The Workers' Opposition in Sovrussia.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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FALSE PRETENCES TOWARDS IRELAND.

The Plebiscite Proposal Dishonest.

The proposal, urged from many professedly advanced quarters, to take a plebiscite in Ireland on the independence question is, in our view, a dishonest one.

We regard it as dishonest, because we believe that those who put it forward have no idea that the Lloyd George Government would grant Ireland Independence if the plebiscite were to declare for it; their hope is merely that a vote of the Irish people might declare for something less.

We believe, too, that the plebiscite proposal is put forward as a means of evading the responsibility of standing for or against the direct issue of Independence.

Dominion Home Rule Not Offered.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, generally recognised as the leader of the Labour Party, has said it is disappointing that the Lloyd George terms have not been accepted by Sinn Fein; but, that if the British Government's offer means Dominion Home Rule, this should be stated in clear language.

Mr. Henderson, of course, knows too much about Dominion Home Rule to be under the illusion that the form of Home Rule at present offered to Ireland can be so described.

Let us consider in detail the conditions which are inconsistent with Dominion Home Rule.

1.—NAVAL DEFENCE.

"The British Navy alone should control the seas around Ireland and Great Britain."

Ireland is not to have a navy; the British Navy remains in control; but it was on the naval question, that the British Dominions first made good their claim to Independence. Under the Naval Agreements of 1907-11, they established their right to withhold their own naval forces in the event of war; to remain neutral in a war waged by the Empire. The Dominions are entitled to possess their own navies, and their contributions to the British Navy are free gifts.

2.—THE ARMY.

"The Irish Territorial Force shall conform, in respect of numbers, to the military establishments of the other parts of these islands."

The Irish Army is called a Territorial Force, and it is to be limited by Britain. The Dominions are not under such limitations.

3.—AIR SERVICE.

"Great Britain shall have all necessary facilities for the employment of defence, and of communications by air."

Apparently Ireland is to have no Air Service, and, both for military and civil purposes, the British Air Service is to have the monopoly in Ireland. With a British Navy and Air Force in control of that little island, who could pretend it was independent? The Dominions are not thus controlled; their status is free and equal.

4.—RECRUITING AND FINANCIAL BURDEN OF ARMY AND NAVY.

The British Army, Navy, and Air Force will carry on voluntary recruiting in Ireland and Ireland will be expected to pay her share of the cost of these forces.

The Dominions are not thus obliged to contribute, and, if there is to be recruiting for the Forces in Ireland, there will doubtless be barracks and establishments; in short, the British Naval and Military system will remain in control as before.

But those who insist that there is something new and magnanimous in these terms, will tell us that the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force are of small moment in our daily life, and that so long as Ireland remains at peace with Britain—"and why should she not?"—the substance of Independence is assured. Such statements are false.

5.—CUSTOMS.

"The British and Irish Governments shall agree to impose no protective duties or other restrictions upon the flow of transport, trade, and commerce between the ports of these islands."

Cleverly phrased, Mr. Lloyd George, but such agreements are only binding upon the stronger party: in this case, the stronger party, the British Government, does not wish to erect tariffs and Customs duties between Britain and Ireland. The weaker party, Sinn Fein, desires to do so, in order to build up Irish industries, without the difficulty of competition with old-established, highly-capitalised British industries.

Sinn Fein an Economic Movement.

The Sinn Fein movement, the Irish Independence movement generally, is largely an economic movement; a powerful mainspring of its force is provided by the Irish bourgeoisie, desirous of becoming successful manufacturers and merchants. They look to tariffs to aid them. Ninety per cent. of the Irish external trade is with Britain: to prevent tariffs being applied to ninety per cent. of Irish trade, is, obviously, to destroy the cherished tariff policy altogether.

The Dominions are quite free in this respect; they may impose what tariffs they please; that is one of the basic rights of the British Dominions.

6.—IRELAND TO SHARE THE WAR DEBT.

Ireland is to assume a share of responsibility for the United Kingdom War Debt. In default of agreement, the amount to be determined by "an independent arbitrator," to be appointed from within his Majesty's Dominions.

The British Dominions do not contribute to Imperial taxation. One of the great reasons why the Sinn Fein movement has been so greatly accelerated since the war is that the Irish do not wish to pay the British War Debt. No one likes to pay increased taxation, and whoever finds a conscientious scruple for refusing, is especially delighted. Of course, the Irish are proudly vaunting their objection of principle to labouring under the load of War taxes. There would be an immediate revolt if Parliament were to attempt to force the Dominions to contribute to its expenses. Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa would at once prove themselves as anxious as Ireland to escape from the Union.

Let there be no mistake, the local Government offered to Ireland is not Dominion Home Rule.

7.—ULSTER.

Union between North and South Ireland can only come by consent. The British Government "cannot consent to any proposals that would kindle civil war in Ireland."

The reply of the Sinn Fein Ministry to this passage, on August 10th, was dignified and apt:

"Let England cease to throw her armed forces into the scale on the side of one party to a domestic difference. Ireland will not bring force to bear upon the Northern minority. Irishmen will effect a 'complete reconciliation' for themselves. This was the course adopted in the case of Canada in 1867, and of South Africa in 1909."

Yet the quarrel between North and South will not be easily settled: it springs from deep economic causes, and will trouble the island for many a long day.

The Lincoln Analogy.

Some foolish person started the story that Lloyd George's refusal to grant Independence to Ireland, which, he declares, would be to "tear up the United Kingdom," is the same as Lincoln's refusal to agree to the secession of the Southern States of America. Lloyd George, who loves to pose as playing a grand part, has taken up the analogy, and declares that he is adopting Lincoln's stand. Lincoln, however, refused to assent to secession when the Southern States desired to secede in order that they might safely continue and extend the practice of slavery. There is no such question here. The Lincoln argument did not occur to Lloyd George when he was helping to dismember the Austrian Empire.

To Communists, the question of Ireland's Independence is only important because the workers in an independent Ireland would be more free to learn that their real enemy is Capitalism, and because the break-up of the British Empire means the destruction of a great bulwark of the capitalist system.

OUR VIEW.

RUSSIAN MEASURES TO COPE WITH FAMINE.

Red sailors of Baltic Fleet have given up 10 per cent. of rations to famine areas.

Red garrision of Twer has given up two months' pay, over one million roubles.

Workers of steam mills contribute 15 per cent. of their flour ration.

Peasants of Tula giving from 3 to 10 lbs. of grain per dessiatin.

Free performances in Petrograd are discontinued, and the proceeds of the theatre go to Famine Fund.

The All-Russian Relief Committee sent three sanitary trains to famine area with food for children.

Peasants suffering at Tula had received 25 trucks of grain by barter, but on hearing of frightful conditions in Volga district gave up 20 waggons.

Moscow newspaper employees are to issue a special supplement to be sold at 2,000 roubles each. The issue will be 500,000.

International Proletarian Aid for Russia.

In answer to an appeal by Henrietta Rolland-Holst in a few days nearly 1,000 gulden arrived at Dutch *Tribune* Office, coming from individual workers.

Central Committee of Swiss Communist Party has decided to ask all workers to give one day's pay.

Central Committee of Italian Socialist Party has issued an appeal to all comrades for relief in Russia.

Communist Party of France has asked for relief for Russia, and is supported by Seine Trade Unions, Dockers' Union, Textile Workers and Metal Workers, all of whom call on members to contribute.

10,000 francs has already been raised.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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

Increased Postal rates and the high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment.

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

(Continued from our last issue).

II.

Frank Penman had a number of relatives in London. One was a well-known lady politician who had been prominent during the war for her "jingo" views, she was one of the first and most strident in demanding the complete blockade of Germany; one of the first to declare that not war material only must be excluded, but food and everything that a people needs; for this would be a war of attrition. She had screamed for the internment of all Germans, Austrians, and others of the nations at war with us, whether naturalised or not naturalised; whether willing or unwilling subjects of the enemy Powers: she had called for rigid coercion of the Shop Stewards and other Labour agitators, of pacifists and conscientious objectors, and she was one of the first to demand Conscription—of men for the Army, of women for the munition factories and other services necessary for the carrying out of the war. She had been one of the bitterest, vulgarest, most bombastic of the "bitter end-ers," and the most sordid of the muck rakers, who heaped abuse upon Asquith and the other Liberals, who, lacking the courage to oppose the "Jingoes," yet shrank from acceding to their wildest excesses.

This personage, whom he had once looked up to as an important, even a revered, member of his family, he had not seen for a number of years. What he had read of her activities in the newspapers, had filled him with a sharp disgust; he had now long ceased to regard her as a relative; she had become only a name to him.

He had other relatives also in London: one was a woman who had lost her only son, the youngest of her children, and the darling of her affections. The lad, timid and quiet, backward and unformed in his opinions, had shrunk from becoming a soldier, without having either the knowledge or the fortitude which would have enabled him to resist. He was called up when he came to be eighteen, and almost immediately after his brief training was finished, he was killed in France. For many months the certainty of his death was not established: he was recorded as "missing," and his mother continued to insist that he was alive. Gradually, however, realisation came, and then she turned to Spiritualism for consolation; striving to communicate with her boy through the medium, the "planchette," and any other expedient she heard of.

It was to see this bereaved mother that Frank Penman went one evening. She lived in a North London suburb of respectable little houses with tiny gardens in front, reached by long and dreary tram routes.

Meetings between members of a family who have long been parted, and whose lives have long ceased to have anything in common, are curiously unreal. These strangers have no daily interests and experiences, no point of contact, except what belongs to the past, where painful memories are lurking. To avoid those memories and the awkward silences that give them free play, particulars of the family births, deaths, and marriages are reeled off; the names and ages of unseen little relatives are recalled, and the professions of cousins, grown-up since we saw them last.

But to-night there was a family event of real excitement to discuss. The lady politician, whom Penman despised as a "jingo," had a mother, only less "jingo" than she, and a maternal aunt, who, obscure and unknown, desired to outdo these two relatives of her's in the violence of her sentiments. During the war, this most rabidly patriotic lady had been an unmentionable skeleton in the family cupboard of the lady politicians. Some thirteen years before the war, she had married an Austrian Jew, and was therefore an alien enemy. Her husband, an English correspondent of Austrian newspapers, had hurried away from England to Vienna when hostilities broke out, and she and their children had accompanied him. A Socialist of some prominence in Austria, he had withdrawn from the movement on coming to England, and was now an enthusiast for the war-policy of the Central Empires. She, on the other hand, was aggressively pro-British and pro-Entente. She protested indignantly against the law that forced her to assume her husband's nationality, declaring that enemy nationality ought to be a ground for divorce, and that, for her part, she greatly desired one. Though well-treated in Vienna, she never ceased to vilify the Teutonic peoples, and taught her children to do this same. At length she obtained permission to leave for Switzerland, where she remained apart from her husband till the close of the war, boasting that she was only willing to accept the money she received from him for the support of the children, and that she was teaching English, to supply her own needs.

When the Women's International League held its Conference in the place where she was living, she attended its sessions with the sole object of listening to the proposals to allow women to retain their original nationality when marrying foreigners.

When some of the delegates called on her, believing her to be an Internationalist like themselves, she heaped abuse upon them, denouncing them as traitors on account of their pacifist views, and expressing herself with so much violence, that they believed her to be insane.

Now that the war was over, her husband had been appointed to a post in the Austrian Embassy, and she and the children had joined him in London. His salary was a comfortable and growing one, and, although there were five children, they were able to live without harassing themselves by small economies. She continued to maintain her attitude of lofty Entente superiority towards her husband, whilst she enjoyed the advantages of his position.

Her niece, the "most 'jingo' of 'jingo'" lady politicians, had vociferously demanded, during the war, that anyone who was allied, however remotely, by ties of blood or marriage with the enemy peoples, should be driven out of every position of trust or influence. She had ruthlessly expelled from the women's organisation of which she was the controlling autocrat, any of its members who were found to possess a strain of enemy blood, or who failed to cut themselves off from all intercourse with friends of enemy blood, even if these were pro-Entente or pacifist in sympathy. She ignored the fact that one of her own maternal aunts was the wife of an Austrian and an active participant in the war; for she regarded herself as above the need for such precautions. She knew that she was far removed from any temptation to relent towards the enemy on account of family ties; indeed, she would have given these or any other relatives of hers over to be shot, without a tremor of compunction, had occasion arisen. But now that the war was over, she was becoming less of a purist in "jingoism," though she had been one of the most vehement in declaring that the war animosities should never be allowed to die down. She now said that fortunately the uncle-in-law was an Austrian, not a German: it was the Germans, after all, who bore the "mark of the beast": their allies were merely their victims. She renewed the old relations of easy familiarity with the maternal aunt; indeed, she greatly increased their cordiality; for hitherto she had usually to avoid the maternal aunt, and had dismissed her from calculation as a lady of no importance.

The lady politician, who had been one of the foremost in the fight for Votes for Women, had staked her political all on the war: she had flouted the humanitarians and reformers, and had come out as a coercionist opponent of the working class. She had started a crusade to save Britain from the Shop Stewards, and had even despatched her obedient mother to save Russia from the Revolution. Her crusades had missed fire, and she had failed to get into Parliament. She ought to have been the first woman to enter the portals of Wesminster; she had been preceded by one who was her inferior in every respect save wealth. It was her mission to be a political success; to have a career of meteoric brilliance, which would demonstrate that woman could be, in the political field, as in others, the equal of man. Her mental endowments and her already considerable services to the Lloyd George Coalition, entitled her at least to an immediate Under-Secretaryship. Cabinet rank should have followed swiftly, and the Premiership before many years had passed. She recognised that she was of a calibre fitting her for such office, and she had steeped herself in the appropriate traditions. To this end she had sacrificed all her principles; Her strong, clear brain assured her, beyond the possibility of doubt, that Socialism would benefit the majority of the population, and that the carcerism of the brilliant few was harmful, rather than helpful to the masses; but she thrust such knowledge behind her. It was her mission to be the successful woman politician; everything must be sacrificed to that. In this ambition she was not wholly selfish, or, at least, she thought she was not. She was still obsessed with the idea of sweeping away the obstacles standing in the way of the advancement of the clever members of her sex, and she told herself this was a worthy object.

Her ambitions had missed fire, and for the time being, she had abandoned them. Perhaps she would take them up again later; but, combined with a great capacity for exertion, she had also a great indolence in her character, and, for the present, she was content to drift inactively, employing her fine brain with little beyond her toilet, to which she gave great attention, and carrying on a superficial daily intercourse with a few people. The chit-chat of the maternal aunt, which at one time she regarded as an impossible waste of time, something not to be endured by an important person like herself, was no longer displeasing to her; and now she would drift into the aunt's house and spend long, half-somnolent hours there amid conversation to which she scarcely listened. In spite of a Socialist upbringing, she had acquired, during the fashionable high tide of the suffrage movement a desire for wealthy and aristocratic society. Luxurious surroundings, polished manners, the absence of strain and anxiety, to be found where money is plentiful, had become necessary to her comfort. She had grown to respect the successful and well-to-do, to despise the poor and unfortunate.

She was coldly mundane, with a touch of cynicism, born of the fact that she, who had been the much-adored centre of a dashing movement of wealthy, spirited and devoted adherents, had fallen into the background; and become almost a nobody.

The maternal aunt had come to her, proud and delighted, with the news that was being this evening retailed to Penman. As the wife of an employee at the Austrian Embassy, the maternal aunt was invited to the King's Garden Party. It was an honour that had never been vouchsafed to the lady politician. She had been received as a guest at the houses of the aristocratic rich; she had been acclaimed as a political genius by some of the most reactionary and exclusive branches of the nobility, but official recognition of this kind she had never had. Her record as a militant Suffragette, brilliant though it was, was too recent, and her championship of the rich and their war though both ardent and useful to them, had been a little too violent, a little too viciously extreme, to produce that impression of solid respectability necessary to recognition by the last citadel of Capitalism and its snobberies—the Court. Moreover, she had no fortune, no settled assured position: these are serious drawbacks in the world of social snobbery.

Therefore, whilst this maternal aunt of hers—this obscure fluffy-headed chatterer—was coming to her to ask her advice as to what to wear and what to do at the King's Garden Party, she herself had always been excluded from it. The maternal aunt, whose very existence she had banished from her mind during the war, had won this coveted honour, because she was the wife of a despised alien employed at the Austrian Embassy.

Continued on page 6.

MAX HAVELAAR.

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies. **By MULTATULI**

IV.

All seemed to breathe peace for Max Havelaar and his wife, Tine. It was a trifle to submit to the privations which are inevitable at a place in the interior with but little communication. As no bread was baked in the neighbourhood they had no bread. They could have had it brought from Serang, but the expense of transport was too high. Max knew as well as others, that there were many means of having bread brought to Rankas-Betong without payment, but unpaid labour, that Indian cancer, was horrible in his eyes. There was much at Lebak that could be got for nothing, through power, but in such cases Max and his wife willingly endured privation. But one circumstance at Lebak cause pain to Tine: little Max could not play in the garden, because there were so many snakes. When she complained of this to Havelaar he promised the servants a reward for every snake they could catch, but on the first day he paid so many premiums that he was obliged to withdraw his promise for the future. It was necessary to say that little Max must remain in the house and forecourt, and in spite of this precaution Tine was always anxious, especially in the evening, for it is well known that snakes often creep into the houses for warmth and hide themselves in the bedrooms. If Havelaar could have had his estate cleared of weeds the snakes would still have showed themselves in his garden from time to time, but not in their present large numbers. The houses of persons entrusted with power in the interior are built on common lands, if one may so describe any land in a country where the Government expropriates all. Suffice it to say that the grounds do not belong to the official inhabitant, who would neither buy nor rent grounds, the maintenance of which would be too costly for him. So luxuriant is the growth of plants that, if not carefully tended, the grounds degenerate in a few weeks into a wilderness; yet such grounds are seldom, if ever, neglected; the traveller is often struck by the beautiful park that surrounds the Resident's house. No functionary in the interior has an income large enough for him to pay fair wages for the labour entailed in keeping the grounds in order: yet to impress the population, which attaches much importance to externals, it is necessary that the grounds be well-kept. How is it to be done? In most places the administrators have at their disposal the labour of persons condemned to hard labour elsewhere, and, for political reasons, send away from their own districts for the period of their punishment. Such persons were not, however, sent to the Residency of Bantam, and even where they were located the number of other tasks also expected of them made it impossible for them to do all the work necessary in the grounds of the Resident. The summoning of labourers to perform feudal tasks is therefore resorted to. The Regent, or Demang, who receives the summons from the Resident, hastens to obey it, for he knows that a Resident who thus abuses his power will find it difficult afterwards to punish a native chief for the same fault. The error of the one, therefore, becomes the passport of the other.

The persons whom Havelaar had lawfully at his disposal could only keep clear of weeds and underwood a very small part of the grounds close to the house. Havelaar wrote to the Resident asking that this should be remedied, either by the Government supplying him with paid workers, or sending persons under sentence of hard labour to work in the Residency of Bantam, as elsewhere. His requests were refused with the observation that he had the right to put to work in his grounds persons condemned by him, as a magistrate, to "labour on the public roads." Havelaar was aware of this, but he had never made use of this right at Rankas-Betong, or at Amboina, at Menado, or at Natal, where he had also been stationed. It shocked him to have his garden kept in order as a fine for small errors, and he had often asked himself how the Government could thus tempt the functionary to punish small excusable offences, not in proportion to the offences themselves, but in proportion to the condition, or extent of his estate. The very idea that he who was punished even justly, might think that self interest had dictated the sentence, made him give preference to the otherwise objectionable punishment of confinement.

We have seen that Havelaar's predecessor had often spoken to the Resident about the abuses prevailing in Lebak, and of how little use this had been. When Havelaar was staying in the Resident's house in Serang, he also had spoken of the matter, and had received the answer that this was "everywhere the case in a greater or lesser degree." Havelaar could not deny this; but he thought it no reason to tolerate abuses, above all when one is appointed to oppose them. Moreover, he knew that the abuses were on a very large scale. The Resident replied to this, that the abuses were still worse in Tjiromien, another Assistant Residency of Bantam. Havelaar's predecessors had contented themselves with *speaking* to the Resident about the abuses; they had not presented written reports upon them. Their intentions were good, but they seemed to have been afraid of the displeasure of their superiors. A Resident does not like to receive a written report that remains in his archives as a proof that he was acquainted with this or that abuse. Verbal complaints from the Assistant Residents generally brought about a conversation with the Regent, who denied all, and asked for proof. The men who had had the boldness to complain were summoned, and creeping before the feet of the Regent, they begged pardon: "No, that buffalo had not been taken away without payment, they certainly believed that double its value would be paid for it. No, they had not been summoned from their fields to labour without payment in the Regent's "sawaks"; they knew very well that the Regent would pay them afterwards handsomely for their labour. They had complained in a moment of groundless malice—they had been mad and begged that they should be punished for such excessive disrespect."

This spared the Resident the disagreeable task of troubling the Government with an unfavourable report. The rash accusers were punished by caning, the Regent triumphed, and the Resident returned to the capital with the agreeable consciousness of having again managed so nicely.

What was the Assistant Resident to do when next day new complainants announced themselves, and the same plaintiffs returned, and revoked their revocation? Must he again insert this affair in his memoranda, speak to the Resident about it a second time, see the same comedy played, run the same risk, and pass at last for a stupid, malicious person, continually producing complaints that were to be rejected every time as unfounded? And what became of those poor plaintiffs after they returned to their village, under the power of the district or village chief, whom they had accused as the agent of the Regent? What became of those poor men? He who could fly, fled. But not everyone could fly. The man whose corpse floats down the river in the morning, after having asked the foregoing evening, secretly, hesitatingly and anxiously for an audience of the Assistant Resident, he needs flight no more. Perhaps it may be deemed philanthrophy to have spared him a further life by consigning him to immediate death. The torture was spared him that awaited him on his return to the village, and the stripes that awaited everyone who could for a moment think himself above the brute, the punishment for him who in a moment of folly had thought there was justice in the country, and that the Assistant Resident had the will and the power to maintain justice.

Havelaar was acquainted with all this. Do you understand how he was perplexed with doubt, not of what he had to do, but of how to act? He had commenced with moderation; he had spoken to the Regent as an elder brother. The Regent sent this servant to him to thank him for the benevolence of his words. Havelaar would save, restore, or destroy. He had sympathy with the Regent, he knew how want of money oppresses and leads to humiliation. He tried to delay all severity, and to try once more, and still once more, what could be done by gentle means. He went further than kindness; he continually advanced money to the Regent on his own responsibility; he retrenched in his own family that he might assist the Resident with what he could still spare of his income.

One morning the Controller Verbrugge came to Havelaar.

"This is a difficult matter, he said, very difficult."

A few years before a prison had been built at Rankas-Betong. The functionaries in the interior of Java understand the art of erecting buildings worth thousands for a few hundred pounds, because they use unpaid labour. This gains them the reputation for capacity and zeal, though regulations exist forbidding them to employ unpaid labour.

Many new buildings had now to be built in Rankas-Betong, and those who were instructed to prepare the plans had asked Havelaar for information on the local rates of wages and the prices of materials. Havelaar had charged the Controller to prepare an exact estimate without looking back to the methods of his predecessors. Verbrugge had fulfilled this duty, and the result was a great increase upon the estimates of a few years back.

A BIT OF MODERN NEWS FROM NOWHERE.

By M.I.C.P.

[Just lately, the Czar of Krspqqbon informed me secretly that prophetic gifts were not monopolised by the editor of a well-known London weekly. Hence it is that I beg to present the following inspirations to the readers of the "Dreadnought." It must be remembered that, since the tribal feud between Curzon—I mean Curzon—and Northcliff, it has been increasingly difficult for me to get accurate mesages from his Majesty the Czar of Krspqqbon, since that country lies between the East of the West and the West of the East. Hence I have to fall back on inspirational work. However, let it be understood that this work is not wholly the result of a heat wave in the Author's brain. I dedicate it to the earnest and thoughtful rank-and-filer of the Labour Party.—"M.I.C.P."]

Date: March, 1929.

Scene: Buckingham Palace. In a large room containing a horseshoe table. In the middle sits Justice Sankey, as Chairman of the Conference. On his right sit: Messrs. A. Henderson, H. Smith, D. Lloyd George, S. Webb, L. C. Money and W. Churchill (representing Socialists).

On the left of the Chairman sit: Messrs. A. Macmanus, E. S. Pankhurst, J. T. Walton-Newbold, W. Paul, A. Inkpin and J. L. Garvin (representing Communists).

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, as you already know, we are gathered here in consequence of the special Act passed last week, constituting us a royal Commission. You will remember that the Parliamentary power was constitutionally assumed by the Labour Party, as the result of last year's General Election. The Government in its pursuit of a sane policy, nationalised the industries. This roused the Communists, as well as the reactionaries. But the latter, you will remember, were crushed out a few months ago, they agreed to be satisfied with a six per cent. interest on their nationalised capital. But there was one hitch to this peaceful solution—the workers in the various unions allege that they are no better off, as the interest of six per cent. is such a terrific burden on them, that they—through the Communist Party—propose to confiscate the nationalised capital. They have, however, agreed to abide by the decision of this Commission. The Right Honourable Mr. Henderson, for the Government, has declared that they, too, will abide by the decision of the Commission. We shall conclude our sittings in two months' time; and we shall take the evidence of over 150 witnesses. I hope, therefore, that all the comrades will do their best not to waste time unnecessarily.

I now call upon Comrade Winston Churchill to go into the witness-box. (W. Churchill goes into the witness-box.)

GARVIN: As a former believer in the capitalistic mode of production, and a prominent member of the Cabinet, during the Anglo-American War, you will admit that the interest extracted by the robber-class rendered it impossible for our people to live decently?

CHURCHILL: Yes. But that is past, and even ancient history.

GARVIN: You will admit that whereas under the shameless and free exploitation which we used to support, the stolen wealth was less than £800,000,000 a year, but that under nationalisation the booty, far exceeds that amount?

CHURCHILL: Yes. But now production has also increased, you know.

LLOYD GEORGE: As a true Socialist, you recognise that robbery is immoral?

CHURCHILL: Yes. That is exactly why I oppose confiscation.

MACMANUS: Considering that the industries of the country consist of railways, ships, factories, machinery, etc., and that while these were being produced by the workers, the capitalists were enjoying themselves at the Riviera and Monte Carlo, you will admit that they have been produced by the application of labour to raw material, they, therefore, morally belong to the workers?

CHURCHILL (Shudders): N-N-Y-Yes. B-But . . . (still proceeding).

Extract from "The Communist" of January, 1930.

"THE NEXT STEP."

"The country is in a ferment. After the solemn promise by the Government to abide by the decision of the Sankey Commission, the Premier last night told the House, 'That the Government would not accept the majority report.' The Communist members, led by Comrade Macmanus, left the House in a body. The Government has ordered mobilisation, and machine guns to protect the Downing Street barricades. The French and the German proletarian revolutions of a few years ago are apparently repeating themselves here—and all because a set of unscrupulous and treacherous so-called Socialists will not be true to their own pledged words.

Extract from *The Daily Herald* of the same date.

"UNITY."

"No earthly good is done by attacking personalities. Our Communist friends must realise that the working class movement of to-day is not organised on the best lines, and the failure to completely emancipate the worker is entirely due to that. We sincerely hope that our friends will not resort to violence. It is not a day of threats or sectional action—as we have always maintained. But we still hope. Should *we* not see the emancipation of the workers, our children will. We fail to rise again. We hope that the tiny active minority within the Communist Party—who, by the way, are most jewish anarchists and seditionists—will be constrained by the saner elements, from leading this happy country into chaos and disorder . . ."

Extract from the *Morning Post* of the same date.

"TAKE ACTION."

"The blackguardly conduct of the Government leaves us Communists with no choice. Words are useless. It is now time for action. . . . Long live Soviet Britain! Long live the International Proletarian Revolution!"

Extract from "The Workers' Dreadnought" of the same date.

"BURIED A SECOND TIME—SANKEY!"

Workers' Dreadnought
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INDIA.

The Moplah rising seems to be the most serious disturbance that has taken place in India for a long time, although unrest has of late been growing apace there. The hoisting by the Moplahs of their green flag of Independence, is significant, and shows that their objective is not the solution of purely superficial and detailed grievances, but an attack on British rule itself. The Moplahs are not attempting a Social Revolution; they are not fighting for the Communist brotherhood of mankind; but they are trying to free themselves from the alien domination of British capitalism.

The break-up of the British Empire may probably be a necessary stage in the break-up of the capitalist system; therefore, all the efforts of the subject peoples of the Empire to free themselves from its control, have a claim to our sympathy and encouragement. The Moplah rising will doubtless be quelled by the British authorities without much difficulty, but it is another evidence of a growing resentment in India, which may in time become formidable. If it be true, as alleged, that Sepoys of the British Government's Indian police and military have taken part in the rising, and have supplied British arms and munitions to the rebels, they have started a movement that is highly important and may have early and widespread consequences.

JAPAN—BRITAIN—AMERICA.

Our readers should watch the alliance manœuvres between Japan, Britain and America. Japan and Britain are at present allied, whilst the relations between Japan and America have long been embittered. An alliance between Japan and America would have many advantages for both sides. Whether the alliance should include Britain is another question. If Britain were edged out the next war might result.

Communists are constantly considering whether capitalism is steadily moving to its inevitable collapse, or whether it is temporarily recovering from the shock of the late war, to continue in being until the next war. In calculating the future the development of the two great capitalist rivals, Britain and America, are important factors to consider.

WILL POPLAR COUNCILLORS GO TO GAOL?

Our good wishes will go with the Poplar Labour Councillors if they go to prison. To stand to one's guns, in these days of compromise, is a good thing to do, even if the issue be a minor one. Poplar Councillors refuse to levy the L.C.C. rate on the ratepayers of their borough, because the poor rate of the borough, owing to acute unemployment, is too high for its poor population to bear. The Poplar scale of relief is not extraordinarily generous: it is lower than, for instance, those of Islington and Camberwell, and Poplar Guardians lately lowered it because the cost of living is supposed to have fallen.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment remaining acute plaintive efforts are made to secure increased doles of relief.

Cumberland iron-ore miners have sent a deputation to London to ask for an increase in the unemployment dole, and Shoreditch unemployed are marching to the local guardians to ask them to give 15s. each instead of 5s. each for a man and wife, and 7s. 6d. for a child instead of 6d. in cash, and 3s. in kind. So the struggle continues for shabby palliatives.

Band yourselves together, oh, unemployed, to secure a new system which will give you the right to work and the right to live!

MORE WHITEWASH.

Gompers, the reactionary leader of the American Federation of Labour, calls on the labour organisations to try to get themselves represented at the Disarmament Conference of the Capitalist powers. He has appealed to the President of the United States with this object, and President Harding has replied that he will consider this "very practical suggestion." The Labour Leaders assisted capitalism to whitewash its war and secure the willing aid of the workers in prosecuting it. Now certain Labour Leaders are as eager to assist capitalism to whitewash its peace, and to pretend that it is working towards disarmament, whilst the workers, in order to get any kind of job, gratefully continue making munitions for the little wars that still continue.

FAILURE TO SEE THE POINT.

The *Daily Herald* says: "Toleration in India has never been tried."

The phrase is curiously inappropriate; surely it is not for the alien intruders to "*tolerate*" the natives, but for the natives to tolerate us!

The *Daily Herald* further condemns the methods of the Moplahs and their bloodshed, which it believes will be futile, and says the struggle is "unnecessary."

Once again "Labour's Own Daily" has failed to see the point. The Indians do not like British rule, they want to rule their own country: Britain will not set them free, so they fight. Platitudes about violence being wrong will not convince the British raj that he should clear out.

The *Daily Herald* fears the widening of "the gulf between the British Government and the Indian peoples."

The Indian peoples wish the gulf to be as wide as the continent of Europe.

JOHN TAMLYN: COMMUNIST.

By J BASSETT.

John Tamlyn, Communist, was the very essence of my old College motto—"*Esse quam videri*": "To *be* rather than to *seem*," this was John Tamlyn. His passing is to those who knew him best and loved him—and to society generally, though it does not yet realise it—a calamity, an irreparable loss.

His teachings: these are well-known to the large gatherings in Plymouth and Burnley, who week by week eagerly rallied around him to listen to his pungent orations. Like "Paddy" Byrne, the pedagogue of Lissoy, whom Oliver Goldsmith so faithfully sketched in the "Deserted Village," he—

". . . taught his little school.
In arguing, too, the parson own'd his skill.
. . . . . .
Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around—
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew!"

Yes, John Tamlyn was small in stature, but a man with a great courage and an iron will—a modern Cromwell, in some respects—a man with a big heart, who had a grand message to impart to suffering humanity—the message of Communism! Tamlyn's view-point was through a grinding, degenerating modern Capitalism.

Above all things he was a fighter, besides being a scholar and a thinker. Economics and sociology were his forte, but Roman and Greek literature, art and music, formed a fair proportion of his wide knowledge. From Telemachus the son of Ulysses to the Gracchi, from Demosthenes to Cicero, from Homer to Lycurgus, from Plato to Socrates on to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, John Tamlyn was always at home, in the meantime closely following the writings of all schools of thought.

And what delightful original thoughts he would give forth from the plays and poems of Shakespeare. He seemed to be a re-incarnation of that wonderful playwright, and could get more out of the teaching of the Bard of Avon than one might hear from the most profound University professors academically lecturing on the same theme.

An engineer by profession, John Tamlyn, an erstwhile follower of Charles Bradlaugh, later studied for Holy Orders. It was at this time that he studied the Greek language, of which he had such a good knowledge. But there was not sufficient breathing space in orthodox theology for him, so he struck out on his own.

Tamlyn's fight for the right of free speech—over which he suffered imprisonment on two occasions—in Manor Street, Stonehouse, will never be forgotten. It was a long, bitter fight in which at the end the police were ignominiously defeated, thanks to those who were incarcerated in H.M. prison along with Tamlyn, namely, Jack Parker (two terms), Tom Rennolls and Fred Edwards. Dear old Jack Williams, I remember, came down from London and sounded the death knell!

. . . . . .

To pass on. What means this long procession? Whence cometh it? Whither goeth it? This long line of stern and determined men are those who respected John Tamlyn, and had come from far and near to bid him farewell—to see all that now remained of him laid at rest. No more, unhappily, will the market-place enshrine him, for Mother Earth has claimed him.

John Tamlyn, it can be justly claimed, suffered and died for the emancipation of his fellow-man. He underwent imprisonment, privation and ignominy, yet fought on and on to the very end, bearing the Red Flag onward and upward, ever exclaiming—"Excelsior!"

It seems only fitting that John Tamlyn's last contribution should be to "The Workers' Dreadnought," a paper he always read, admired and recommended.

SEX AND PROLETARIAN CULTURE.

Dear Editor,—A subject that seems to have been neglected in the various working-class curricula throughout the country is that of sex.

Sexual science is so important in its relation to social science, that its treatment merits greater attention than a hasty and blushing paragraph tucked in at the tail-end of a biology or physiology course, which is the bourgeois way of dealing with it.

The common people, having looked misery and starvation in the face, having been brought up amid conditions of hardship and squalor, should not be the ones to shirk so vital an issue. It is only false modesty, based on a vicious outlook on life that has prevented the bourgeois educationalists from introducing sex study into the schools. But to the pure everything is pure, and it is not merely an ignorance of French that makes our ruling caste spurn the hackneyed motto: "Honi soit qui mal y pense."

Sexual science, as such, should be taught as clearly and frankly as possible. With the young ones, whose education in this matter should begin between four and five years, simple words and phrases should be used, and the whole sexual process be illustrated by references to flowers and animals. It is only by an open teaching of the sacred love of sex, that the child can be brought up to respect and wonder at the remarkable functions of Nature. Left to pick up this essential knowledge by means of smutty stories, dirty words, and clandestine references to the Bible, the child grows up with a completely distorted outlook on things sexual. This would, and often does, automatically adjust itself as the child grows older and realises by experience the respect that must be paid to Nature. But more than often, by the reticence of the parents, who decribe all things relating to sex as "wicked," "naughty," or by some other such asinine adjective, and who refer to the most beautiful work of art in the world—the human body—as "indecent," the child drops into secret bad habits which can only be countered by vigorous enlightenment as to their danger. Punishment by the parents is criminal. Help, sympathy, and KNOWLEDGE are the remedies. So-called "innocence" must be scrapped because it presupposes that sex-knowledge is sinful. But as things stand at present, "ignorance" would be a more accurate term.

Sexual science will be one of the subjects taught in the proletarian schools in addition to history, geography, etc. One could suggest no better basis for a text-book on sex than Scharlieb's "Youth and Sex." In spite of Mr. Wells's report of apparent laxity in Moscow schools through co-education, the moral result would be favourable, provided it were started from the very commencement and continued until the completion of a child's education. Mixed bathing should be introduced, and in the summer the children should wear as little as possible. This would gradually create an æsthetic appreciation for the beauty of the human body, which could not but have a beneficial effect on the artistic training of the children. Plenty of light, fun, and healthy exercise, together with an appropriate sex education, are bound to result in a generation of young ones totally free from the vice and mental distortion with which so many of our present-day children are blighted. But before we can arrive at this stage, adults must also be educated in sexual science. Beginning with Edward Carpenter's "Love's Coming of Age," studying the teachings of Malthus, and, in the advanced stage, Stopes's "Married Love," the adults would go through a course that would adequately equip them for the task of sexually educating their offspring, which, like Charity, should begin at home. Courses in Motherhood, which do not usually come under the sex curriculum, should be arranged to coincide with the sex lessons, because the former deal with a practical development of genital evolution.

When we have established proletarian rest-gardens and cafés instead of sordid "pubs" and gin-palaces, when we have peoples' theatres and concert-halls to replace trashy music-halls, when we have boys and maidens "fleet of foote," and with supple limbs gleaming through silken raiment, instead of pale, half-starved ragged little beings—when we have sex education—then will the nation be one of strength, health and beauty. But the first step to sexual education is independent working-class education, and the ultimate aim of the latter is a Communist Soviet Republic.

ERIC VERNEY.

The Secretary of the National Alliance of Employers and Employed says: "It is largely because of the mutual growing respect of the two sides of industry that recent wage cuts have been accompanied by so few strikes. . . . There is a growing sense of sympathy."

The worker's present "respect" for his employer is born of the difficulty of finding another.

THE WORKERS' OPPOSITON.

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

[The "Arbiter Zeitung," from which we translate this article, says: "Comrade Kollontai is a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. In connection with the debate on the Russian Trade Unions she handed to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party at its tenth sitting in the beginning of March last a brochure for publication on the 'Working-class Organisation in Soviet Russia.' This the Central Committee refused. The brochure was next printed illegally, and was only later approved by the sitting of the Party; but at the same time its distribution amongst the delegates was forbidden."]

Social Strata in Soviet Russia.

What is the meaning of "Workers' Opposition?"

Is it necessary for the interests of our party and the world revolution or, on the contrary, harmful, does it dismember the party, is it "politically dangerous," as Trotsky said lately during the discussion on the Trade Union question?

What is the Workers' Opposition?

In order to answer this question, it must be determined, firstly, of whom the Workers' Opposition consists, and how it arose; secondly, wherein lies the ground for the differences between the leading comrades in our party centres and the Workers' Opposition.

It is very characteristic that the W.O. consists of the most advanced part of the organised proletariat amongst the Communists. The opposition is composed almost without exception of trade union members, as witness the signatures under the theses of the opposition on the role of the industrial unions. What are T.U. members? They are workers, they are that part of the advance guard of the Russian proletariat that bore on its shoulders all the burdens of the revolutionary fight, that did not scatter itself over the most diverse Soviet institutions, that did not lose its connection with the mass of the workers, but has remained in closest touch, with them. To be a T.U. member, to maintain a strong living tie with the union, that is to say, with the workers of one's branch of industry, is in these stormy years during which the centre of social-political life lay outside the Trade Unions was not easy, not altogether simple. The great waves of the Revolution carried away the best, strongest, most active elements of the industrial proletariat, flung some on the Front, some into Soviet institutions, others behind office desks with mountains of papers, calculations and propositions.

Something Wrong.

The T.U.'s have become depopulated. Only workers who are exceptionally strongly imbued with proletarian class consciousness, only the pick of the advancing revolutionary class that was too strong to become corrupted through power, little groups that did not take part in the race for a career in the Soviets and in the Soviet bureaucracy, are intimately bound up with the masses, with the workers, with that same substratum from which they themselves originated, and with which, in spite of occupying "high" positions in the Soviet, they have not lost their organised connection. As soon as the situation on the battle front became quieter, and as the centre of gravity was shifted more on to the side of economic reconstruction, these typical, incorruptible men, the inspired and trusty representatives of the proletarian class, hurried to throw off their uniform, to lay on one side their portfolios of bureaucratic papers, to answer the dumb cry of their class-brothers, the factory workers, the millions of Russian proletarians, who led even in the Workers' Soviet Republic the miserable existence of inmates of a house of correction. . . . With their class-instinct these comrades, who stand at the head of the Workers' Opposition, understood that there was something wrong. They understood that during the three years' Revolution we had indeed secured the apparatus of Soviet government, that we had assured the principle of the Workers' and Peasant-workers' Republic, but that the working-class, as a class, as a single indivisible social whole with common and similar class demands, tasks and interests, and therefore with a common, distinct class-politic, played in the Soviet Republic a role that was always narrowing, was always less in a position to influence the measures of its own government, had an ever smaller hand in directing politics and work, and controlled in an ever diminishing degree the ideas of the central organ of the proletarian state.

The Social Layer of Party Leaders.

Who, at the outset of the Revolution, would have spoken of upper and lower strata? The masses, the working masses, and the party leaders, were one. The hopes that roused the lower strata to life and the fight, found their clearest echo their plainest and most scientific formulation amongst the party leadership. A contrast between upper and lower layers was unthinkable. To-day this contrast clearly exists: no agitation, no terroristic methods will succeed in concealing from the consciousness of the great masses the rise of a new, characteristic social layer of Soviet party-leaders.

Trade Unions and Workers' Opposition.

The trade union members, the persisting nucleus of the Workers' Opposition, understood or, to put it better, felt this with their healthy class-instinct. The first thing they did was to restore the tie with the lower layers, the entry into their class organisation the trades unions. The trades unions are the organisms that during these three years were least exposed to the destructive influence of interests in opposition and foreign to those of the proletariat (the interests of the peasantry and of the bourgeoisie that adapted itself to the Soviet system); influences that crippled our Soviet institutions, that drew our politics from the straight path into the bog of compromise. Therefore the W.O. consists before all, of proletarians who are still bound closely to the anvil or the mine, are bone of the bone, flesh of the flesh, of the working-class. The Workers' Opposition distinguishes itself by this, that in it there are no great, prominent leaders as one is accustomed to understand the word. It has sprung like every healthy, untrammelled, needed movement that is founded on the life of the working-class, from the midst of the great nethermost layer of the people; and spreads spontaneously all over Soviet Russia, even in those parts where the origin of the opposition was unknown.

"We had no inkling that in Moscow there were opposing conceptions of the role of the trades unions, and that discussions were taking place thereon," said a delegate from Siberia at the Miners' Congress. "But these questions which occupy you, also occupy us." Behind the Workers' Opposition stand the proletarian masses. It is the part of our industrial proletariat that is united in its class demands, that is, class-conscious and class-constant, that part that believes that the great creative power of the proletariat in the sphere of the upbuilding of Communism cannot be exchanged for the officialism of a formal dictatorship of the working-class.

The higher we mount the stages of Soviet and party official positions, the fewer adherents of the opposition we find; the lower we descend amongst the masses, the more the platform of the working-class opposition finds acceptance in their ranks.*

Party Leaders must ask why the Masses oppose them.

This is characteristic, significant; the leadng grades of the party must pay attention to it. If the masses break away from the heads, if a gulf, a split exists between the leaders and the lower ranks, it denotes that something is wrong with the former, especially when the masses do not keep silence, but think, come forward, defend themselves, maintain their watchwords. The heads can only divert the masses from the straightforward historical path that leads to Communism if the latter are silent, submit, and follow their leaders full of passive trust. This is what happened in 1914 at the commencement of the world-war, when the workers believed in their leaders and decided "they" know best. Our instinctive rebellion against war is deceiving us, we must hold our peace, crush down the rebellion in our hearts and listen to our betters. But when the masses are aroused, when their ideas begin to work, when they criticise, when they persistently vote against their beloved leaders, often actually suppressing their personal sympathy for them, then the thing becomes serious. Then it is the task of the party not to pass over these differences in silence, not to set down the opposition as if it came from little insignificant ill-established groups, but to examine with all earnestness into the depths of the question, where and wherein lie the grounds of these differences, and what is the will of the working-class, the pillars of Communism, whose creation it is.

I repeat, in conclusion, the Workers' Opposition is the most advanced section of the proletariat which has never severed its vital connection with the organised workers in the trades unions, and has not been dispersed amongst the Soviet institutions.

* An example of this is the dissension over the various platforms; the superior division of the Communists voted for one or other of the platforms of the centre, the mass of the Communists, the workers, for the platform of the Workers' Opposition.

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.

THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S GROUPS.

By T. V.

The proletarian child is the easiest prey of this dying economic system, because he is unable to defend himself against it. He is the most wretched proletarian, the weakest worker. He starves, he is ill, he is exploited.

Intellectually he is not so much neglected as physically. This society, which does not bother where he lives, or whether he has anything to eat, whether he is tired or ill; yet cares what the child thinks. It does not feed his hungry stomach, but it fills his head with ecclesiastical promises. The proletarian child of 9 to 12 years is already religious in feeling and an enemy of the "bad" Socialists, Communists and "Red" Bolshies.

This society's organs of spiritual oppression are working most successfully. They send ever new armies for the counter revolution from the proletarian children against the proletariat itself. Through the teachers they make it known that the bad Bolshies want to destroy this nice and good society, how good it is under the reign of "his Majesty" the king, and how kindly this good king and Government provide for us. They get from the clergymen lovely pictures and books with nice stories of bad people who were dissatisfied in this good world, and of good people who were contented both here and hereafter, when they received their reward.

And the child whose most magnificant characteristic is that he is always ready to fight for the great things in which he believes, gives himself, stands with glowing heart to the service of the dark powers which have made him believe in them.

We must rescue the child's spirit from the talons of the bourgeoisie. We must include the children in the revolutionary working class, from whence they come, to which they belong with body and soul. We must include them in this struggle against the capitalist system, in which their parents and brothers and sisters are fighting.

The bourgeoise throw the children out on to the streets. We will catch them on the streets, and there we must teach them. The streets are the exercising and fighting places of the Labour Movement.

We will include the children in the big International Demonstrations. And the ruling classes will be surprised to see the workers' demonstrations opened by singing, exalted children. When there is fighting between the workers and the servants of the bourgeoise, the child will see how the present system oppresses his father and brother.

The ruling classes have taken politics into the schools, and politics must remain there. Every proletarian child will fight the class struggle against the bourgeoise Holy days, Empire days, King's birthdays, Imperialist songs, and so on, and against corporal punishment and religious teaching. He will stand up fighting against his reactionary school friends. He will feel that he is fighting for the Workers' World.

In every school will arise a little group, firstly, of only half a dozen children, or even less, later, of a large and growing number. Presently we shall see two sets of children opposing each other as the adult do, fighting with, reason against reason, shoulder against shoulder. The Communist child will stand up for the proletarian morals, the proletarian right against his teacher and his school friends. He will criticise the falsifications of bourgeoise history and other subjects.

In the family (perhaps the unhappy worker's family) the child will discover how to open the minds of his parents to revolutionary Socialism and Communism.

The fighting child is in the very first rank of the Class Struggle. We Class Conscious Workers and Youth must teach the children. The Young Worker was yesterday himself a child; he stands nearest to the children. He can speak to them best. He must unite the children, teach them, play with them in the free air as well as in the schools. In the struggle with bourgeois ideas we shall arouse the collective spirit and Class Consciousness of the children.

We do not contemplate charities for the children, but everywhere where children are we must go to teach them the Class Struggle, and prepare them for the Revolution. We must found children's groups, arrange meetings, rambles, story evenings, help, teach the children. This task is waiting for us Communist Workers and Youths.

SOVIET RUSSIA
AS I SAW IT.
BY SYLVIA PANKHURST. PRICE 2s. 6D.
From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE, 152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

HOUSING.

By CHARLES B. JIMACK-WARWICK

Can you help the good Duke of Portland out of his dangerous ducal difficulty? It seems that owing to the country going to the proverbial dogs he fears he will be unable to keep going at his palatial mansion at Welbeck, Nottinghamshire; at any rate, as he told his timid tenants, those who come after him will be totally unable to keep the place open. The poor Duke will soon be on the streets (dukes in Russia can be very useful "on the streets," it is said), so keep your eyes open for a "To Let" notice at Welbeck!

Here, listen to this story of "An Out-of-Work's Home," taken from a daily paper: "A corrugated iron hut, 6 ft. square, 5 ft. high, and without any floor boarding." James Clewson, a workless slave, lived in it at Rotherham, and paid 6s. per week rent. The "bed" he and his little 8-year-old motherless daughter "slept" upon was an old door, covered with rags; the "home" was otherwise devoid of "furniture." These sordid details were discovered because this slum-slave was arrested for neglecting his child, and the magistrates sent him to jail for 4 months.

No Room to Live in Rural England.

It is not only in the cities that the workers are overcrowded. Conditions are still worse in the country. In Kerton, a Buckinghamshire village, there are no back entrances to many of the houses, and the closet-pails and the refuse have to be taken through the house. There are no drains. "In a two-roomed dwelling-place in the village a married couple and seven little children are living, and there is not a drain, backyard, or washhouse to it."

Take again Northumberland, the town of North Walbottle,—what do we find?—the same shortage, and the same slave conditions. A "hero" living there went to fight for the Duke of Northumberland's country, he returned to ——; well, let's look into *his* "home." "Nine human beings contrive to live in one room and an attic, without conveniences. The attic is reached by mounting a ladder leading to a trap-door in the roof of the kitchen." Sanitary arrangements here are simple and primitive. Twelve yards from the "cave" is a brick structure, which serves the purposes of "ashpit, closet, and coalshed. The ashpit is open and the closet is let into it." Nine human beings!—a war hero, his wife, their five children, and the man's old parents. In another place such as this one woman in the vicinity raised a family of 13 children (six of whom went, eventually, to fight for the Duke's land!)

This is typical of thousands of "homes" in this district. The landlord is known as the Throckley Coal Company, which is a sub-tenant of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland.

Overcrowding 43·6 per cent.

You very probably remember the Coal Commission (1919), where terrible revelations as to the miners' housing conditions were given. At that time, from the Government's own statistics, 259,633 persons in county Durham, or 28.5 of the population there, were found to be living in an overcrowded state. Can anyone wonder that "the general death-rate, the zymotic, infant mortality, and tuberculosis death-rates, are much higher in Durham than the average for the country?" "In the Leadgate district of the county the percentage of overcrowding is 43.6, and in the adjoining area of Annfield Plain it is only two per cent. less." At that time Dr. T. E. Hill, Durham County Medical Officer of Health, estimated that no fewer than 62,000 dwellings were needed to cope with the overcrowding. And as the years go by the need increases—yet, those in authority move as slowly as a hedge-mollusc in this vital matter, while the slaves who endure are not sufficiently enlightened to take the matter into their own hands to determine the conditions of their lives and their labour.

In 1919 the Registrar-General issued a report on housing conditions, and two years afterwards he finds it necessary to publish an explanation of his report. The explanation appeared in the *Times* of January 14th this year. He complains that his report has been "widely misinterpreted and misapplied." He said in 1919, "As the estimated population for 1919 is 700,000 in excess of the last Census, it would only require (apart from the replacement of defective houses) a net addition of 140,000 houses for the whole period 1911—1919 to maintain the 1911 average." The Registrar-General's chief complaint is that some people have used these figures in reference to conditions appertaining in 1921. As we Communists look at the matter, though we cannot be as cold as a governmental estimator or statistician, those figures mean tragedy upon tragedy to us workers, and the tragedies are justly to be laid at the portals of capitalism.

Capitalism did not supply the housing needs of those 660,000 people in 1919; and now, in 1921, when conditions are more acute, when the need is more urgent, capitalism still has no intention of supplying the people's needs. Those supposedly responsible nationally, and locally, for building matters, in order to make an appearance of doing things, tinker about first this way and that; we have a farcically tragic and insulting scheme of labour dilution in the building industry; and, locally, the urgent matter is left to private propertied concerns who move when they see sure of their move being profitable.

In 1919 Queen Mary visited parts of Brady Street, an eye-sore in Whitechapel, London. She was naturally shocked at the place; she'd have been more than shocked had she made a closer inspection than is possible to royalty. The affair caused some little stir at the time amongst the L.C.C. Bumble-Bees, who assured Mary and the public that the matter would be attended to. "It took them a whole year to draft a scheme, and to get it through the barbed-wire entanglements of public enquiries," says the *Star* of May 13th, 1921. That was over a year ago, and still Brady Street, 1921, is unchanged from Brady Street, 1919, and Brady Street "houses" 1,800 people. Brady Street is only one of the many small poverty-stricken, disease-breeding patches in London's industrial and proletarian districts.

80 per cent. of Scottish Miners live in one or two roomed houses.

In Scotland, amongst a mining population of 500,000, 80 per cent. endure existence in either one or two apartment houses. There we have pictures like this: "A wretched hovel, perhaps 10 feet by 12 feet square, in which a family of six to ten persons is huddled together. There is an absence of all, drainage, and the filth, etc. of each cottage is accumulated before the door; indeed, there is rarely any other deposit for filth except the entrance to the dwelling."

This description is by a Government Inspector, published in 1840! 1840—yes, and after 81 years there has been little change, the description still holds good.

The last Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland bore out the infamy; it stated that "in some areas houses built for miners more than 120 years ago continue to be inhabited." The village in the mining areas of Fifeshire, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, and the Lothians consists in the main of long monotonous "rows," built back to back, and with the windows looking out on to a dead wall, the frame of a colliery, or a mountain of dirty black refuse." The streets are frequently like "quagmires," the houses, consequently, cannot be kept clean, no matter how much the miners' women might be domestic slaves. The "dry middens" are communal—three to a row.

So one might go on describing tragic details. The first Government Commission reported on housing conditions in Scotland in 1885, then in 1909; it was only after repeated requests by the Scottish Miners' Federation that conditions were again enquired into and reported on in 1912. The Commission sat on till 1914. Then the war to fight for the landlord's country which maintained such conditions as part of its hidden national prosperity; the war—everything was snowed under to the tune of National Unity—the report of the Scottish Housing Commission was kept unpublished until 1917.

Slums in beautiful Scotland! Our school geography books tell us nothing of them; our school histories do not tell us the sordid truth about the eviction of the peasantry in order that deer forests could be created upon their lands to give the pleasure of hunting to a few parasites. Deer forests—one-fifth of Scotland is given over to deer forests, apart from other "hunting grounds." There are 300 such forests, covering between 3½ and 4 million acres of land. We pass on, let us just remark on Glasgow. There are 10,000 insanitary houses in Glasgow, and apart from such, the city is in need of more than 50,000 new dwellings.

Commission follows Commission, and terrible are the industrial tragedies reported upon, but acute interest and proletarian revolutionary action hang in abeyance; after labour's fervid revolutionary meetings, nothing is done. Why?

On March 17th, 1919, the last Coal Commission finished taking evidence about the miners' lives. The Labour Correspondent of the *Daily News and Leader* then gave statistics from Mr. John Robertson, Chairman of the Scottish Union of Mine-workers. "In Hamilton, Lanarkshire," he said, "27,000 out of a population of 38,000 live in one or two roomed houses." "In Wishaw 28.5 per cent. of the population live in one-roomed houses. There are 2,768 persons living more than five in a room; 1,2377 more than six in a room, and 180 more than eight in a room. In some houses a family of nine live in one room, and there are houses in which three men, one woman, and two children lived in one room." But capital remains unmoved. Profit is satisfied; Christian respectability is apathetic, and the slaves are too ignorant, it seems, to budge.

The recent census revealed terrible conditions of overcrowding in industrial and rural areas. In my sorrowful slum city of Manchester, 40 to 50 thousand people are "living" in lodgings. Everyone seems to "take in" lodgers, as much to help pay the exorbitant rents as anything else, and the lodging-rents in turn have become exorbitant. A census enumerator, writing to the *Manchester Evening News* for June 21st, 1921, said: "Little has been done in recent years to clear away property that is uninhabitable. The famine in houses has been against work of this kind, and as a result the evils of overcrowding in the city has increased many fold." He writes, too, of the dire effect this state of affairs must have upon the rising generation.

78 per cent. in two-roomed houses.

Let us consider some statistics on the mortality and disease in some of the congested districts we have referred to. In 1919, in some parishes in Lanarkshire, out of 218 cases of tuberculosis, 78 per cent. were found in one or two roomed houses. From 1891 to 1910, out of 188,531 children born, 22,279, or over 110 per 1,000 died before reaching the age of 12 months.

Comrades, fellow slaves, we have searched for houses, and found many—all full—over full. Many grand houses are built for Lords and their ilk by Dubbs and Jugginses. The poor Prince, when he returns from his £25,000 trip to India, will look for a house to settle down in, preferably near London. We might mention, in passing, in case his mother has forgotten to say anything about it, that every house in Brady Street is full, and there are no empty houses for the workers to be found in Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, Poplar, Bow, Bermondsey and St. Pancras in general. Perhaps the Duke of Portland could oblige!

Let it always be understood, then, that even if houses are built under the landlord system, they are, primarily, built for profit, not for mere human use!

Some day, free folk will build grand, beautiful houses surrounded by beautiful gardens; and in the houses, everywhere, utility with beauty and comfort—scientifically conceived and created—will go hand in hand.

ANOTHER AMERICAN FRAME-UP.

Two Italian Labour Organisers convicted of Murder.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti have lately been convicted of murder at Redham, Massachusetts, U.S.A. They were accused of killing two men, the "paymaster" and "guard" of the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company, South Braintree.

In such cases the prosecution in U.S.A. usually makes a great parade of the fact that the accused men are "Reds," but in this case the prosecution tried to avoid such evidence, and it was the defence which brought it forward to explain those actions of the accused which the prosecution alleged to be suspicious.

Identification was the question on which the case turned. Practically all the prosecution's identifying witnesses were discredited, and some were shown to have made statements at variance with those they swore to in Court. Many credible witnesses testified that Sacco was in Boston on the date of the murder, and Vanzetti in Plymouth selling fish.

In summing up the Judge, Webster Thayer, exorted the jury to show "loyalty to Government," and to "seek courage in your deliberations as did the American soldier boy as he fought and gave up his life on the battlefield of France." He said the accused showed "consciousness of guilt, either as murderers or as slackers and radicals."

The defence will present on November 1st an appeal for a new trial. A defence committee has been organised, which sets out to rouse America to save these two men from the electric chair.

RED INTERNATIONAL.

A conference will be held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, Saturday, October 15th, 3 p.m., to hear Tom Mann's Report of the Red Trade Union International Congress in Moscow. Branches are invited to send delegates. The fee is 2s. per delegate.

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.—*Continued from p. 2*

But the lady politician was easy-going and complacent. During the war she had indignantly repudiated an offer to communicate with the maternal aunt; now she obligingly advised her as to the dress she should wear at the Garden Party, where she should buy it, and what she ought to pay.

The lady politician lived beyond her income in the matter of dress; the maternal aunt, the mother of five children, compelled by a prudent husband to remain economical, had hitherto either made her own clothes, or purchased bargains at the "Sales." But for the King's Garden Party, even a prudent husband will permit a little extravagance.

There had been a foolish little discussion between the alien's wife and the bereaved mother to whom Penman was paying his visit of duty and respect, as to whether one kisses the King's hand at his Garden Party, and how the ceremony is performed. The alien's wife who used once to harangue this quieter elder sister of hers, was now brimming over with excitement at the prospect of kissing the hand of the King.

"I should bite it," said the mother, bitter with grief at the loss of her only son.

THE TRIAL OF MALATESTA.

From LE LIBERTAIRE

On Wednesday, July 29th, commenced the pleadings in the case against Malatesta, Borghi and two other Comrades, who had been set free provisionally.

An extraordinary preparation of forces had been expected, and it was necessary for the defence to protest in order that the public might be admitted to the trial. The indictment described "Errico Malatesta as still young and enthusiastic in spite of his 67 years."

Our Comrade made the following statement, amongst other things: "I have undergone punishment at the hands of the law. My story is a long one, because I am no longer young; this very day is the 55th anniversary of my first arrest. From that day till now it was always the same tale, because I chose to remain faithful to the ideals which I freely embraced in my youth, and because, on the other hand, the police always sought to put obstacles in the way of my work.

"In 1883 I underwent an ignominious condemnation; I was condemned for association with malefactors. This association was the Workers' International, and the malefactors were seven workers, who had placarded a bill extolling the Paris Commune.

"I was also amongst these workers. The public prosecutor during this case described them individually as very good workers. Nevertheless, put together, they became malefactors. As I had been left at liberty provisionally, as soon as the sentence became applicable, I went abroad. The Italian government demanded my extradition, but the Swiss Federal Court opposed it, and decided that not only were we not malefactors, but brave men, devoted to an eminently political cause."

Malatesta then gave an account of the difficulties he met in returning to Italy after the amnesty, difficulties known to our readers, and he came to his secret landing in Italy. He continued:—

"What were the conditions in Italy then? On one side the proletariat ranged against the middle-classes, and who would no long work, in order to be no longer exploited. On the other, the frightened middle-class which would not make them work for fear of losing.

"Government was non-existent, and the revolution, if it was not actually a fact, was at least imminent. Seek throughout history for a more revolutionary situation than that, and you will have a difficulty in finding it. . . . It was the reaction which came. . . . The occupation of the factories had increased the terror of the middle-class. And scapegoats were needed. The police, who specialise in plots, had no difficulty in hitting upon the anarchists. And here are the police reports: . . . I am accused of having provoked the revolution. I do not want to be thought a liar, or one who, through fear, goes back on his words. I am a revolutionary both in the philosophical and the historical sense. In those times the revolution did not need to be provoked by us, but simply disciplined, so true is it that the leading motive of my speeches was to hold in the masses in order to avoid useless sacrifices which might have diminished the popular strength.

"I did no more than state the position. And this new order then was revolutionary. Revolution has not yet been banished from history, and we wished to draw out the greatest possible good for all.

"I have always said to the workers: the revolution is coming and, if the government should attack you, defend yourselves.

"I protest against the accusation which is made against me of having incited to class-hatred. The class struggle is a useful and necessary phenomenon. All who seek the welfare of the poor feed this struggle, even the doctor, the hygienist, the professor.

"But as none of these is an excitor of hatred, no more are we. We, anarchists, are not for the dictatorship. We are its adversaries, because we wish that all men should be united in work and the common good.

"I have never told the workers that they were better than the middle-class, I have always said they were their equals, adding that when a member of the proletariat attains wealth he becomes like the middle-class man and may be worse.

"It is false that I incited to kill the gendarmes. There is so little truth in this that at San Giovanni di Persiceto and at Figline Valdarno, the police present at my speeches had to be removed because my words had too much influence over their simple minds.

"Gentlemen of the jury, you will judge calmly. If we are to be condemned here we ought not to be slandered."

To a question put by the President, Malatesta answered:—

"As to violence, we employ it for reasons of defence; the occupation of the factories would have been the ideal revolution, because it would have been accomplished without shedding a drop of blood!"

The second day of the trial began with a declaration by Malatesta:—

"Yesterday evening, on the point of leaving the Court, someone came up to the bar and said to me, 'You are making an empty defence, because you will be condemned not on the facts of which you are accused, but in memory of the massacre of the Diana.'"

And our Comrade explained clearly to the judges that this action could not have been committed by anarchists, because it was only profitable to our enemies. When the liberation of our Comrades was only a question of hours, as a consequence of their hunger strike, there was no question of any attempt of setting them free, and they had to undergo several months longer of preventive detention. The offices of Humanita Nova, as a further consequence of this attempt, were destroyed, and the end so much desired was attained; the anarchist daily, which was more and more in favour with the masses, ceased to appear. Finally, as a result of a campaign in the bourgeois press, and of a more than accessory silence on the part of the socialist, and even and above all else, the Communist press, there was throughout the whole country a general rising in arms against the anarchists, who were persecuted, imprisoned, beaten, their propaganda stopped, their organisations destroyed, their movement, which was most hopeful, annihilated.

Finally, on the third and last day of the hearing, we were present at a fact perhaps without precedent in the judicial annals of all countries, at any rate, in those of Italy; the public prosecutor pronounced a judicial address which was equivalent to an acquittal of our Comrades, and we should blame ourselves if we did not reproduce it here, or, at least, the greater part of it.

De Santis (his name deserves to be recorded, because the examining magistrate, for his part, wished to send our Comrades to the galleys for many years, if not for life) expresses himself thus:—

"Gentlemen of the jury, I do not wish to impose upon your conscience, because I am absolutely certain that your verdict on what you are to judge is already formed. I will be brief, I will use no flowers of rhetoric, because the public prosecutor must be objective. Without paying attention to anything that may be superfluous in my words, you will form your judgment on the bare exposition of the facts.

"I cannot, however, forego to point out to you how, in this case, the reverse of the phenomenon of the avalanche has been unfolded. The charge was a mastodon, and its shapeless mass which threatened to overwhelm us all has demolished itself bit by bit, reducing itself to a trifling affair. Malatesta, even in this trial, has accomplished a revolutionary work, because he has revolutionised the accusation. We must always start from the principle that, before every man who pursues an ideal and pursues it with love and self-sacrifice, one must bow with respect. The opinion of the accused is that they are the victims of an injustice. They have protested against the accusation that they are malefactors, an accusation which has in the past always been hurled at them; and the fact *is that the accusation of being malefactors has always been, in regard to the anarchists, a mistake.* But the charge feeds no prejudice, and in the same way your mentality as jurors will be unprejudiced. No one wishes to make an attempt on freedom of thought a freedom which, in my case, cannot be considered as contrary to law.

"*We must acknowledge the principle that without audacity the world would have made no progress.*"

And the public prosecutor finished by making an appeal to the calm judgment of the jurors to pass a verdict that would have the approval of the public conscience, and of all who judge whether they wear legal robes or no.

"You jurors, with your verdict, set a tombstone on the whole of this prosecution."

What was the result of this address devoid of animus? The counsels for the principal defendants had, so to speak, no call to intervene except to make an oration to the public prosecutor; others remained silent. After a few minutes deliberation, general acquittal was pronounced. And as there was, therefore, a day gained in advance of the presumed end of the trial, the plans of the police were upset. They had decided, and had made preparations, to set fire to the court of justice a day later just a few hours before sentence should be passed in order to impress the jury and make them give a merciless verdict.

These infamous and criminal calculations were brought to naught by the attitude of one man, who, though judge and public prosecutor, had remained human.

Everything is possible! And instead of the galleys for life, which would have deprived us of our two best militant anarchists, liberty, radiant and immediate, thanks to which our brave and respected Comrades have taken their place again in the struggle against the forces of oppression.

[Malatesta has been criticised by some of his fellow anarchists for stating that he did not preach revolution because it had already broken out, and that he used rather a calming influence. These Comrades declare that when revolution has broken out the leader must not preach calm, but lead the people forward.]

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France and Sovrussia.

The Executive of the Communist International in Moscow announces that France is concentrating large forces in Upper Silesia to create a base of operations for the intervention planned against Soviet Russia, that France is assisting Poland with munitions for use against Sovrussia, and that Roumania's proposed autumn military manœuvres are merely preparations for a winter campaign against Russia. The Peron factory in France has received an order for 100,000 grenades for Poland, and at Bourges in France cannons are being manufactured for use by the Polish and Roumanian armies.

Rosta reports that the Russian Monarchists grouped round Wrangel have concluded an agreement with the German Monarchists. Gray Paalen, leader of a detachment which operated against Soviet Russia, is organising a Wrangel delegation in Berlin. These negotiations are not too openly discussed in France, because the French Government would find it difficult to incite its people against the German Monarchists, and at the same time defend an alliance with them through Wrangel.

French v. American Capitalists in Russia.

Rosta Wien says: "It is reported from Harbin that a great struggle is developing between the Russian Asiatic Bank, which is in the hands of French interests and a group of American financiers, over the possession of the East Chinese Railway. The fight for the moment, is around the question of shoving the French interests out of the bank. This struggle will lead to very bad relations between France and America.

Who are the Democrats in Russia?

The reactionary Merkulov Government, which the Japanese aided to overthrow the Soviet and establish itself in Vladivostock, is said to be in a critical position. It is undergoing a financial crisis, and the Japanese troops, on whose power it depended, have left the city and taken up a position in the surrounding district. The Merkulov Government has made great use of coercion: it has forbidden co-operative and such organisations, has prevented all but newspapers friendly to itself from appearing, and has carried out mass arrests of railwaymen and other workers.

Solidarity in Sovrussia.

The workers at a waterworks near Moscow have contributed the whole of their month's rations and pay for the Famine Fund. Asked how they would live, they said there were plenty of mushrooms and berries in the neighbouring woods, and, moreover, they had their vegetable gardens.

Private Property in Sovrussia.

The Council of Commissaries of Sovrussia has issued a decree permitting the sale of houses not municipalised, but no person is to own more than one house and outbuilding. There seems of late a tendency to make concessions to private property owning in Russia. This causes great anxiety to Left Wing Communists.

Hungarian White Terror.

When Horthy terrorists reached the city of Pécs they found 10,000 people, *i.e.*, one-fifth of the population, had deserted it: 6,000 coal miners' families were amongst those who had fled.

The Republican Party of Hungary has been dissolved by the Minister of the Interior, who declares its object illegal.

Roumanian White Terror.

Eleven Socialist prisoners of the White Terror are hunger striking to secure the remission of their daily beatings, and to be allowed out three hours daily in the courtyard.

Lenin says the Trade Unions are still necessary in Soviet Russia to protect the workers from their own State, which still remains bureaucratic.

Lenin is one of those rare and admirable leaders who have the courage to admit the truth, to try to remedy flaws in the administration for which they are responsible, instead of merely covering them up.

THE UNEMPLOYED

In the Labour Party-I.L.P. organ, the "Leicester Pioneer," Amos Sherriff, Chairman of the Leicester Distress Committee, which administered the Mayor's Fund, explains that the Committee ceased operations, in spite of the great unemployment on July 14th, because the fund was exhausted. He says: "In some towns demonstrations have taken place which are a menace to the peace . . . Let Leicester preserve its name for order and sound judgment . . ."

Orderly unemployed may continue to starve unnoticed.

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW.

The Moplah rising, aided by the Sepoys of the British Government's police and military, may be quelled without great difficulty; on the other hand, it may be the opening of a chapter of prolonged warfare in India, which will end only with Indian Independence.

When the break-up of the British Empire comes, it will begin just in this way: an outbreak of a section of the people somewhere, to which the rank and file of the forces of law and order give aid. That the break-up of the British Empire will come some day is assured to us by the evidence of history, and by the fact that Society is in a state of flux, always developing towards new forms.

The Irish struggle is tending in the same direction; the passing of the British Empire, which is one of the main pillars of Capitalism, one of the great outstanding features of yesterday.

The Lloyd George Government's offer to Ireland is represented as an offer of Dominion Home Rule to Ireland, as a great advance on all previous proposals, as an offer of the substance of Independence, the name only being withheld. The offer embodies none of these things; the illusion that it does is another evidence of Lloyd George's great gift for stage management; he is at his old trick of advertising that he has provided a solution for a problem that remains unsolved. It is remarkable that he is still able to gull so many people.

The Labour Party policy, bankrupt of courage, ideas, and ideals on so many questions, is in nothing more bankrupt than in regard to Ireland. Its leader, Arthur Henderson, has said it is a disappointment that the Government's offer to Ireland has not been accepted. Had he been a strong leader of a strong party, he would have shown that the offer ought not to have been accepted; he would have explained where it failed to reach the standard of acceptability; but Mr. Henderson is a weak leader of a weak party, which professes sympathy with Ireland's demand for Independence, without being prepared to assent to the satisfying of that demand. The Labour Party will not officially declare for Irish Independence, because it is not prepared to run the risk of losing votes and incurring odium by such a declaration; also, because it is not prepared to take the risk and responsibility of granting Independence to Ireland when it becomes, as it intends, His Majesty's Government.

This week the Communist International has devoted to propaganda amongst the Youth—the men and women of to-morrow—for whom all we Socialists, all we Communists, all we revolutionaries are working, if our work has any value or purpose at all. There is no more important Communist task than this of rousing the Youth to the truths of Communism; no method by which we can more surely lay the foundations for the world of to-morrow.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Dear Editor,—I am not worrying about any "sly dig" that Mr. Sara may make at "Freedom," but am very much concerned about the truth or falsity of a statement which appeared in it. Mr. Sara said definitely: "A forged statement is in circulation, bearing signatures of prominent Anarchists like Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Shapiro." Such a statement was published in the June issue of "Freedom," so I asked him to supply the proof that it was a forgery. Mr. Sara does not do so. He says he does not read "Freedom," therefore he could not have referred to the statement published therein. He says: "The *Times* published a sort of manifesto on one occasion, and it was this I had in mind at the time of writing." Was that manifesto signed by Emma Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro? If so, will he please give me the date of the issue of the *Times* in which it appeared? It may be the same statement as appeared in "Freedom," which is what I am most concerned about. I have submitted that statement to Sasha Kropotkin, who writes: "I know it is genuine, because I had a letter *after* it had arrived, from Emma Goldman, referring to it." Still, I will look up that manifesto in the *Times* if Mr. Sara will give me the date.

Yours, etc.,
THOMAS H. KEELL.

C. Perry (Melton House, Durand Gardens, Clapham Road, S.W. 9).—We should be obliged by a reply to our repeated communications.

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THE EDITOR "AT HOME."

The Editor will be in the *Workers' Dreadnought* office, to meet comrades, the last Sunday in every month, from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m.

NOTICE.

An Orchestral and Choral Academy has been started with a view to encouraging musical art in the ranks of the Labour Socialist and Communist movement.

Funds are urgently needed to support the above effort on behalf of Labour's cause.

All instrumentalists (beginners, intermediate or advanced) wishing to join the above Academy are cordially invited to communicate with the Secretary, J. James, Office, 55, Rodney Place, Palatinate Estate, S.E. 17.