To or from Communism? By Ironie.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Movements, like human beings, grow and develope from stage to stage and pass through many crazes and illnesses.

The Communist Party of Great Britain is at present passing through a sort of political measles called discipline which makes it fear the free expression and circulation of opinion within the Party.

Since its formation the Communist Party of Great Britain has fretted itself at the existence of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, an independent Communist voice, free to express its mind unhampered by Party discipline.

At the inaugural Party Conference, as I am informed by the Executive, it was even debated whether members of the Party might be permitted to read the *Dreadnought* since it is not controlled by the Executive of the Party. The position of the *Scottish Worker*, *Solidarity*, the *Plebs*, the *Socialist*, and the *Spur* were also discussed. It was decided that the *Worker* and *Solidarity* might be encouraged by members of the Party, because their propaganda was held to be mainly industrial, although the Party Executive does not control these papers. Members were also permitted to take the *Plebs*, because it was pleaded on its behalf that it is not political but educational—oh, unscientific distinctions! The *Spur* was barred out, the *Socialist* was barred out; it was held that they were unorthodox from the Party standpoint.

The *Workers' Dreadnought*, the first to rally the Third International, had its editor in prison. The *Workers' Dreadnought* had a strong hold on many in the Party. The Party Conference did not desire to be unreasonable. It turned the matter over to the Chairman to negotiate with the Dreadnought group—at least, so the Chairman of the Party has informed me: the resolution dealing with the matter could not be found when I asked to see it.

A letter issued by the Executive to branches of the Party recommended the *Plebs*, *Solidarity* and the *Worker* for circulation by the Party, but stated that the question of circulating the *Dreadnought* must be left in abeyance. Many branches took this to mean that the *Dreadnought* must not be circulated, and some of the Party's organisers carried on a campaign against the *Dreadnought* in this sense, making it a question of loyalty to the Party not to take it. Nevertheless, the circulation of the *Dreadnought* has remained larger than was that of the *Call* when the B.S.P. was merged in the Communist Party, through its struggle for existence as an unsubsidised paper was intensified, in face of the *Communist* heavily subsidised, largely advertised and sold at 4d. a quire cheaper to newsagents and branches. Moreover, the long depression occasioned by the coal strike and this year's widespread unemploymnt caused many readers to be obliged to discontinue buying the paper. Nevertheless, the comrades who were in charge of the paper during my imprisonment bravely kept the flag flying in spite of all odds.

Soon after my release from half a year's imprisonment I met a sub-committee of the Communist Party Executive, which consisted of Comrades W. Paul, F. Peat, F. Willis and T. Clark. This sub-committee put it to me that "as a disciplined member of the Party" I should hand the *Workers' Dreadnought* over to the Executive, to stop it, or continue it, and, should it continue the paper, to put it to any use or policy it chose, and to place it under the editorship of any person whom it might select; I was not to be consulted, or even informed, till the decision should be made. Thus, with a spice of brutality, the disciplinarians set forth their terms to one who had for eight years maintained a pioneer paper with constant struggle and in face of much persecution.

I replied that I could not agree to such a proposition, but would consider carefully, and in a comradely spirit, any proposal that the Party might make to me regarding the paper. I said that I believed in the usefulness of an independent Communist paper which would stimulate discussion in the movement on theory and practice; but just released from prison, the united Party having been formed whilst I was inside, I was anxious to look around me, and hear all points of views. I invited the sub-committee to lay before me any suggestions they had to make. The members of the sub-committee, however, failed to respond in the same spirit; they merely repeated their former demand for an absolute and blindfold renunciation of the paper.

Later on I suggested meeting the Party Executive, as readers up and down the country were writing to me telling me that certain organisers and members of the Party had renewed their campaign against the *Workers' Dreadnought*. The Party Executive ignored my suggestion that we should meet, but wrote demanding that I should surrender the *Dreadnought* to it within the space of two weeks.

To this demand I did not reply, and the two weeks having expired I received a summons to meet the Executive.

Eventually I did so on Saturday, September 10th.

It was a strange scene. Dressed in a little brief authority this Executive, which meeting only fortnightly, is necessarily controlled by the paid officials who are always on the spot, was full of zeal to serve the Communist Party by controlling me, and by bringing to an end the pioneer Communist paper that has been more continuously and drastically persecuted by our capitalist governments than any paper in the country; a paper that is known to the Communist movement throughout the world.

"We are not here to consider the good the *Dreadnought* might do, but the harm it might do," said Comrade McManus, his red silk handkerchief showing so smartly from his pocket.

"What the committee wants is the death of the *Dreadnought*," said another comrade.

Discipline was the watch-word of the meeting.

Comrade McManus made a strange observation that the Party was now engaged in building the circulation of the *Communist*, and when that had been done, "we shall begin to get some good stuff in it and develop a policy." One member of the committee had accused us of attacking the *Communist* in these columns. We have not done so; but, in any case, it would have been difficult to say anything less complimentary about the *Communist* than that remark of Comrade McManus.

The comrades intended to enforce discipline in its most stulifying aspect. Comrade McManus, as Chairman, informed me that they would not permit any member of the Party to write or publish a book or a pamphlet without the sanction of the Executive. Those who may differ from the Executive on any point of principle, policy or tactics, or even those whose method of dealing with agreed theory is not approved or appreciated by the Executive, are therefore to be gagged.

I told the comrades that if we were before the barricades, if we were in the throes of the revolution, or even somewhere near it, I could approve a rigidity of discipline which is wholly out of place here and now.

I told them that whereas we are face to face with an opportunist and reformist Labour Party, and since in the midst of capitalism, there is the ever-present tendency and temptation towards compromise with the existing order, it is essential for a Communist Party to be definite in excluding Right tendencies. A Communist Party can only preserve its communist character by using its discipline to prevent Right opportunism and laxity from entering the Party; it must insist that acceptance of Communist principles and avoidance of reformism be made a condition of membership; that is obvious. On the other hand, the Communist Party cannot afford to stifle discussion in the Party; above all, it must not stifle the discussion of Left Wing ideas; otherwise it will cramp and stultify itself, and will destroy its own possibility of advancement.

I stated that in my opinion every member of the Party should be allowed to write and publish his or her views, and that only in cases where these views prove to be not Communist should the question of a member's fitness to belong to the Party be brought into question.

I told the Executive, and it is my strongly held opinion, that in the weak, young, little-evolved Communist movement of this country discussion is a paramount need, and to stifle it is disastrous.

Therefore when I was asked whether I would obey the discipline of the Executive I was obliged to say that it was impossible for me to give a general answer to such a question, if discipline could be strained to prevent the expression of opinion, and that I could only decide whether I should obey when a concrete case should arise.

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Miss Mayence for a long time had been asking the people she met about Communism; in the days before they talked about Communism she had asked them to tell her about Socialism. She put her questions about the new life, both to its supporters and opponents, and one might have thought them to be a subtle form of propaganda for Communism, but for the fact that she seemed so genuinely possessed of a thirst for knowledge.

Lady Myra Brown, a Socialist and a Tolstoyan, had a great liking for Miss Mayence and often gave her intruction upon her own views of these matters. On one occasion Lady Myra had arranged for a Socialist friend of hers to give a lecture on life in the East End, at the Thames'-side house of Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia, some thirty or forty miles from London. Lady Myra procured from Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia an invitation for Miss Mayence to spend the week-end with her, in order that she might hear and meet the lecturer.

Miss Mayence, Lady Myra, and the lecturer went down to Mrs. Dahlia's place together, and their hostess herself met them at the station with her motor.

It was in the height of the war, and Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia, a brilliant creature with a fair, cameo face, flaxen hair, and a long slender neck, was brimming over with enthusiatic patriotism.

In addition to her women guests, she managed to pack into the car a couple of elegant young men in civilian clothes, to whom she discoursed vividly on the "slackers" who refused their share of war service.

On meeting by the way a young man on horseback, she thrust her head out of the window and pointing with excited gestures, loudly called her companions to observe him. She declared him to be a "slacker," and told that on the previous day, having met him when riding, she had sung out to him: "Charlie McKartney, the pride of the nuts!"

This reproach, she felt sure, had made a deep impression on him.

Duty to one's country was, in those days, a very favourite subject, and Mrs. Dahlia was one of its most earnest exponents. She informed her guests that she had just been reading a book by Mr. Looby-Lofthouse, on the poor man's burden and had thereby learnt that the luxury of the rich increases the burden of the poor. Henceforth, therefore, she was determined to be austere.

The car was now taking the company by the snowdrop-bordered drive to the Schwartzwald Dahlias' magnificent mansion, and the servants were soon assisting the guests to dismount.

Lady Myra Brown and Miss Mayence were led away by a smart maid down a long and wide corridor and shown into two adjoining rooms. Miss Mayence felt as though she were in a big hotel, and the impression grew strongly upon her during the week-end. Her enormous bedroom was aloof and chilly; bare and ugly in its costliness, and without a flower or a picture suggestive of homely intimacy and comfort; opening from it was its own private bathroom with marble bath.

Miss Mayence looked around her and shivered, lonely and uncomfortable. Presently Lady Myra peeped in, equally ill at ease.

"I feel so tired and cold; I wanted a cup of tea," she said; "but my bell doesn't seem to ring. I wish I had brought Mrs. Bonson with me. I could have sent her to the kitchen to see about it. If only one could have a fire."

"Why not?" said Miss Mayence. "I'll light one for you, and perhaps I can get someone to bring you tea."

She went with Lady Myra into her room and tugged vigorously at the bell-rope; then turned to the fireplace. A splendid piece of thick white cartridge paper was doubled within the bars. Miss Mayence put a match to it; it burnt slowly, and when a charred and jagged hole had been made in it, she found that the grate was filled only with small coal without any wood to set it alight. She returned to the bell-rope and tugged perseveringly, without response.

"I'd rather have a smaller house that was more homely and comfortable," she said testily; for Lady Myra was laying curled up in a chair, looking poorly and cold.

Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia did not go to the lecture to which visitors had come flocking from the surrounding neighbourhood and even from London. It was an opportunity to visit "Cleftglen," and to claim acquaintance with the Schwartzwald Dahlias, at which many outside Mrs. Dahlia's circle jumped eagerly. Mrs. Dahlia was fully aware of this and humourously told her guests how she had graciously extended an invitation to this neighbour and that, who had long been angling for a chance to visit her, but whose social position was not up to the standard she set for her guests? Such persons, though permitted to attend a lecture would certainly never be received by Mrs. Dahlia as guests.

It must not be said, however, that Mrs. Dahlia was a snob; on the contrary, she prided herself on being democratic, and she often included amongst her guests all sorts of freaks of low social origin engaged in work amongst the poor. Mrs. Dahlia was herself intensely philantrophic. She had a *crêche* in the East End and a girls' club in her husband's constituency at Sea Port. She was active in many local charities and she had established a war hospital in the grounds at "Cleftglen."

Mrs. Dahlia did not attend the lecture; she probably considered she knew all that the Socialist speaker could possibly say on the subject.

Towards evening Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia's fragile, doll-like little children, in white frocks and short socks, who had been brought out to amuse some of the house party, were led away by their attendants and later, the guests in evening dress began flocking into the great hall.

Mr. Crawshaw, the ex-Premier, stationed himself with his back to the log fire and held forth with genial senility on the stupidities of the Government—other Governments might be objectionable, but this Government was quite impossible: it had not the least notion of what it was about. A chorus of admiring old fogies, doddering amiably through the late stages of second childishness, hung upon his words.

Dinner was tedious and elaborate; a noisy affair of many courses, and above the din, most strident of all, were heard the tones of Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia, declaring that she was determined to be austere.

At last the ladies retired, leaving the gentlemen to their final drinks and spicy anecdotes.

The time had been passing heavily for Miss Mayence. The man on one side of her at table gave all his attention to eating, the man on the other talked to the woman on his other hand. She was glad when the women left the room, and would have flown to Lady Myra's side, but she had disappeared.

Miss Mayence sat listlessly on a great ottoman in front of the fire: several other women attracted by the blaze came to the same seat. A richly-dressed beauty asked her if she were doing war work.

"No, I have nothing to do with the war." she said, jerkily.

"Nothing to do with the war? Of course we are all in the war!" the beauty answered with a haughty shake of her shoulders: all the women cast angry glances at Miss Mayence and turned away from her with aggressively expressed disgust.

At last came Lady Myra, not knowing what had happened, and led Miss Mayence into the drawing-room, where the guests were beginning to assemble. Miss Mayence slipped into the corner of a sofa and was almost startled when Mr. Crawshaw, entering with a crowd of admirers, sat down beside her. One of the loveliest of the guests, a slender sylph in black, took the opposite corner and sang plaintive Coon folk songs to her banjo, whilst old Crawshaw bent towards her, ogling foolishly, and complimenting her amorously at the close of every song.

When she was tired, an American journalist declaimed on the German march into Belgium, declaring that he had witnessed the German soldiers marching through a little hamlet, where he happened to rest, for forty hours. These soldiers, he said, were inhuman in their disciplined precision and unnatural strength; they were parts of a machine; he would have it that they were performing feats of mechanical endurance never achieved by any people at any time; impossible feats: this, he insisted, was part of their iniquity. His story contradicted itself as he elaborated it, but no one minded.

"Amazing! Amazing!" interjected old Crawshaw, as though deeply impressed; but, as usual, he was merely making himself agreeable.

"I think that every German should commit 'hari-kari' by falling on his own sword," screamed Mrs. Dahlia, rising and strutting about in the circle of carpet before the fire.

"I'm all for it; but, ah, I don't quite see why," said old Crawshaw, charming as ever; nevertheless, one felt that Mrs. Dahlia had jarred on him.

"To save his soul," said Mrs. Dahlia.

"Oh, that—ah—yes—ah," said Crawshaw; he got up and wandered to the opposite end of the room where the admiring old fogies surrounded him. Mrs. Dahlia also wandered away.

"What a charming dress you have," said Lady Myra to the lovely creature with the banjo.

"Oh, my little maid makes them," answered the sylph; "they're so simple and easy to put on! See!" she added, unfastening her waist belt and holding it at arm's length, brushing with its rosette the face of a tall young lord who had came up beside her, and opening the back of her dress so that her corsets and elegant bare shoulders were exposed to view.

Miss Mayence was pleased that just then Lady Myra suggested they should both go off to bed.

On Sunday morning the guests dawdled in and out of the big breakfast room, just as though they were in an hotel, without even taking the trouble to salute their hostess. Food was provided in great quantities; fish and meats of many kinds, fruits and cakes and huge bowls of cream.

The guests were noisier than on the previous evening. From the table where Miss Mayence sat, surrounded by titled persons, great shrieks of laughter arose, because one of the guests, seeing the rather uncouth figure of Mr. Ballam of the Anti-Poverty League, asked: "Who is the hairy one?" and joked about his rough hair and flannel shirt. Ballam, of course, heard them plainly; but it would have been unbecoming in him to resent the delicate banter of such a distinguished company, from some of whom—one never knew—he might get a donation or patronage for his deserving organisation.

When the church bells began to ring, the word went round that Mrs. Dahlia and some of the guests were going to church to pray for victory. Miss Mayence curled herself up on a seat in an angle in a close-clipped box-hedge, and watched the sun shining upon the green lawns and the river beyond.

After church Mrs. Dahlia and her guests congregated on the terrace behind the house, and Miss Mayence, returning thither, was astonished to see her hostess dancing a cake-walk, holding the short skirt of her tailored suit as high as her knees.

Later, when Mrs. Dahlia called her guests to go with her to visit her wounded soldiers, Miss Mayence found herself walking beside the hostess and the Socialist lecturer of the previous day. The lecturer was young-looking and quietly rather shabbily dressed. She seemed tired, and allowed Mrs. Dahlia to take the initiative in the conversation. Mrs. Dahlia asked her what sort of work she was doing amongst the East End women, and the Socialist answered that she was trying to make them discontented with their miserable lot.

"I hope," said Mrs. Dahlia, impressively, "that you urge them to think of higher things and to go regularly to church."

"No," said the Socialist, "I do not. I consider it is my business to show them that they are suffering a poverty and exploitation which is wrong and unnecessary, and which can be destroyed when they refuse to tolerate it."

"You must teach them the evils of drink and extravagance, and to place their trust in God, who will give them what is better and more satisfying than material wealth," said Mrs. Dahlia, severely. She regretted that she had let Lady Myra bring this woman down here; she

was obviously impossible. Lady Myra was foolish and without discrimination. She would not agree to any more of her stupid suggestions. There was another odious woman Lady Barbour had persuaded her to bring down: the one who had been connected with one of those War Relief workrooms where they had actually been paying unemployed women a minimum wage of £1 a week! It was absurd! the Queen Mary Rooms paid, at the most, 10/-, and every loyal person must, of course, conform to that standard. The woman had actually had the effrontery to complain against the Queen Mary standard, and Mrs. Dahlia, not having heard her, had allowed her to take a collection and even added to it. Then the creature had immediately got her name in the papers in connection with a notorious Women's Peace Conference in Holland, in the height of the war, and immediately after coming down here! It was too much! Mrs. Dahlia had written to her at once to censure her for her lack of patriotism. She added that had she known that the workrooms were paying a pound a week she would not have assisted them, as that was not "going to the root of the matter," and was only "stirring up discontent."

She would have no more of these freaks down at "Cleftglen." Mrs. Dahlia was highly sensible of her position as a member of the British ruling class.

Then, seeing the American journalist, Mrs. Dahlia rushed up to him with her most challenging and charming screams.

Miss Mayence wondered why the Socialist lecturer had allowed herself to be brought down here. It was obvious to her that it was a waste of time.

The guests gathered round the hospital door, eager to enter, but the matron told them, acidly, that her patients were resting and no one could be admitted. Even Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia found herself unable to alter the decision.

There was still something to be seen, for some of the Tommies in shapeless blue hospital garments were sitting out in the grounds, or playing on the lawn. The guests eyed them curiously; the ladies finding them harder to talk to than had they been prostrate in bed, mostly walked by in silence; the gentlemen, in their well-cut clothes, adopted a humourous attitude towards them; but the Tommies were, on the whole, rather sulky the guests thought; at any rate, they were not amusing.

The guests wandered away.

A poor fellow had his bed outside. His wife and two little children had come to visit him. Miss Mayence had known them some years before. They called her to sit beside them. The man was trying to talk cheerfully, but a dull torpor seemed to settle down upon him and his thoughts wandered in spite of himself. There was a look of deep pain in his eyes. His wife, wondering at his silence, could hardly restrain her tears; but she told Miss Mayence he would soon be well agin.

When the wife rose to fetch the youngest child who had gone running away across the grass, the soldier told Miss Mayence that his legs had been amputated, but his wife did not know.

As Miss Mayence said Good-bye, the American journalist came to her saying: "It is glorious to come to your country at a time like this; to see all this wonderful selflessness and unity amongst all classes. I tell you, it's an inspiration to us Americans! We did not know the old country had it in her."

Mrs. Schwartzwald Dahlia's shrill voice rang from the woodland: "I'm not going to add to the poor man's burden: I mean to be austere."

"How stupid it was there," said Miss Mayence, in the slow Sunday train; she had told Lady Myra that she really must not wait to return with her on Monday. "How stupid they were—and vulgar; at least, I should call it so."

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MOTHER, BABY, CHILD

By T. ISLWYN NICHOLAS.

Their Economic and Social Status in Soviet Russia.

Previous to the accomplishment of the October Revolution in Russia, that great stretch of continent was the classical land of ignorance and of child mortality. Thousands upon thousands of new-born babies died each year before they reached their first year of existence.

Year in, and year out, an average of about two million babies were buried in Russia under the rule of the old regime. Child mortality was greatest in the villages among the peasant population.

There were two fundamental causes responsible for this extraordinary mortality of babies.

In the cities, it was the terrible and cruel exploitation of the labour—power of the mothers and pregnant women. It happened frequently that women worked in the factory till the last day of their pregnancy. Indeed, some cases have been recorded of women giving child-birth within the walls of the factory. Thus were the children crippled before birth in their mother's womb.

In the villages, the main causes were exploitation and poverty, and added to this was the frightful ignorance of the peasant women in the elementary rules of hygienic nursing.

The first great task of the Soviet Republic was to protect the labour of pregnant and nursing women. A degree was issued to this effect: That women must not be allowed to work during eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement. During all this time the mother receives her regular wages and her full food rations. Pregnant women are entitled, and are receiving better food and other privileges in daily life.

When the child is born the mother receives linen goods and warm clothes for the baby. Nursing mothers are relieved from their work several times during the day.

How different, indeed, are the conditions of to-day, under the rule of the workers, than four years or more ago, under the despotic rule of the Czarist regime.

The greatest attention was given by the Soviet government to the work of creating a sufficient number of establishments for the protection of Mother—Baby—and—Child.

That is, numerous confinement homes, milk dispensaries, nurseries and children's homes were built.

There are thousands of such institutions all over Russia, in the cities, at factories, and even in most villages.

Soviet Russia has passed the period when it was necessary to explain the various purposes of these institutions to the population, and their task now is to cope with the ever-growing demand for such institutions. Their progress is retarded owing to the lack of medicines, food products for the nourishment of children, and the necessary instruments and appliances.

Children of a more advanced age have also been an object of constant care on the part of the Soviet government.

Children's homes exist in the cities and even in the villages. Children's colonies have been established in many of the one-time residences of the gentry and landlords. During the past summer about 50,000 children lived in the colonies in the vicinity of Moscow alone. In the schools, the pupils are receiving hot breakfasts. It is most extraordinary to see the adults giving part of their own rations for feeding the children in these times of hunger and famine. The workers of Russia are determined that the Allied baby-killers shall not starve the coming defenders of their ideals. And it stands to their eternal credit!

Children under the age of fourteen years old are prohibited altogether from working. For children between the age of fourteen and sixteen the working day is limited to four hours per day.

No child labour is allowed to be employed in harmful production. The trade unions are paying special attention to the protection of working women and young persons.

For weak and sick children there are special establishments, which are called "forest schools," and which are situated in healthy forest districts. At present there are 33 such schools, and more in the process of being built. Besides, there are 34 sanatorium-schools and sanatorium colonies for children inclined to consumption, and 37 sanatoriums for consumptive children.

In Soviet Russia child criminals are scientifically treated, not as criminals, but as mentally deficient, and are treated accordingly. Children under eighteen years of age who have committed a crime are not considered as criminals.

On the contrary, they look upon them as on the victims of capitalist society, who require proper education and treatment in order to be cured. Such child offenders are not liable to the general courts, but are placed before special committees, consisting of physicians and psychologists, to decide whether they are to be placed in institutions of the Public Health Commisseries or of the Commissariat of Public Education. The Public Health Department has 134 such institutions for mentally and psychically defective children. There are also 11 schools for deaf and dumb children, and 15 schools for the blind.

The conditions imposed upon the Republic at its birth, through the economic blockade and the war, have had their destructive effects upon the organisations for children. But the workers of Russia gave away to the children their last piece of bread, their last yard of cloth, because they knew that the children represented their better future.

They knew that the health of their children was the only guarantee for the success of their Communist reconstructive work.

To-day, Russia is in the valley of death, a tremendous natural calamuity has befallen it. But even in the face of this we can rest assured that the children will be the last to suffer.

Immediately Russia again becomes normal, the children will be the first to feel the benefits of these improvements. Russia has realised the fact that in the coming generation lies the hope of the future!

"Give us the young," said Kidd, "give us the young, and we will create a new heaven and a new earth in a single generation." And Russia has understood.

A VISIT TO SVERDLOF UNIVERSITY.

A Russian comrade who speaks English very well took me one afternoon to what used to be a bankers' club in the old capitalist days, but now has been put to a better use, and is the Sverdlof University.

We were introduced to the Secretary of the University Council, who is a woman, and to her husband, one of the professors.

The students are all Communists, because this is a Party higher school chiefly for training teachers and propagandists. The only qualifications for entering the University are a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic, but this is very often of a most elementary character, as most of the students are workers and peasants, who never had a chance of any education at all under the old Czarist *régime*.

There is a three months' course for lecturers in the provinces and country Party schools on Party problems. A six months' course with 2½ months' sections, education for political propagandists, economics, administration and justice, and there is a more extended year's course as well.

This year a two years' course of higher education is being started, which is only for Communists who have worked in the Party for two years, and who have already studied in their respective county political schools, and who pass the entrance examination. They study social economy, philosophy, history and the Trade Union movement in the various countries. Physics, chemistry, astronomy, geography, the history of Russia in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, general history of Europe from the English Revolution of the 17th century, the materialist conception of history, the history of the Communist Party of Russia, political economy, legislature, government and constitution, Russian, arithmetic, and geometry. There is also a short course on natural science, as the peasants have had no education on this subject. There is a short course of 32 hours on the general history of mankind. They also learn English, French and German.

The teachers on history and economics are Communists. Bukharin is one of them, and other are being prepared. One of the great difficulties Soviet Russia has to contend with in the whole educational system is her lack of Communist teachers. The students work 6 hours a day. After each lecture they divide into circles of 15 to 20 and discuss it and ask questions, and then go through it with tutors. There are two sections, one for the more and one for the less advanced students. Most of the students are from 23 to 28 years of age, though some are older, and there are about 5 to 10 per cent. from the youth organisation. In December, 1920, there were 1,313 students in all: 535 were unskilled workers, 366 peasants, 122 artisans, and 315 various professionals and intellectuals. This year there will be 2,500 students: 365 going in for the two-year course. In 1919 there were 13 per cent. women students, but now there are 17 or 18 per cent. Each goubernia can send a specified number of students, about 50, and they are selected by their respective local Communist Parties. Last year 90 per cent. of the 1st grade and 60 per cent. of the 2nd grade students passed satisfactorily. Five young men, partly intellectuals and partly proletarians, have studied for two years, and they made such good progress that they have worked out their own programme and have gone to Petrograd to found a new University on their own lines.

There is a reading room, library, club room, and a communal dining room, a verandah where they have tea in the University. There was a meeting of the professors in one of the class rooms, where they were working out a programme of study.

Opposite the University there is a big building which is used for housing the students, and we visited some of them. One of the rooms was all packed up, as the students who occupied it had been mobilised to go to the famine area to organise communal kitchens. They were to start the next morning, and had their *pyochs* (rations) of huge loaves of black bread ready to take with them.

All those I spoke with were peasants from districts as widely apart as Siberia, Odessa and Novgorod. One of them had been a worker in their storehouse, and it was noticed how intelligent he was, and though he was unable to read he was put into the University as a student, and was making very good progress.

Norah L. Smyth

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FAREWELL.

COMRADES.—This will be the last issue of the *Workers' Dreadnought*: the financial struggle of continuing the paper has long been a hard one, and the financial position of our printer now makes it impossible to continue our present arrangements with him.

Our lack of capital leaves us no alternative, but to cease publication. We know that you will share our regret that we are forced to take this step.

We appeal to you to assist us in winding up the *Dreadnought's* liabilities.

Many comrades have made heavy sacrifices to keep the paper alive, and some have lent money of which they are in urgent need. We urge you to assist us to repay such loans and all other debts of the paper, which otherwise may place a heavy load of personal responsibility upon us for years to come.

We ask you, comrades, to send a donation towards meeting the liabilities of the paper by return of post, and to make that donation as large as you can.

If you are owing anything for papers received and some comrades are owing unduly large sums we ask you, most emphatically, to settle your account forthwith.

We have a quantity of literature for sale at the *Dreadnought* office; please send for lists, and order as largely as you can, to assist us in clearing the stock.

"GERMINAL," the monthly magazine, which we had hoped to publish in October, must be postponed for a time; but we shall proceed with it a little later. We look to you to assist us in that.

To the staunch band of supporters who have stood by the *Workers' Dreadnought* through all the hard and difficult times we have faced together, we tender our very warm appreciation: thanks are not ours to give them; for we have been working together for common ends.

Though the *Dreadnought* is compelled by adverse circumstances to cease publication, it sinks with colours flying; it remains true to its name; it refuses to compromise: though, had it been willing to do so, it might still have continued to exist in some shape or other.

That the paper should cease now is the more to be regretted, because of the growth of opportunism in the Third International, which intensifies the need for the voice of the uncompromising pioneer. We trust that the place filled by the *Dreadnought* may not long remain vacant, and, somehow or from somewhere, an adequate successor may take up the task we have been forced for the present to relinquish.

That task, during these long months, has been accomplished only with great difficulty; we are but too acutely conscious that the quality of the paper has suffered in many ways from the undue strain under which we who are responsible for its production have laboured.

Greetings to you, comrades, who have joined us in this effort; just as we shall continue our work for Communism, so we are confident that not one of you will slacken in enthusiasm and purpose.

We shall not lose touch with you: soon we shall communicate with you again, and soon again we hope that we may unite in a new endeavour.

In the meantime, let us hear from you.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

MACDONALD AND GEORGIA.

J. R. MacDonald, on behalf of the Second International Executive, has supported the demand of the Tiflis Menshevists to appoint a mixed Commission of Socialist and Communist Parties to control free voting by all Georgian electors, including the exploiters and profiteers, as to their future form of Government.

The Second International, through MacDonald, asks a speedy reply, as it says the Socialist movements of the Second International in all countries will probably take more and more interest in Georgian affairs.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Georgian Soviet Republic has not answered the Second International's demand, as it considers the leaders of the Second International to be merely the servants of Entente Imperialism.

The Georgian Revolutionary Committee declares that MacDonald, Vandevelde, Renaudel Kautsky, and the other representatives of the Second International, who visited Georgia, did so as "predisposed apostles of Capitalism and Imperialism." MacDonald took no interest in the thousands of Georgian Communists imprisoned in the dungeons of the "Social Democratic" Government, of which he expressed such unqualified approval; he asked no questions as to why the Communists were hunted like wild beasts by the Social Democratic *gendarmerie*, and driven in cattle trains outside the democratic oasis. Yet he approached the Soviet authorities, interceding for the release of British Army officers who had come to Azerbeijan to fight the Workers' Revolution.

Returning to Europe, MacDonald and the others of the Second International, urged that the capitalist Powers of the Entente should aid in forming a Federation of the three Caucasian Republics, which meant, as the Moscow Soviet Government rightly states:

"Asking the Entente Imperialists, by armed force, to suppress the workers and peasants in the Azerbeijan Soviet, to drive Communists from Baku, and chain a Federation comprising Menshevik Georgia, Azerbeijan and Armenia, to the bloody chariot of the Entente."

EQUALISATION OF RATES.

That Lansbury's successful rival for the Bow-and-Bromley Parliamentary seat, Sir Reginald Blair, should be asking the Government to do something about the Poplar Rates is evidence that the subject has so far touched the voters, that the Government will find it necessary to make an adjustment.

The unemployed need not care for equalisation of Rates; what they need, is to be raised up from peverty and dependence.

IN PRISON AND OUT.

"No man is bad enough to be sent to a place like this," George Lansbury told a visitor; and Lansbury's conditions are better than those of the average prisoner. Yet prisons fill up in the winter, because, to many men and women, conditions are worse outside prison than in.

No man is bad enough to be sent to a world like this! is the true statement of the case.

Lansbury says one of the first things undertaken by the first Labour Government will be prison reform.

Probably the Labour Party will concentrate on such side issues as that—instead of going straight for the abolition of the private property system, which creates the reasons for prisons.

THE CONGRESS BALLOT.

We congratulate the Trade Union Congress on taking a new ballot for the Parliamentary Committee: the decision shows that the delegates are beginning to resent the wire-pulling of the reactionary officialdom. Mr. Bowerman's instructions to the scrutineers may have been quite innocent, but they show how ballots can be arranged and manipulated. Is a ballot taken by post above suspicion?

FRANK HODGES LINES UP WITH EMPLOYERS.

"The two essentials are that the men should put their backs into production, and that the managerial mind should apply itself to erecting internal economies in the mines themselves."

This is the dictum of Frank Hodges, who does not bend his back to shovel coal any more. From his desk in the well-equipped M.F.G.B. office he sends out this statement to show how his one-time colleagues may prevent their wages from being lowered.

"Work harder!" that is how Frank Hodges tells the miner he is to maintain his wage. The miner used to be told the way to do it was to support his Union: now it would appear that the purpose of the Union is to support the officials, and that the miners, having spared something from their wages to effect that, are to do the rest for themselves by the sweat of their brow.

Hodges talks revolution in his platform and Conference speeches. Frankly, we prefer a self-confessed reactionary like J. H. Thomas or Havelock Wilson to a sham Revolutionary of the Hodges type.

REDS FAIL TO USE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Black Friday will in time produce its harvest of revolt against the timid reactionary leaders who refused to call the Triple Alliance into action; but, as yet, the Trade Union Congress is scarcely affected by the revolt microbe.

So far from from the Reds being able to make use of Black Friday to employ the Congress as a sounding board for their propaganda, it was the reactionaries who aroused a debate upon Black Friday. The Congress decided not to debate Black Friday, but reaction was ingenious enough to bring the matter up and turn the occasion to advantage. The Iron and Steel Trades' Federation and the General Workers had tabled a resolution: Congress should provide machinery for consultation and consideration, so that before a stoppage of work, likely to involve large bodies of workers takes place, the power and influence of the whole Labour movement may be used, first to obtain a settlement without a stoppage, and failing that, the co-ordination of Labour forces to insure a victory.

Robert Smillie, John Hill, and C. T. Cramp, all Centrists who are drifting Rightward, opposed the resolution, which was heavily defeated. Smillie declared the proposal would "draw the teeth and take away the arms of organised Labour." Cramp said he did not think the resolution could be carried into practice, and that quickness of action was often essential to success.

There seems little doubt that the intention of the movers was reactionary: its phraseology indicates that it was largely motived by he desire to prevent strikes.

Nevertheless, the lesson of Black Friday is that without solidarity, without sympathetic and loyal action by all sections of the working class, the workers are powerless in face of united Capitalism.

We, of course, know that until the present structure and leadership of the organisations of the working class has been altogether changed, and until a new spirit animates the membership, the working class will never be a match for Capitalism. But even for fighting the sham battles for little palliatives which are satisfactory to the Trade Union Centrists, it is surely obvious that machinery for united action is essential. Smillie, Cramp, and Hill would have done better to amend the terms of the resolution than to fight against machinery for joint action.

But how small they are, even the biggest of them, these present pigmy leaders of the Trade Union movement. No really impartial person visiting a Trade Union Congress unfettered by previous judgments, can fail to notice this. The "great" men, the star orators, declaim excitedly over some fancied insult, or insinuation that they are just a trifle farther advanced than is really the case. Meanwhile they let serious questions of principle, of great import to the workers, pass by unnoticed. The "autonomy of Unions" is so highly important to these officials, that they oppose the creation of machinery which would facilitate the general strike.

Therefore comrades, get on with the formation of workers' commitees and rvolutionary vigilance groups within the Unions. Presently, when you are stronger, you will overturn or break away from the old Unions.

Continued from page 1.

Comrade McManus stated that it is he who decides what work shall be allocated to the members of the Party, and indicated that had I been a disciplined member of the Party he would have sent one to work in the Caerphilly election, a type of work which he considered "more suited" to my capabilities than that of editing the *Dreadnought*.

He had not done so because he anticipated I should refuse, since, as everyone knows, I believe that Communists should hold aloof from the electoral machinery in the capitalist State.

As before, my reply to the demand to surrender the *Workers' Dreadnought* was, that I was willing to discuss any proposal made by the Executive, but I was still of opinion that the *Dreadnought* could best serve Communism as an independent organ, giving expression to Left Wing ideas, which include opposition to Parliamentarism and Labour Party affiliation, but which have many other aspects, now clearly showing themselves to be the minority view in the Third International, and which represent the most advanced and thorough-going Communism. I said I believed one of the most useful offices I could perform for the movement was to edit the *Dreadnought*. I was confirmed in this view by recent happenings in the International. The decision to exclude from the Third International the industrialist, anti-Trade Union, anti-Parliamentary and highly revolutionary Communist Labour Party of Germany, which played so important a part in the Ruhr Valley rising, is leading to a division in the Third International, and the publication of a new international organ which it is important to study. The growth of the Workers Opposition in Soviet Russia, which was dealt with in an article by Alexandra Kollontay, published in last week's *Dreadnought*; the growing cleavage between Right and Left in the Russian Communist Party; the tendency to slip to the Right, which is regrettably manifesting itself in Soviet Russia, and is dealt with in the article by Ironie, which we print in this issue: all show the importance of independent discussion. The drift to the Right in Soviet Russia, which has permitted the re-introduction of many features of capitalism, such as school fees, rent, and charges for light, fuel, trains, trams, and so on, is due, doubtless, to the pressure of encircling capitalism and the backwardness of the Western democracies. Nevertheless, there are strong differences of opinion amongst Russian Communists and throughout the Communist International as to how far such retrogression can be tolerated. Such questions are not discussed in the *Communist*; it is a Party organ under the control of the Right Wing of the British Communist Party, and of the Executive in Moscow, which is at present dominated by the Right Wing policy. It presents merely the official view.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* is the only paper in this country which is alive to the controversies going on in the International Communist movement; it is the only paper through which the rank and file of the movement can even guess that there are such controversies. Such controversies are a sign of healthy development, through them the movement grows onward towards higher aims and broader horizons; by studying them, by taking part in them, the membership will develop in knowledge and political capacity.

I stated my case. The Executive replied that it would not tolerate the existence of any Communist organ independent of itself.

I informed the Executive, as is the case, that the great financial difficulties under which the *Dreadnought* is labouring have made us decide reluctantly and with great regret that this issue must be the last.

A resolution had been moved to expel me from the Party for my refusal to hand the paper to the Executive: one member now suggested that since the death of the *Dreadnought* was what the Executive desired the matter might be allowed to drop. I was asked whether it was the pressure of the Executive that had caused the decision to cease publication; I replied that the pressure which had influenced us was financial.

The resolution for expulsion was proceeded with. Its mover was lately a Conscientious Objector and a member of the N.C.F. In the days when the *Dreadnought* was the only paper in London fully supporting the Russian Communist Revolution and calling for the Soviet Revolution also in Britain, this comrade worked as a clerk in the W.S.F. office, but was unable to see eye to eye with us on this great question. He did not then approve Revolution or the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. He came to us when, as a C.O., he could not find work in an ordinary business office, and left us to take a commercial post at a higher salary when more prosperous days dawned—now the Conscientious Objector has become the disciplinarian.

Comrade McManus rounded off the discussion, the Party had no alternative but to expel me, he contended.

And so I leave the Party, but not the movement. I am tired, comrades. I have had a long and hard struggle. This stopping of the *Dreadnought*, this break in the sequence of my labours is a wrench to which I cannot be indifferent. Yet, though I regret it, when presently the difficulty of concluding our liabilities has been met and disposed of, it will relieve me of a financial strain which latterly has been almost heavier than I could bear.

The *Workers' Dreadnought* was started in 1914. I was a prisoner under the Cat and Mouse Act then; during my period out of prison on license I used to prepare the issue of the paper which was to appear after my next arrest; during my hunger and thirst strike in prison I used to prepare matter for the paper to appear after my release, and I fought to get out of prison in time to be ready for press day, by the sleep strike and other aggravations which would hasten the medical necessity for my release. This effort continued for more than a year. The *Dreadnought* had certainly a strange and stormy beginning, but that struggle was easier to bear than this moment, in which the movement I have helped to create, denies me freedom of propaganda.

But this farcial parody of discipline is a passing error; it will disappear as the Party is faced with more serious issues, and as its power to take effective action on things that matter develops. If my expulsion assist the Party in passing more speedily through this phase of childishness it will have served a useful purpose.

One point is important: Comrade McManus compared my expulsion to that of Robert Williams, who was expelled for failure to take a stand for action by the Triple Alliance on "Black Friday."

Let there be no mistake: I am not expelled for any tendency to compromise with capitalism; I am expelled for desiring freedom of propaganda for the Left Wing Communists, who oppose all compromise and seek to hasten faster and more directly onward to Communism.

The great problem of the Communist Revolution is to secure economic equality, the abolition of the wages system, and the ending of class distinctions. Russia has achieved the Revolution, but not the Communist life which should be its sequel. The porter, silent and ill-clad, still awaits the tip; still there are some who go shabby on foot with broken boots, whilst others, smartly dressed, are whizzing by in motor cars. Still there are wages of many grades, still there are graduated food rations. The "responsible worker must have an adequate supply of food, or his work will suffer:" therefore if there is a shortage of food the "responsible workers" must have a higher ration than the rest of the people: that is the argument, but how is the argument to be strained so as to explain why the wife and family of the "responsible worker" should have higher food rations than other people, should have higher rations than their neighbours, even in those cases when the "responsible worker" is not living at home with them?

These are the old injustices, the old criminal errors of capitalism persisting under the reign of the Soviets.

How grievous (if it be true, as we greatly hope not) is the news that school fees have been introduced into Soviet Russia! What could be the reason of such a retrograde step? Is it because there are not yet enough school places for all the children, and the fees are a means of ensuring that the children of the higher paid people shall have the proference? Is it the old viscious system of penalising the child whose parents are poor?

We look to Communism as the state of society in which, whilst work shall be a duty incumbent on all, the means of life, study and pleasure shall be freed, without stint, to everyone, to use at will. If a shortage compel rationing in any direction, it should be equal. The principle of paying according to skill, speed, or the length of training required for the work, is wholly bad. If it be true that necessity compels differentiation, then it is the most regrettable of necessities.

The dictatorship of the proletariat, at which some foolish persons desire to play (within their Parties before the Revolution), is a stern necessity of the transition period when capitalism is being overthrown and is striving to re-establish itself again. Such dictatorship is antagonistic to the Communist ideal: it will pass away when genuine Communism is reached.

To those who are not familiar with the details of the position, it is necessary, in conclusion, to make clear that the *Workers' Dreadnought* was founded by me, and from the early days of its existence remained under my personal control, in the first instance in order that any risks of prosecution attaching to it might fall on me alone.

When the W.S.F., of which the *Workers' Dreadnought* was the organ, was merged in the Communist Party B.S.T.I., it was made clear that I should remain responsible for the *Dreadnought*, and the Party at its Cardiff Conference passed a resolution affirming that that was the case.

When the present united Communist Party of Great Britain was formed I definitely stated that the *Workers' Dreadnought* would remain outside, and give an independent support to the Communist Party.

There is no question either of my having subverted a party organ, or of desiring to maintain a Party organ uncontrolled by the Party.

The position is that the *Dreadnought* is an independent organ, and that the Executive of the Communist Party of Great Britain has decided that it will not permit me, as one of its members, to publish an independent paper.

I do not regret my expulsion; that it has occurred shows the feeble and unsatisfactory condition of the Party: its placing of small things before great: its muddled thinking.

I desire freedom to work for Communism with the best that is in me. The Party could not chain me: I, who have been amongst the first, as the record of the papers published, both in this country and abroad, will prove, to support the present Communist Revolution and to work for the Third International, shall continue my efforts as before.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

Those shabby, hungry men that are parading the streets—unemployed—are learning the solidarity born of hardship, of the pack hunting for food. They are not hunting for food yet, though they are short of it; they are only demonstrating; marching here and there, besieging Workhouses, Boards of Guardians and Municipal Councils. They are getting keener and less slothful in their thought than they were in those already far-off days when they worked till they were tired for their employers. They are beginning to be critical of those who profess to be their friends: that is why they have made themselves obnoxious to Labour Councillors and Guardians who have not respnded to their demands. The Woolwich Labour representatives especially have been made acutely aware of the new disposition amongst the unemployed, to watch to criticise, and even to attack their leaders.

The unemployed are beginning, instinctively, to move about in droves asd to meet in gangs to discuss their affairs; they are beginning to get bolder and to hit back when they are struck, even by superior force.

The Government is beginning to notice this, beginning very slowly, for it does not want to pay attention to unpleasant things, and so it has appointed a Committee of the Cabinet to advise the Government as to what it shall do.

The Times says "the Government must come to the rescue by giving further assistance from the National Exchequer, and assuming a larger measure of directive control."

Capitalism realises it made a mistake when it tried to wash its hands of the unemployed problem, cutting down the doles and pinching the workless in every direction. The unemployed show signs of being troublesome: something must be done for them; but it is not so easy for the Government to do something now as in the old days before the war. Taxation is now so high that the people who pay taxes are not willing to submit to further taxation, however worthy may be its object.

To the unemployed we say: Go on, go on; do not submit to being starved and neglected; go on with the object of smashing the system, and if, for the present, you fail in that, and get only some minor improvements in your lot, good luck to you, but put your demand high; stick together and be ready in any crisis to form the Soviets: prepare yourselves for the day of struggle, and spread Communist literature amongst your companions. In the *Workers' Dreadnought* office we have some that we can let you have free of charge: call for it.

ESPERANTO AND SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

Each International Congress leaves one more firmly convinced that Esperanto must take a leading place in the education of the proletariat if Labour is to attain full international solidarity.

The waste of time in translation accounts for at least two-thirds of the Congress time, and then it only benefits two or three nationalities, many delegates of small nations remain completely in the dark.

That alone is a sufficient reason why Socialist Sunday Schools, who are training the Nation's future pioneers, should make Esperanto an essential part of their programme.

The proper time to learn a language is in childhood, whether you say Dog or Bow-wow, or Hundo (as in Esperanto), he will repeat one word as easily as the other.

In fact, it is quite a natural thing for a child to have two languages, one for school pals and the other for the schoolmistress or the mother, in one case pal, spuds, grub, tuck, in the other case friend, potatoes, meal, food. No one thinks it particularly clever to know two languages.

Already in most countries there are thousands of Esperantists; some of them travel from one country to another with the small Esperanto directory that gives the name of some Esperantist in every town who will welcome you as a *Samideano* (Esperanto for Comrade, one who has *Same-idea*).

Besides the immense advantage to the next generation of free intercourse across the frontiers of States, it has been proved that even an elementary knowledge of Esperanto, greatly helps one's command of English grammar, a lack of which often causes speakers of limited education to be unduly diffident.

J. LEAKEY.

The *Daily Herald* has published my letter dealing with my expulsion from the Communist Party. This letter it submitted to Comrade McManus for his cuts and criticisms.

The *Herald* did not accord me the similar courtesy of submitting to me the statement announcing the expulsion.

I had asked the Executive to allow me to see any statement they were sending out, but this, Comrade McManus, the Chairman, refused, without asking the opinion of the Executive.

I adhere to my statement that Comrade McManus said that no member of the Party would be allowed to publish a book, pamphlet, or article, without the sanction of the Executive. I put the question specifically to him, and he definitely replied in the affirmative.

Comrade McManus says:

"There are stipulations and reservations with which Miss Pankhurst is well acquainted, giving a different impression altogether from what she has tried to convey."

Let him be man enough to explain what that means.

PHOTO SCULPTURE.

The invention of photo-sculpture by H. M. Edmunds, which will enable carvings in relief to be made mechanically from a photograph, is another triumph of science; science which promises so splendid a future to mankind when freed from the present private-property and wage system which keeps the majority of people in poverty.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Dear Comrade,—We are pleased to see by to-day's *Herald* that you are being expelled from the "Communist Party," especially as the reason given is that you refuse to submit the independence of the "Dreadnought" to that Party. It is a credit to anyone who is expelled from any party, if the reason is through their not sinking their principles.

We also have resigned from that Party, our reason being through their dabbling with Parliamentarianism, a position, which is "to us," ridiculous, even if the reason is to try and smash it up, the latter seems just as silly as one getting intoxicated with drink, in order to cure oneself of drunkenness. We were sorry when the unity conference was held, as we knew that it would mean the end of our little fighting B.S.T.I. party, and the sacrifice of its seven splendid principles. We are afraid we shall not get the *free* Communism we desire through the channels of the present Communist Party.

We are enclosing a trifle (all we can at present afford) for the "Dreadnought," wishing it every success.

Yours for free Communism,
A. J. and F. E. SYMES.

Dear Editor,—I notice that the E.C. has expelled you, because you have not handed over to them the control of the "Workers' Dreadnought." I write to congratulate you on the stand you make, and to register an emphatic protest against your expulsion.

The E.C. has not so far given any proof of its sincerity. It has made the "Power of recall" a mere phrase, well buried in the constitution. It has interpreted the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the Dictatorship of the gentlemen who happen to be in power, or rather in office. It has gagged the voice of the rank and file. And made the Communist programme a sham and mockery.

I will just give an instance that has come to my knowledge. The E.C. issued a circular to the I.L.P.ers during the miners' lock-out. The arguments in that circular were wholly opportunist, and went to the length of vaguely compromising the doctrine of the Dictatorship. The Clapham Branch of the C.P. sent a letter requesting their views be given publicity in the Party's organ. The E.C. suppressed those views, and excused itself by saying that it was not advisable to publish them at that juncture.

Yours fraternally,
M.I.C.P.

33, Silver Crescent,
Gunnersbury, W.

Mr. Oliver S. Marlow, who was a member of the British Military Expedition which went to fight Soviet Russia, is now speaking on behalf of the Friends' Famine Relief Fund. He writes:—

"Even those of us who were once more or less dangerous opponents and critics of their constitution and administration have now come to desire nothing so much as a new lease of mutual confidence between the two countries. It is not at all surprising that Soviet officials should entertain an excessive suspicion towards all persons with a past such as mine has been. As, however, I share my position with thousands of other Englishmen whose desire to get back to Russia is equally innocent of any design upon the Soviet government, it is most essential that that suspicion be overcome and replaced by a new attitude of faith, hope and charity.

Russia is a young country; we are very, very old, we English. Russia must always lead the way, we shall always be the ones to follow—anyway, along the road to reconciliation. So let them extend a trustful hand to us, for if they wait for our government to extend one to them, they will wait for ever. If they want friends in this country, let them make their appeal to youth—and youth of all classes."

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Portsmouth Group, per E. M. Marsh, 18s., International Communist 5s., A Comrade 2s. 6d., Comrades Gilbert 2s. 6d., Vickers 10s., Lagsding 5s., R. Davies 10s., Brimley 10s., Hart 2s. 6d., Crabb 5s., A. R. Dunbar £1, W. Hendey 5s., T. Joffe £1, J. Rusch 10s., H. Telford 5s., J. Vituli £1, Cahill 8s. 6d. Total, £9 4s. Laura $10.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Russia Before and After the Revolution. By S. Carlyle Potter. C. W. Daniel, Ltd. 1s.

An interesting and useful sketch.

Mrs. Hodges: a Comedy of Rural Politics in one Act. By Margaret Macnamara. London: C. W. Daniel. 2s.

This is number seven in a "Play for a People's Theatre." The play would undoubtedly go home amongst those who are suffering in cheap and nasty "working-class" dwellings; but we are sorry the remedy proposed by Mrs. Hodges and her colleagues of the Women's Institute should have been the removal of the six-foot fixed bath because it was awkwardly placed and the arrangement for getting hot water into it was inadequate. It seems strange that Mrs. Hodges with a husband and four children should have used her third bedroom merely for keeping fruit, roots, Sunday clothes and stores generally, as well as using the bath for her potatoes. The workers have not, as a rule, very large stores to fall back on. If Mr. and Mrs. Hodges grew their own potatoes, we think they would have stored them outside, and that Mr. Hodges would have managed to put up a shed somehow.

"MOSCOW."

Daily Organ of the III. Congress of the "Comintern" (Communist International).

3d. each. 4d. Post Free.

An interesting and valuable record.

From the "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" Office.

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT.

BY SYLVIA PANKHURST. PRICE 2s. 6D.

WRIT ON COLD SLATE.

BY SYLVIA PANKHURST. PRICE 1s. 6D.

From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE, 152, FLEET STREET, E.C. 4.

LOVE AND SOCIETY.

By D. E. MULLINS.

"MARRIED LOVE." Marie C. Stopes, D.Sc., Ph.D. 126th thousand. Putnam's & Sons. 6s.

"COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY." Alexandra Kollontay. "Dreadnought" Office. 4d.

We would heartily recommend these two works to all who seek to learn something of that ineffable mystery which we know as Love—and of its place and function in our social life. We do not think it would be possible to be too effusive in our praise of Dr. Stopes' work; it is, without doubt, one of the grandest and most inspiring books of the day.

This, and the pamphlet by the ex-Russian Commissary for Public Welfare, Alexandra Kollontay, should be in the hands of every revolutionary, of whatever school of thought.

As is usual with works of their kind, neither has met with an unmixed reception. We have seen it stated that although Dr. Stopes has written "some sound sense," the general tone and outlook is "as incompatible with Christian ethics as it is perfectly compatible with Pagan"—and her work has been declared "non-mailable" in the U.S.A.

Truth in Mayfair.

According to a writer in the *Book Monthly*, however: "In the West End, just now, everybody is reading "Married Love." Frank, straightforward truth finds no greater admirers than in the heart of Mayfair, and that is the reason for the success of Dr. Stopes' book" We commend this to the attention of the Socialist writers in search of success—and not altogether satirically! We do not imagine that Kollontay's pamphlet is being read by everybody in the West End, although it is equally frank and straightforward.

A certain provincial newspaper ascribes to it the merit of candour—and goes on to say that it "recommends a frankly bestial system for those human relations which ought to be most sacred." Yet there are very striking points of similarity between the views of the two writers. This is particularly noticeable in their statements on the position of woman in society; both in what Dr. Stopes terms our "poisoned 'civilisation,'" and in the Ideal State of the future. It would be impossible to do justice to these works within the scope of a review. We must content ourselves with a brief note of the outstanding features, in the hope that readers may be stimulated to obtain copies for themselves.

The Springs of Life

Within the heart of normal man and woman arises the longing for a kindred being. This desire does not spring to birth at puberty, as is sometimes supposed, but is indirectly manifested even in infancy.

It is woven into the web of life in a thousand different ways: it is, in fact, the source of all that is best in civilisation.

Psychical well-being is intimately connected with sexual physiology. It is also important to notice that it is an essentially Communistic affection. As Edward Carpenter finely expresses it, "it is a desire for one from whom there should be no concealment; whose body should be as dear to one, in every part, as one's own: with whom there should be no sense of Mine or Thine, in property or possession. . . ." It is the supreme factor in life; yet it requires careful training in accordance with physiological law if it is to produce the highest results.

The Sexual Rhythm.

Rhythm has played an important part in the evolution of man, as is evidenced by the power of music over the emotions. There are the elementary rhythms of ether, air, and water, as well as the cycles of seasons and planets. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that rhythm is a vital element in the sex-life, especially in that of the female. The economic dependence of woman upon man, and he consequent subservience of her nature to his selfish desires, have served to modify this characteristic, but it is there none the less. There is a definite fortnightly ebb and flow of the sex-tide, which Dr. Stopes terms "periodicity of recurrence of desire." Not only is this affected by the traditional "modesty" which forbids the manifestation, but there are also the adverse influences of fatigue and town-life to be considered.

The Inner Meaning of Sex.

Sexual love has been, and still is, misunderstood, for two reasons. It is sometimes regarded as a purely spiritual passion, degraded by connection with the material; and it also suffers from the entirely sensual outlook.

True love is a synthesis of the psychical and the physiological, which act and re-act upon one another. The personality of the lover is the supreme factor, using these powers as media of expression. We are inclined to think, also, that reproduction figures too largely in the popular conception of the purpose of sexual intercourse—we hope to show the fallacy of this idea in a forthcoming article on "Birth Control."

"Is Marriage a Failure?"

Horatio Bottomley's query! We are inclined to hold a suspended judgment. Viewed from the highest standpoint, marriage, in our present state of society, is certainly more of a failure than a success. Dr. Stopes is very emphatic upon this point, but is of opinion that the fault lies rather in lack of sexual education than in the institution itself. It is certainly true that abuse is no valid excuse for prohibition, of the drink-trade.

Family Life.

Much of the narrowness of family life is due to the economic dependence of woman, who is thereby deprived of her rightful share in the creative work of the community. Her mental horizon is restricted by the claims of home, which leave her little time or inclination to take an interest in the wider affairs of society. The class-tradition is a great hindrance to true matings, although frequently defied by those who view such motives with contempt.

The Cause of Prostitution.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Stopes is extremely lenient in her attitude towards prostitution—usually spoken of in terms of disgust, real or affected. It is not always vicious desire which prompts men to seek the company of the prostitute—sometimes it is the failure to find satisfaction of their natural longings from any other source. The blame for this lies upon popular ignorance and prudery.

NO RENT.

Our congratulations to the Shoreditch no rent strikers. Shoreditch is one of the most hideous districts of London. We hope that the strike will be solid and full of rebellious spirit.

THE INVERNESS CONFERENCE.

We do not anticipate that the Inverness Conference will produce a settlement of the Irish question, because we believe that Sinn Fein will still stand for independence, and the British Government will still refuse to grant it.

But we invite our readers to turn their minds back to Easter Week, 1916. As a result of that uprising, James Connolly and the rest were shot as criminals. Connolly, though taken prisoner gravely wounded, was strapped on a stretcher for execution. To-day de Valera is treated as an honourable opponent and is invited to Conferences with the British Cabinet. Why the change? Because de Valera and his colleagues have ignored the councils of weakness offered by lukewarm friends on this side of the water, because they have staked their all in the fight.

Though to us Irish independence is only important in so far as it sets the minds of the Irish workers free to concentrate on the class struggle, and in so far as it a step to the breaking down of that capitalist bulwark, the British Empire, yet we deeply admire the whole-heartedness with which Sinn Fein has flung itself unreservedly into the struggle, abandoning all care for comfortable life, for money, for household goods, for future well-being.

That spirit must animate the Communist movement, until it does we shall achieve nothing.

The reminder by Vernon Hartshorn, M.P., that the Labour Party has increased its poll by 180 per cent. in the 40 by-elections it has fought since the General Election, raises the question as to whether the next Election may bring in a Labour Government. The Irish need not anticipate the easy grant of Independence from a Labour Government; Arthur Henderson has made it plain that he and the officials who control the Party are pretty much in line with Lloyd George on that question. Nevertheless, Sinn Fein might force nominal independence from a Labour Government: it might also force it from a cappitalist Government—but not yet. Real Independence Ireland will never have until Communism ushers in the end of capitalist Imperialism.

TRANSITION—TO AND FROM COMMUNISM

A decree of the Council of Commissaries of Soviet Russia to be put into immediate practice ordains that unconditional payment shall be demanded for various articles of necessity and materials which are distributed by the economic organisations of the State to private persons and associations; also to trade unions. Prices are to correspond with the market values, and where these cannot be determined, are to be calculated upon pre-war prices, regard being had to the depreciation of currency. In the future only medicines, State provision for the upbringing of children and for purposes of assistance, working clothes and the care extended to the State employees and officials and their families, shall remain free of payment.

House Rent and Landlords Coming Back.

The housing question is also to be regulated uniformly throughout the Soviet Republic on a money-basis.

State employees and officials will have free lodging, the rent for their dwellings being paid by the State to the private house-owner.

Re-instating Property.

An amendment of the earlier decree of uncompensated expropriation of private buildings the Council has passed a decree re-instating the former owners in their property rights with the limitation that each private person may only possess one dwelling-house and outbuilding.

Buying and Selling Again.

Another decree restores private property in furniture, and permits the sale and transport thereof.

Going to Law Again.

Legal proceedings can be set on foot for the recovery of lost pieces of furniture.

No more Free Light, Travel and Baths.

From the 15th of August on the free use of dwellings trams, lighting and public baths is withdrawn; by these means the receipts of the State Treasuries are to be increased. A survey in Petrograd showed that of the 600 houses inspected 133 were threatened by an early collapse. Labour for breaking up the decayed houses is wanting. The economic Council of the Government of Odessa has decided to give back the domestic industries and such small manufacturing concerns into the hands of their former possessors.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

We were told that however much we might object to government of any sort, on principle, government in the form of a dictatorship of the proletariat was necessary to bring about the transition from Capitalism to free Communism, and that such a dictatorship, being proletarian, would be shorn of the objectionable qualities of other forms of government. Some of us never assented to this, and the trend of things seems to show we were right when we maintained that the dictatorship of the proletariat could only amount to a dictatorship *over* the proletariat of an official class, which would partake of the common nature of all officialism, even if some or all of those officials should be drawn from or voted for by the proletariat itself. We maintained that bureaucracy never proved the transition to anything save increased bureaucracy, or towards the revolt of a people which should discover that those aspirations towards free Communism which some have never relinquished, others have newly awakened to, are yet far from realisation. The article by Kollontai on the Workers' Opposition in Russia, recently published in the "Dreadnought," seems to bear this out, and to me it is a hopeful sign for the health of the revolution.

How is Communism to be Realised?

The realisation of Communism, *i.e.*, not Communist Partyism, but the common-ownership and use of the means of production, and the common enjoyment of the products, still remains a problem which will have to be solved by the creative genius of the people freely organising themselves; or not at all. I have no fear of the latter event. But the bureaucratic revolutionaries cannot justify their claims to being the means of transition towards common-ownership whilst the decrees quoted above witness a retrogression in the opposite direction.

Personally, I do not blame them for their failure; if anyone could have succeeded by those methods I believe the Russian leaders could; but those methods are doomed to failure by their very nature. The lesson we should learn is to spread the ideal of Communism as widely and clearly as possible, to make Communists, that is, people understanding and imbued with a passion for the attainment of that ideal, not members of parties obsessed before all else with the desire to build up a strong centralised party to whose leadership the masses shall be subordinated. That would only be to erect one more obstacle to be overthrown before the people can really become free economically, mentally and morally.

A. IRONIE.

SOLIDARITY.

Anti-Soviet Famine Relief Plots are now headlined side by side with the news that " Beckett Beat McCormick," and that there are " Eleven Murder Charges " against Landru.

Of course, there are anti-Soviet plots organised by the capitalist emissaries who are organising famine relief. Of course, those who held Russia enchained in the conditions that were the cause of Russia's perpetual liability to famine are only using the famine as a cloak behind which to fight for the re-instatement of those conditions.

Therefore abandon the foolish pretence that the capitalist Governments will assist the famine-stricken people of Russia, and work for the Revolution.

In a strike, the great Trade Unions in other trades prefer sending donations to the strikers to coming out and striking with them in order to insure a speedy victory.

Let no one who sends the pitiful dole to the starving workers and peasants of Soviet Russia imagine that the duty of revolutionary solidarity with them is fulfilled in the least measure hereby.

We are not enthusiastic about the proposed Labour Loan to Soviet Russia, at " a small fixed rate of interest." We wish we could see the workers' movement getting the capitalist thing called " interest " out of its blood.

To us, the idea of the workers' organisations of this country becoming creditors of Soviet Russia is repugnant, and that of a worker obtaining a " small fixed interest " out of the Russian famine seems as hideously cold-blooded as the capitalist investor obtaining interest out of the capitalist war.

Our advice is: Give what you can to the Revolution in Russia, or at home, and if you are a revolutionary, you will not grumble at giving all you have. Do not expect to live comfortably: do not expect to make your prpaganda pay. If you can exist and keep your soul free to work for the new life, be thankful.

Poplar Councillors are still in gaol, and their colleagues who hold majorities in the other Boroughs stil refrain from following their example and thus procuring their release. Stepney, however, is considering whether to fall into line. The rest still tamely administer the capitalist system with all the smugness of the contented philantropist. The Mayor of Bethnal Green Comrade Vaughan, is a member of the Communist Party, but he ignores the stipulation of the Third International Constitution, that such elective office shall be used for destroying the machinery of capitalist administration. Apparently he has even refrained, so far, from taking a step towards following the lead given by the Labour Party in the adjoining Borough of Poplar. tive office shall be used for destroying the machinery of capitalist administration. He has even refrained, so far, from taking a step towards following the lead given by the Labour Party in the adjoining Borough of Poplar.

Whilst the diplomatists of the movement are marking time, Mrs. Cressall's baby may be born in prison. There is nothing to be ashamed of in being born in gaol, but the conditions of imprisonment and the anxiety suffered by the mother parted from her other six children, may affect, very adversely, both herself and the coming child.

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