Have you heard of my Uncle Fitzarthur?

SECOND EDITION

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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ON WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU ?

Education of Women the Deciding Factor—Compositors Should Refuse to Spread Lies—Solidarity is Needed.

The burning question of the moment is what is going to be the outcome of the class-war which has been brought to a head by the coal-owners' lock-out of the miners, backed by the Government, and their attempt to reduce wages.

The Times gives the proposed wages as calculated by the Miners' Federation and by Mr. Evan Williams, the President of the Mining Association, for the different grades of miners. There is considerable disparity between these two sets of figures, but Mr. Williams' are based on a six-day week and the Miners' Federation's on a five-day week, which the miners usually work. The Miners' Federation gives £4 7s. as the highest wage, and Mr. Williams, £7 4s. 4d. for a Yorkshire miner on piecework for six days a week.

The South Wales miners say the wages of adult miners in South Wales, reckoned in pre-war values will be: Colliers, £1 2s. 2d.; Hauliers, 18s. 10d.; Labourers, 16s. 3d.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, we admit Mr. Williams' figure as correct, and deduct the 141 per cent. rise in the cost of living, we find it is only worth £2 19 0½d. pre-war. But the rise in the cost of living is really more than 141 per cent. to the poor, so that the actual value is even less. Which of the coal-owners is prepared to bring up a family on £2 19s 0½d. per week? If the coal industry cannot afford to pay the men a living wage, why do not the employers limit their profits to £2 19s. 0½d. per week or to the highest figure the miners receive in their mines? Even if they did this they would be far better off than the miners; because during the fat years of the industry, through the War, the employer drew an amount of profits exceeding the pre-war capital of the industry by £25,000,000. If capitalists who are drawing dividends and profits from the mines gave them for one year, the miners could have an increase instead of a decrease of wages, and the mines would not be run at a loss and still the employers would have plenty to live on. But solution has never been suggested as a way Oh, no! The capitalists must not sacrifice anything for the good of the community, it is only the greedy, wicked workers who must go without.

The Parting of the Ways.

And what are the other workers going to do? Are they going to come out and support their fellow-workers in their struggle, or are they going to side with the enemies of the workers, those parasites who live upon their labour?

Workers, remember that if you take the part of the capitalists in order to have a little more coal, gas, and other things NOW, it means that your children will have to do with less ALWAYS.

The decisive moment has come when you have to decide on whose side you are. This is not a question for a few months, but a question which will affect the workers' lives for years. You must have the courage to face a short period of privation and want, in order to have an everlasting period of plenty. Is it worth while?

Women's Part.

And what are the women going to do? They are the deciding factor, as, without their support, the men cannot stand out for long. Up till now, the fathers and husbands have neglected to discuss the class-war and economics with their women-folk, with the result that in many cases

COMRADE, DON'T! YOU'LL GET HURT.

the wives and mothers do not understand the importance of the present crisis, and for that reason, may let the men down. We would appeal to the men to lose no time in enlightening their wives and making them understand the need for solidarity among the workers.

History teaches us that in these upheavals it was the women who took a leading part. In the French Revolution we hear of the *tricoteuses*; in the Russian Revolution in March 1917, it was the women who set the match to the tinder, by stopping the trams and looting the shops. In England, in 1921, is it going to be the women who will side with the capitalists?

The Transport Workers are those whose support will most immediately affect the miners in their struggle, and they are meeting this week to decide on whose side they will be. We wonder why they did not meet last week so as to be ready, for they knew the crisis was at hand. But, of course, Mr. Henderson and Mr. J. H. Thomas were away in Amsterdam, and without their restraining influence, they might have decided to do what they know to be right, to stand by their fellow-workers! As it is, 98 per cent. of the railwaymen have voted for a strike to aid the miners. They know that their own wages, like those in every other industry, are in danger, and this time they may refuse to be let down by their bourgeois leader.

Every other section of the workers will be affected by this struggle, and will have to decide for the workers or their masters. Upon the compositors and printers rests the heaviest responsibility of all. They are the workers who send out the lying statements of the ruling classes which influence so many people of all classes. During the railway strike they refused to print lies about the railwaymen. During the present struggle between masters and men, will they refuse to print all the masters' papers and throw in their lot with their fellow-workers, though they may have to share their privations for a short time?

An enormous amount of courage is needed to carry on a fight of this nature. By standing shoulder to shoulder, all grades of workers together, we shall surely win through.

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS—16.

"IT IS ONLY BY MAKING THE RULING FEW UNEASY THAT THE OPPRESSED MANY CAN OBTAIN THE LEAST PARTICLE OF RELIEF."

—BENTHAM.

EMERGENCY POWERS ACT.

An Order in Council under the Emergency Powers Act has been issued. The various Departments of State are enabled to take possession of land, buildings or works, tramways and light railways, food and forage, coal mines, collieries and colliery buildings and property, and "any plant, machinery, vehicles or articles which may be deemed requisite for the purpose of maintaining the supply and distribution of coal."

The Board of Trade may give directions for the management and user of any coal mine, and for "the production, manufacture, treatment, transport, storage, distribution, supply and use of any coal."

The Postmaster-General may "direct that telegraphic messages of such classes or descriptions as he may describe, shall not be accepted for transmission."

Firearms!

A Secretary of State may specify an area in which there shall be a prohibition on the buying and selling of firearms, ammunition and explosives. He may forbid the carrying the arms. If any person "by the discharge of firearms or otherwise, endangers the safety of any member of any of his Majesty's Forces or any police constable or member of any fire brigade . . . he shall be guilty of an offence. It is equally an offence for any person to take part in any meeting or procession with firearms or explosive substances in his possession.

"It is an offence for any person to do any act calculated to cause mutiny, sedition or disaffection among any of his Majesty's Forces, or the police force or the fire brigade, or to impede the distribution of food, fuel or water.

Public Meetings.

A Secretary of State, a mayor or a magistrate or chief officer of police may make an order prohibiting the holding of meetings when there is "reason to apprehend that the assembly . . ." will "give rise to grave disorder and will thereby cause undue demands to be made upon the police or military forces."

Any police constable may arrest without warrant any person "who so acts as to endanger the public safety, or who is guilty or who is suspected of being guilty of an offence" against the regulations. There are also powers of search when they are authorised by superior officers. Any police constable may search "any person whom he believes to be in possession of . . . any article" the possession of which constitutes an offence against the regulations. The police may also be authorised to stop and search vehicles.

A Justice of the Peace, on information in writing or on oath, may, in certain circumstances, require premises to be closed.

Such are some of the regulations to be put in force against the workers.

Remember that the Labour Party sanctioned the passing of the Emergency Powers Act!

SUCCESS TO "OUR" WORK.

Letter by Comrade ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI (People's Commissar for Propaganda) to Comrade DORA B. M. MONTEFIORE.

Moscow, Jan. 26, 1921.

Dearest Comrade and Friend,—It was quite a treat to hear at last from you, dear Comrade Montefiore. How happy I should be if I could show you all the revolutionary and really constructive work that has been done in these three years. Only three years! Sometimes it seems as if centuries have passed, the change all around is so great. Not only in the institutions, but especially in the psychology. For instance: In the bourgeois Capitalist States one regards a commercial man, a merchant, as "a decent" citizen, who does not commit a crime if he sells or buys at "normal" prices. How different is it now in Soviet Russia! We have no dealers, no merchants, no shopkeepers as a normal and legal thing; and if people do speculate, and sell and buy, they do it secretly, knowing that commerce is a crime, not only by law, but as a moral or social *principle*. Here we have the great change! It would have needed a hundred years or more without the revolution to make people understand that only *labour*, productive labour, is regarded as being normal and is esteemed by social opinion; now we have this evolution of mind accomplished in three years' time!

Relations between Men and Women.

And many other examples show the same thing. Especially is this taking place in family life and in the relations between men and women. The women are getting more independent and more sound; new and healthy relations, based on solidarity between men and women, are establishing themselves in our first workers' republic of the world.

Nationalisation of Women.

We laugh at the stories which the bourgeois papers publish about Russia, especially about the "nationalisation" of women! . . . Poor bourgeois correspondents! They have no idea how the Russian working and peasant women have grown in these few years, of their self-activity in a new workers' State, where the woman is regarded as an equal! Who could venture to "nationalise" a free, independent and politically, as well as economically active citizen woman of our Soviet Russia?

I should like to see the faces of the liars who tell such stupid stories about us, if they asked a Russian working-girl if she was "nationalised"! The women play such an active part in our revolution that all old prejudices against the sex are dying out little by little.

Women in the Government.

We have women not only as Soviet members, but also as presidents in Local Soviets. Many women act as commissars in all branches of social and State life, and at the front. One has even been decorated with the Red Star for her work as Political Commissar at the front during these years. We have had even one People's Commissar,* and hundreds of Communist women are at the head of different State departments, especially in the Commissariat of Public Health, of Social Welfare, Public Education and Public Feeding (organisation of communal kitchens and rationing the goods to the population according to our labour card system).

Our Party is doing good work amongst the working women. We have a special women's section in each local party committee. I am now at the head of the whole work. We have about 400,000 organised women, the majority of whom are Communists belonging to the Party (no sex division, no special organisation of women in the Party itself). The rest are grouped around our Soviet work, controlled by our Communist Women's Department.

Our work is much harded when we try to get at the peasant women! But little by little we succeed in gaining their sympathy for Communism.

Methods of Propaganda.

A very good method of enlightening the women is by the so-called "non-party" conferences, where we, the Communist Women's Department, invite delegates from all villages, factories, workshops and housewives (elected in Town-District Conferences). Political and economic questions are discussed, and generally the "non-party" conferences end by passing all our Communist resolutions!

Our tactics are: less agitation, more deeds! More practical work to help the working women, who have to suffer much under the hard conditions of a transitory, historical, and economic period!

Women's Papers.

We have seventy-four weekly papers for working women (a paper in each Government-Province), a monthly paper, a weekly official bulletin. The work is growing fast. Under our influence we are now working out a law on prostitution.

Mothers and Children.

But what I would like you to see is our children's social education! The institutions are not new as regards organisation—but the spirit that prevails there is new and inspiring! And the children are so happy in our homes for babies, or children's homes! You must not think that we take the children by force from the mothers! Nothing of the kind. We only try to help our working women who are over-burdened with work at home, and with professional work, and use their labour energy more productively for the sake of their own prosperity and the prosperity of their children and all children of the Soviet Republic! Our cry is: Mothers, learn to be loving mothers not only towards your own child, but towards all children of our Workers' Republic! But there is a lack of homes; we have not plenty of clothes for our nine million children; we have not paper enough for our school books, etc. That means our task is double as hard. And still, we do all we can to feed the children and help the mother. All children in the towns up to 16 years of age are fed by the State.

Dear Comrade, I could write for hours about our "fairy tale" land, where the sunny side of creative work is darkened often by many stady sides of our life and tactics. I am not always in favour of many of the tactical methods of our Party; I know how far we are from real Communism; but I feel we are on the way to it.

No Private Property.

The biggest obstacle is removed: we have no private property, no capitalists to fight against! And if we suffer, we suffer more because the production in the whole world is disorganised; the productive forces have not developed during these terrible years of war. But we are going forward; we are beginning to organise our industry on new, communistic lines, and I believe we, sooner than any capitalist country, will enter into a period of prosperity. We work for the benefit of the social body—and we work hard, with enthusiasm.

If only the scoundrels, the capitalists of Great Britain, America, etc., would not always be doing destructive work, attacking Soviet Russia! But we see that their end is near. The workers of England and other countries are no longer fools; they know who their enemy is. And the movement is growing. I am sure your comrades all understand. Against unemployment, no other methods can help except the putting aside of all the gentlemen, the capitalists who DISORGANISE PRODUCTION by anarchistic methods of ruling industry and by means of never-ending competition!

I wish you success in your, or rather OUR work!

* Myself, as you know. I was twice People's Commissar of Public Welfare from October, 1917, and then in the Ukraine as People's Commissar for Propaganda.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE NOTES.

CENTRAL BRANCH.

(International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1.)

The Branch had an enjoyable ramble on Easter Monday, and will have another at an early date. Anyone who has books to dispose of, please send to Y.W.L. library. Will any Esperantist who is willing to take the Esperantist Section of the Central Branch, communicate at once with the Secretary. Lectures commence at 8.30 on Saturday, and all young people under 25 are welcome. Capable speakers and budding lecturers should write to above address, and the organiser will fix them up for an early date. There will be a special meeting this Saturday, and members are asked to turn up early. Comrade Becket, of the C.P.G.B., will speak on "Organic Evolution." All unattached young workers are urged to join the Y.W.L. at once. The Dramatic Section is progressing well, and will be prepared to consider any good proletariat sketches, recitations, etc.

Mr. Bonar Law stated recently that there is no revolutionary movement in this country. If this is so, and the Government is not afraid of a revolution, why does it imprison so many Communists and Unemployed leaders?

BRANCH REPORTS.

Would Branch Secretaries make a note that Branch reports are inserted free. Copy should reach us not later than Monday, first post.

WOMEN'S DAY.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

PUBLIC MEETING,

400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW,

Friday, April 8th,

At 7.30 p.m.

"What Communism will mean to Women and the Family."

Speakers: Dora Montifiore and Melvina Walker.

Chair: Norah Smyth.

Come and hear all about life under Communism!

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "Communist."

I.L.P. Conference.

The recent decision of the Left Wing to secede from this reactionary body and join the Communist Party of Great Britain is a move in the right direction, and its help inside the Party will be of very great assistance.

Comrades of Ogmore who have heard Mr. Saklatvala speak will agree as to his capabilities in the Socialist movement. The impression he made at Ogmore Vale Hall some years ago on "Indian Labour," and its relation to British Labour, will never be forgotten, and, as Communists, we wish him every success.

Amalgamation.

Shop assistants throughout the country have at last secured that unity which all have for long been anxiously awaiting, namely the decision at the recent conference of Shop Assistants to a fusion with the National Amalgamated Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, who are at present negotiating with the Chemical Workers, which means an additional 8,000 members to the two unions. As the advanced element of the Valley, we wish them every success.

The Mines Crisis

The decision of the coal-owners declaring a lock-out of miners as from April 1 to enforce a reduction in their standard of living is being seriously considered throughout the length and breadth of the Valley. The propaganda on the owners' side has commenced and posters are being exhibited with —the following headline:—"A few facts why wages should come down." Workers of Ogmore, do not be deluded with such rubbish as this, but trust in what you see in the Communist, Labour and Socialist papers. Always remember that the sole aim of the Boss Class during a crisis is the policy of "divide and conquer" and the setting of worker against worker. The fight has commenced, and stick to your guns like men—it's your wages they want. The seriousness of the situation warrants the calling together of an International Miners' Conference, the re-setting of the Council of Action, and a special Trades Union Conference of the Left elements in order to back up the miners' fight. The time for deputations to the Prime Minister has gone; we are in the age of action, and, with good leadership, the miners should win. It is not only the miners' fight, but one for all workers, so as Communists we urge you to stand firm and let our motto be: "No compromise."

A few words by Shelley, "To the Men of England," will be a fitting summary prior to the crisis:—

Men of England, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay ye low?
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?
Wherefore feed, and clothe, and save,
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat,—nay, drink your blood?
The seed ye sow, another reaps;
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears;
The arms ye forge, another bears.
Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth,—let no impostor keep;
Weave robes,—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms,—in your defence to bear.

CONFERENCE OF UNEMPLOYED ORGANISATIONS

The National Conference of Unemployed Organisations will be held on April 12th, 1921, at the International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, London, N. 1.

The conference will be held in the large lecture Hall on the ground floor of the Club, which has been kindly lent for the purpose by the I.S.C.

Will all secretaries of Unemployed Committees who are not already in touch with the London District Council of Unemployed Organisations, communicate with the Secretary, P. Haye, 28, East Road, City Road, N. 1, immediately, to enable him to send the necessary credentials, etc., for the conference.

Judging from the replies received up to date, the Conference will be a great success, and a National Organisation of the Unemployed brought into existence, which will have its fundamental basis the overthrow of the system which causes unemployment.

TO ALL WORKERS IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

OUR COMMON ENEMY, the Capitalist Class, are busy carrying their lies and mis-statements into the homes of the toilers by leaflets, and door-to-door visits, well knowing the power that there is in printed matter.

They particularly attack the WORKERS' Government of Russia and Nationalisation.

THEIR LIES are bound to hurt our Cause if we don't counteract them with the TRUTH.

The enclosed leaflet,

"TRUTH WILL OUT,"

has been specially written in a simple style, for door-to-door distribution, to reach the masses of Workers who can be reached in no other way.

HELP ALONG the LEAFLET CAMPAIGN by sending for

100 8s. 8d. (post paid) 500, 15s.

To L. M. LEIGH ROTHWELL, East Boldre, Hants.

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER.

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

(Continued from last issue.)

To-day, in the International, your actions differ widely from what they were in the Maximalist party. This was kept very "pure" (and is so to this day, perhaps). In the International, all elements are to be accepted right away, no matter how poorly communistic they are.

It is the curse of the Labour movement that, as soon as it has acquired a certain "power," it seeks to enlarge this power by unprincipled means. Social-Democracy also was originally "pure" in almost all countries. Most Social-Patriots of to-day were real Marxists. By Marxist propaganda the masses were won, and as soon as the party gained "power" they were abandoned.

Just as the Social-Democrats acted at that time, you and the Third International are acting now. Not on a national scale, of course, but internationally. The Russian Revolution has triumphed through "purity," through firmness of principle. Now it has gained power, and through it the international proletariat has obtained power, this power is to be extended over Europe, and immediately the old tactics are abandoned!

Instead of applying the same efficacious tactics in ALL the other countries to the inner strengthening of the Third International, opportunism is again resorted to, as before, in Social-Democracy. All elements are now to be affiliated: the Trade Unions, the Independents, the French Centre, parts of the Labour Party. To preserve the Marxistic semblance, conditions are put that have to be SIGNED, and Kautsky, Hilferding, Thomas, etc., are expelled. The great mass, however, the medium quality, is admitted, is driven in by all possible means. And in order that the Centre shall be all the more powerful, the "Left Wing" is not admitted unless it joins that Centre! THE VERY BEST REVOLUTIONARIES, like the K.A.P.D., are excluded!

And when these huge masses have thus been united on one average line, they proceed to one common advance under an iron discipline, and with leaders that have been tested in this most extraordinary manner. A common advance whither? Into the abyss.

Failure of Second International.

What is the use of the finest principles, of the most splendid Theses of the Third International, if in practice we exercise this opportunism? The Second International also had the finest principles, but she failed *through* practice.

Yes, however, the Left Wing, refuse to do so. In Western Europe we wish first to build very strong, very clear, and very strong (though at the outset perhaps quite small) parties, kernels, just as you did in Russia. And once we have those, we can make them bigger. But ever we want them to be very firm, very strong, very "pure." Only thus can we triumph in Western Europe. Therefore we absolutely reject your tactics, Comrade.

You say that we, the members of the Amsterdam Commission, have forgotten or have never known the lessons former resolutions have taught. Well, Comrade, there is one thing about these former resolutions which I remember quite well. It is this: that the extreme "Left" parties have ever played a prominent, eminent part in all of them. It was so in the revolution of the Netherlands against Spain, in the English revolution, in that of France, in the Commune, and in the two Russian revolutions. In accordance with the development of the Labour movement, there are two trends here in the West-European revolution: the radical and the opportunist trend. These can only arrive at sound tactics, namely, by means of a mutual struggle. The radical trend, however, though in some particulars may go too far, is much the best. And yet you, Comrade Lenin, go and support the opportunists!

And not only this! The Executive in Moscow, the RUSSIAN leaders of a revolution that triumphed through the help of millions of poor peasants, uses these their tactics on the proletariat of West-Europe, which stands and has to stand all alone. In so doing annihilates the best trend in West-Europe!

That incredible foolishness, and especially what tactics:

Then the revolution in Western Europe breaks out, will work for you blue wonders! But the proletariat will be the victim.

Counter-Revolutionary Trade Unions.

Yes, Comrade, and the Executive in Moscow, know that the Trade Unions in Western Europe are counter-revolutionary forces. This is evident from your tactics. And yet you wish to retain them. You know that the Workers' Union, the rank and file movement, are revolutionary organisations. You yourself, in your Theses, that the industrial organisations must be and are our aim. And yet you want to smother them. You want to destroy organisations in which the workers, every worker and therefore the mass, can attain power and growth, and to keep those in which the mass is a tool in the hands of the leaders. Thus you want to bring the Trade Unions in your power, in the power of the Third International.

Why is it you wish to do so? Why do you use these bad tactics? Because you want masses behind you, no matter of what kind, as long as they are masses. Because you believe that if only you have masses obeying you on account of a strict discipline and centralisation, no matter whether they are communistic, half communistic, or not communistic at all, you, the leaders, will win. In a word, because your tactics are leader-tactics.

Leader-tactics are not those politics that want leaders and centralisation, for without these one attains nothing (they are as indispensable as the party), but it is those politics that collect masses, without inquiring into their convictions, their heart; politics that assume that the leaders, once they have great masses around them, will be able to win.

Russian Tactics Useless in West Europe.

But these politics, which you and the Executive are now following, will lead nowhere in Western Europe. Capitalism here is far too powerful as yet, and the proletariat stands too much isolated. These politics will fail here, just as those of the Second International did.

Here the workers themselves must become strong, and, through them, their leaders. Here the evil, the leadership-policy, must be seized by the root.

Through these your tactics in the Trade Union question you and the Moscow Executive have proved, to my idea, that UNLESS YOU SHOULD ALTER THESE TACTICS, YOU CANNOT CONDUCT THE REVOLUTION IN WESTERN EUROPE.

You say that the Left Wing, in following its tactics, can only talk. Well, Comrade, in the other countries the Left Wing has had next to no opportunities as yet to act. But look at Germany, and the tactics and actions of the K.A.P.D. in the "Kapp patsch" and with regard to the Russian revolution, and you will have to take those words back.

III.

PARLIAMENTARISM.

Next we have to take up the defence of the Left Wing in the question of Parliamentarism.* The same universally-theoretical grounds that we dealt with for the Trade Unions, determine the attitude of the Left Wing also here. The fact that the proletariat stands alone, the gigantic force of the enemy, and consequently the necessity for the mass to raise itself to a much higher level, and to rely on its own support exclusively. I need not repeat these grounds here. Here, however, there are a few more grounds than in the question of the Trade Unions.

Subjects of Bourgeois Democracy.

In the first place, the workers of Western Europe and the working masses in general are completely subjected, as far as ideas are concerned, to the bourgeois system of representation, to parliamentarism, to the bourgeois democracy. Much more so than the workers of Eastern Europe. Here the bourgeois ideology has taken a strong hold of the entire social and political life, it has penetrated far more into the heads and hearts of the workers. Here they have been brought up in that ideology for hundreds of years already. These ideas have altogether saturated the workers.

These relations have been very finely depicted by Comrade Pannekoek in the Viennese periodical, "Communismus":—

"The experience of Germany places us face to face with the great problem of the revolution in Western Europe. In these countries the old bourgeois method of production, and the corresponding highly developed culture of many centuries have completely put their stamp on the thoughts and feelings of the masses. Consequently the spiritual and inner mind-character of the masses here is quite different from that of the Eastern countries, where they did not know this domination of bourgeois culture. And herein above all lies the difference in the progress of the revolution in the East and in the West. In England, France, Holland, Scandinavia, Italy and Germany, ever since the middle ages there has been a strong bourgeoisie, with a small-bourgeois, and primitively capitalistic production; whilst feudalism was defeated, an equally strong, independent peasantry sprang up in the country, which was master in its own small concern. On this soil the bourgeois civic spiritual life developed into a firm national culture, especially in the coast-lands of England and France, which were most advanced in capitalistic development. In the nineteenth century capitalism, by means of the subjection of the entire agriculture into its power, and the attraction of the most distant farms into the circle of its world-economy, has raised this national culture to a higher level, has refined it, and by means of its spiritual methods of propaganda, the Press, the school, and the Church, has beaten it firmly into the brains of the masses, as well of those masses it proletarised, attracted into the cities, as of those that were left on the land. This applies not only to the original countries of capitalism, but also, though in a somewhat modified form, to America and Australia, where the Europeans founded new States, and to the countries of Central Europe, that had so far been stagnant: Germany, Austria, Italy, where the new capitalist development could link itself to an old, obsolete, small-bourgeois economy, agriculture, and culture. In the Eastern countries of Europe capitalism found quite different material and other traditions. Here in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the region east of the Elbe, there was no small, strong bourgeois class dominating the spiritual life since days immemorial; the primitive agrarian relations with the landed property on a large scale, with patriarchal feudalism, and village Communism, determined the spiritual life."

Here Comrade Pannekoek, in the ideological problem, has hit the nail on the head. Far better than it has ever been done from your side, he has demonstrated the difference between the east and the west of Europe, from an ideological point of view, and has given the cue towards finding the revolutionary tactics for Western Europe.

This need only be combined with the MATERIAL causes of the power of our opponents, that is to say with the banking capital, and the tactics become perfectly clear.

Workers Win Rights for Possessing Class.

However, there is more to be said regarding the ideological problem yet: the civic freedom, the power of the parliament, has been won in Western Europe by means of the wars for liberty, waged by former generations, by the ancestors. And though at the time these rights were only for the citizens, for the possessing class, they were won by the people all the same. The thought of these struggles is to this day a deeply-rooted tradition in the blood of this people. Revolutions are ever the deepest memories of a people. Unconsciously the thought that it meant a victory to be represented by a parliament has a tremendous, silent force. This is especially the case in the oldest bourgeois countries, where long or repeated wars have been waged for freedom: in England, Holland, and France. Also, however, though on a smaller scale, in Germany, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries. An inhabitant of the East cannot realise, perhaps, how strong this influence can be.

Moreover the workers themselves have fought here, often for years, for universal suffrage, and have thus obtained it, directly or indirectly. This also was a victory, which bore fruit at the time. The thought and the feeling, that it is a progress and a victory, to be represented, and to entrust their own representatives with the care of one's affairs in Parliament, prevails generally. The influence of this ideology is enormous.

And, finally, reformism has brought the working-class of Western Europe altogether into the power of the parliamentary members, who have led it into war, and into alliances with capitalism. This influence of reformism is colossal also.

All these causes have made the worker the slave of Parliament, to which he leaves all action. He himself does not act any longer.**

Then comes the revolution. Now he has to act for himself. Now the worker, alone with his class, must fight the gigantic enemy, must wage the most terrible fight that ever was. No tactics of the leaders can help him. Desperately the classes, all classes oppose the workers, and not one class sides with them. On the contrary, if he should trust his leaders, or other classes in parliament, he runs a great risk of falling back into his old weakness of letting the leaders act for him, of trusting parliament, of persevering in the old notion that others can make the revolution for him, of pursuing illusions, of remaining in the old bourgeois ideology.

To be continued.

* Originally I considered this a minor point. The attitude of the Spartacus League, however, at the time of the Kapp putsch, and your opportunist brochure, opportunist even in this question, have convinced me that it is of great importance.

** This great influence, this entire ideology of the West of Europe, of the United States and the British colonies, is not understood in Eastern Europe, in Turkey, the Balkans, etc. (to say nothing of Asia, etc.).

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.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD

Outside Holloway Gaol,

SUNDAY, APRIL 10th, AT 4 p.m.

Speaker: J. STEELE.

Followed by a meeting outside

Pentonville Prison.

Come and cheer our Comrades Pankhurst and Malone.

Workers' Dreadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.
Acting Editor: JACK O'SULLIVAN.

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FEED 'EM WELL.

The miners have "downed tools." They are the first section of the British working-class to show they have the spirit to fight in the Wage War. The "bosses" will try to keep this sectional action from spreading; sectionalism is a mighty good means of defeating our own *class interests*. Everybody is wondering what the other parts of the Triple Alliance will do; will the whole become a Triple Defiance?

Not unless—and this is where we must put our spoke in—the rank and file "get wise" about their Union officials and prevent any 'shinanikin" (as the Irish say).

The *Star* for Friday, April 1st, reports a big Yorkshire mine-owner as saying:—

"The Triple Alliance have four days to consider costly participation, and *under the direction of Mr. Thomas*, who will be back from Holland to-morrow, they will hesitate uselessly to add to unemployment."

An early edition of the same rag ran—referring to J.H.T.:—

"It is expected that his influence will be used to prevent a stoppage of the railwaymen."

There you have it. Thomas is messing about with the "Yellow" International at Amsterdam, but he's coming back soon, so Capital will be jolly glad to have his aid. Watch him! Remember the railway strike in 1918; remember J.H.T.'s opposition, and remember how well he trampled upon the rights of his fellows in the 1919 strike. Capital *should* worry! Feed them well and they'll do anything and anybody.

Feed 'em well! 'Tis only a short time ago when the King graciously granted a grand reception at his residence, Buckingham Palace. There was a whole bunch of blue-blooded aristocratic parasites there, and a few well-known Labour Faking Traitors too; amongst whom were J. H. Thomas, Adamson, and—listen, mine bummers—Vernon Hartshorn of the South Wales Miners' Federation; a fine crowd of Dishonourables, with Horatio the Great Bottomley there telling jokes about the workers; all feeding at the workers'—pardon, the King's—expense, and giving hints, no doubt, as to how the workers could be diddled. Some more? Yes. The National Alliance of Employers and Employed (otherwise "bosses" and slaves), recently held their annual "pow-wow." Who do you think "represented" the slaves? One, Arthur Pugh, of the Iron and Steel Trades' Federation, by whom he is paid £1,905 yearly. (Don't ask why).

One feature of the "confab." was a splendid gorge, otherwise "bean-feast," and amongst the gourmandisers were J.H.T. and J.R.C. Yes, old Clynes, the betrayer of last year's Gas-workers' strike and many other sectional attempts on the part of the workers to air and redress grievances. So the Privy Council was well represented and the Workers were misrepresented. What else might we expect when they feed 'em well and we follow them?

No, *Sectionalism must give place to industrial solidarity in action; and we workers must lose all faith in officials and act ourselves.*

The miners' struggle is *our* struggle, and *if we fight not with them, we are traitors to them and our own class.* Solidarity! Solidarity! Solidarity! C. B. J.-W.

WOMEN'S DAY.

March 8th is celebrated as International Women's Day, to commemorate the women who started the Russian Revolution in 1917.

This year we are celebrating it on April 8th, and a meeting is being held that night at 7.30 at 400, Old Ford Road. Men as well as women are invited to attend, as we believe in the equality of the sexes, and in men and women working together. It is only by unity amongst the workers and amongst the sexes that the proletariat can succed in throwing off the capitalist yoke.

We feel too, that the men will be glad of this opportunity of showing their appreciation of the part the women played in emancipating the workers of Russia from Czardom.

OUR EDITOR.

Prisoner 9587 was visited at Holloway Prison by three friends. Her health appears to be comparatively improved, but mental idleness, the lack of writing material, the solitude of the cell weighs heavily upon her, with bad effect.

She counts the days, the hours; longing to resume her part in the fight.

It is expected that she will be released on May 30th.

At one time it was hoped that old friends of the Suffrage Movement would rally round and secure her the benefits of Regulation 243A, which had been won in those days, and which would have permitted her to write and study during the term of her imprisonment.

There was, behind that Regulation, the assurance of a Cabinet Minister that it would be granted in all cases when the offence did not imply "moral turpitude."

Both that assurance and the assistance of former friends—with rare exceptions—have failed.

Comrade Pankhurst fully realises why.

The agitation for the Vote was one for a reform inside the bourgeois State. Necessary at one time, it is now very much a thing of the past. To prisoners for that agitation, the capitalist State could show signs of leniency.

The agitation for the emancipation of the workers is a class-war one. It is directed against the privileged position of a few. The capitalist State will not show any mercy. Old friends of former days are ranging themselves on the other side of the barricade.

Communism is not "respectable," and the Communist is an "outcast."

An outcast with a glorious ideal, that, through the sufferings of the pioneers, will become a reality.

Therefore Prisoner 9587 bids comrades outside to be active and willing. Solidarity at home and International Solidarity will win.

"PROPARTY" AND THE PONIES.

At the time of writing, although the Transport Workers have decided to support the miners, the situation is not yet clear.

Just as when a ship is lost the chief concern of the ship-owners is the cargo, and thoughts of the "hands" lags behind, so, in this case, the mine-owners and the House are chiefly concerned "to save the lives of the poor dumb animals" (which, by the way, are all on the surface, for the order of the miners' was: "stop working as soon as the ponies are out")—and about "property."

The eventual sufferings of the wives and of the kiddies of the miners do not enter—it seems—into consideration.

The Press that is for "those who can read but cannot think," is columns deep on the question of the "flooding of the mines."

The press that is for "those who cannot either read nor think"—our illustrated daily—shows us Lord Bledisloe stoking the furnaces to keep the mines dry.

We have failed to see a single line denoting anxiety concerning the welfare of miners' children.

Why bother, indeed; they are the Plebs.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Next Congress of the Third International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has decided to convene the Third Congress of the Third International on June 1st, 1921.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted the following provisional Agenda:

Draft of Agenda for the Third Congress of the Communist International.

1. Report of the Executive of the Communist International.
2. The economic world-crisis and the new tasks of the Communist International.
3. Tactics of the Communist International during the Revolution.
4. Transition period (special requirements, special actions, and final struggle of the Revolution).
5. Fight against the Amsterdam "yellow" Trade Union Federation.
6. The Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.
7. Construction of the Communist Parties, the methods of their work.
8. Construction of the Communist International and its relation to the affiliated Paries.
9. The Eastern question.
10. The Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International. (Appeal of the Italian Socialist Party against the resolution of the Executive Committee).
11. The Communist Labour Party of Germany and the Comunist International. (Appeal of the Unified Communist Party of Germany against the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International).
12. The Women's Movement.
13. The Young Communist Movement.
14. Election of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Headquarters of the E.C.
15. Other business. G. ZINOVIEV.

RED YOUTH NOTES.

BY T. ISLWYN NICHOLAS.

We hope next week to give a report of the Proletarian School Movement Conference which was held at Glasgow.

Our Maxim No. 2.

"Thou shalt not be a patriot, for a patriot is an international blackleg. Your duty to your and your class demands that you be a citizen of the world."

The Reason.

The reason that the Communist schools called themselves Proletarian Schools is as follows:—

The name marks the distinction from the Utopian. The word "Socialism" does not mean much to-day, there are so many grades of thought calling themselves Socialists, that one actually feels ashamed to be labelled a Socialist. The State has been used, in the Great War, from the point of view of Utopian Socialism; it has been a hard task-master; it has ground to powder every bit of human freedom the working class had. This is State Socialism. We disown it, and no matter the cost, we will fight against it and in fighting it, we have to fight our own class, for they, like sheep, have been led into the wilderness. The Proletarian School Movement represents the "Fourth Estate." It demands the complete surrender of the capitalist class; it stands for the end of the Political State; it represents the Communist Soviet Republic.

The Wisdom of Youth.

Profit without Labour is like God without Hell.

Y.P.C.I.

The periodical publications of the Young Communist movement are worthy of admiration. Besides the two organs of the Executive Committtee of the Young Communist International, there are no less than six Young Communist periodicals. The movements in Germany and Italy possess their own press and publish much propaganda matter.

On the Continent.

The Young Communist movement abroad is possessed of great vitality and is spreading daily. Most of the countries of Europe possess bodies, even the small nationalities and newly-formed nationalities such as Lithuania, Finland, Bohemia, Jugo-Slavia, etc. There are Young Communist bodies even in Turkestan and Siberia.

Russian Youth.

Comrade Posner, in the name of the Central Committee of the Instructing Staff, reports that the youth of the Soviets has torn away from the bourgeoisie the main support, namely, the privilege of knowledge. It has created an army of 70,000 Communist instructors, supported by the increasing numbers of the Young Communist People. This latter group is not only an inexhaustible reserve for the Red Army, but also a peaceful army of science and technology and of organised labour. The Hope of the World is Youth!

OUR COMPETITION.

By March 25th our Competition closed. We have received several MSS., also a couple of letters pointing out that the time originally allotted was rather a short one for comrades who can only write in the evening hours. We have therefore decided to postpone the date of the closing of the competition till April 30th. Comrades who have not the time to finish their MSS. have, therefore, another month in which to complete them.

Since the subject of the pamphlet we are going to publish is one that will remain of actuality for a long time, nothing will be lost by the delay.

Received this week, by registered letter, from London, a typescript of 12 pages, marked with three letters.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

From smiling meadows women with sickles greet us—Petrograd at last!—The Vanished Glory of Nevsky Prospect—Mashed Potatoes at the Hotel International—The Moscow Crowd—The Tinned Meat of the Italians—John Reed.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

It was warm, the sun shone from a cloudless sky, but the temperature seemed to have no influence on costume. Heavy British and French khaki overcoats, and longer, heavier Russian ones were worn freely, British khaki trousers or riding breeches and puttees, and British sailors' trousers are combined with Russian blouses of all sorts.

Some people wore leather top-boots, a few went bare foot. One young man had a white blouse wadded coat, and another a sheepskin with the wool inside. One woman had a white cotton dress with a short skirt, and her fat legs were bare. Most people were well shod. Dark skirts with light-coloured cotton blouses were most common, and many women wore long scarves, tightly bound about the head, and tied on both sides with big bows or long floating ends.

At a station nearer Petrograd, surrounded by smiling meadows and corn fields, women stood by the train with sickles in their hands. There was a curious blending in these Russian scenes of the very old and very new.

Those old men with fur caps and long beards, the women with gay, bright peasant costumes, and that baby girl with the slose-fitting black cap, patterned by big red and yellow flowers, seem to have stepped out of an ancient picture.

Close to them is a youth in a black college gown and a group of girl students with bobbed hair, returning to study in Petrograd. They carry great bunches of blue cornflowers. A beautiful dark girl in white muslin whose shining black hair hangs in a great plait, says good-bye to them. A woman with the dusky, almost purplish bloom of the East on her cheeks, has a flaxen-haired baby boy by the hand.

PETTY TRADING.

"Tabac, tabac," cried a little swarm of women and children, running beside the train, as it stopped at a lonely station.

They hold up jars of wild raspberries and the familiar whin- or blackberries, which are growing beside the railway line, just as they do at home in England. I threw down to a wistful-faced little girl, a piece of Norwegian chocolate and at once a woman handed to me a jar of berries. I shook some of them out into a paper and handed back the jar and, as the train moved on, the uncomfortable thought crept into my mind that, by giving the chocolate and accepting the berries, I had perhaps encouraged illegal petty trading in Soviet Russia. Afterwards I discovered that the peasants bring to the train, not merely wild berries, but milk, eggs, potatoes, chickens and other produce, which they exchange with the passengers for tobacco, tea, sugar, sewing-cotton, needles, or anything else they need, which the passengers may have to offer.

For money the peasants care little. I saw, after much bargaining, an old woman part with half a cup of wild raspberries in exchange for 50 roubles of the Kerensky period, which are still in circulation.

This petty trading is tolerated and will continue so long as it meets popular need. The community, as yet, makes no arrangement for supplying food to the railway passengers. Only hot and cold water can be obtained at the stations. The passengers are therefore glad to get food from the peasants and, as the community is not able to provide transport for all the produce, peasants are glad to dispose of it to the passing travellers.

Illicit profiteers are constantly trying to exploit this situation by taking journeys into the country, buying largely at low rates and selling their purchases at exorbitant prices in the towns. The Soviets are always on the look-out to prevent this.

PETROSAVODSK.

At Petrosavodsk we left the train and walked through the quiet little town. We stopped to gaze at the blue arm of the sea stretching out below us, and the white church with its gilded domes glistening in the sun.

A little boy and his frolicking clumsy, white collie puppy came up to make friends with us. Some laughing children showed us a tiny kitten. We visited the big wooden building that houses the offices of the Communist Party, which are just like other offices save for three or four rifles standing in a rack in an inner room. A triumphal arch erected in honour of the Third International Congress, was standing at the junction of roads named after Lenin and Engels.

One changes trains at Petrosavodsk, and for the rest of the journey we travelled in one of the carriages of an old international *train de luxe* of pre-war days. A special delegates' compartment had been reserved for a Finnish delegate and myself, and for our companions, Gorićlova and the young Red soldier. An expensively-dressed man and woman, with aggressive manners, demanded admission because they objected to sitting amongst peasants in a precisely similar compartment adjoining. They had a heated controversy with the Red soldier, who refused to let them enter, though when the train filled up he called in some of the peasants.

PETROGRAD AT LAST.

Petrograd at last! From the train emerged a teeming population; weather-worn peasants from remote villages, their luggage wrapped in goatskin, sackcloth or coloured hearthrugs; bourgeois illicit traders with handsome leather bags and smart new clothes; students and factory workers.

On the station walls were big notices:—

"FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!"

"THE SPIRIT OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BREATHES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."

"WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE!"

The people were streaming in orderly file past We followed her sturdy little figure into a once who had attempted to invade our compartment the previous day.

"See how we have them disciplined!" said the young Red soldier.

Gorićlova pulled her cap over her eyes, thrust her hands deep into her pockets and sped away. We followed her sturdy little figure into a once ornate office.

Its walls, scratched and dirty, were defaced by many notices and scarred by an occasional shot. Its floor, once polished parquet, is now but a patchwork of inconvenient little pieces of wood that curl up and chip away, leaving dark holes in which rubbish collects.

"Telephone out of order." We rushed on through a room with walls lined by stacks of rifles, a soldier on guard, through another room crowded with soldiers, rifle in hand, to an office where clerks were writing. A peasant, bending forward under his heavy load, humbly, respectfully, took up his stand before one of the scribes as though expecting hours to elapse before anyone would notice him. His patient resignation was a habit born of long experience. A slow surprise seemed to dawn on his face when he got prompt attention.

Outside in the Square of the Revolution, as it has been re-named, was concentrated the little traffic and bustle that is in Petrograd. A few motors on official business, a few carriages for hire, some porters and travellers with their luggage, standing or sitting upon the steps. Placards concerning the Revolution that swept its way first through the streets of Petrograd, had been pasted so thickly on certain patches of wall that they stood out several inches thick, their edges broken away, brown and brittle.

FALLEN GLORIES.

The once splendid shops on the Nevsky Prospect were all shut up, bolted and barred and needing a coat of paint. Their glory had vanished long before the Soviets closed them They had fallen into the hands of the small speculators, whose trumpery and incongruously assorted wares—a few little pieces of glue, some bobbins of silk and fish-hooks, an occasional net and packet of safety pins, were still displayed in all their feeble sparceness. Dead indeed are the bourgeois riches of the Nevsky!

In the Soviet shop windows were large assortments of Communist literature, photographs of the leaders, meetings of the Soviets, demonstrations and incidents of the Revolution. A curious combination of photography and drawing is much used, the faces and hands alone being printed from the negative, the figures lightly sketched with brush or pen. Such a group of the British Labour Delegation showed Tom, in the centre, looking like a rubicund Bacchus.

The trams were not running; since they are only brought out at times of special need, there was little traffic of any kind. Most of the pedestrians, both men and women, wore simple Russian blouses of light-coloured stuff.

By the bridge over the Neva the wood paving of the roadway was being repaired. Two great barges were lying in the river a hundred yards more below the bridge. One of these barges loaded with logs of wood. Men standing on planks which sloped up to the bank passed these hand over hand, in unloading them. From the second barge, women hurled wood blocks like those which paved the Nevsky up on to the roadway. Their strong, bare arms rose and fell in unison, and the blocks went hurtling through the sunshine.

"They make sport of the work," said the young Red soldier beside me.

"DON'T YOU KNOW WHAT WORK IS?"

"Don't you know what work is?" the women cried with mocking laughter, when a couple of men from another country stood to watch them the other day.

The gigantic statue of Catherine surrounded by her courtiers, looked down on the changed Nevsky. The great churches, monuments of the dead past, still retained some of their influence, even in proletarian Petrograd. Some women still crossed themselves as they passed the shrines, but the congregations were small.

In the vast dimness of the Isaac Cathedral, one Sunday afternoon, I saw barely a score of people at the service, and though some of them knelt and bowed many times, so low that their foreheads touched the stone flooring, only a few one- or two-rouble notes were put into the collecting plate. This would have been a poor collection even in pre-war days before the great fall in the value of money. Indeed, there was an atmosphere of poverty and decay in the Church. The altar cloths looked soiled, their gold fringe was tarnished. Frowsy old artificial flowers lay on the engraved brass images of the Virgin and Child.

Outside in the great square, children were playing around the great stacks of firewood, piled by the Saturday volunteer workers, whose footsteps had not worn away the green blades of grass that had grown up between the stones because the traffic over them was so small. Grass a foot high grows in what were once the busy streets in Petrograd.

THE HOTEL INTERNATIONAL.

In the entrance hall of the Hotel International, once the Hotel des Anglaises, which accommodated foreign delegates and visitors and some Soviet officials, a little woman was on guard, sitting on a high chair with a rifle in her hand. On the point of the bayonet were thrust many tiny pieces of coloured paper. These were the "probusks," or permits to enter, presented by people who came to visit the official residents in the hotel.

The dining-room had been newly decorated in honour of the Second Congress of the Third International; its white panelled walls were shaded by soft sunrise colours. On the tables were pale pink and lilac hydrangeas. The damask cloths were snow white. The glass highly polished. The waiters hovered courteously around, attending to all things with the greatest care. One scarcely noticed that their clothes were shabby.

Breakfast was being served. A smart young Naval officer and a red-haired American journalist sat at the centre table. An American linotype operator was by the window. The waiters laid before each person some black bread, so sour that I, being unaccustomed to rye bread, could only eat a few crumbs of it, two tiny sardines, a glass of weak tea and three or four little pieces of sugar.

For luncheon, later on, the waiters served, with equal aplomb and grace, a small cake of mashed potatoes measuring about three inches by four, covered with gravy sauce and followed by weak tea. For fifty roubles they would also supply a bottle of pink sparkling liquid which they called lemonade, but the taste of which recalled the smell of scented soap. For roubles they also had a purplish drink which tasted like a weak solution of water and mouldy fruit that had begun to ferment. These most undesirable drinks were the only things charged for; the food was all quite free.

Dinner to-day was an exact replica of luncheon.

For the rest, the hotel had probably changed little since the old days. The furniture, which was in good condition, was as before. The service was good; the beds clean. The traveller might have, cost free, for the asking, a hot bath and the hair shampooed by an expert and dried with a hot air fan in the hairdressers' shop below.

Mrs. Pelman who spoke excellent English and her colleague who spoke excellent French and German, were most hospitably attentive to the guests, and at any first sign of illness, called in the doctor who supplied, again without charge, whatever suitable remedies the prevailing shortage had left him.

SMOLNEY.

Soon after my arrival at the hotel came Madame Kingisepp of the Third International, saying: "Come to Smolney," and away we went in a motor to that headquarters of revolutionary activity which was once a school for noble girls.

Before the main entrance was a most outrageously bad statue of Karl Marx. Young artists of talent who starve unwanted in Europe would find a generous welcome for their work in Soviet Russia.

On the bare white walls of the barrack-like interior of Smolney, hung numbers of red banners. Red guards were stationed everywhere, and without a *probusk* one could not pass beyond the office where they might be obtained.

Zinoviev, the Secretary of the Third International, has his office here, and through Smolney pass all the literature and communications to and from the Communist Parties of the world.

The rear windows overlook the Neva, and the green banks where the noble girls used to play.

Across the river is the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, where for many generations revolutionary comrades wearied away long years.

CHAPTER III.
MOSCOW.

And now to Moscow—oh strange city of contradictions—so deeply mediæval yet, in spite of the Revolution.

The intense heat weighed one down like a heavy cloak. Great forest fires were burning for miles around Moscow, and 60,000 Red soldiers were engaged in beating them out. A smoky haze filled the city.

One rose from the sleeping-car to a strange scene: a great square, a mass of almost motionless people in loose straight clothing, white, grey, and dust coloured. Old women sat on the pavement, peddling small green apples, wild berries and other trifling wares. The crowd hung around them. Patient travellers sat in the road beside their luggage. Nothing seemed to move. The roads are cobbled, the walls a sunny blend of pink and yellow, the domes of the churches blue, speckled with golden stars. The churches rising in the roadway, stand as fortresses of the old world that is swiftly passing. Inside they are dim and strange; a flat glare of monotonous gold with dark little primitive images painted upon it. The priests in their robes, have long and matted hair.

At that church with the blue and gold carved canopy, the people, in a frenzy of faith and fear, once tore a priest to pieces because he refused to hang out the ikon they used to kiss. The plague was rampant; the priest feared the spread of infection; but the people thought only of miracles.

The weird Basil Cathedral is like a bundle of footless towers, surrounded by porches and capped by domes that burst into green and yellow spirals, or are covered, porcupine-like, with spikes of green and red. Tapestry-like patterns of painted flower pots and imitation stonework ramble over it. It is like a schoolboy's Christmas nightmare, and yet it possesses a strange barbaric beauty. The eyes of its architect were put out by the Czar, in order that he might build its like for no other monarch.

With the old superstitions, the old buttresses of autocracy still living within her, Moscow goes hastening onward in the creation of the newest brotherhood.

CHAPTER IV.
DELEGATES AT THE DJELAVOI DVOR.

The Djelavoi Dvor Hotel blazed with red banners and the watchwords of proletarian solidarity in many languages. It was thronged with delegates of the Third International, come to take part in making the world revolution; striving through the crowd of their own numbers that veiled the real Russia like a fog, to learn something of this gigantic thing we call the Soviet Republic.

They were greeted in Petrograd by the spontaneous uprising of the proletarian masses, in Moscow by magnificent ordered marching. Children threw flowers in their path, magnificent athletes and wonderfully-wrought pageants were displayed for them. Tremendous indeed was their welcome; because to the Russian workers, these delegations represented the hope of the world revolution, the only hope of pace for Soviet Russia, and the ending of her great hardships and sacrifice. This welcome was indeed a challenge to the Communists of a hundred countries to play heroic parts.

The delegates thus challenged, thus received with a welcome of awful beauty, seemed a light-hearted, gregarious crowd.

The representatives of each country mostly went together in droves.

The Italians had brought with them, it was said, a special train of tinned and bottled meats and wines. Upborne on the crest of the great popular movement in Italy, they were gay and confident.

The English, Irish, Canadians, Americans and others who speak our language, kept first their national divisions, but showed a distinct affinity amongst the entire group, and a marked division from the Germans. This division sprang a little, though they refused to own it, from the consciousness of the racial differences in a closely allied people. There was also the language barriers; but the great irritant was that the majority of the German delegates came from the Communist Party of Germany, the K.A.P.D., which still adheres strongly to Parliamentary action, and looks with little favour on the newer forms of insurgent industrialism, to which the majority of the British and American delegates pinned their faith.

The representatives of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, the K.A.P.D., left the Conference early, because the majority view was opposed to theirs.

Souchie, a tall fair young man who represented the German workshop movement, and spoke good English, worked amicably with the British Shop Stewards in Committee, but never became one of the English-speaking fraternity.

JOHN REED.

Big John Reed, apparently full of radiant health, clear-eyed and good tempered, modestly ignoring his own brilliant talents as a descriptive writer, was consulted by all, and was always ready to serve. Undoubtedly, among the English-speaking members, he was the most popular of their number. The British Shop Stewards showed their respect for him by proposing that he should be the Chairman of the forthcoming Unity Conference in Britain.

The delegates were better fed than the mass of Russians; better fed even than the Commissaries and responsible workers, whose rations had been lately increased, but were still below the standard of the Red Army. Though the delegates' rations were really ample, those who came from the English-speaking countries (the countries which during the War were not forced down to a very meagre war diet), were inclined to grumble. They were unaccustomed to rye bread and to Russian food in general. Caviare to them was no luxury, but merely rather distasteful.

To the Russians, the Conference, which sat for a month and met between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m., was an addition to their usual work.

DELEGATES AND THEIR RATIONS.

The foreign delegates were left with many leisure hours. Soon tired of sight-seeing, many of them occupied themselves by making tea in each other's rooms with provender brought by newcomers from Norway. They endeavoured to secure a slice or two of the white bread, or a glass of milk kept at the buffet for those who had been given a note for them by the doctor. Eggs for breakfast, though not always fresh, were hailed as a great event, as a change from the usual bread, butter, cheese and caviare (or occasional "kasha"*—a dish made of boiled wheat meal, with a piece of butter on top). Cocoa or coffee instead of the universal tea, were received with enthusiasm, although with each glass of tea there was always a little saucer containing five or six sweets wrapped up in coloured paper. Delegates used to plead for strong tea, "Crephy Tchay," as though it had been really a matter of serious moment to them. Fairly substantial portions of duck, fish, meat, soup, and puddings of various kinds were served for lunch and dinner.

* Kasha is usually made of buckwheat. When cooked in an earthenware pot in a slow oven for hours it looks dark brown, but when cooked like porridge it is a light greyish brown. Any other cereals boiled in water or milk may be called kasha. If rice is used it is called "Rissovaia Kasha"; if semolina (the Russian name for which is Manna), it is called "Mannia Kasha." When boiled and eaten with butter and milk, kasha is popularly called "Razmaznia." Kasha is also made of wheat, the Russian name for which is Phsenitza. The Kasha is then called "Pshonnaia Kasha."

(To be continued in our next issue).

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INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

Mineowners and Press join in Frontal Attack on Miners—Their Great Concern for the Community. The "Printers' Watchword"—Dissatisfied Compositors Display Ignorance of Wiles of Capitalism.

Now that another industrial crisis has arrived, those who are fiercest in their opposition to communal enterprise are shrieking the loudest about the "peril of the nation," the necessity of safeguarding the British public, and the "criminal act of the miners' executive in ordering the pumpmen and enginemen to withdraw from the mines, thus leaving the mines to their fate." Sir Robert Horne regards this action as a deliberate attack upon the community by men who believe their desperate act will force the hand of the Government. There is no need to state what the Press thinks of the miners. It is always a foregone conclusion that when the Press takes upon itself to try a case between the workers and the owners of the means of life, the workers will be found guilty. They always are, and even the most gullible member of the public must by now be getting rather sick of the hoary shibboleths and hackneyed phrases in which the Press expresses its hatred of the working-class and denounces every action it takes to secure a bare living wage. To read the British Press during an industrial struggle one would think that their only function was to look after the interests of the community. They are always ready to steal the thunder of the Socialists whenever the public is made to feel the pinch by reason of its own apathy in industrial questions, but when the crisis is passed never a word of denunciation have they for the perpetual exploitation of the public by their capitalist allies.

Will Government Advocate Short Time?

There is little doubt that the Government will again issue instructions to employers of labour to put more of their men on short time, in order—so they will say—to conserve coal supplies. The alternative between going on short time and accepting the dismissal of a portion of their fellow-workers, will again be presented to the workers. The idea, of course, will be to make things as uncomfortable for the general public as possible, in order to inflame them against the miners. Already the railway companies have decided to reduce their services. It is very difficult for the workers to decide what is the best way in which to help the miners. By accepting short time they will be helping to conserve coal; and by carrying on the reverse will be the case. That is what will pass through their minds. It seems to me, however, that this matter should be left to a general decision of the Trade Unions, which will no doubt be forthcoming. The action of the Triple Alliance will determine the action of the other unions in this matter. There must be no sectional action at this juncture. It is up to the whole organised working class to act together. Only by so doing can they hope to maintain their standard of living at the present altitude.

Miners Not to Blame.

No one can blame the miners for refusing to accept conditions which, in the words of one miners' leader, will reduce them to a condition little better than paupers and convicts, especially in the case of those with families. Personally, however, I think the time has arrived when the public would be more likely to give support to a general strike for a political end which would place the coal and transport industries upon a definitely communal basis. Thus the miners would allay suspicion that they were desirous of securing their own means of life at the expense of other industries—a false suspicion, of course, but one which the Press has not failed to fan with insistent lies.

Workers' Chief Weapon.

Direct Action—by which I mean not merely the strike to secure more wages or better conditions of employment, but the political strike—will inevitably become the chief weapon of the workers, as they realise more and more the futility of political action through the vote. Of course, this will be opposed and punished as unconstitutional, just as the formation of trade unions was punished as unconstitutional at the beginning of last century. This implies, of course, the organisation of the workers in industrial instead of craft lines, with the abolition of the present system as a definite aim, and the dismissal of the bogus leaders that now shackle the unions. It means, of course, that the expenditure of energy and funds in fighting merely for a living wage will be subordinated to the policy of educating the workers, and preparing them for the final fight, which will settle the question of a living wage for ever.

The L.S.C. Rebels.

The appearance of a journal published by the ink and file of the printing and allied trades is evident that the present period of depression in the printing trade has awakened some of the workers in that industry to the fact that all is not well with their unions. This journal, the *Printers' Watchword*, is up against what it calls a "domineering officialism," and though one can hardly say that it bears the impress of class-consciousness, there can be no doubt that such an organ will do good. Though the paper is published by the L.S.C. Right-to-Work Committee, it claims in its opening editorial that it is being well supported by members in employment. Some home truths are flung at the officials of the L.S.C., and in describing its aims the paper says:—

"We are by no means the only trade union suffering from a domineering officialism, which is possible only because members are apathetic and are kept in ignorance of any but the official view. Is this not fully borne out by the well-doctored reports of all quarterly and general meetings of the L.S.C.—written by a member of the Executive? . . . It will be our chief aim to arouse the members to remove the mental atrophy from which too many of them are suffering to show how officialism battens upon ignorance and to assert the democratic right of government by the members."

So far so good. No one can quarrel with such an aim as that. But when one reads the policy of the Right-to-Work Committee as laid down in the paper, one begins to wonder whether the Right-to-Work Committee is not itself in need of awakening from mental atrophy. The five points include the following: "To secure the election of the most practical, all-round craftsmen to the committee and official positions; also delegations." One would think from that that the new movement was established for the purpose of increasing the craft efficiency of the members of the L.S.C. There is little need for that. Already, as I have pointed out in these columns before, the officials of the society will see to this. Did they not print, not so very long ago, an article from the *Inland Printer* on "Efficiency for Operators"? Surely the Masters can be left to see that the men they exploit are efficient at their work? So why should the Right-to-Work Committee worry their heads about questions of efficiency and all-round craftsmanship? Apparently the R.T.W. Committee is still hide-bound with craft unionism. It is time they woke up to the fact that this is not the day to talk about craftsmanship. If Trade Unions are to rise from the slough of respectability and impotence which they constitute to-day they must get a bigger idea into their heads than that their officials should be all-round craftsmen. Do they think that increased efficiency of the members will result in better wages? Surely they know that, generally speaking, more efficiency, under the present system, means lower wages on the whole, and a filip to unemployment. If one man is so efficient that he can do two men's work, the other fellow will go on the street. It is nonsense to talk about the committee members being efficient. The fact that they hold a job down should be good enough; and if they have neglected becoming so tarnation efficient as the Right-to-Work Committee seems to expect of its future officials, in order that they may learn something about the needs of their class, and do something to solve the problems of industry, good luck to them, and the union will benefit for their relative inefficiency in that case. Surely the height of a man's ambition is not to be the best, all-round craftsman in such an unjust, chaotic scramble as this? As I said before, the masters will manage the efficiency part of the job: they have never yet been noted for keeping on men who did not understand their work.

Will "Watchword" favour us with a reply.

One gets the idea from the journal that the officials are going to get it in the neck; that an attempt will be made to remove any species of dictatorship from the union; and that if only the majority of the members will support the Right-to-Work Committee, the millenium will very soon be ushered in, so far as printers and kindred workers are concerned. I do not like to pour cold water on the hopes of the Right-to-Work Committee. They evidently feel that their union has been emasculated and needs reforming. In advocating the amalgamation of the Typographical Union with the L.S.C. they are on the right side, and in seeking to rouse the members to a sense of their rights and duties, they are worthy of warm support. But I regret to see nothing in their policy—not, in fact, in the whole of the *Watchword*, not a word about the real functions of trade unionism. We are left to infer that the old, hopelessly out-of-date policy of merely seeking to stabilise the wages and conditions of the worker, to relieve distress and secure advantageous funeral benefits for the members will be pursued—of course with a proper eye on the officials. Can they not see that as long as Trade Unions neglect to use their functions for the only thing that really counts—the abolition of wage-slavery and the control of industry by themselves—they are perpetuating the very conditions which make for a supine, fat and battening officialism? If the officials were imbued with the idea that the union they represented was merely a means to an end, instead of an end in itself, there would be no need to fear them. The necessary amalgamation and solidarity would be instinctive with them. But if the Right-to-Work Committee merely means to replace the present officials with other men who have the same hoary ideas about the functions of trade unions (but, of course, more efficient, all-round craftsmen!) the last state of the L.S.C. will be worse than the first, for valuable time will have been lost, and the masters will only be dug in still more firmly. What is needed among the printers is some real education along worknig-class lines. They need to learn that they are part of a class which is exploited in the interests of a set of men who put profits before everything else; that they have a right to LIVE and not merely the rights to WORK, receive unemployment doles, and be for even dependent on almshouses and charitable organisations in which to moulder when their masters have cast them on the scrapheap. There is far too much of the charity-boy about the printer—especially the London type; it is stamped on his face; it can be seen in his jealousy when a question of overtime arrives; and altogether there is very good reason for the statement in which the Betterment Committee made to the effect that "the L.S.C. has been made to stink in the nostrils of good trade unionists." Still, good luck to the *Watchword*, and may the above remarks be accepted as a word in season.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN GERMANY.

(Extract from Esperando letter (18.3.21) from Hermann Theobold, a mechanic in Hamburg. The reader should notice that two hours a day for three months spent with Esperanto would enable him to enjoy full and easy intercourse, not only with his fellow-workers in Germany, but in every land.—M.S.)

Politically and economically the German workers are living through an exceedingly sharp crisis. It has been chiefly caused by the result of the London Conference. More so than ever before the German working-class suffers the most grievous slavery. The whole crisis between the Entente Governments would be ridiculous if the workers were not the sufferers. The crisis clearly shows the impossibility of world capitalism to solve the world crisis. The "Entente," chiefly the French, certainly need the milliards demanded in London. To the Germans those terms are impossible without too great a sacrifice of their profits to the Entente capitalists. The German capitalists would willingly play the role of warders for the "Entente" if it would leave sufficient profits to them. The fate of the German working-class is nothing to them, they are only fearing for their profits. It is quite evident for us workers that our fate becomes more serious and severe however the problem becomes solved if we do not in the meanwhile take our own fate in hand. If the demands of the "Entente" will be fulfilled we shall be doubly exploited, firstly by the German and secondly by the "Entente" capitalists.

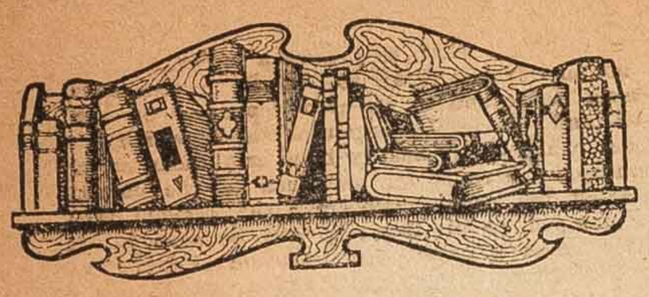
But German industry, if that happens, will be totally destroyed. It is true that German economy will not be able to survive such an experience. The result will be, and already is, mass unemployment, hunger and misery, which will chiefly hit the bottom classes. Already in the crisis, while nobody knows how the problem will be solved, daily many factories shut their doors. The misery even now becomes sharper day by day. On the other hand, if the demands of the Entente are refused, as up to now they are, the situation will not be less dangerous. The "Entente" armies will occupy the Ruhr area and other important industrial centres. The results will be the same: unemployment, hunger, misery.

Daily for the great mass of the German workers the dangers hidden in this crisis of world capitalism become evident. The daily increasing misery compels the mass to reflect upon its position and to follow the way shown by the Communist Party. It becomes demonstrated to the mass that the capitalist Socialist Democrat Government is not capable of lifting us out of the abyss. The happenings after the revolution have clearly shown how wrong was the way into which we were guided by the social patriots, who preached the necessity of a common national front with the capitalist against the enemies of Germany; preaching the common interest of capital and labour. In this manner they confused the clear-thinking mind of the working class.

In many meetings and in many ballots one is able to see the ever-growing influence of Communism. In a loud voice is demanded the alliance with Russia. But the German capitalists fear this alliance. They fear the growth of Bolshevism if connections are revived with Russia. The German capitalist class does not reckon so commercially as the English, which has just signed the trade treaty; but what the German capitalists will not and cannot do, that the proletariat will do without them. The present situation is such that one must expect grave happenings. The misery of the bottom class is almost unbearable. The crisis cannot find solution. We stand ready for the attack.

NO NATIONALITY.

"The fact is, as individualism suppresses individuality, so nationalism suppresses all that is worth keeping in the special elements which go to make up a real and not an artificial nation. The sham community of the present—the nation—is formed for purposes of rivalry only, and consequently suppresses all minor differences that do not help it to supremacy over other nations. The true community of the future will be formed for the livelihood and the development of all human capacities, and consequently would avail itself of the varieties of temperament caused by differences of surroundings which differentiate the races and families of mankind."—William Morris.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE CRIMINAL AND THE COMMUNITY.
(By Dr. James Devon. Lane. 6s.)

At first sight this modest, quiet and unassuming little book may seem rather humble and unattractive by the side of the brilliant scientific theories of the Continental criminologists. But when it is digested and its true purport guaged, it will, we hope and believe pave the way to a new departure in our treatment of the criminal. The easy-going rule of thumb brutality of the old penal code was replaced about 1850 by the "Millbank" system of reformed hygiene, severe discipline, solitary confinement, religious teaching, moral reformation, etc., in which the Victorian officials put their trust. This truly wooden and rigidly military pseudo-philanthropic method of slowly dehumanising a man, failed to put together causes and effects, and worse still, it treated every individual on the same cast iron, standardised pattern. And this mitigated form, which, as the institution of "barrack system," is still in vogue in English prisons to-day, is, as Dr. Devon tells us, practically a failure. We do not speak here of the "Police Court" system of dealing with petty offences, but with the system of treating "hardened offenders," and the graver offences in the eyes of the law. "The longer a person is in prison the less fit he is on liberation to take his place in the community," says Dr. Devon. "Imprisonment usually improves a man's health, but impairs his mentality. The failure of institutions is due to the fact that the manner of living in them differs essentially from anything that obtains outside." A great many of the offenders "repeat the offence and return to prison." Why? Because, though they may have improved in obedience, "they have lost the power to act for themselves." "There is no official good enough to be entrusted with the lives of his fellow citizens; and there is no criminal bad enough to be emmured from the public gaze and placed wholly under the control of anyone."

The fact is that big convict prisons, penitentiaries, reformatories, etc., like the monstrous workhouses set up by the Victorian reformers, were large-[illegible] to save people trouble. Paupers, the weal, the infirm, those who go "wrong, and have less power of resistance to temptation than other men," were drafted off into institutions, where they were supposed to be disciplined, reformed, and taken care of, etc., by intelligent officials. Out of sight, out of mind. But Dr. Devon tells us "not only the inmates of the institution acquire peculiarities which mark them off from people living outside," but also that their will-power is still further reduced and that they are, in consequence, rendered still more unfit to fightfor existence once they are returned to free life.

Every reformer, every revolutionary should read this book, because in the work of social reconstruction we are aiming at when striving to establish Communism we need perforce take into account not only the needs and the justice of the case of the healthy worker, but also the existence of the feeble, of what to-day is called the criminal; in other words, of that fraction of Humanity which is, as it were, the by-products in the wastage of human life that goes on under Capitalism.

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NOT TO ST. STEPHEN'S.

It is not to Parliament that the eyes of the nation are turned to-day. The discussions which are taking place in the House are but a pale reflex of the struggle that is fought outside, in the fierce clash of two contending forces.

It is the Miners' Federation and the organisations representing the masters' interests, that to-day attract the nation's attention.

The industrial power of the workers is greater than Parliamentary palaver.

Just as the power of the Commons, centuries ag grew out of the need of the hour as the result of the economic forces then at play, so to-day, under our very eyes and yet almost unperceived, a new power is growing that is stabilising itself, and shaping its weapons and its own rules. The power of the workers associated and federated by industry.

That power gradually—amidst great difficulties, even through errors and set-backs—grows to be the dominating factor of the national life.

When the *Workers' Dreadnought*, inside the the Communist Party, pointed out that emancipation would not come through Parliament, the discussion around the question tended to become academic.

To-day the rude force of the facts is there to demonstrate the truth of our contention.

An ounce of experience is worth a ton of theory.

Industrial England rose to greatness by her early exploitation—as compared with other Continental countries—of her coal resources and by her early application of coal-generated steam power to machinery.

Since the main source of mechanical power is still coal, the miner, as coal-getter, plays a primary part in the life of the nation.

The miner, having grown to class-consciousness, demands his place under the sun and leads the way in the struggle for the final emancipation of the workers.

Parliament will talk: will finally legislate, or rather give legal sanction to Cabinet decisions. All the while, the moving spirit will be outside.

The industrial power of the workers dictates. when expressed in concerted action.

The struggle is great. It will be fought keenly. It will be fought outside Parliament. The greater the class-consciousness, the solidarity of al. the wealth-producers, the lessers the sufferings attendant upon every change in the economic structure of society.

The Miners are leading.

Long live the Miners' Federation of Great Britain!

BETWEEN OURSELVES.
By L. A. MOTLER.

My Uncle Fitzarthur is one of those unfortunate people who find time hanging heavily on their hands. He has, as it were, nothing to do and plenty of time to do it in. But you must not jump to conclusions, Henry, and imagine he is one of the unemployed. He doesn't need to go round with a banner and a collecting-box with the words "Cur-rse your Char-rity. It's wor-rk I want."

No. He is in a sort of way a capitalist, and as such he finds work for the working class. He smokes cigars and so keeps cigar-makers employed. If it wasn't for him they would be growing food or doing something useful. But that would only bring prices down and so ruin our trade.

Anyway that accounts for the fact that the other day he sent round to me a few volumes he had no use for. He is a great reader and is always improving his mind. There is nothing like fiction for that.

He is of course against Communism and all that sort of thing, you know. But he doesn't need to read "What Communism Is" in order to squash the Communists. He takes his ideas of Communism from the "Daily Express" and other people recently escaped from Russia. (Nobody ever *comes* from Russia, they always *escape*, you know).

One of his collection of mind-food (or mental pabulum as some devilish clever people call it) was a book called the "Last Hope." I thought maybe it would be a book about Joe Beckett or perhaps Kid Basher, or even maybe about Lloyd George. But it wasn't!

It was what I called a Romance—a Historical Romance, to be exact. Romance is another name for a lie, but sometimes it just means a love-story. Anyway, this "Last Hope" was a bit of both wrapped round a historical fact, or rather a historical rumour.

If you know anything of the French Revolution, you will know that the misguided French people, led by agitators of the day—prehistoric Bolshies, as the saying is—rose up and did things they really didn't oughter.

Well, one of the things they did was to get hold of the good King Louise Umpteenth and push him into prison as if he was a Communist agitator. They also sent his beautiful queen (queens are always beautiful, if you get me) to keep him from brooding over the dry bread and margarine, to cheer him up, and to tell him that ere long General Wrangel would put the kybosh on the local Lenin and Trotsky, or words to that effect.

And what is worse they also sent his little boy, who rejoiced in the name of Dauphin (or in English, the Prince of Wales) to the same place. They might have sent him on a tour to Australia, but ships were rather at a standstill in those days, and the cinema wasn't invented, so what was the use?

Any old how, the King was disappointed in his hopes and made an intimate acquaintance with the guillotine. So did the Queen. And this in spite of the fact that she had felt so sorry for the dear peepul, donchaknow. When she heard they had no bread, she asked why they didn't go and buy cake. Perhaps the morning paper said "coke" instead of cake. Anyway she too went to Heaven.

About the Dauphin. He was supposed to have contracted fever in prison and died, like little Jim, to slow music please. But the historians knew better. He escaped and married someone and had a little boy.

This boy, in the book "The Last Hope," is the Dauphin's heir, and therefore the throne of France was his by rights. But the author doesn't tell you all this at once. For all he knew, you might have a weak heart. Also he had to spin out the thing to make it a proper eight-shilling novel. So he breaks the news gently to the reader.

One would think that a boy, living in a fishing village on the East Coast like this boy does, would have enough to worry about. But no. Lots of mysterious people must come over from France mysteriously and talk in hushed whispers of the Great Day that is to come. And so they persuade the boy to become the Last Hope of the Royalist Party in France.

He goes over there, mysteriously of course, prepared to unfurl the banner of his fathers, and bring back the good old days. The plot is extremely simple. It is the usual plot that any old White Guard or General Denikin might think of, so there is no infringing of the copyright act.

The nobility and gentry, who are in hiding or trying to look like honest workmen, sweeping the streets and selling matches, are to have something good. They are to have soft jobs in the New Day that is to be, when the King of France steps on the Throne that is his and unfurls the banner of his fathers, and the rest of it.

But in order to qualify for a post where you can dip your hand deep in the nation's pocket while the king looks the other way, you have to raise a few corps to fight for the banner of his father, as I have explained. These corps or corpses are, of course, to be the working-class. They are to do the fighting and win the throne for the Last Hope so he can unfurl—— Yes, I see you get me. What the workers get after fighting isn't quite clear, but they will have the satisfaction of paying no more taxes to a Republic One and Indivisible. Instead they will pay them to the nobility and gentry who will, perhaps, hand them over intact to the king as he unfurls the banner of his fathers.

There is only one thing about the "Last Hope" that is good reading. The Per-lot doesn't come off. You see the Royalists had sort of overlooked the fact that the Republic One and Indivisible was run by the capitalists. And as you cannot raise money or even buy the banner of your fathers without being on good terms with a banker, they sort of struck a snag. And so the sad sea waves cast up the Last Hope. Price 8s., cloth bound, obtainable of all bookstalls.

And what's all this about. Well, the holidays are now over and you will be interested in a piece of light fiction that doesn't make you think.

Literature Secretaries of each Branch of the Y.W.L. should place a weekly order for a definite number of *Dreadnoughts* with their newsagent. If they have any difficulty in obtaining them, they should apply to 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

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