland Market).—Your letter really tells of a very sad story. It is evident you were very badly treated. We shall keep your case in mind should anything come our way to assist you. Thanks for wishes.

W. T. Williams (Bridgend).—Have you heard any more about your friend, the M.P. Can you send us brief notes of your district?

J. T. Biddle (Islington) writes: I think the "Dreadnought" is the best Communist paper. If they want only one let them cut out the "Communist." Thanks for appreciation, subscription and ticket money.

A. D. Moore (Norwich) writes: "The I.L.P. has expelled me and Comrade Emery for selling the "Workers' Dreadnought" at its meetings. That won't prevent me selling the paper at public meetings." The I.L.P. having departed from the socialist track is a dying body; it fears the Communist truths which the "Dreadnought" continues. Well done! Thanks and congratulations on your stand. Thanks also for your order for pamphlets. You are sowing the good seed. Peg away.

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This is a time when Rent Strikes may be expected to prosper. The tenants of Well Hall Garden Village, Eltham, have been on strike since October. They have just decided by 969 votes to 31, to continue their strike.

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TWO COMRADES in dire need seek work. Not particular, but better if for the cause. Can anyone aid? J. B. Jimrack Warwick, care of "Dreadnought" Office.

WANTED A SAFE.—The "Workers' Dreadnought" Office is appealing for some Comrade to give it an unwanted safe. The Treasurer says, however, that cash is more urgently needed.

WOOD FENCING for Sale. Particulars on application to M.A., Box 10, "Workers' Dreadnought."

COMFORTABLE FORMS with backs, in good condition, for Sale. Apply O. P., Box 1, "Workers' Dreadnought" Office.

APARTMENTS WANTED in Manchester by Communist Family of three. Lancaster, 39, Upper Brook Street, Manchester.

ROOMS TO LET, twenty minutes 'bus ride from Liverpool Street. Apply E. S., Box 100, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

FOR SALE Modelling Stands. Apply P. LL., Box 101, "Workers' Dreadnought" Office.

FOR SALE Grindstone. Apply Box 110, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

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Advertise your Wants in the "Dreadnought," Deal with our Advertisers and mention the Paper.