The Irish War.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 28. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1921. [WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

OUR POINT OF VIEW

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

What is the difference between ourselves and the Communist Party?

Our differences are partly of principle, partly of practical utility.

As to the second, we believe that we can do useful work for Communism by continuing the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and we do not admit the right of anyone to stop us.

Moreover, we disire to remain an independent communist voice. An independent organ is a guard against the corruptions, opportunisms and tyrannies which are apt to attend on Parties, and especially Parties formed, as the Communist Party of Great Britain has been, from groups of conflicting tendencies, brought together by outside pressure and largely composed of persons as yet untried in the political struggle. The doctrine: "My Party, right or wrong," which leads inevitably to the practice of putting party before principle, must be shunned consistently by those who desire to take part in the creation of revolutionary change. The past constantly stretches out its tentacles to draw us back to it; constantly strives to clog our minds with sophistries. A high order of mental courage and independence is necessary to maintain always the hard, steep path of the revolutionary. The comfortable, care-free official position; the members so apt to be amenable and trusting, if only they are not asked to leave their groove, or to worry their minds with new and startling thoughts: all these provide an incentive towards opportunism, against which a constant spur is needed.

The danger of opportunism, from which an independent organ can help to protect a party, is moreover inherent in those compromise tactics for which the Third International declared itself at its Second Congress in Moscow last year, and to which it still remains committed.

We contend that the present policy of the Third International is illogical and unworkable, and either the policy must be changed, or a new force must arise to achieve the workers' revolution outside Russia, and to make Russia herself a Communist country.

Briefly, the present policy of the majority in the Third International is to secure numerous adherents, by striving to combine mutually conflicting policies.

Parliamentarism.

Thus the Third Internatinal declares that Communism will not come by Act of Parliament, that Parliament is part of the machinery of Capitalism, and must be swept away; that the workers must be estranged from it and induced to set up their Soviets as the rival organism that will overthrow and supersede it; that Capitalism will be overthrown, not by a Parliamentary majority, but by actual force, by the industrial and armed power of the workers.

Having laid all this down in the most unmistakable fashion, the Third International goes on to declare that Communists, though they must not work for reforms through Parliament, must yet seek election to Parliament.

The only official reason given for this weak conclusion is that the election contest and Parliament provide effective platforms for Communist oratory, and that the speeches of Communist candidates and Members of Parliament may be widely reported in the capitalist press.

In reply to these arguments we must point out that the Parliamentary speeches of Colonel Lone went unreported after he joined the S.P. and the Communist Party, and that it was only when he was in the dock being tried for his speeches outside Parliament that the Press gave much space to his activities. As for the Communist candidate at Caerphilly his speeches were not even reported in the *Daily Herald*. But the point is of minor importance; the speeches of Lloyd George, Churchill, Asquith and the rest occupy column upon column in the capitalist newspapers: we Communists can never be given anything approaching the great and constant publicity in capitalist organs that is accorded to the idols of capitalist politics.

We must find other means of reaching the popular ear. Yet even were a candidate or Member of Parliament entitled to a verbatim report in the entire press every day, how flimsy a reason this would be for insisting that Communist Parties must, of necessity, take part in the political scramble for seats in Parliament; how miserably insufficient a reason for casting out the fighting Communist Labour Party of Germany, and many more!

But there are other reasons, reasons not given in Theses, why the Third International demands Parliamentary action from the Parties affiliated to it. Two deeply opposed policies are represented by the Communist acceptance or refusal or Parliamentary action.

Those of the sincere and intelligent Communists who decide to use Parliamentary action do so because they believe they can thereby obtain sway over unawakened, unconscious masses: they are not content, patiently, to gather a body of thinking workers, but desire to take a short cut by capturing unthinking masses.

An extreme instance of such opportunism is the decision that the Communist Party should seek affiliation to the Labour Party. Our Russian comrades fail to realise that the present Labour leaders cannot always count on the response of the inert masses in their Unions unless the issue be a very simple bread and butter one of hours and wages. If the Communist Party could conceivably capture executive power in the Labour Party, it would have captured a gigantic machine that would not move.

When we, who are against the use of Parliamentary action, argue that it is contradictory and confusing to declare on the one hand that Parliament is useless and must be destroyed, and on the other hand to urge the workers to put us into Parliament, those who have chosen the way of Parliamentary action, reply that great masses of unconscious workers still have faith in Parliament. Quite so, we answer, then we must undermine that faith; but appalled by the magnitude of the task of creating a body of conscious workers strong enough to effect any changes, the Communist opportunists propose to accomplish the revolution with crowds of unconscious workers.

We, who believe that the revolution can only be accomplished by those whose minds are awakened and who are inspired by conscious purpose, have decided to shun the administrative machinery of Capitalism.

We have decided this because of the clear, unmistakable lead to the masses which this refusal gives, a lead, surer and more effective, because it is a lead given by action, not merely by words.

We have so decided also because the refusal to compete for electoral seats means the cutting off from us of those weak and self-seeking opportunists to whom seats in Parliamentary and on the local government bodies are attractive because of the position they confer upon the holder.

So much for our difference on the Parliamentary question with the Third International, as officially represented in its Theses. Our differences with the Communist Party of Great Britain go still further, for the British Party does not operate the Parliamentary policy in the destructive sense laid down by the Third International.

The British Party has no representatives in Parliament at present; but it has many repretatives on local governing bodies: the policy of these representatives is not the policy of the Third International Theses. As we have already pointed out, during the coal strike, when the miners were fighting the concerted attempt of the employing class of this country to reduce the working class standard of living, the representatives of the Communist Party in Poplar were responsible for cutting down wages of bricklayer's labourers, painter's labourers, bakers, sewing machinists and others, as well as reducing the rate of Poor Law Relief to the poor and unemployed. Such examples can be multiplied by anyone who takes the trouble to inquire into the doings of the representatives of the Communist Party of Great Britain on the local Boards and Councils, up and down the country. Where, indeed, are to be found Communist Party representatives on local bodies using their position on the bodies in a revolutionary way? Where are those Communists? Let us hear of them. Echo, answering "where?" has long given the only response to that urgent question.

We do not blame those "Communists" and Labour representatives who do not see eye to eye with us on this matter; we do not accuse them of bad faith or dishonesty. We simply say that they are not operating the policy of the Third International as set forth in its Theses. We exist to point out such facts: we shall continue to do so, and, in so doing, without malice, we shall educate the movement.

In our opinion, the use of Parliamentary action by Communists is illogical, contradictory and bound to lead to the lapses into rank Reformism that we see wherever members of the Communist Party secure election to public bodies. These Communist Party members who have been elected to public bodies, are simply trying, like the Labour Party, to secure reforms: they are taking no step to unhinge the capitalist system. Some of them may be more, some less, effective Reformists than the Labour Members, but they are doing precisely the same sort of work, whilst the Communist Party fulminates against all Reformers.

Let us look the matter squarely in the face. We are for Revolution: we have done with Reform and, leaving it altogether alone, we concentrate our efforts on bringing people to an understanding of Communism and to a deter-

continued on page 6.

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.

Miss Pye was a friend of Miss Mayence, and Miss Pye had just come back from Russia. Miss Pye had been to Russia with her cousin, a concessionaire who had gone over to negotiate with the Soviet Government, a means of making money for himself out of the necessities of the workers and peasants of Russia. Miss Pye's cousin was frankly a money-maker: if he had any politics, they would have been the politics of Capitalist Imperialism; but he was too busy trying to make money, to hold consistently to any political creed. He was usually against whatever Government happened to be in power, and was apt to wax enthusiastic about those occasional stunt politicians who arise into prominence for a brief space, shouting "anti-waste," or any other catch-cry that happens to be the rage at the moment.

Miss Pye had generally agreed with her cousin's views and still did so. At the same time she had become a Bolshevik or thought she had, for Bolshevism had taken her fancy, and the adventurous aspect of the Revolution had aroused her enthusiasm. Had she not been a Suffragette? That predisposed her to sympathy with all militants.

Miss Pye had gone with her cousin to Russia; she had even attended Bolshevik meetings and conferences there, and had talked with Soviet Commissaries.

Miss Mayence was eager to learn what Miss Pye had seen, and she thought that Mr. Penman would also be interested to hear of Soviet Russia at first hand.

Accordingly it was arranged that Miss Mayence and Frank Penman should meet Miss Pye for lunch at the Press Restaurant, in Fleet Street.

The two friends, for by this time Miss Mayence and Penman had drifted into a sustained friendship, had looked forward keenly to the meeting with Miss Pye. Miss Mayence had forgotten Miss Pye's incoherence, her poor memory, her vacillating and contradictory opinions. To Mr. Penman, Miss Pye was quite unknown: the fact that she had had the good sense to go to Russia, argued that she was a woman of high intelligence, in his opinion; he was prepared to receive her views with profound respect. Both went to Miss Pye as to an oracle.

Most profound was their disappointment: they found that she brought back in her dishevelled brain a mass of conflicting tags of conversation, a veritable wastepaper basket of exaggerations, inaccuracies, and ill-assorted, uncomprehended information.

Like most of the casual visitors to Russia, her impressions centred mainly around the supply of food and minor comforts: *pyock* (ration) was the only Russian word she had assimilated.

"The people looked wonderfully well, but I know they were not well," she said, dourly. "I knew they could not be, because I knew what food they were having."

"What was that?" asked Miss Mayence.

Miss Pye ignored the question and continued:

"What I was sorry to see were the class distinctions. I assure you, it is as bad there as it is here: Russia is going right back to Capitalism; there can be no mistake about it. The preference is everywhere given to the bourgeoisie. There is no equality."

Then she went on:

"Of course, the working people are much less civilised than they are here. You can't conceive how destructive they are. A friend of mine told me of a bourgeois family who had a fifteen-roomed house. They had first one room, then another taken away from them by the Housing Committee, until they were driven into only one tiny room in the cellar. They begged to be allowed more, but were refused. The ignorant workers who were put into their drawing-room, actually brought their hens with them: imagine it, a beautiful room with a grand piano!"

"Did you see the people?" asked Miss Mayence.

"No, but I was told their name," said Miss Pye.

Miss Mayence protested:

"If there was no place given them to keep their hens, and if they were poor people who had never had——"

"They were *not* poor people," interrupted Miss Pye. She turned confidentially to Frank Penman:

"The bureaucracy is awful: they have no idea of organisation. People often waste a whole morning going to get their rooms or their clothes rations."

"It takes me more than a morning when I find I can afford to buy new clothes," said Miss Mayence, "and when I decide to look for new diggings—well, I've just done it, and it took all my evenings and my Saturdays for three weeks."

Miss Pye aggressively turned away from Miss Mayence.

"A friend of mine works in the Commintern," she said. "She told me how disgracefully the shorthand writers, who took notes of a conference, were treated. They were promised certain payments and then told they could not have them: and they had actually spent the money by then; they had borrowed money to get extra clothes and shoes from the speculators, and they were put in a perfect hole by not getting it."

"Extra shoes?" asked Frank Penman.

"Oh, yes," said Miss Pye; "of course, they couldn't manage with the ordinary food and clothes ration! They were buying extra from the speculators."

"Other people have to manage with the rations I suppose?" said Penman.

"Of course they have," answered Miss Pye; "but these people had been promised the means to buy extra: they were *entitled* to it!"

"Perhaps they ought not to have been promised it," said Miss Mayence.

"That does not matter: a promise is a promise!" said Miss Pye, her voice raised, as she struck the table.

"But I thought you complained that things were not equal: I thought you wanted thinsg equal." Penman objected.

"It is dreadful to think of those masses of little people stretching out their hands for a little more of everything; the masses of the still poorer people and the richer people, right up to the richest, millions upon millions of them, all grasping out for a bit extra." Miss Mayence was murmuring to herself.

"You can't have equality" Miss Pye answered Penman, impatiently; "if you saw how some of those people live, as I saw them, in their trucks!"

"Do they live in trucks?" asked Miss Mayence.

"No, I mean when they are travelling; travelling for a week or more, in trucks with a board over the top, and never getting a wash, except under a tap at the station: if you saw how they live!"

"But that isn't their home life: that is just travelling under unpleasant conditions. One cannot judge people by that. Even if one could, one must begin some time: if people cannot get comforts, they are obliged to go without them; but when they get them, they soon learn to use them." Penman argued.

"You can't do anything with this generation," said Miss Pye; "you must begin with the children."

"Did you go to the schools?" asked Miss Mayence.

Miss Pye replied in the negative and proceeded to retail the various stories of petty corruption by Soviet officials she had picked up from all sorts of people during her journey.

Then, having demanded: "Separate bills, please," she accused the well-mannered Italian waiter of overcharging her, admitted her mistake without an apology, and curtly swept up her change, leaving nothing for the tip.

She had confined herself strictly to the items provided in the two-shilling lunch, having begun by specifically demanding whether the bread was included, and now she was looking rather haughtily on her companions, the two impecunious art students, who were so relatively extravagant as to indulge in the extra luxury of black coffee, which added fivepence to each of their bills.

She left the Restaurant abruptly, while the coffee was being served to her companions declaring that she must hurry off to keep another appointment.

"Fancy going to Russia and coming back without seeing anything!" sighed Miss Mayence. "She hasn't changed at all."

"Going to Russia won't make a stupid person intelligent, or a prejudiced person impartial," replied Frank Penman. "That is what we have to remember when we read the jumble of nonsense, that appears in the newspapers, about Communism."

THE GERMAN CONTEST.

Lord Beaverbrook, in the *Sunday Express* of September 18th gives the following graphic picture of Germany to-day:—

"*Germany, threatened by enemies on every frontier, and menaced by raging civil dissention within, where the central Government threatens the Bavarian, which tosses its own threats back; the Communists of Berlin organising themselves into an armed menace against the Monarchists of Munich, who retort with frenzied preparations for the death struggle.*

"*After that, still in a bewildering complexity, cross-threat and counter-preparation of Red in White Bavaria, and White in Red Berlin, with all factions alike making ready to fall on the central Government, even as they fall on each other.*

"*An army maintained at least to the limit the treaty allows; a police force as strong as the Allies permit; hordes of officials in the Ministries, splendidly trained material for an improvised army—all with high pay and magnificent equipment; the 'Free Corps,' whose numbers no man can tell; a whole population openly or secretly arming for a fraticidal struggle.*

"*Multiply all this by the number of Sovereign States which went to make up the old German Empire, and you have the picture of Germany to-day.*"

This picture is undoubtedly a true one. Many of its features will be developed also in this country as Capitalism nears its fall and we advance towards our own proletarian Revolution.

But turn again to this Beaverbrook picture of Germany. It is an accurate one so far as it goes. Does it not vividly illustrate how Government rests on force and is maintained by force, in the society of to-day?

Does it not show that the struggle for political supremacy in Germany will be decided, not by speeches and votes but by the practical power to dominate and control?

This being so, it is remarkable that the Executive of the Third International in Moscow should have cast out the Communist Labour Party of Germany, which is admittedly an excellent fighting body, because the Communist Labour Party refuses to take part in Parliamentary elections and has broken away from the old Trade Unions to form bands of militant workers, prepared to abandon the old struggle for palliative reforms, and to throw themselves into the struggle for the capture of power by the revolutionary proletariat and the establishment of Soviets.

LOWERING THE RATES.

Some of the Borough Councils are lowering the rates, and some of those Borough Councils have Labour majorities. Everyone who pays rates, of course, complains that the rates are too high, and so they are; but if those boroughs were showing even bare humanity towards the unemployed they could not lower the rates; they would be compelled either to raise them or to go bankrupt.

Keep up your fight workless men and women, and do not starve submissively!

THE REACTION IS ARMING.

The Vienna "Rote Fahne" publishes a secret letter (L. 1784) from the Polish embassy in Vienna to the Hungarian embassy. The letter arranges for the transport under the label old iron of 150 waggons of war material, chiefly old guns, howitzer and machine guns.

aper.

THE FIGHT AGAINST PROSTITUTION.

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY.

PART II.

COMMISSION TO FIGHT PROSTITUTION.

Already last year, at the suggestion of the Central Organ of the People's Commissariat of Social Welfare, there was organised an Interdepartmental Commission to Combat Prostitution.

For a number of reasons, the work of the Commission was temporarily abandoned, but in the autumn of this year the Commission was again formed, and with the active co-operation of Dr. Golman and the Central Organ, this Commission was already beginning an organised activity in accordance with a carefully elaborated plan. In the Inter-departmental Commission there are representatives of the People's Commissariats of Justice, of Health, of Labour, of Social Welfare, of Education, of the Working Women's Sections, and the League of Communist Youth. The Commission drew up a set of Theses (printed in its Bulletin No. 4), sent out a circular letter to all the provincial sections of the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare, caused the creation of similar commissions in the provinces, which carried on their work under the guidance of the Central Commission, and went about the task of elaborating a number of great measures for a systematic struggle with the sources that feed prostitution.

The Inter-departmental Commission considers that the Women's Sections should show the most active and lively interest in this matter, since prostitution is a scourge which falls chiefly upon the women of the propertyless working class. The task of the Women's Sections is to begin a general propaganda concerned with questions connected with prostitution, since it is in our interest to develop the revolution in the domain of the family, to stabilise the relations between the sexes, to approach this question from the interests of the working society. We shall dispose definitely of prostitution if we have consolidated the beginnings of Communism. This irrefutable truth is the axiom on which our work is based. But this fundamental task must be supplemented by another task: the declaration of the norms of a new Communist morality.

Communists must openly acknowledge that in the sphere of the relations between the sexes a great, unparalleled revolution is taking place. But this revolution has been brought about by the upheaval in the economic system and in the new role that woman plays in the economic activity of the workers' state. At present, in this difficult transition period, when the old is crumbling and the new has only been partly created, the conjugal relations between the sexes very frequently assume forms that are unhealthy and inadmissible in the interests of the generality. But in all these manifold variety of conjugal forms, found in this changing period, there is nevertheless a healthy kernel.

It is not only necessary to fight by practical means with the causes that had been handed down to us from the past, and that still feed prostitution, not only to support the improvements in housing and to struggle against homelessness, against negligent treatment of children, but also to accelerate the means of a resolute participation, the crystallisation of the foundations of the morality of the working class still in process of emergence and formation, since the working class is only now consolidating its dictatorship.

The Inter-departmental Commission makes the statement that in Soviet Russia prostitution appears in two forms: (1) in the form of professional prostitution; and (2) in the form of secret earnings. The first form of prostitution is very little developed among us, and is of very slight extent. In Petrograd, for example, where raids are undertaken against prostitutes, this mode of combating prostitution yielded practically no results.

The second form of prostitution, highly developed and extremely extensive in bourgeois capitalistic countries, also assumes a great variety of forms in our country (in Petrograd there were from 6,000 to 7,000 registered prostitutes before the revolution, whereas as a matter of fact more than 50,000 women were actually practising prostitution). Prostitution is practised by the Soviet office employees, in order to obtain, by the sale of their caresses, boots that go up to the knee; prostitution is resorted to by mothers of families, working women, peasant women, who are out after flour for their children and sell their bodies to the manager of the rations division in order to obtain from him a full bag of the precious flour. Sometimes the girls in the offices associate with their male superiors not for manifestly material gain, for rations, shoes, etc., but in the hope of advancement in office. And there is an additional form of prostitution—"careerist prostitution"—which is also based in the last analysis, however, on material calculations.

INADVISABILITY OF LEGAL PENALTY.

How shall we fight these conditions? There was proposed to the Inter-departmental Commission the question of a *punishment of prostitution by law.* Many of the representatives in the Inter-departmental Commission were inclined to favour the method of subjecting the prostitute to legal prosecution, by reason of the fact that the professional prostitute is a frank deserter from work. A recognition of the culpability of the prostitute logically led to an admission of the legality of the hunts for the prostitutes, of their internment in concentration camps, etc.

The Central Organ came out clearly and resolutely against this conception of the matter. If it is proper to permit hunts for prostitutes, it follows that similar hunts should be made for such lawful wives as are existing on the means of their husbands and are of no use to the state.

Such was the standpoint of the Central Organ, which was supported by the representatives of the People's Commissariat of Justice. If we take the factor of desertion from labour as the defining element of the crime, we shall have no other outlet: all the forms of desertion from labour will be rendered equal by the same punishments.

The factor of conjugal relations, of a relation between the sexes is eliminated. That factor cannot serve as the defining element of a crime in the Workers' Republic.

BOURGEOIS OBJECTIONS TO PROSTITUTION.

In bourgeois society the prostitute was branded and persecuted not for the fact that she did not engage in productive and useful labour, and not for selling her kisses (two-thirds of the women in bourgeois society sold themselves) to her lawful husband, but for the informality of her conjugal relationship, for the shortness of its duration.

The basis of marriage in bourgeois society was its *permanence and formality, its registration.* This registration was for the object of securing proper inheritors of property. The absence of formality, the short duration of the relation between the sexes, —that is what was despised by the bourgeoisie in extra-marital relations; it was that which was branded with contempt by all the sanctimonious hypocrites, the standard bearers of the bourgeois morality. Can the short duration, the informality, the freedom of the relation between the sexes be regarded, from the standpoint of working humanity, as a crime, as an act that should be subject to punishment? Of course not. The freedom of relations between the sexes does not contradict the ideology of Communism. The interests of the commonwealth of the workers are not in any way disturbed by the fact that marriage is of a short or prolonged duration, whether its basis is love, passion, or even a transitory physical attraction.

The only thing that is harmful to the workers' collectivity, and therefore inadmissible, is *the element of material calculation between the sexes,* whether it be in the form of prostitution, in the form of legal marriage,—the substitution of crassly materialistic *calculation for gain,* for a free association of the sexes on the basis of mutual attraction.

This factor is harmful, is inadmissible, will cut a breach in the feeling of equality and solidarity between the sexes. And from this standpoint we must condemn prostitution, as a trade, in all its shapes and forms, even that of the legal "wives," who maintain their sad part, so intolerable in the Workers' Republic.

But is this defining element sufficient to make it punishable by law? In the Inter-departmental Commission the culpability of prostitutes, for prostitution, that is, for "purchase and sale," was rejected. There remained only to be decided the point that all persons wandering in the streets and deserting from work should be assigned to the disposition of the Commissariat of Social Welfare, and thence sent out, either to the Sections for the Distribution of Labour Power, of the People's Commissariat of Labour, or to courses, sanatoria, hospitals, and only after a repeated desertion by the prostitute; in other words, after evidence of malicious intent to desert, the individual should be subject to forced labour. There is to be no special culpability attached to the prostitutes. They are in no way to be segregated from the other bodies of deserters of work. This is a revolutionary and pregnant step, worthy of the first Workers' Republic of the world.

PUNISHMENT FOR MEN ALSO?

There was also put before the Commission the other question as to the culpability of the *clients* of prostitution, in other words, of the men. There were advocates of this view in the commission. But this hopeless attempt had to be renounced, as it did not arise logically from our fundamental presuppositions. How shall we define the client of prostitution? The proposition was put to the Commission, to establish institutions of "Sisters and Brothers of Social Investigation," which was voted down by the majority. The representative of the People's Commissariat of Justice stated that as it is not even possible to define precisely the measure of the crime, —the question of the culpability of the clients is automatically precluded. The standpoint of the Central Organ was again victorious. There is absolutely no doubt that the poor, insufficient pay returned for female labour continues, in Soviet Russia, to serve as one of the real factors pushing women into prostitution in one or the other of its forms. Under the law, the earnings of the working men and working women are equal, but as a matter of fact the women engaged in work are in the great majority of cases unskilled labourers.

The question of making female labour skilled labour, of properly formulating this matter, of spreading a network of special courses all over the country, is an extremely urgent matter.

WHAT WOMEN NOW BECOME PROSTITUTES.

The second cause is the political backwardness of women, the absence of wide social points of view among them. The best form of struggle against prostitution is to raise the political consciousness of the great masses of women, to attract them to the revolutionary struggle and the constructive work of Communism. Prostitution is also strengthened by the fact that the housing question in Soviet Russia is not yet solved. The Inter-departmental Commission is occupied with the drawing up of propositions for housing communes for the working young people, for an extensive network of houses for the temporary shelter of women arriving in town. But if the Women's Sections and the Commission to Aid Youth do not develop an active initiative and independent work in this matter, the whole thing will remain a mere paper prescription of the Commission.

The Women's Sections in the provinces also must enter into contact with the national educators, in order to push into the foreground the question of proper provision for sexual enlightenment in the schools.

What marriage is to become in the future, or more properly, what are to be the forms of relationship between the sexes in the future, it would be difficult to foretell. But one thing is beyond doubt, that is, that under Communism there will be lacking in the conjugal relationship not only all material calculation, all economic dependence of woman on man, but also all the other considerations of "convenience" which frequently characterise present-day marriage. At the basis of the conjugal relation there lies the healthy instinct of reproduction, beautified in the attractive colours of youthful love, in the strong forces of passion, in the delicate tints of spiritual harmony and that of sudden and open outbursts of physiological attraction, which is soon extinguished. All these factors in the conjugal relationship have nothing whatever in common with prostitution. Prostitution is offensive by reason of the fact that it is an act of violence on the part of the woman over herself, brought about by the pressure of fortuitous and external advantages; in prostitution there is no place either for love or for passion, nor is there any healthy instinct for the production of offspring. It is an act of deliberate calculation merely. Where passion or attraction enters, prostitution ceases.

Prostitution under Communism is passing into the domain of the forgotten past, together with the morbid forms of the present-day family. In its place there are growing healthy, joyful, and free relations between the sexes. A new generation is growing up to replace the old, with more developed social feelings, with greater mutual independence, with more freedom, health and courage. A generation for whom the welfare of the whole will stand higher than everything else.

Comrades! Our task is to destroy the roots that nourish prostitution. Our task is to wage relentless warfare on the vestiges of individualism, which has hitherto been the moral basis of marriage. Our task is to revolutionise thought in the field of marriage relations and to clear the way for a new, healthy, conjugal morality that shall correspond with the interests of the workers' commonwealth.

HOUSING IN NEW ZEALAND.

The idea used to be prevalent that the greater evils of capitalism which oppress us here in Britain could be escaped by emigrating to new countries—America and the colonies. This is, of course, wholly fallacious: capitalism eventually produces the same features wherever it exists. This is strikingly illustrated by the following facts regarding house rent and overcrowding in New Zealand, which are taken from official figures published in a handbook to intending emigrants by the Overseas Settlement in 1920, and from the *New Zealand Herald* of August 20th, 1921:—

	Weekly Rents.		
	4 rooms.	5 rooms.	6 rooms.
Auckland.....	13/8	18/1	21/7
Wellington.....	14/6	18/7	22/7
Christchurch.....	11/8	15/11	21/2
Dunedin.....	11/8	14/6	18/7

Cases of Overcrowding.

A family: parents and four children under 8 living in one room paying 10/- per week. They had the use of a kitchen shared by 4 or 5 other families, each occupying one room apiece, and the privilege of eating their meals at a small table in a common dining room.

A mother and three children, a boy of 15, two girls of 16 and 17, occupied one room with two beds, mother and two daughters in one bed. Rent 22/6 per week.

At Christchurch the Rev. J. J. North reported:—"We were shown a section in Montreal Street . . . On this property are three or four cottages which are the last word in decay and insanitation. In one of these rabbit hutches, where a wounded soldier and his English wife were living, the rent is to be bumped up 50 per cent."

Archdeacon P. B. Haggitt said the conditions reminded him of the slums of London. All the houses visited were small, containing four or five rooms. In one such small house 19 people were living; in others 22, 14 and 12. It was found that five or six persons slept in one bed, and growing boys and girls occupied the same rooms. In many houses most of the windows would not open. The filth of the backyards was horrible, open drains provided absolute plague spots. The rents in nearly all cases was exorbitantly high, 25/- a week being charged for a shack not worth £100.

Workers' Dreadnought
FOUNDED 1914.
Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor
Business Communications to the Manager:
Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.
TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

SUBSCRIPTION:
THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ... Post Free 3/3
SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ... „ „ 6/6
ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ... ... „ „ 13/-

Vol. VIII. No. 28. Saturday, Sept. 24, 1921.

WE CONTINUE.

Impressed by the importance of maintaining an organ of independent Communist opinion, we have determined to make a renewed effort to keep the *Workers' Dreadnought* in being, and are endeavouring to remove the obstacles in its path.

The issue at stake in the controversy between ourselves and the Communist Party of Great Britain, is whether the Communist ideal is to be associated with the soulless and narrow tyranny of small-minded persons in office.

WASHINGTON.

At Washington the Powers are to discuss the limitation of armaments on land and sea, and rules for controlling new agencies in warfare.

This discussion will, of course, prove absolutely barren.

The great Powers will also discuss their oppressive exploitation of the peoples of the Pacific and of the Far East. The object of the discussion is to obviate mutual quarrelling over the carcasses of their victims.

They will also discuss Siberia, where they want to get a foothold, and whilst they are in consultation they will doubtless make further plans concerning Russia.

From this disarmament conference, in which the Labour Party is pleading to take a share, rivers of blood will flow and mountains of dead will arise.

Woe unto you, O hoary monster, Capitalism, before your end we shall yet see terrible slaughter at your bidding in many lands!

GERMAN GENERAL ON BOLSHEVISM.

General Ludendorff, when interviewed by a representative of the Paris *Matin*, said:—

"I consider, as I have frequently declared in detail, that the Bolshevik Communist danger is greater than is supposed in Western Europe. A successful fight against Bolshevism is impossible so long as the greater European nations remain hostile to each other. The deliverance of the Russian nation will only be possible when the great nations of Europe unite to solve the problem."

Will they unite at Washington?

SOVRUSSIA v. CAPITALIST BRITAIN.

Lord Curzon has addressed a Note to the Soviet Government, complaining of the breach of the Trade Agreement by Sovrussia, accusing Sov-Russia of anti-British propaganda in India, Afghanistan, Persia, and Turkey, including: direct instigation of Indian revolutionaries, in which the Soviet representative in Berlin is involved: anti-British action in Persia: support of the Turkish National Government at Angora and offer to help it with money and arms: the refusal of Kemal Mustapha to approach the Entente Powers is attributed to Sovrussia: anti-British activity in Afghanistan, a promise of £100,000 a year to Afghanistan, the direction of Jemal Pasha's tampering with the tribesmen of the frontier, and an attempt to establish a bomb factory at Kabul.

The reply of Sovrussia will doubtless be that whatever may have been done was done by the Third International, which is an international political organisation, independent of the Soviet Government.

Lord Curzon anticipates this reply by declaring that the Third International is "practically identical with the Soviet Government."

Meanwhile Tchitcherine has sent a Note to the Entente Powers protesting against the French plot to use Poland and Roumania to fight Sov-Russia.

So come charges and counter-charges. The matter is plain: the lamb and the lion cannot lie down in peace together; fire and water will not blend, nor can Communism make alliance with Capitalism. Only an armed truce, constantly violated on both sides, could possibly result from trade or other agreements between Sovrussia and the capitalist Powers.

There is no permanent peaceful half-way house on the road to international Communism.

It was only to be expected that the capitalist Powers would make the payments of the foreign debts contracted under the Czardom a condition of granting famine relief to Sovrussia. If that condition were satisfied, others would follow.

Says *The Times*:—

"We have consistently protested against the action of the Government in negotiating with the Bolshevists as being at once immoral and futile. Ministers themselves have repeatedly admitted its immorality."

That is how those who vested interests in maintaining Capitalism regard Sovrussia and Communism: the deaths of a few million famine victims are negligible compared to the preservation of Capitalism, in their eyes. If by leaving those famine victims to perish they can strike a blow at Communism, they will undoubtedly do it.

Can anyone doubt that?

Is anyone surprised that it is so?

Meanwhile, with all the talk of "Famine in Russia," do not forget the famine in Britain.

Three hundred thousand people in insured trades have been out of work so long that they have exhausted the 22 weeks of unemployment benefit, and now they can get no more. Remember, hosts of people are workless who were not eligible for that 22 weeks' unemployment benefit.

One hundred and fifty-six people stood in the dock in Liverpool the other day, arrested as the result of one little brush with the police at one unemployed demonstration: and unemployed demonstrations and these little brushes with the police, are taking place all over the country every day.

IN THE GRIP OF THE CAPITALIST.

The American capitalist, Washington B. Vanderlip, who recently published in *Asia* an account of his successful concession hunting in Russia, tells that when he was a young man, he prospected for gold in Kamchatka and large portions of Siberia ending in the Behring Strait. The British firm which employed him to prospect for it "staked a fortune on my expeditions," he says. That fortune was lost for he found no gold worth exploiting. He discovered, however, other valuable things, especially concerning oil, and that information he kept to himself. So anxious was he to keep his knowledge secret that he seems not to have committed it to paper, but took the precaution, as he says, "to tell my wife certain compass bearings on the Kamchatkan coast by which the oil areas might be located, and once a year she repeated these bearings to me so that my knowledge of Kamchatkan resources might not by any mischance die with me."

After the crushing of Denekin, Vanderlip decided to secure those oil-fields from Soviet Russia: poor, hard-driven Soviet Russia, struggling with the slough of primitive corruption in which Czarism had left her.

"Litvinoff was delighted at negotiating with American capitalists, and during the entire month of August last year, the wireless buzzed daily with my proposals as the Soviet representative laid them before the authorities in Moscow."

Then Vanderlip went to Moscow and hob-nobbed with Soviet Commissaries and Winston Churchill's cousin, Mrs. Claire Sheridan, he sculptor.

Soon there was a rift in the lute: Vanderlip wanted a piece of Soviet Russia, rich in coal and oil and fish, and he wanted in that piece of Soviet Russia to re-establish Capitalism.

In his own words: "American capital, I insisted, must be accorded in Russia the same treatment it receives in America, or capital cannot be induced to exploit Russian resources."

Lenin's arguments, on the other hand: "were aimed at breaking down my objections to permitting in the concession any of the forms of workers' control that are being tried out in Soviet Russia."

After long weeks of discussion, the negotiations were broken off. Then:

"At ten the next morning the message came to my room that our stipulations regarding labour were granted—practically *in toto*.

Vanderlip had won: he gets the portion of Siberia lying between the 160th meridian and the Arctic Ocean, Behring Strait and Behring Sea for eighty years, and for eighty years he will establish there the labour conditions he pleases.

"The civil administration remains in the hands of the Russian Government. Over operations within the concession, no Government is permitted to exercise any control beyond the provision of doctors and sanitary experts for a specified number of workers—guarantees now required in all civilised countries. In all probability coolie labour from China and Korea will be used with an American technical staff."

RELIGION AND COMMUNISM.

Religion is the opiate of the people, say the Russian Communists, inscribing this motto upon their public buildings.

The Bolsheviki are right—religion attaches the people to the old tyrannies with many ropes.

Religion preaches the unimportance of this world, and its conditions; and calls for the concentration of hope and energy upon existence after death. The great main trend of the religions, because they are moulded and administered by a privileged class, is a call for submission to the rulers of this world, for contentment with one's present condition and status, and submission to hardship. Bow your neck under oppression and neither rebel, nor complain: show thus your obedience to God, and you will be requited in the world to come. This is the teaching of religion.

So much for the spiritual bonds with which religion binds the people. The churches have forged for them also innumerable earthly fetters.

The church is a main pillar of reaction in every poor working class district. George Lansbury is well-known as a religious man, but the workers who are regularly connected with the churches in the constituency he represented in Parliament are in the main his opponents. Why? Because the activities of the churches are directed against him. The churches are for the established order; for the rich against the poor. Both the established church and the dissenting bodies have their roots in capitalism: those who finance, organise and maintain them are drawn from the employing classes. Thus while Lansbury preaches religion whenever he speaks, and makes of the *Daily Herald* what some Socialists have called the "Bow Parish Magazine," the churches organise the poor against him at the mothers' meetings, the men's P.S.A.'s, the children's Sunday schools. They regiment the poor against him, partly by telling them the church which can save them from the wrath to come opposes his views, or the views of those with whom he associates, which they declare to be impious. But they use at the same time a more substantial pressure; the little doles of money, the blankets, the secondhand boots and clothing, the school treat: all these are the bribes by which the churches keep their grip upon the poor.

THE IRISH WAR.

The indications point to the re-opening of the Irish War at an early date, though obviously both sides shrink from the horrible responsibility of declaring renewed hostilities.

It seemed impossible for either side to give way in the negotiations for the claim to irreconcilable demands was so strongly supported on both sides.

Behind the Government's determination to keep Ireland within the Empire, as a pawn in the British scheme of dominion, stood British navalism declaring that Ireland is Britain's gateway to the Atlantic, British diplomacy protesting that Ireland must not be set free to make alliances, perhaps hostile alliances, with other Powers, British Imperialism determined that the bounds of the Empire shall not be reduced, British manufacturers desiring that Ireland shall remain a market for manufactured articles, and not become a manufacturing competitor. British snobbery and jobbery that is eager to preserve the positions provided by Dublin Castle rule, British Protestantism jealous of the rise of a Roman Catholic nation, and beside all those, persons particularly interested, as landlords, as capitalists, as officials, in maintaining everything as it is.

Behind Sinn Fein's determination to be free, to be out of the Empire, stood Irish heroism and the blood of Ireland's martyrs, Roman Catholic dislike of Protestant domination, the anxiety of the Irish tax payer not to pay the war debt, the ambitions of a host of would-be officials, and, most practically organised, the desire of the Irish middle class to make Ireland a manufacturing nation, to wax prosperous on her industries, and to achieve this by means of tariffs which shall bar out manufactured goods from abroad, and especially from Britain, tariffs which shall force the people of Ireland to purchase only Irish made goods.

The Indians, visionary and animated by great spiritual fervour, seek to bar out British goods by a voluntary boycott. More materialistic, more modern and sceptical, Sinn Fein fights for the power to coerce its people into supporting home-made wares.

Lloyd George, on the one hand, Sinn Fein on the other, hold power by pleasing their supporters. Sinn Fein has the keener, less eagerly gulled body to satisfy, for its support is of a more popular character than that of Lloyd George, who depends upon the capitalists, who operate the press, and are usually able to govern the minds of the people through it.

Lloyd George can make no compromise not agreed by his capitalist backers; Sinn Fein must take care to hold its public in face of a host of jealous rivals.

When Arthur Griffith, the tactical leader of Sinn Fein, the hope of the would-be Irish manufacturer, the man of prudent character who stayed at home whilst others fought and died in Easter week, was appointed as a negotiator at Inverness, it seemed that Sinn Fein might be willing to risk a compromise if the power to stimulate Irish industries by Protection could be safeguarded. Lloyd George's demand that Sinn Fein shall acknowledge the rule of King George as a preliminary to the negotiations shows that he considers he has the situation well in hand, as far as the British public is concerned, and that he can afford to be truculent in its name at the bidding of his capitalist backers.

The terms, so far offered by the Government, are not Dominion Home Rule; they do not allow the Irish to nurse their industries by Protection as Sinn Fein desires and intends; they do not exempt Ireland from the British war debt; they leave the British in control of Ireland, they do not give Ireland the status of an Independent nation.

The value of the terms is greatly overrated. Vested interests in Britain do not like to make any concession, but they are aware that these terms do not substantially interfere with their power. Therefore the *Times* says that "Lloyd George has done the right thing in the right way"; but British vested interest do not wish to make any further concessions. On the other hand, the terms are such that, as they stand, without further re-adjustment, Sinn Fein cannot accept them without tremendous loss of prestige.

It is almost impossible for Sinn Fein to accept the terms because of its backers; it is almost impossible for the Government to offer better terms because of its backers; yet both sides shrink from re-opening the war.

What is to happen?

Lloyd George would make a very adroit move were he to refuse further responsibility, and declare for a general election, in order that the electors might re-enforce his authority or put someone else in his place.

Those tools of reactionary imperialism, the illustrated papers, are at present making a hero, almost a god of Lloyd George: a while ago Asquith received their cordial attentions: now they concentrate on Lloyd George and treat him as though he were representative of the nation, so that to the sheep-like reader it seems a patriotic duty to support him. It is probable that vested interests which have often considered throwing over Lloyd George in favour of another tool now regard him as a useful implement for dealing with Ireland and the unemployed. If a general election be called they will probably back him again under these circumstances.

If a general election comes the Labour Party will increase its vote considerably; that will be all to the good. The sooner the Labour Party gets into power, the sooner the workers will understand the futility of Parliamentary Reformism; the nearer we shall be to a change of system.

THE MASTERLESS DOG.

Translated by Charles Wharton Stork from Swedish of Hjalmamr Soderberg

A man died, and after he was dead no one looked after his black dog. The dog mourned him long and bitterly. He did not, however, lie down to die on his master's grave, because he did not know where it was; possibly, too, because he was at bottom a young and happy dog, who considered that there was still something left for him in life.

There are two kinds of dogs: dogs that have a master, and dogs that have none. Outwardly the difference is not material; a masterless dog may be as fat as others, often fatter. No, the difference lies in another direction. For dogs, mankind is the infinite Providence. To obey a master, to follow him, rely upon him—that is, so to speak, the meaning of a dog's existence. To be sure, he has not his master in his thoughts every minute of the day, nor does he always follow close at his master's heels. On the contrary, he often runs about of his own accord with business-like intent, sniffs around the corners of houses, makes alliance with his kind, snatches a bone, if it comes in his way, and concerns himself about many things. Yet, on the instant that his master whistles, all this is out of his canine head more quickly than the scourge drove the hucksters out of the temple; for he knows that there is but one thing that he must attend to. So, forgetting his house-corner and his bone and his companions, he hurries to his master.

The dog whose master died without the dog's knowing how, and who was buried without the dog's knowing where, mourned him long; but as the days passed and nothing occurred to remind him of his master, he forgot him. He no longer perceived the scent of his master's footsteps on the street where he lived. As he rolled about on a grassplot with a comrade, it often happened that a whistle pierced the air, and in that instant his comrade had vanished like the wind. Then he would prick up his ears, but no whistle now ever resembled his master's. So he forgot him, and he forgot still more: he forgot that he had ever had a master. He forgot that there had ever been a time when he would not have regarded it as possible for a dog to live without a master. He became what one would call a dog that had seen better days, though it was not in the inner meaning of the expression, for outwardly, he got along fairly well. He lived as a dog lives: he stole a good meal now and then, and got beaten, and had love affairs, and lay down to sleep when he was tired. He made friends and enemies. One day he thoroughly thrashed a dog that was weaker than he, and another day he was badly handled by one that was stronger.

Early in the morning one might see him run out along his master's street, where, out of habit, he mostly continued to resort. He always ran straight forward with an air of having something important to attend to; smelt, in passing any dog that he met, but was not eager to follow up the acquaintance; then continued his journey; then all at once he would sit down and scratch himself behind the ear with intense energy. The next moment he would sturt up and fly right across the street to chase a red cat down into a cellar-window; whereupon, reassuming his business manner, he would proceed on his way and vanish around the corner.

So his days were spent. One year followed close in the track of another, and he grew old without noticing it.

Then there came at last a gloomy evening. It was wet and cold, and now and then there came a shower of rain. The old dog had been all day on an expedition down in the city. He walked slowly along the street, limping a little; a couple of times he stood still and shook his black hide, which, with the years, had become sprinkled with grey about the head and neck. According to his wont he walked and sniffed, now to right, now to left. He took an excursion in at a gateway, and when he came out, had another dog in his company. Next moment came a third. They were young and sportive dogs that wanted to entice him to play, but he was in a bad humour, and furthermore the rain began to sleet. Presently a whistle pierced the air, a long and sharp whistle. The old dog looked at both the young ones, but they paid no attention; it was not one of their masters that whistled. The old masterless dog pricked up his ears; he was conscious of a strange feeling. Then came a fresh whistle, and the old dog sprang irresolutely first to one side and then to the other. It was his master that was whistling and he must follow! Again, for the third time, somebody whistled, sharply and insistently as before. Where is he then, thought the old dog, in what direction? How could I have been separated from my master; and when did it happen, yesterday or day before yesterday, or perhaps only a little while ago? What did my master look like, and what sort of a smell had he, and where is he, where is he? He sprang about and sniffed at all the passers-by, but none of them was his master, and none wanted to be. Then he turned suddenly and bounded along the street; at the corner he stood still and looked around in all directions. His master was not there. Then he went back down the street at a gallop: the mud spattered about him and the rain dripped from his fur. He stood at all the corners, but nowhere was his master to be seen. Then he sat down on his haunches at a street-crossing, stretched his shaggy head towards the sky, and howled.

Have you ever seen, have you ever heard such a forgotten, masterless dog, when he stretches his neck towards heaven and howls, and howls? The other dogs slink softly away with their tails between their legs, for they cannot comfort him and they cannot help him.

HJALMAR SOEDERBERG.

OUR POINT OF VIEW.

Continued from page 1.

mination to discard Capitalism, and replace it by Communism.

We know that the breath of Parliamentary intrigue, the breath of the Parliamentary Committee Room, the entire atmosphere of the House of Commons and the jugglery of political parties there, is antagonistic to the clean white fire of revolutionary Communist enthusiasm. Comrades who have not, like ourselves, come into close and wearisome contact with the Parlamentary machine, who have not Lobbied and sat in the Gallery, hour on hour, day on day; who have not, year by year, poured over the daily verbatim reports, and drafted and engineered Amendments to Government Bills, cannot know the devitalising pettiness, the hideous imposture of the Parliamentary machine.

We who stood closely by at the birth of the Labour Party, holding the near confidence of its creator, the honest and true man, Keir Hardie, whose spirit was broken by its failure, its wholly inevitable failure; we say from the depths of our consciousness: never again!

Oh, young body of earnest Communists (if such, genuinely and truly you are) break with the past and its traditions, do and dare for your faith, take not that road.

The Parliamentary contest belongs to the politics of Capitalism; the politics of Communism must forge new weapons, must find new paths. Do not cling to the skirts of the dead past. Go out without fear to seek the future.

Trade Unionism.

The difference of policy between the Communists who place their faith in numbers rather than in consciousness, is evidenced in other matters than that of Parliament.

The decision of the Third International, that the British Communist Party should affiliate to the Labour Party, the decision that the Red Trade Union International shall be a hybrid body, composed of Trade Unions, of whatever sort and political, or non-political complexion, that are willing to join it, as well as of Shop Stewards and Workshop Committee organisations, and militant industrial organisations like the I.W.W.; the decision to expel the German Communist Labour Party for forming new revolutionary Unions: these things display the same hesitant fear of shutting out anyone, the same policy of roping in passive, unawakened masses, that has dictated the use of Parliamentary action.

The Russian leaders who have largely engineered the Third International into its opportunist decisions, refuse to recognise the significance of the persistent tendencies of the working class movement which manifest themselves unmistakably in the highly industrialised Western countries. We see in these countries a triangular struggle between three forces. Firstly, the employers; secondly, the Trade Union leaders backed by unconscious masses; thirdly, the smaller body of awakened workers. The real struggle is between the employers and the awakened workers; the Trade Union officials, vacillating between the two, occasionally pulled nearer to the side of the conscious workers by the unconscious masses growing restive under economic pressure.

The awakened workers, finding the power of the Unions concentrated in the hands of the Trade Union officials by the obstructive rules and passive assent of the unawakened masses, who far outnumber the awakened, proceed to form new organisations. The merit of these new organisations is that they are manned by those who have joined them with a definite purpose and a desire for change, and are operated by the rank and file. Therefore, instead of being composed, like the Trade Unions, of inert masses, brought in by the pressure of custom and the attraction of the friendly benefits, they are composed of more or less conscious elements.

These rebel organisms, at war with the old Trade Unionism, cannot be combined with it: to make them an official part of the Unions is to destroy them: they exist as a protest against Conservatism in the Unions. They are an effervescent force, spasmodic and uncertain, sometimes merely revolting against hard conditions with no more than a fugitive purpose, but nevertheless representing the high-water mark of class-consciousness and discontent in the workshop. They are the forerunners of what, some day, will break out spontaneously to form the Soviets. They will function in times of crisis and they will die away, as the English Shop Stewards have now died down, almost to the point of extinction. Their more conscious elements are the active working-class Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists, who form the backbone of those movements, and who rally round them the rank and file of the workshops when feeling runs red enough amongst the masses to dispose the masses for action.

The Red Trade Union International formed by the Russian Communists as an ally of the Third International might have been composed of such elements: all the rebel elements that fight within the workshops. Its mainstay then (beside the Russians who have achieved their revolution) would have been the Germans who are near enough to the Revolution to maintain continuously in existence revolutionary groups within the workshops which, transcending the power ever yet exercised and the consciousness ever yet reached by the British Shop Stewards' movement, are able to assume the title of revolutionary Unions and have proved themselves by actual fighting in the revolutionary struggle.

The Third International was not content to make its industrial ally a relatively small, though intensely revolutionary body: it wanted something big and showy that could rival the Yellow Amsterdam International in actual numbers. Therefore it has built up a shapeless, incoherent body, decorated by the names of non-Communist Trade Union "bigwigs," with the paper backing of unconscious memberships that do not know what Trade Unionism means. These "bigwigs" would all depart from the Red International should it declare a policy of action that would lead to hardship and danger. But such an International is unlikely to declare such a policy.

When the Revolution comes, it is the revolutionary groups within the workshops which will make it—not the N.U.R., the Workers' Union, the Dockers' Union, and the rest, but those spontaneously-gathering workshop groups engineered by the conscious propagandists who maintain the Communist and Anarchist organisations and guided by the Communist and Anarchist organisations themselves, if any of them are strong enough to lead in the crisis. The Unions like the miners', in which the rank and file have obtained most power, and in which advanced thought has a hold on the largest proportion of the membership, may perhaps swing into line after the Revolution has been precipitated by unofficial action; they will not precipitate it.

To state this is not to follow mere imaginings: Russia herself, and Germany, with greater, more prolonged emphasis, have proved this to be the inevitable path of development.

Smillie and Hodges, Thomas, Henderson and Robert Williams may perhaps rush in to capture the Revolution when it is made, and may perhaps succeed for a time; that depends on whether there is a Labour Ministry at the moment of the outbreak, and upon a number of other considerations. In any case, it is certain that neither the Trade Unions nor their officials will actually make the Revolution. The Revolution will be a *coup d'état* by the conscious Communists and the turbulent rank and file.

It is essential that the Communist Party should not be a large confused mass of incoherent elements honeycombed by Parliamentary and Local Government place-hunters, by people who believe that "Parliamentary action will do it," and by those who have come into the Party merely because they disliked the intervention against Soviet Russia.

The Communist Party can only help to precipitate the Revolution, and, more important, to make the Revolution, when it comes at last, a Communist Revolution, if it be a Party of Communists.

The Need to make Communists.

From friends and opponents of Communism there is much talk of Revolution but, after all, our paramount need is to make Communists.

What proportion of the British population knows what Communism is?

What proportion of Communists agrees in its version of Communism; in its ideals for Communism?

When we come to discuss closely what is Communism, and how shall we make Communists, we find that the differences of opinion between Right and Left Communists are as deep and far reaching upon these two questions as upon Parliamentarism and the Trade Unions. This again proves the need for perpetual controversy, study, and exchange of views in the Communist movement.

Why we joined the United Communist Party.

We were strongly urged to throw in our lot with a United Communist Party, and we ourselves desired a United Party: firstly, most obviously, because, all told, we Communists are as yet so few that it seemed desirable to join forces; secondly, because it was obvious that the B.S.P., the S.L.P. the W.S.F., the S.W.S.S. and the rest were divided, not wholly upon principle, but partly on geographical lines and on the accidental fact that certain members had happened to be converted by certain people. There were Parliamentarians and anti-Parliamentarians in every one of these organisations; there were opportunists and extremists in them all. If they were brought together, we hoped that the various like elements would amalgamate and form distinct blocks. Of course, we hoped most for the joining of forces by the scattered anti-Parliamentarians and extremists. We hoped also for their growing influence and final ascendancy in the united Party, failing that, they could, should some crisis render it advisable, break out later on.

We never concealed this view, this desire and intention.

In Moscow, when Lenin strongly urged us to join the United Party, he said: "Form a Left block within it: work for the policy in which you believe, within the Party."

But the British Communist Party will not have it so. It declares for the extermination of Left Wing propaganda.

The Right majority in the Communist Parties of other countries has taken a similar line. The Executive of the Third International, after pleading with us to enter, now apparently encourages the excommunication of the Left Wing.

The Russian Party itself is being split for Lenin, in a recent speech, which has just reached this country, announces that the "Workers' opposition is leaving the Russian Communist Party."

The German Communist Labour Party, the K.A.P.D., held an International Conference in Berlin, on September 11th, of Communists opposed to the Third International.

But the Communist Cause advances; do not doubt it: new tendencies are developing in the movement and must displace the old to make way for themselves.

THE SUPREME INSULT.

That a piece of ground at Forest Hill Cemetery, about 200 yards by 20 yards, which at present is at such a height as to be useless for the purpose of burials, be levelled and made useable for interment. (Motion brought forward at Camberwell Board of Guardians, September, 1921. This motion was rejected.)

Said the hard-faced Board to the unemployed,
Get you gone, your fate has come;
So dig your graves before we are destroyed,
And rest in your last long home.

Said the unemployed to the hard-faced Board,
You'd grant us earth for the dead?
Give the goodly land where the wealth is stored
Not gravestones in place of bread.

But speedily think of a better plan
For starving souls than a grave,
Or the ghosts will rise and bury the Board
In the land they would not save.

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

TRADE BOARDS GOING.

It is a long time since we began telling our readers that the Trade Boards were doomed. They are doomed, because this is the era off the iron heel. British employers are determined to grind the workers down to the very lowest subsistence level, and since the unemployed are swarming in the streets they are able to do it.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND POPLAR COUNCILLORS.

Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, refuses to release the Poplar Councillors, or even to give them First Division treatment. The law will not allow him to exercise such mercy, he says; convenient law!

Shortt is decried and reviled by all the Labour movement, of course; but we say that Shortt is only doing what must be expected of him as an obedient servant of the Coalition Government, and an upholder of the power of capitalism.

We consider that the blame for the continued imprisonment of the Poplar Councillors should be laid at the door of the Labour majorities on the Borough Councils, which will not rally to the support of Poplar, and refuse to levy the rate as Poplar has done. At Tottenham the other day a deputation of unemployed waited upon the Council urging it to come into line with Poplar, and, moreover, to spend all the money it raises for the relief of distress, leaving the Government to do the rest and get out of the muddle as best it might. The Councillors decided, however, merely to pass a resolution of admiration at Poplar's action. By that resolution the Tottenham Councillors admitted their own cowardice.

The Government's proposals for dealing with unemployment are as usual futile. We all remember the failure of the Municipal Housing Bonds; now the Government proposes Municipal Unemployment Bonds.

The local authorities cannot raise large loans for unemployment or for any other purpose; therefore the absurdity is apparent of the Government offer to pay half the interest on the loans and half the sinking fund charges for half the term of the loan, which is not to exceed fifteen years. Even these miserable and pettifogging grants are not offered for utility work, which the Councils would undertake in any case, but purely for non-revenue-producing works which would not otherwise be carried out.

The Government proposal is thus not a rate-relieving one, and it is of no use to the unemployed, because, even were they willing, the Councils cannot possibly raise substantial loans now, since they failed in the attempt at the time of the Housing Bonds, when money was much more easily raised than at present.

The unemployed need no advice to continue their agitation: it is a life and death matter to them. Communists must strive to make our unfortunate comrades realise that their hardships are an inevitable accompaniment of the system which divides humanity into workers and employers: capitalists and wage earners.

The Mayors' jaunt to Inverness to see Lloyd George is a method of weakness; the Councils have a stronger weapon in their hands if they choose to employ it: that of using the administrative machinery which is in their hands to make the Government of the country benefit the workers.

Rushing up to Inverness to badger Lloyd George is the sort of thing to which the suffragettes, possessed of neither political, economic, nor military power, were obliged to turn; but the suffragettes used the weapon of annoyance and personal terrorism very much more forcibly than the Mayors show any intention of doing. The Mayors and Councillors have a simple and powerful means of embarrassing the Government; they refuse to take it. Thereby they prove their ineptitude and half-hearted-ness.

Those who put the Labour Councillors in office should bring pressure on them to bring them up to the scratch. But if the Councillors continue levying the rates let the people refuse to pay.

Remember that whatever is done by the Councillors will only be done as a result of pressure by the workers and workless outside.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

From the Editor of the Socialist.

Dear Comrade,—I am very sorry to hear that the *Dreadnought* is going out of print, and extend to you all my appreciation of the good work the *Dreadnought* has done in the revolutionary movement.

Yours fraternally,
THOMAS MITCHELL.

From a Comrade who resigns.

Dear Comrade,—As a result of your expulsion from the British Communist Party, I have this day notified the Secretary of the Birmingham Branch, where I am a registered member, that I have resigned from the Party on account of the damnable autocratic actions of the E.C. of the Party.

Fraternally,
Parkfield House, Sutton-on-Sea, Lincolnshire. F. W. TAYLOR.

From Herman Gorter, Amsterdam, Holland.

Dear Comrade,—I hear with the greatest sympathy that you are also one who saw the real way, wanted to go it, and was persecuted therefore. I saw you were excommunicated! Your idea, dear Comrade, in the beginning, that in the economic struggle a new weapon had to be found, and that Parliament was not to be used, was right; that of the Third International, that we had to go into Parliament, and that there was to be a mixture of workshop organisation and Trade Unions, was wrong. That will appear clear as light in the first really revolutionary struggle the English workers will have to fight. You ought to have stuck to that idea, with a few comrades outside the Party. But Lenin, I think, persuaded you to the contrary. So the Russians did with many good comrades, and now the whole continent is a sea of opportunism. . . .

From the Secretary of the Workers' Academy.

I wish to convey to you my deepest regret in respect of the recent action of the Executive of the C.P.G.B. in expelling you from their ranks. . . .

I recall to mind, how, when you were due for instant arrest under the Cat and Mouse Act, you made a dramatic appearance on the plinth of Nelson's column, and without hesitation began an oration, and at the end of the address you called upon your comrades to assist you to escape from the police. A comrade and myself, who were standing nearest to you, immediately sprang to your side, each of us took hold of one of your arms, and then altogether jumped to the ground. Hell was at that moment let loose. Men and women were knocked down like nine pins as we pushed our way forward, and for a moment or two, I thought the world had gone mad. It was not for me to be a witness of this spectacle for very long, for, quite unexpectedly, the light in front of my eyes suddenly failed, and I remembered nothing further after this for quite a considerable time. What had actually happened, with the exception of having been knocked senseless, from that day to this, I cannot say. It was with great difficulty that I managed to get home, battered and bruised, but how sweet I counted the honour of having rendered so small a service. Thus it is, in this spirit of remembrance, that I write this rather lengthy letter to encourage my comrade, though adversity dogs your footsteps, and although sometimes friends (not avowed enemies) may slander and would put a wrong complexion upon your actions, I want you to bear in mind that there are still some people who have the utmost faith and confidence in you. . . .

Yours fraternally,
J. JAMES.

Dumbartonshire.

Dear Comrade,—I enclose 10s. towards the sum necessary to meet the *Dreadnought's* liabilities. The amount is small, but it is made up of hard savings for a different object, which must stand aside in the meantime. . . .

Your attitude towards the Executive of the Communist Party is entirely correct, just and sane. The smothering of Left Wing criticism is an act of suicide, which it may come to appreciate fully later on; but its suppression of free speech contemporaneous with its appeals against the imprisonment of Communists for indulging the same is an imitation of capitalist hypocrisy which cannot fail to bring the Party into disrepute with all honest men and women.

W. L. FALCONER.

NORAH SMYTH AND THE DAILY HERALD.

This letter was sent to the *Daily Herald* but not inserted:—

Dear Sir,—Having been present at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party when Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst was expelled from the Party, I must protest most emphatically against the disclaimer of the Chairman, Comrade McManus, published in your paper, that "it was not true that he stated that no member of the Party would be permitted to publish an article, book or pamphlet without the sanction of the Executive Committee."

It is quite true that he did make this statement; in fact, I have it in the notes I took at the time, that he re-inforced it by stating that the Executive Committee had already stopped members writing books.

Yours, etc.,
NORAH L. SMYTH.

This letter was addressed by Comrade Norah Smyth to the Chairman, Bow Branch Communist Party, 111, Bow Road, E. 3.

September 14th, 1921.

Dear Comrade,—As I hold the same views as Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, I take it that I am also expelled from the Party, so I write to inform you that I am no longer a member of your Branch.

Yours fraternally,
NORAH L. SMYTH.

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry,
As, to behold desert a beggar born,
And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,
And purest faith unhappily forsworn,
And gilded honour shamefully misplaced,
And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,
And strength by limping sway disabled,
And art made tongue-tied by authority,
And folly doctor-like controlling skill,
And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,
And captive good attending captain ill:
Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,
Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

—SHAKESPEARE.

FROM A LABOUR COUNCILLOR.

"It was so jolly going up in the dining car to Inverness; the dinners the railway company gives nowadays are really excellent, with a glass of bitter or a whisky and soda, and a nice coffee to follow: the coffee is really good.

"September is a splendid month for travelling, bright but not too hot, and the country is charming just now. September is quite my favourite month!

"This is much better than jolting off in that ink-black van to Brixton or Holloway!

"The northern air of Inverness has such an invigorating bite with it, and, my word, what scenery! It is really delightful that Lloyd George should feel indisposed. To be kept prisoners by important affairs in a place like this is frustrate! The inn is exceedingly comfortable. Plenty of good old British beef Scotch whisky."

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"The Intellectual and the Worker." By Phillip Kurinsky. 10 cents. Published by the Workers' Educational League, Modern Press, Box 209, Madison Square, New York, U.S.A.

"Industrial Unionism and Revolution. By Phillip Kurinsky. 10 cents. Published by the Modern Press, Box 205, Madison Square, New York.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

A. J. & F. E. Syme 2s. 6d., Anon. 5s., Thompson 2s. 6d., J. Sparboro 1s., Mrs. Ellis £1, Mr. Taylor 2s., S. N. Ghose 7s. 6d., W. T. Williams 2s., E. Gulland £1, Miss Evans 1s., John Ware £1 1s., E. M. Brett 9s., W. L. Falconer 10s., F. H. Drinkwater £1. Total, £5 3s. 6d.

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.

THE SYSTEM.

You are a worker, rising early each morning with the reluctant pain of rising when the frame is still unrested and the tired eyes shun the light; you dress quickly and carry your scanty breakfast with you, for now you have hardly time to take a bite. You go to the jarring noise of the factory, the overcrowded machinery, the monotonous toil. You would like to be free, but you would rather be chained to the bench as you are, than free, like that brother of yours, an outcast, who wearily tramps in search of work, hungry, with boots that are broken and clothes every day shabbier, that brother who dreads to go home, because they are hungry there.

Your employer has a small, struggling business; his face has lately grown more lined than yours, his eyes more anxious: he wears a black coat, and his hands are cleaner than your hands; but to-day he has less money than you, because he has no money at all: he has less than no money; he owes more than he has: his plant is already mortgaged to others; he has pledged it to get the means to carry on a little longer.

When his business is smashed; when the mortgagees send in the brokers, you will have lost your job, and for 22 weeks you will go to the Labour Exchange and collect the unemployment dole: after that you will plead with the hard-faced Poor Law Guardians, or go round with gangs of other workless people, besieging Boards and Councils. When his business is ruined and all his creditors have rushed in upon him, your employer will borrow a little something from his friends, not much, for they know that he cannot repay them. He will slip down fast, faster even than you. You may meet him soon at Rowton House, or on the Embankment, hoping the police will not move him on.

That is the system: life is hard just now. You and your employer, unless you are working for a big trust, are both feeling these evils acutely. Yet it is not the earth and its fruits that have failed us, only the social system: if there is drought and famine there, elsewhere there are abundant harvests: the sea gives its fish without stint, though the exorbitant freight charges make it unsaleable; the workers with wealth-producing hands are pleading for work, though they are refused the right to produce for the common storehouse.

And yet, fellow worker, you uphold the system; and your employer, the small man, whose lot is even more precarious than yours just now, upholds it with all the fervour of his anxious soul, and reads the *Daily Mail*, and cheers the King and sports his Union Jack on Empire Day, if he can afford to buy one.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT BOOK SERVICE.

152, FLEET STREET
(Entrance first door on left in Bolt Court from Fleet Street.)

Open Daily, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Saturdays, 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

We can supply you with any book you desire, new or second-hand, from British, Colonial, or foreign publishers. Give us all particulars you have, and send a deposit.

By buying books from us, trade discount is transferred to propaganda.

At our office you may consult publishers' catalogues and place your order for any book not in stock.

If you order by post, you must add, on the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage.

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price at current rate of exchange.

WE CAN SUPPLY!

Books on History and Economics.

Modern Science (*Leo Tolstoy*) ..... 2d.
An Appeal to the Young (*P. Kropotkin*) ... 2d.
Gold, Prices and the Witwatersrand (*R. A. Lehfeldt*) 5/-
Origin of Poverty, and Formation of the Village Community (*J. St. Lewinski, D.Ec.Sc., Brussels*) 3/6
The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century. (*L. C.A. Knowles, Litt.D.*). 432 pages. Cr. 8vo. 6/6
The Industrial History of Modern England. (*G. H. Perris*). 603 pages. 8/6
The Inequality of Incomes in Modern Communities (*Hugh Dalton, M.A.*). 8vo. ... 10/6
The Working Life of English Women in the Seventeenth Century. 8v. 10/6
Civil War in France (*Karl Marx*) 3/-
A.B.C. of Communism (*Bukharin*) 2/9
Communism (*Eden and Cedar Paul*) ..... 6d.
A History of Trades Councils, 1860-1875 (*Cicely Richards*) 1/-
With the Turk in War Time (*Marmaduke Pickthall*) 5/-
Red Europe (*Frank Anstey*) 3/3
Economic Consequences of the Peace (*Keynes*) 2/-
Abolition of Money (*Seijiro Kawashima, Editor of "Dai Nippon"*) 1/6

A large Stock of Russian Literature.

Before and After the Revolution (*S. Carlyle Potter*) 1/-

Novels, Poetry, etc., with a Communist Tendency

A Market Bundle (*A. Neil Lyons, Author of "'Awkins," etc.*) 7/-
Looking Beyond. A Sequel to "Looking Backward" (*L. A. Geissler*) ..... paper 1/6, cloth 3/-
Looking Backward (*Edward Bellamy*) paper 2/-, limp cloth 3/-, stiff boards 3/6
My Life, and other Stories, from the Russian (*Anton Tchekhov*) 7/-
The Green Ring, and other Stories, from the Russian (*Zinaida Hippins*) 3/6
Works by Anatole France (*Translated into English*) 2/-
The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard 2/-
The Red Lily 2/-
Penguin Island 2/-
Thais 2/-
Monsieur Bergeret in Paris 7/6
Clio and the Chateau de Vaux-le-Vicomte... 7/6
On Life and Letters (*3rd Series*) 7/6
" " (*4th Series*) 7/6
Le Comte Morin Deputé (*Illustrated by Henri Basthelemy*) 7/6
Marguérite (*Illustrated by Siméon*) 7/6
The Spy (*Upton Sinclair*) 3/6
The Iron Heel (*Jack London*) 2/-
A Communion of Sinners (*Evelyn Sharp*) ... 1/6
Prison Impressions (*Clara Gilbert Cole*) ..... 6d.

Communist Books, Literature and Periodicals in German, French, Russian, Norwegian, Dutch, etc.

Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlets

Name or Title	Price Each.	Price Doz.	Price per 100.
Red Russia (*Reed*)	6d.	4/-	16/-
Ireland (*Gorter*)	1d.	9d.	4/-
The Finnish Revolution	3d.	2/6	8/-
The Communist Party (*Zinoviev*)	2d.	1/6	8/-
The Hungarian Revolution (*Schmidt*)	9d.	8/9	24/-
Bourgeois Democracy (*Lenin*)	2d.	1/6	8/-
The Truth About Russia (*Ransome*)	4d.	3/-	12/
Facts About Communist Hungary (*Alice Riggs Hunt*)	4d.	3/-	16/-
To British Workers (with map explaining Soviets' working system	½d.	2d.	1/-
An Appeal to the Young (*Stewart*)	2d.	1/6	8/-
Communist Song Book	4d.	8/-	8/-

EXCHANGES.

Papers exchanging with the "Workers' Dreadnought" should be sent to 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

BACK FROM RUSSIA.

Comrade Norah Smyth just back from Russia will take speaking engagements in London and provinces. Write *Workers' Dreadnought* Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

VICTORS AND VANQUISHED.

The conclusion of peace between the United States, Germany, Austria, and Hungary will make for trade and prosperity in the Central Empires. In many ways the victors in this war are proving the vanquished. We cannot sell our goods to Germany: Germany cannot afford to buy them; although we may limit the amount of German goods coming into this country by putting prohibitive taxes upon them we shall not always advantage ourselves thereby, and Germany will compete with us in other markets.

Rudyard Kipling is by no means an impartial observer: he sees the world through the spectacles of jingo Imperialism; yet his impressions of present-day Germany versus present-day France in the *Mail* have a ring, not altogether untruthful, on the Rhine. He says he found "a countryside intact, full of women, children, and cattle, with fields cultivated right to the edge of the road, smoking factory chimneys, and on all sides loaded goods trains, a country untouched by the ravages of war, in fact. In France there was everywhere desolation, and everywhere there were shell-holes.'

So much for France, one of the principle victors in the war, we know our own state of trade depression, of businesses tottering to ruin, of bands of hungry unemployed. Consider also the countries which the great Powers are supposed to have blessed by their victory; consider, for instance, bankrupt Poland, where the mark, which two years ago stood at 500, now stands at 14,500 to the pound.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

OUR RATES.

One Single inch (up to three inches) ..... 5s.
Every additional inch after three inches ..... 4s.
Contracts for not less than 13 weeks 25% discount.
Contracts for a column, half column, page and half page with liberal discount. Terms on application to—

MANAGER,
"Workers' Dreadnought,"
152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

THE YOUNG COMRADE.

A Children's Monthly.
Published by the Young Communist International.
Price - - 3d.
From the "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" Office.

DENTISTRY.

For Satisfactory Teeth see
F. ALDRIDGE, Communist, **44 Waterloo Road, S.E.1.**
10 per cent. Discount for Comrades.

TYPEWRITERS AND DUPLICATORS.

Rem. 7, £5 5s. Barlock, £6 6s. Yost 11, £5
Rem. 8, £7. Monarch, £10. Yost 20, £9 9s.
Rem. 10, £10 10s. L. C. Smith, £10. Oliver, £8.
Gest. Rotary, £8. Roneo, £10. Flats, £2 10s.
PAYMENT ALSO BY INSTALMENTS.
Send for List.
W. FRANCIS DEACON, 91 Long Lane, Borough, S.E.1
Hop 3621.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

WANTED New and Secondhand Copies of "The State" (Paul), 12 copies; "Darwin Made Easy" (Aveling); "General Biology" (Aveling); "Biological Discoveries and Problems" (Aveling); "The Eastern Question" (Marx); "My Life" (Bebel); "Socialism and Radicalism" (Ed. Aveling); "Working Class Movement in England" (Ed. Aveling); "Wilhelm Liebknecht and Social Democratic Party in Germany" (Ed. Aveling).

VEST POCKET SAFETY RAZORS can be obtained from F. Smith, 20, Grove Buildings, South Grove, Mile End, London, E. 3, on receipt of 3s. P.O.

TO LET, Rooms furnished or unfurnished. Apply O. F., "Workers' Dreadnought."

WANTED AGENTS for the "Workers' Dreadnought" in Leicester, Dowlais, and Mid-Rhondda. Write for terms to "Workers' Dreadnought," Manager, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

FOR SALE. Banner poles of various sizes. Going cheap. Apply Box 238, *Workers' Dreadnought.*

IF YOUR Branch could do with a Reliable Typewriter or Duplicator, see my Advertisement above. Note Prices. Deacon, also at 14, Crooked Lane, E.C. 4.

WANTED a Comrade to sell the "Workers' Dreadnought" in Victoria Park, E., on Sunday evenings, 7 p.m.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by S. Coni at 10, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.