

A Visit to Guy Aldred.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 6.

SATURDAY, APRIL 22ND, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

A SCOTTISH SHEPHERD'S SPRING SONG.

Oh I'm watt, watt,
Oh I'm watt and weary;
Yet fain would I rise and run
If I would meet my dearie.

Aye waukin O,
Waukin, aye, and wearie,
Sleep I can get nane,
For thinkin o my dearie.

Summer's a pleasant time;
Flowers o every colour,
The winter rins o'er the heugh
And I long for my true lover.

When I sleep I dream,
When I wauk I'm eerie;
Sleep I can get nane,
For thinkin o my dearie.

Lanely nicht comes on,
A the laves are sleepin.
I think on my true love
And blear my een wi greetin.

Feather beds are soft,
Pentit rooms are bonnie;
But one kiss of my dear love
Better's far than ony.

Oh for Friday nicht,
Friday in the gloamin;
Oh for Friday nicht,
Friday's long a comin.

—An old Scottish song, quoted in Brown's
"RAB AND HIS FRIENDS."

WOMEN STUDENTS AND THE LONDON HOSPITAL.

VISCOUNT KNUTSFORD'S REPLY.

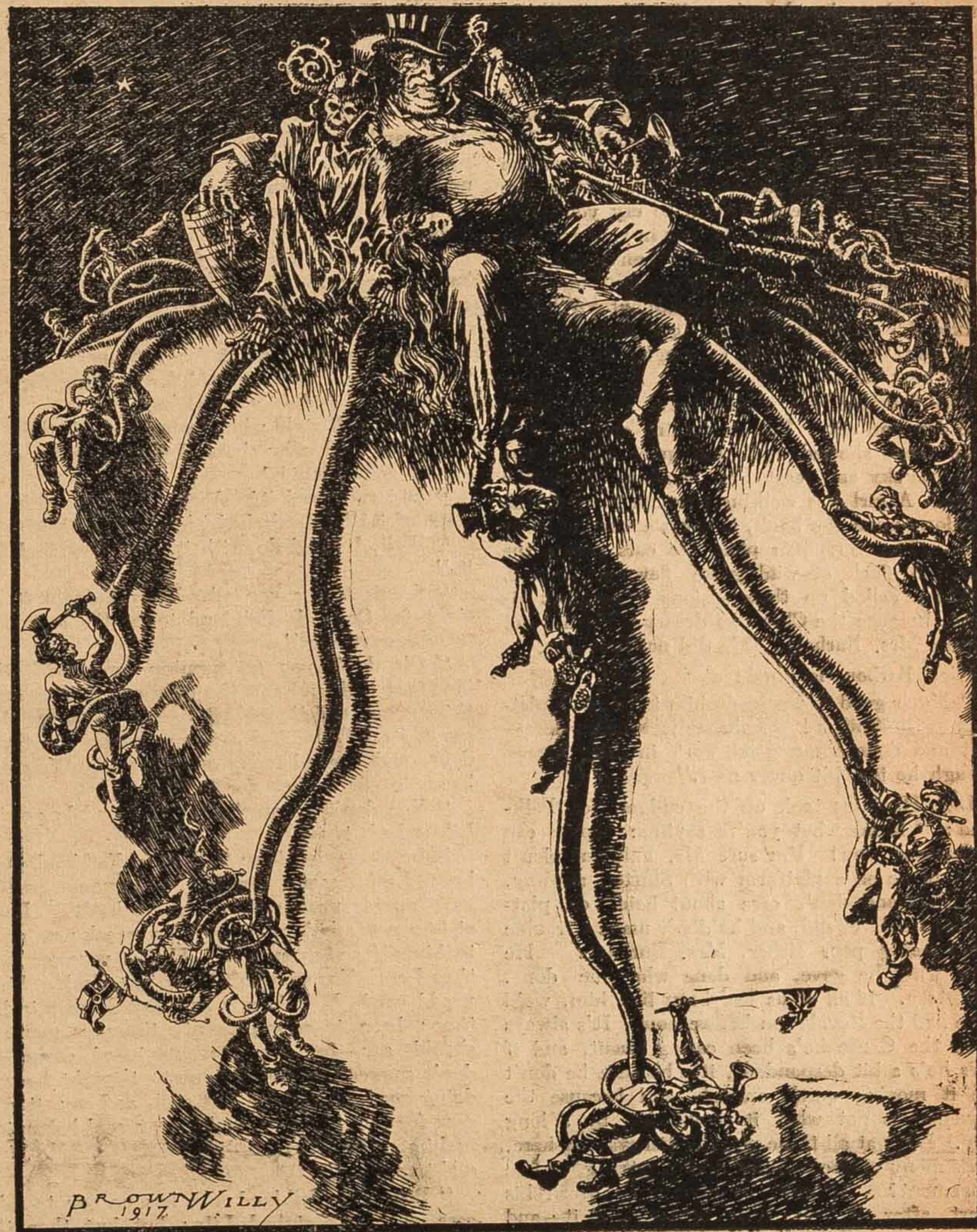
DEAR SIR—

Forgive my writing that it is always inadvisable to attribute motives to anyone. Directly you do this, you are dealing with the unknown, and can only attribute to others the motives which would have actuated you yourself under similar circumstances.

Your article says that our decision to exclude women medical students has "a purely economic, a Trade Union motive," and that "medical men are alarmed at the encroachments of medical women."

Both these statements are absolutely untrue. Why, only four years ago the whole of our Medical and Surgical Staff and all (but one) of our Committee of Management voted unanimously to take women students! I know what I am writing about when I say that medical men are not in the very least alarmed about women becoming doctors. There is no indication in this country that they are likely to be successful. I wish it were otherwise. I am strongly in favour of women becoming doctors, and the work of Dr. Flora Murray and Dr. Anderson in the war was pioneer and perfect work.

But we found, as the experience of four years, that if we continued taking women students, we were ruining our School for men—one of the largest in England—because for one reason or another, men students infinitely preferred a school for men only, and we were doing this for no great benefit to women, as there is ample



GENOA.
CAPITAL STILL ENTHRONED.

accommodation for women to qualify elsewhere than at the London Hospital.

If our step was to have the result of stopping women becoming doctors, I would have died in the last ditch rather than have agreed to it. But it can have no such effect.

Another reason which influenced us was that we had no money to build, as we intended to do four years ago when we first took women, separate accommodation for women Residents.

The Resident posts are the most valuable we have, and we had promised the women they should run an equal chance with men in getting them. But the cost of building and the shortness of money have prevented our building this accommodation, and it is impossible that the women Residents can be expected to share the only one common room with the men.

I do not think that I have ever professed to be anything: so your accusation, that I profess myself to be a "prurient old fool," is as untrue as it is disquotable. But what matter? You

have got hold of quite the wrong end of the stick, though I do not suppose for one moment that you will admit it.

I have the authority of one of the greatest women doctors, who agrees with me, that men and women students had better be trained in separate schools. I emphasise trained.

Yours,
KNUTSFORD.

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Old Falkland sat in his usual corner of the Club and, as usual, with head bowed and eyes almost closed. Once he had been an engraver of rare skill, but that was more than thirty years ago. He was possessed of independent means then, for though he had come of working class parents and had had to maintain his widowed mother by his earnings before he was out of his apprenticeship, his father's brother had made money in America and left him a comfortable income. That income had long since disappeared, Falkland was one of those who have flung themselves and their all into the workers' movement and have been broken. He had sold his property to help the movement in its crises, and had left the work he enjoyed to serve it.

"How are you, Mr. Falkland?" asked stout Mrs. Burbage, sitting beside him, panting a little. "It's a shame to see you so poor as you are. I always say so. You was one of the first to come out and talk about Communism. The first that I heard, anyway. You was one of the few and you've paid for it, but it's getting the fashion now. Them as used to cry you down and hadn't a word to say for you in your trouble, are all to the front with it. When I saw Bob Shifter getting all the cheers at the Baths the other night, I'd a good mind to call out: 'Where's Falkland? Why haven't you got him up there with you?' That's what I thought, and I shall say it next time."

Old Falkland was gazing upon a great lake. The sun had set. The mountains covered with little trees showed dark and quiet against the primrose sky and cast deep shadows into the water. A girl was walking through the flat lush meadows upon the bank, towards a wood of little trees. The ferryman plied his oars across the lake. A flock of wild geese flew southward. Falkland called up these visions to comfort his mind, because the Club was dreary. He did not answer Mrs. Burbage. He did not hear her.

Dick Barbour laughed: "Much good it would do him to be on a platform with Shifter! Falkland's been a decent sort and done some good work in his time—though he is a bit queer now."

Lily Hawkins took up the cudgels for Falkland: "Mind what you're saying: people can understand you! I'm sure Mr. Falkland don't want to be on a platform with Shifter, anyway. Mr. Falkland don't care about being on platforms; he never did, and he don't make a trouble about being poor either, Mrs. Burbage. He gave what he gave, and done what he done, voluntary. If all of us had been like him, we'd have had the Revolution before now. It's always been the Cause he's been caring about, and if ever he's a bit despondent, it's because he don't see it moving quick enough, and because the movement's not what it should be, by a long way. Look at all these people sitting about here. How many of them really does anything for the movement? It must be enough to break his heart, after all he's been through for it—and given up everything."

"I should say so," assented Mrs. Burbage, sighing deeply. "He was well-to-do once. Lovely home he had: some massive furniture. I remember when they was going to broker him for the Rates. 'You bring 'em along to me, Mr. Falkland,' I says, 'I'll let you store 'em in my cellar.' But you couldn't move him. He made a joke of it at first. 'Do you want me to sleep on the floor, Mrs. Burbage?' he says. 'They can't take your bed,' I says, 'you can keep that. I should do without the rest, if I was you. Pile up your clothes on the floor,' I says. 'I'm not much troubled with them,' he says; 'he was always one to make a joke of it. He sold up his 'things, bit by bit to pay this one and that one, and to keep up that paper they used to bring out. He lost a lot on that paper.'"

"What a shame to talk about putting his furniture in a cellar and piling up his clothes on the floor, Mrs. Burbage," Lily Hawkins protested. "Fancy you telling him to leave himself with only a bed! You didn't live that way yourself, did you? You think a lot of your home. You'd have done better if you'd offered to give him something to pay off the brokers. You had a bit of money saved, I'm sure. They were all work-

ing at your house, and you took in lodgers: didn't you?"

"He wouldn't have taken it from me if I'd offered it—not for himself, anyhow, and I couldn't afford to keep that paper going."

"If you and some of the others had given a bit to the movement every week, and helped to sell the stuff and get new members, it wouldn't have been so hard for him and the few members that was always paying out."

"Oh, I did my share."

"It was all very well for Falkland: he could afford to sacrifice himself, not being married," interposed a stout, dapper little man with a heavy gold watch chain, who looked particularly prosperous in this rather shabby bohemian crowd.

Mrs. Burbage replied with indignation: "That isn't true, Mr. Roberts"; "he was keeping no end of people when he had money; they were all coming to him for a helping hand in their troubles. That was beside what he had to pay out for the paper and the hall and them that was paid for working there. I know he went short to make up their wages when he had money."

"Well, you were one of them," answered Roberts.

"Well: if I was paid for scrubbing out the hall, I earned it. I wasn't one of them spongers. I worked for what I got."

"Couldn't you have got a few comrades to have took turns to do it for nothing? I don't think people should be paid for working for the movement," said Lily Hawkins.

"That's all right; but seeing that all the rest was being paid, why should I have been the only one to go without?"

"Did you need it? Were you downright in want of it?" Lily flashed back at Mrs. Burbage.

"Well, I could do with it, and I worked for it."

"Seems to me you all of you thought it all right for Comrade Falkland to be the only one to give anything."

"Oh don't you go running away with the idea that Falkland was the only one to give anything, my girl," said Roberts, squaring his shoulders. "We had a fine movement in those days, and a good many of us were putting our hands in our pockets for it."

"You don't do much of that now, do you?" Lily asked, tartly.

Roberts ignored her: "Fact is, Falkland went beyond all reason: chucked his money away: gave up his work and ruined his health. Look at him now: he's nothing but a wreck; no good to himself or anyone else. He's a younger man than I am. You wouldn't think it, to look at him, would you? He's been a rum sort of chap in his time: been to prison twenty times or more, I should say—for the movement—of course—I don't suggest he was dishonest—thought he was doing good, of course. But still, as I say, it was easy for him to do it: he hadn't a soul belonging to him. Whatever he did, there was only himself to suffer."

"Poor Mr. Falkland: he has no one to take care of him," sighed Lily; but just then the newly-married Joe and Mary Simmonds came into the Club and joined the merry crowd that was congratulating them. Mrs. Burbage moved off to give her advice to Mrs. Johnson, whose daughter was subject to fits. Roberts and Dick Barbour strolled over to the bar.

Frank Penman, who had not spoken, was left alone beside old Falkland, who had not heard them talking, and was watching the moon rise over the quiet lake.

"This is our movement," thought Penman; "the few who see, and suffer and toil, till they are broken, and the many who idly wait for something to happen."

The voice of Lily Hawkins rose from the din around the tables:

"The movement's only a pastime to some of them," she said.

Miss Mayence approached Penman: "What do you think of having a real propaganda holiday? Shall we make up a party to go on tramp through the Home Counties, holding meetings and selling literature?"

Frank Penman made a wry face.

"What a sluggish you are," she gibed. "But I mean to do it. You will enjoy it immensely if you make up your mind to come."

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By TOM ANDERSON.

A Visit to Guy Aldred.

Fellow worker, will you read this note carefully? I, along with another old Comrade, John McAteer—and, by the way, John is the oldest Communist in Scotland—visited Barlinnie Prison to see our Comrade, Guy Aldred.

Have you ever been to prison, fellow worker? If not, let me tell you it represents the depths of depravity of the bourgeois rule. We saw members of our class, working in the quarries, just like rats in a trap. We saw on their faces the mark of the trapped beast.

They were members of the *Working Class* subdued to the lowest point to which the human can be brought.

Old John said: "Tom, see what the British Government can do. Beasts without a kick! If they had no brains at all, these prisoners might be happy. Beautiful land! Beautiful Scotland! The land of the 'Mountain and the Flood!'"

So old John hummed away to himself: "Breathes there a man with soul so dead, Who never to himself hath said, 'This is my own, my native land?'"

During this time we were standing outside the big prison, waiting our turn to get in. Note the civilisation of our land: stand outside until you are called; no waiting rooms; no civility; no humanity; only doped members of the working class, clad in blue uniforms, working and acting like birds of prey, on behalf of the master class of our—no, *their*—land.

The big gate opens. "Anderson and McAteer," shouts the big warden.

"Right, Hendry," responds John, and two old ones of the proletariat march in to see one of Britain's valiant fighters on behalf of the "beasts in the quarries" and the "men in blue."

"Guy Aldred's visitors," shouts one warden, as he hands us over to another.

"The door opposite," says the warden.

We march into a little room, the size of a "single apartment" (such as are occupied by 17,000 families in Glasgow), occupied by the "beasts" in the quarries when they are "at home."

Aldred walks in. He looks splendid, dressed in a knicker suit, you would have taken him for a petty bourgeois going to play golf.

"Your seats," says the warden. John and I each take a chair—an old-fashioned sofa divides us. We shake hands across the back of the sofa.

"John," I say, "Comrade Aldred."

John jumps up, and with extended hand, says: "Let me shake hands with one of the finest men in Britain."

(The warden looked at the wall in front.) Aldred opens out:

"Comrades, I am full of life and love and joy. Tell your children of the Proletarian Schools, I thank them for their cheering messages; when I come out I will send each one a letter. How many children have you, Comrade?"

"Two hundred," I replied.

"I will make a present to each child, of a Fairy Story I wrote. I love the children. At first I was not much in favour of your Schools, but experience has taught me I was wrong. When they let me away from here I will work harder than ever I have done in my life."

"I have an old-fashioned home in London, which I dearly love; but I am afraid they want to take it from me. But I will not let them: I will beg and pray and work to retain that old home, Comrade."

"I want to take some of your children up there for a holiday; to show them the big City, and I want to take some from Wales and from every town, if I can afford it. We must build, Comrades, we must build, no matter the time it may take, we must build. Won't it be glorious to see a few children of the 'Reds' march through our City?"

John and I concurred. We said many other things.

Then the warden said, "Time's up!" We shake hands.

THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ITS FOUR STAGES.

By H. Neumann.

II.

The Second International.

This Second International was founded a long time after the disappearance of the International Association. Eighteen years passed. In 1889 the Socialist Parties and Trade Unions united into an international alliance.

The Second International was ostensibly the successor of the first, but was quite different in its composition. It was of a strictly Trade Union character. All questions of dispute at the Congresses actually were exclusively questions of labour protection. Politically, the second International made its principle object: Parliamentary democracy, and its main demands were the eight-hour day and International Peace.

The reduction of the working hours was for a long time a foremost demand of the Labour movement in England, and at first England dominated the Second International. Because England was the greatest centre of Capitalism, its proletariat occupied a certain preferential position in the International. Nevertheless the German Social Democracy was developing very quickly in its struggle with German Capitalism, and in the Workers' International, the German movement began more and more to put the English Labour organisations into the shade.

The principles and fighting methods of the Second International were of a strictly Trade Union and Parliamentary character. Concessions were constantly made to the passivity of the organisations affiliated thereto. Thus the resolve to make the First of May a day of rest everywhere was not expected to operate in countries where "according to national peculiar circumstances it was impossible."

In the discussions regarding international world peace, a pacifist demand was made that in the event of a war a general strike should be declared, and at the same time also a strike against entering military service. This tendency failed to prevail. Bebel was able to call it naive. The entire ideology of the Second International was so far connected with the development of the national bourgeoisie that Bebel was prepared to shoulder the gun for his country.

Every proletarian revolutionary idea was either immediately suppressed by the great important organisation of the Second International, or turned into an agitational phrase, unsupported by any real will to action. The Second International already determined its entire later future in 1900 by its resolve at the Paris Congress: to invite only representatives of those groups which strive for the transformation of the methods of capital, property and production, and which regard as necessary means of realising this object, participation in the making of laws and Parliamentary activity.

The Second International became a traitor to the proletariat on August 4th, 1914.

The Third International.

The Third International then appeared on the scene, as the Second International was almost destroyed. It began with an attack upon capitalist society. The watchword "All power to the Soviets," the fighting means proclaimed by it in its first circular of invitation, were revolutionary. There was nothing of *Parliamentarism*, nothing of *Trade Unions* in the first circular of invitation to the first Congress of the Third International, on the contrary, the Third International was the outer politic of Soviet Russia, that is to say, Soviet Russia did not make its principal object and its chief aim the carrying through of the national Russian revolution as it does today; but the carrying through of the proletarian world revolution. That is proved by all the support it rendered in the days of January 1919, and several months later to the German working class movement. As long as the Bolsheviks pursued an absolutely proletarian policy in Soviet Russia, the policy of the Third International, also, was revolutionary.

But immediately the Bolsheviks went the other way, the revolutionary aspect of the Third International was at an end. From this moment began more and more the pursuance of the reformist policy of the Third International. In Russia itself the policy of the peasants became

dominant. The change began with the dissolution of the Rural Pool Committees, the original object of which was the immediate transformation of privately-owned land into Socialist common property. The reformist policy culminated at the beginning of this year, with the permission of the Soviet Government, to indulge in free commerce and private production.

The Third International was connected with the birth of Soviet Russia. Whilst the Commune of Paris meant the end of the First International, Soviet Russia was the beginning of the Third International; as the First International collapsed with the Paris Commune, the Third International will and must fall together with the ruin of Soviet Russia. But the fall does not come about in such a way that the Soviet Government collapses. It is a crawling collapse that lingers from one halting place to another. Therefore the collapse of the Third International will not come suddenly, but like a creeping disease. We have seen that the Third International has placed itself on a common ground with capitalist society, and since the death of Erzberger, on the ground of the capitalist republic.

And with all that, the German section is still one of the most experienced and tried sections of the Third International. The sections of other countries are lagging many miles behind the revolutionary experiences, convictions and successes of the "eminent" German section. We have read that in France Communist Municipal Councilors have taken part in the consecration of war monuments, and we are informed by our Bulgarian comrades that the Bulgarian Tesniaki—as the Bulgarian section is called—has fought in Parliament for "a cheaper King."

The opportunism and the betrayal on the part of the Third International is to be sought in the fact that it compels its sections to re-build the capitalist system in the whole world in the interest of petty-peasant capitalist Soviet Russia. These Parliamentarians recommend the bourgeoisie in the German Reichstag as a measure for the recovery of Capitalism, to use the "necessary labour power in the necessary place." Their chairman, Heckert, had no compunction in demanding at the Congress of the Gelsenkirchen Workers' Union, a pledge from the miners, openly, for this rebuilding of Capitalism.

Until now the program of the Third International was, in principle, proletarian revolutionary—the establishment of the proletarian Soviet State.

(To be continued.)

FROM JAPAN.

The following Manifesto has been issued by the Japanese Joint Committee of Workers and Communists.

COMRADES AND FELLOW WORKERS—

In Japan, Capitalism has grown to maturity, and the bourgeois capitalists have firmly established a political supremacy of their own. But here, unlike the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and America, the bourgeois domination does not take on the form of political democracy. The conquest of political power on the part of the Japanese bourgeoisie is completed just at the time when World Capitalism has reached its final phase of reaction.

The Japanese working class, which has been struggling under the iron-hand of semi-feudal militarist bureaucracy, is now brought face to face with a bourgeois dictatorship of the most infamous type.

Nothing is spared to keep down the Japanese workers. Their Unions are declared illegal and subjected to every sort of open and secret interference. Their Press, meetings, demonstrations, and all organised activities are ruthlessly suppressed. During the past year, hundreds of strikes were crushed by the police and Army, and Kokusui-kai (the Fascisti of Japan). In December, 1920, the Japanese Socialist League was ordered to dissolve on the very day of its formation. In October, 1921, the Japanese Communist Party became the victim of a sensational prosecution. In November, a Russian Famine Relief Committee was organised by 36 Labour and Socialist organisations in Tokio, only to be forbidden to make a single move. To crown all,

the Government is now trying to enact an anti-Radical law of unexampled severity. It reads:—

ANTI-RADICAL-SOCIAL-MOVEMENT LAW.

1.—Persons who do, or intend to do, propaganda for ideas and acts opposed to the national constitution, in connection with Anarchism, Communism, etc., are liable to not more than seven years' imprisonment or penal servitude. Persons who induce others to do the same, as well as those who are thus induced, are liable to the same penalty.

2.—Persons who organise, assemble, or engage in mass-movement, with the object of doing propaganda for, or of carrying out the matters defined in the preceding article, are liable to not more than ten years' imprisonment or penal servitude.

3.—Persons who do, or intend to do, propaganda for changing the fundamental systems of society through riots, violence, intimidation, and other illegal methods, are liable to not less than a few years' imprisonment or penal servitude.

4.—Persons who offer money and articles, or afford other facilities to other persons, with a view to enabling them to commit the crimes defined in the three preceding articles, as well as those persons who accept such offers, knowing its intention, are liable to the penalties prescribed in the respective articles.

5.—Persons who commit the crimes defined in the four preceding articles, if they surrender themselves to authority before their crimes are discovered are subject to reduced penalties or exemption.

6.—The present law applies to persons who commit the crimes both inside and outside the territory of Imperial Japan.

This is what every capitalist government desires to do. The law reveals in a most haughty, shameless manner, the brutal and ruthless character of all exploiters. They are "reasonable," "pliable," and "democratic" only where the strength of the working class compels them to be so. The Japanese workers, historically, inexperienced and weak, have never enjoyed even the most elementary rights—have never been free to speak, write, or to assemble, not to speak of organising themselves. And now comes this law. It threatens to deprive the workers of what little freedom they possess.

But the chief aim of the law is to smash the international movement, towards which the Japanese proletariat has marched despite untold difficulties. The law once enacted, all co-operation, all connection, indeed, all contact will be impossible between the Japanese proletariat and the revolutionary organisations abroad.

The Japanese working class, though fettered and handcuffed, has resolutely entered the battle against the final offensive of Capitalism.

Proletarians of all countries, protest against the infamous law, against the brutal dictatorship of the Japanese bourgeoisie! Protest in the sacred name of International Solidarity!

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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. IX, No. 6, Saturday, April 22, 1922.

LENIN'S REBUKE.

The Compromise of the Third International in Berlin.

Lenin, in the *Pravda*, rebukes Bukharin and Radek for the concessions they made on behalf of the Third International at Berlin. He says:—

"Our representatives acted incorrectly when they promised that the Soviet Government will not apply capital punishment to the indicted Socialist revolutionaries, and will permit representatives of the three Internationals to be present at the trial. Both conditions are confessions of timidity by the revolutionary proletariat to the reactionary bourgeoisie."

"A world-wide war rages between the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat. By the Berlin agreement we made two concessions to the bourgeoisie while receiving none. The concessions forced by the Vienna and London Internationals favour bourgeois interests directly or indirectly, but concession to the revolutionary proletariat is refused."

"I consider that Radek and Bukharin acted incorrectly, but the agreement must not be torn up. We must only draw the conclusion that the bourgeois diplomatists proved smarter than our own, and that next time we must negotiate and manoeuvre more cleverly. We must adopt form—never to make political concessions to the bourgeoisie without obtaining equivalent concessions for Soviet Russia or other proletarian detachments engaged in the struggle against Capitalism."

We think these concessions are no more than reasonable. It is the surrender of Communist principle involved in other concessions to which we object.

The agreement is a bad one, says Lenin, but, as you observe, he says "it must not be torn up." Observe also that he speaks of the concessions made by Bukharin and Radek as concessions to "the reactionary bourgeoisie." He therefore regards the leaders of the Second International as being either actually a part of the reactionary bourgeoisie or its immediate tools. Yet he desires co-operation with those reactionaries or tools of reactionaries. Surely that is a fatal policy? Says Lenin: "We must only draw the conclusion that the bourgeois diplomatists proved smarter than our own, and that next time we must negotiate and manoeuvre more cleverly."

We regret that Lenin, or any Communist, should still cling to that standpoint. The conclusion we draw is that the way of political juggling and negotiation leads to defeat for the workers' cause.

Clear, definite, undeviating propaganda and preparation for Communism offers the only true road to success.

When Lenin counselled the Italian Socialist Party to turn from the proletarian Revolution to the Elections, when he urged British Communists to seek affiliation to the Labour Party, when he wrote the pamphlet "Infantile Sickness of the Left," he opened the door to the compromises of Berlin. In ten years time, if not sooner, he will view those steps with regret.

THE CAPITALIST VAMPIRE AT GENOA.

There has been some pretty manoeuvring at Genoa, but we are dubious of the result unless the Russian delegates will break away and declare their intention of making no further con-

cessions to Capitalism: they have already made all too many. The offer to admit the Czarist debts and other Allied claims, amounting to £2,600,000,000 if the Allies will pay the sum of £5,000,000,000 for their attacks upon Soviet Russia, was a sensational move. The Capitalist Governments dismissed it as futile. They believe, we fear with too much reason, that the Russian Government will go very far in concessions to secure recognition and trade with the capitalists of Europe and America.

It should be remembered that the Allied demands as set forth in the report of their financial experts do not call for mere money payments, which might be off-set by money claims by Russia if conceded to the Allies. The Allied demands call for the return of actual properties, land, mines, rivers, industrial plant, and so on. The demands are to cover claims by foreign nationals, by Russian companies in which foreign nationals had an interest, and by Article 6 of claims by Russian nationals "for loss or damage arising directly from hostile military or naval operations, or from other operations of a similar nature, and any other claims." That Article is ambiguous, but it is not clear that it will not be used to force the Soviets to compensate Russian capitalists and restore to them their former properties.

The Allied demands include the setting up of Mixed Arbitral Tribunals, consisting of Russians and foreign representatives, to decide what the compensation of claimants shall be, and how it shall be paid. The Allied demands dictate the setting up of a Russian Debt Commission, composed of nominees of the Russian Government, nominees of other Powers, and an "independent chairman" chosen by agreement between the other nations, or by the League of Nations. Such a chairman would, of course, be pro-capitalist and anti-Soviet Russia. Of course, Soviet Russia would be always out-voted on the Commission. The Debt Commission, according to Allied claims, shall issue bonds for the payment of Russia's money debts. These bonds shall be free from all Russian taxation on interest or principle, and shall carry a rate of interest to be determined by the Russian Debt Commission.

These are but some of the evil proposals of the capitalist vampire at Genoa. Hitherto the Soviet Government delegates withstand them. Will their resistance be maintained?

The widespread concessions now made by the Soviet Government to Capitalism arouse no confidence that there is any resisting power left in the Soviet Government. Yet even if Capitalism were now to call a halt and make the bargain proposed by the Soviet Government representatives, Capitalism might well be content with its victories over Russian Communism. According to *The Times*, the Soviet Government representative, Rakovsky, has proposed at Genoa the creation of a fixed ratio between the purchasing power of the dollar and the pound, and a fixed ratio between the currencies of Russia, Britain and the rest of the world, in order to avoid the excessive rising of exchange values in countries which have a large supply of gold.

Such proposals are exceedingly practical from the point of view of those who would re-establish Capitalism; but they have no connection with the proletarian struggle to destroy Capitalism. Such measures as this suggested by Rakovsky are calculated merely to patch up and delay the collapse of the old capitalist machine.

The Soviet Government now concentrates on the capitalist development of Soviet Russia, which its members have recently come to regard as necessary. We cannot follow them into that morass, but continue to keep the Communist path.

As to the agreement between Soviet Russia and Germany, we wait to discover whether it will stand. Not much will come of it we think.

Communists should remember that the German Republic is a capitalist republic, and that it refused all alliance with Soviet Russia till Capitalism was re-established in Russia.

THE UNITED FRONT.

R. C. Wallhead, at the I.L.P. Conference in Nottingham, read declarations which the Second, Second-and-a-Half, and Third Internationals had

appended to the Joint Unity Front declaration. The Second International declared that unity will not be possible unless the Third International ceases its methods of forming Communist nuclei within the Trade Union movement and respects the principles of free speech and national self-determination.

Will the Third International concede also this to those whom its leaders term bourgeois reactionaries? In that case the Red Trade Union International is already dead, and the way is left clear for the Fourth International and its One Big Revolutionary Industrial Union.

The Third International stated that it agreed to make the joint declaration only after much hesitation, caused mainly by the attitude of the Second International in refusing to adopt the annulment of the Versailles Treaty as a watchword at workers' demonstrations.

The I.L.P. has lately fallen away from the international standpoint it adopted during the war. It recently agreed to a resolution of the "Five Nations Socialist Conference" at Frankfurt, that Germany must restore the devastated regions of France and Germany. Wallhead, the Chairman of the Party, excused this step by saying that the German delegates agreed to the resolution, and that English Socialists could not be expected to be more German than the Germans.

We think, however, that the English Socialists might have aspired to equal the Germans in magnanimity, especially since to do so would have been to adhere to truth and to Socialist principle. The Germans erred in accepting the resolution and with them the whole conference displayed a bourgeois psychology.

At Nottingham the I.L.P. adopted a resolution declaring that the French Government since 1919 has sabotaged every proposal for an understanding with Russia, and further announcing "that persistence in this policy will seriously antagonise the workers of this country and make it difficult to promote that good understanding between the French and British nations we all desire."

The mistakes contained in this resolution are so vast that they almost take our breath away. Firstly it is not for the people who live under Lloyd George's Government to throw stones at the French in this regard. Archangel, Murmansk, and support given to Poland, Denikin, Wrangel, Yudenitch and others in attacks on Soviet Russia are the answer to the charge—to say nothing of what is now happening at Genoa.

How can it be said that the workers of Britain will be seriously antagonised by similar actions of the French Government when they maintain Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and the rest of the Coalition in power here?

As to a "good understanding between the French and British nations," are the Governments referred to here, or the peoples? The phrase is meaningless in the mouths of Socialists.

THE LOCK-OUT.

The negotiations between the employers and the Engineering Unions which broke away from the A.E.U. have broken down.

The employers, who can afford to wait, went off for their Easter vacation without a qualm, whilst the locked-out workers remained at home on short rations.

KENYA AND RUSSIA.

The "Sacred Rights" of Property.

At Genoa, the capitalist statesmen of Europe are endeavouring to civilise Russia, by forcing her to abandon all traces of Communism and to re-establish, on a secure footing, the laws and customs regarding property current in capitalist countries.

In Kenya, on the other hand, Capitalism shows so much respect for the native law that the Supreme Court has just upheld the claim of a boy of 13, based on Kenya law, to be the possessor of his dead brother's 35 year old widow, and three children. The value of the widow was mentioned as £70.

It seems that capitalist rulers respect the rights of property, however reactionary they may be.

RUSSIAN WORKERS v. SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

By Alexandra Kollantay.

I.

Before making clear what the cause is of the ever-widening break between the "Workers' Opposition" and the official point of view held by our directing centres, it is necessary to call attention to two facts:

(1) The Workers' Opposition sprang from the depths of the industrial proletariat of Soviet Russia, and it is an outgrowth not only of the unbearable conditions of life and labour in which seven millions of the industrial workers find themselves, but it is also a product of vacillation, inconsistencies, and outright deviations of our Soviet policy from the early expressed class-conscious principles of the Communist programme;

(2) The Opposition did not originate in some particular centre, was not a fruit of personal strife and controversy, but, on the contrary, covers the whole extent of Soviet Russia and meets with a resonant response. At present there prevails an opinion that the whole root of the controversy arising between the Workers' Opposition and the numerous currents noticeable among the leaders consists exclusively in the difference of opinions regarding the problems that confront the Trade Unions. This, however, is not true. The break goes deeper. Representatives of the Opposition are not always able clearly to express and define it, but as soon as some vital question of the reconstruction of our Republic is touched upon, controversies arise concerning a whole series of cardinal economic and political questions.

For the first time the two different points of view, as they are expressed by the leaders of our party and the representatives of our class-organised workers, found their reflection at the Ninth Congress of our party, when that body was discussing the question: "Collective versus personal management in industry." At that time there was no opposition from a well-formed group, but it is very significant that collective management was favoured by all the representatives of the Trade Unions, while opposed to it were all the leaders of our party, who are accustomed to appraise all events from the institutional angle. They require a great deal of shrewdness and skill to placate the socially heterogeneous and the sometimes politically hostile aspirations of the different social groups of the population as expressed by proletarians, petty owners, peasantry, and bourgeoisie in the person of specialists, and pseudo-specialists of all kinds and degrees.

Why was it that none but the Unions stubbornly defended the principle of collective management, even without being able to adduce scientific arguments in favour of it; and why was it that the specialists' supporters at the same time defended the "one man management"? The reason is that in this controversy, though both sides emphatically denied that there was a question of principle involved, two historically irreconcilable points of view had clashed. The "one man management" is a product of the individualist conception of the bourgeois class. The "one man management" is in principle an unrestricted, isolated, free will of one man, disconnected from the collective.

This idea finds its reflection in all spheres of human endeavour—beginning with the appointment of a sovereign for the State, and ending with a sovereign director of the factory. This is the supreme wisdom of bourgeois thought. The bourgeoisie do not believe in the power of the collective body. They like only to whip the masses into an obedient flock, and drive them wherever their unrestricted will desires.

The working class and its spokesmen, on the contrary, realise that the new Communist aspirations can be attained only through the collective creative efforts of the workers themselves. The masses are developed in the expression of their collective will and common thought, the quicker and more complete will be the realisation of working class aspirations, for it will create a new, homogeneous, unified, perfectly managed Communist industry. Only those who are directly bound to industry can introduce into it animating innovations.

Rejection of a principle—the principle of collective management in the control of industry—was a tactical compromise on behalf of our party, an act of adaptation; it was, moreover, an act of deviation from that class policy which we so zealously cultivated and defended during the first phase of the revolution.

Why did this happen? How did it happen that our party, matured and tempered in the struggle of the revolution, was permitted to be carried away from the direct road, in order to journey along the round-about path of adaptation, formerly condemned severely and branded as "opportunism"?

The answer to this question we shall give later. Meanwhile we shall turn to the question: how did the Workers' Opposition form and develop? The Ninth Congress (Russian Communist Party) was held in the spring. During the summer the Opposition did not assert itself. Nothing was heard about it during the stormy debates that took place at the Second Congress of the Communist International but deep at the bottom, there was taking place an accumulation of experience, of critical thought. The first expression of this process, incomplete at the time, was at the party conference, in September, 1920.

For a time the thought preoccupied itself largely with rejections and criticism. The Opposition had no well-formulated proposals of its own. But it was obvious that the party was entering into a new phase of its life. Within its ranks "lower" elements demand freedom of criticism, loudly proclaiming that bureaucracy strangles them, leaves no freedom for activity, or for manifestation of initiative.

The leaders of the party understood this undercurrent, and though Comrade Zinoviev made many verbal promises as to freedom of criticism, widening of the scope of self-activity for the masses, persecution of leaders deviating from the principles of democracy, etc. A great deal was said, and said well; but from words to deeds there is a considerable distance. The September conference, together with Zinoviev's much promising speech, has changed nothing either in the party itself or in the life of the masses. The root from which the Opposition sprouts, was not destroyed. Down at the bottom a growth of inarticulate dissatisfaction, criticism, and independence was taking place.

This inarticulate ferment was noted even by the party leaders, where it quite unexpectedly generated sharp controversies. It is significant that in the central party bodies, sharp controversies arose concerning the part that must be played by the Trade Unions. This, however, is only natural.

At present this subject of controversy between the Opposition and the party leaders, while not being the only one, is still the cardinal point of our whole domestic policy.

Long before the Workers' Opposition had appeared with its Theses, and formed that basis on which, in its opinion, the dictatorship of the proletariat must rest, in the sphere of industrial reconstruction, the leaders in the party had sharply disagreed in their appraisal of the part that is to be played by the working class organisations regarding the latter's participation in the reconstruction of industries on a Communist basis. The Central Committee of the party split into groups. Comrade Lenin stood in opposition to Trotsky, while Bukharin took the middle ground.

Only at the Eighth Soviet Congress and immediately after, it became obvious that within the party itself there was a united group kept together primarily by the Theses of principles concerning the Trade Unions. This group, the Opposition, having no great theoreticians, and in spite of a most resolute resistance from the most popular leaders of the party, was growing strong and spreading all over labouring Russia. Was it so only in Petrograd and Moscow? Not at all! Even from the Donetz basin, the Ural Mountains, Siberia, and a number of other industrial centres came reports to the Central Committee that there also the Workers' Opposition was forming and acting. It is true that not everywhere does the Opposition find itself in complete accord on all points with the workers of Moscow. At times there is much indefiniteness, pettiness, and absurdity in the expressions, demands and motives of the Opposition; while even the cardinal points may differ; yet there is

everywhere one unalterable point—and this is the question: Who shall develop the creative powers in the sphere of economic reconstruction? Whether purely class organs directly connected by vital ties with the industries—that is, whether industrial unions shall do the work of reconstruction—or shall it be left to the Soviet machine which is separated from direct vital industrial activity and is mixed in its composition? This is the root of the break. The Workers' Opposition defends the first principle, while the leaders of the party, whatever might be their own differences on various secondary matters, are in complete accord on the cardinal point, and defend the second principle.

What does this mean?

This means that our party lives through its first serious crisis of the revolutionary period, and that the Opposition is not to be driven away by such a cheap name as "Syndicalism," but that all comrades must consider this in all seriousness. Who is right—the leaders, or the working masses endowed with the healthy class instinct?

(To be continued.)

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.—Continued from page 2.

Aldred waves his hand to us as we leave, smiling as if he were going to a wedding.

I say to John: "We must do something!"

"Agreed!" says John.

"A testimonial, John?"

"Agreed!"

Will you, then, fellow worker, help us to give to our Comrade, Guy Aldred, a momento of our affection and regard for his 16 months' suffering for the working class?

I am to be the responsible treasurer, and I have agreed to give a shilling for each shilling subscribed.

Make it 1,000 shillings, and my soul shall be glad.

No. 24 Queen Mary Avenue will find me.

A pastor is a man employed by the wicked to prove to them, by his example, that virtue does not pay.

—The Dawn.

SOVIET RUSSIA AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

(WRITTEN BEFORE THE POLICY OF REVERSION TO CAPITALISM WAS INSTITUTED).

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

"There is a vast mass of information in this book . . . and those interested in Soviet Russia will find much that is interesting amongst the mosaic of impressions it contains. . . ."

—Daily Herald.

"Miss Pankhurst has a clever pen and a genuine gift for acute observation . . . one has to confess that Miss Pankhurst is interesting and illuminating in her report on the Communist Theory in practice, and her pages are documentary evidence of considerable value."

—Glasgow Herald.

"Courageous and sincere."—*The Wheatheaf*.
"Apart from the peculiar historic interest in having a definite record of Miss Pankhurst's views at any time, one believed that her noted sympathies with Bolshevik policy and her considerable knowledge of the British Labour movement might result in a volume that would give a special viewpoint not to be obtained in many previous treatments of the subject. (In certain respects) one's hopes were justified. There is plenty of enthusiasm and there are plenty of facts. . . . Miss Pankhurst, as might be anticipated, is at her clearest and most interesting on such matters as divorce, marriage laws, child welfare, and infant education."

—Labour Monthly.

HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(Continued.)

In the forests around Paris the peasants exterminated the rabbits and hares, and the woods of the Abbey of St Denis were openly cut down and carried away.

From ten to twenty revolutionary pamphlets were published each day in Paris, orators stood on chairs before the *cafés* and harangued the people in the streets.

In the elections for the National Assembly, the lords tried to stir up the peasants against the middle class profiteers. The middle class also tried to make use of the workers and peasants.

On April 27th, 1789, the Electoral Assemblies met in Paris. In the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, disagreement arose between the workers and the middle class. Réveillon, a paper manufacturer who, once a worker, now employed three hundred operatives, a large number for those days, declared:

"The working man can live on lentils: wheat is not for the likes of him."

The angry people carried Réveillon's effigy to the Place de la Grève for sentence and execution. Next morning they went to his factory and plundered it. The troops arrived, but the people who had invaded the factory defended themselves by throwing stones.

The firing of the slates off the roof, and furniture. The firing of the troops continued for several hours. Twelve soldiers were killed and eighty wounded. Of the people, two hundred were killed and three hundred wounded. The workers carried the dead bodies of their comrades through the streets. Several days later, five or six hundred men tried to break open the doors of the Bicêtre Prison at Villejuif.

At Versailles the people collected at the doors of the Assembly to insult the aristocrats.

The deputies of the Third Estate, the commoners, felt themselves supported and grew bolder. On June 17th, with three thousand people gathered outside, they declared themselves a National Assembly, and later, that the established taxes should be levied only provisionally and as long as the Assembly sat. A "Committee of Subsistence" was appointed to combat the famine, and the Assembly consolidated the National Debt.

The Court now prepared for a Royal Session, in which the King would himself fix the few reforms to be granted, and would annul all the resolutions of the Assembly. The deputies of the Third Estate decided to resist all attempts to dismiss the Assembly, and finding the Assembly Hall closed in preparation for the Royal Session, they went in procession to the all of the Tennis Court in the Rue Saint-François.

"Now accompanied them, and volunteer soldiers formed a *serment*. On arrival at the hall they took a solemn oath, not to separate till they had given France a Constitution. Two days later, the Third Estate, being obliged to sit in the Church of Saint Louis, found the clergy coming to take part in their deliberations. On June 23rd the King appeared before the deputies and annulled all the resolutions of the Third Estate, decreed the maintenance of the orders, determined the limits of the reforms to be accomplished, and threatened the States-General with dissolution if they failed to obey. He ordered the deputies to separate for the time being.

The nobility and clergy thereupon departed, but the commoners, the Third Estate, kept their places. Mirabeau declared that they would leave only by the force of the bayonet.

The Court could no longer depend on the Army. The Army was turning towards the people. This gave the people the whip hand. Paris was in a ferment. Deputies who opposed the popular cause were attacked and went in fear of their lives. The burning of their houses was discussed.

By the end of June the Assembly still sat. Much parleying had led to the uniting of the Three Orders. Troops were massed at Versailles with the object of dispersing the Assembly. The Minister Necker was dismissed by the Court on July 11th. On July 12th the people of Paris carried his bust through the streets and, at the Palais Royal, Camille Desmoulins made an appeal to arms. The people rose, and 50,000 pikes were forged in 36 hours. On July 14th, the people marched upon the Bastille and took it.

The middle class throughout endeavoured to use the workers against the Court, but to prevent the workers from going further than the middle class desired, they urged the workers to arm and at the same time armed themselves.

Meanwhile the King sought to retain the support of the nobility by declaring that the feudal system must remain intact.

All the conspiracies of the Court were made known in Paris and announced broadcast to the people. The servants about the Court reported to the revolutionaries all the conversations amongst their masters. Such news quickly reached the middle class revolutionary Breton Club, established by Breton deputies, which later became the Jacobin Club.

The Palais Royal, with its gardens and *cafés*, had become an open air revolutionary club. 10,000 people of all classes went there each day to discuss the news.

Distress and discontent were growing: to avert famine, the exportation of corn was prohibited on September 7th, 1788, and 70,000,000 francs were expended on the purchase of foreign wheat. On April 23rd, 1789, by Decree of the King's Council, judges and officers of the police were empowered to visit private granaries, make an inventory of the grain, and, if necessary, send it to market. The officers made such regulations a dead letter however. In July 1798, the Government established bounties for those who brought wheat to Paris, but the imported wheat was

secretly re-exported in order that the bounty might be obtained for it again. In the provinces, monopolists bought up the corn, and even the standing crops. The National Assembly, in spite of the heroics of the Tennis Court, shielded the speculators. When, on July 6th, Bouche announced in the Chamber that the culprits were known and that a formal accusation would be made next day, Gorsas reports that a "general panic took possession of the Assembly."

Evidently there were negotiations behind the scenes, for next day came and went, and no more was heard of the matter. Indeed, the middle class Assembly failed the Revolution in every respect.

On June 30th there had been a riot in Paris, eleven French Guards were arrested for refusing to fire on the people. Next day the Assembly voted an address to the King, in which it deplored the troubles agitating Paris and protested its "profound attachment to the royal authority."

In July, when the Court was concentrating troops for an attack on Paris and the Assembly, and the people were preparing to rise, the Assembly remained inactive, and on July 8th prayed the King—in a humble address of adulation—to withdraw the troops.

In fact, the propertied middle class was willing to work with the King against the people if he were willing and would grant them some reforms to benefit themselves.

The Court was preparing its attack for July 16th. This was known in the working class quarters of Paris. Agitators were busy amongst the people: they let off squibs and fireworks at the street corners, and when a crowd collected an orator would harangue the people.

Bonfires were lit and rockets let off in front of the Palais Royal. On June 25th a body of people marched from Paris towards Versailles to fight the troops, and soldiers of the French Guards deserted their barracks and fraternised with the people.

On the outskirts of Paris, at Nançis and other places, the people refused to pay taxes not fixed by the Assembly, and market riots for bread took place. In some places the famished people even cut the green crops.

On June 30th, at the Café du Caveau, revolutionary volunteers were enrolling for insurrection. On July 4th and 6th the *Gardes Françaises* patrolled the streets and superintended the distribution of bread.

The Duke de Broglie, with 30,000 troops, had promised the King that he would be "answerable for Paris," and when news of Necker's dismissal came to Paris on July 12th, Camille Desmoulins came out of the Café Foy in the Palais Royal with a sword in one hand and a pistol in the other. He mounted a chair and taking a green leaf from one of the trees as a rallying sign, he uttered his cry: "There is not a moment to lose; haste to arms!"

Then came the people's procession with the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans, who was also said to have been banished, towards the Place Louis XV (now Place de la Concorde), where the troops were stationed. The troops were surrounded. The Swiss Guards refused to fire on the people. The French Guards fired a few shots at the "Royal German" regiment which adhered to the King. The soldiers retired, but loyal reinforcements were expected; both workers and middle-class, at this point, were together. The tocsin was rung and the people began to forge pikes, making 50,000 pikes in a few days, as well as all kinds of small arms.

All night long workmen compelled passers-by to give them money to buy powder. The toll gates were burnt, and provisions and wine entered Paris freely. Men knocked at the doors of the rich asking for money and arms; but cases of pillage were rare, and it is said that the armourers' shops were the only ones broken into.

On July 13th the monastery of Saint-Lazare was attacked to the cry of "Bread!" and fifty-two carts laden with flour were taken thence to the Halles market, where the provisions let into Paris duty free were also taken. The people stormed the debtors' prison of La Force and set free the prisoners.

The middle class was alarmed. By six o'clock its militia was already marching to the Hotel de Ville. Representatives of the electors of the Third Estate and some electors of the clergy and nobility were now meeting regularly at the Hotel de Ville with the authorisation of the Town Council and the Ministers for Paris.

The electors had taken to meeting in their districts, to concert measures of resistance to the King's attack, and from the "districts" representatives were sent to a central committee. This "Permanent Committee," as it was called, became the stronghold of the middle class and organised the middle class militia. A militia of 12,000 men was quickly raised, wearing the red and blue cockade as its badge. The Commander was the Marquis de la Salle, and anyone with arms, wearing the red and blue cockade, without having been registered, was to be judged by the Permanent Committee.

(To be continued.)

SPICE.

"Most of the Indian Labour leaders, have, in fact, no real claim to be called as such, for the simple reason that they do not belong to the rank and file. A lawyer, a rich merchant, or a Zamindar, whose interest in Labour does not carry him beyond the Presidential chair of a meeting, to which he is generally carried either in his own car or a Taxi-cab (paid for by the labourer, of course!) has no claim to be a Labour leader. Yet this is what we mostly come across in Bengal. A millionaire invited to preside over a Labour meeting! His very acceptance of the presidency betrays his ignorance of the Labour principle."

—Karmi.

THE ROBBER SEMENOFF. Soldiers or Property?

Semenoff, the White Guard commander, who fought against the Soviets in Siberia, with the assistance of the Allied Capitalist Governments, is charged in New York with two offences:—

(1) The murder of American soldiers in Siberia;

(2) The seizure of the property of an American in Siberia.

In respect of the first charge, Mr. William Hayward, Federal District Attorney in New York, has declared that Semenoff cannot be brought to trial, because "Semenoff was an independent contingent, acting with the United States forces, and the only remedy for his alleged misdeeds would have been to protest to his superiors at the time, with a demand for his punishment."

One might have expected the same dictum to apply also in the case of the second charge, but since that concerns the property of an American company, it is regarded as much more serious—what are the lives of a few "Doughboys" where a Government ally in defence of the sacred rights of property is concerned? Semenoff is held in jail in respect of his seizure of property, and cannot even get bail pending his trial.

The Allied Governments would doubtless have preferred not to reveal so clearly the character of the assassins they hired to war on the Russian Workers' Republic.

WRIT ON COLD SLATE.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Price 1s. 7d., Post Free.

"Writ on Cold Slate" is so beautifully and terribly realistic that when reading the poems I suffered again the mental anguish an understanding mind feels whilst in prison.

"Great as is the artistic value of the poems, to me their most precious quality lies in the way the veil is rent and the naked truth revealed."

—CLARA GILBERT COLE.

COMMUNIST WORKERS

(LEFT-WING ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT MEETINGS.

SOUTH LONDON SOCIALIST CLUB.

A Meeting will be held at 31 Newington Causeway, on Sunday, April 23rd, at 7 p.m. Sylvia Pankhurst will lecture on "Communism." Admission Free. Literature Sale. Tea.

JUST OUT.

NEW EDITION.

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

KOLLONTAY'S SPLENDID PAMPHLET.

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Tells what everyone wants to know about life under Communism.

Strikes a blow at Capitalist Social Conventions. From WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT Office, 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMUNIST LIFE.

Comrade Cahill has forwarded, with a request for insertion, the following letters:—

DEAR COMRADE—

Though it is now a month ago since your letter on "Voluntary Communism Needed" appeared in the Socialist Press, I now take the liberty to say that I have not lost touch with it or the ideas it contains, and so I venture now to write you and to assure you that I agree with you in principle. But this is not enough; for I realise that action is required. Such action as will attract Socialists of all shades of opinion, and cause them to embody in practical form some of the faith they hold.

What I mean.

Socialists as I find them are the most disgruntled beings I know. They do not in their talk or conduct reveal the spirit of Socialism. In reality they are more anti-capitalist than pro-Socialist. In a word, Socialism is but a name to them, to cover their natural hostility to Capitalism.

Now why is this?

I think the explanation consists in the fact that this capitalist age, with its great accumulations of power, as reflected through the gigantic industrial establishments of to-day, has mechanised their minds and robbed them of vision.

Of course, they hate it all, and in a weak way they struggle against the forces that are pressing them down. They are like men in a bog, who, in the effort to get one foot out, only succeed in shoving the other one in.

What, then, is the cure?

The cure, in my opinion, depends upon the degree of character that we develop along lines of practical service to one another. By this means we will arrive at as much security as is possible to us, this side of the revolution; and by this means we will stimulate and lead our fellow men, who remain out in the world of insecurity, towards the light.

I therefore think that the nucleus of what, for the present, I will call a Security Brigade, might now be got together. This Brigade to spend all its leisure time and all its spare money in building up the best form of Socialist structure possible to-day. Amongst themselves they would live as a community of kindred spirits—all differences to be subordinated by the over-riding of Communist principles—doing all sorts of useful and skilful things for each other, free of all thoughts of profit. The social spirit would thus have a clean outlet and the moral uplift might well be great.

But to begin with, I would suggest that the organisation of the food supply for the Brigade—that is, on Communist lines—should be the first matter to be tackled. For, from the angle of security, the question of food must take the first place—all other activities, provided our minds remained plastic and unsteriotyped, would flow from this.

Now, if such Brigades were formed all over Britain, one can easily see how useful they could become. They, in contrast with capitalist procedure, would set a high example of conduct. And as a guarantee of such conduct, if such were needed, a healthy rivalry between the Brigades of different Districts, as to which might show the highest form of social enterprise, could be set going.

I think I will stop here for the present, Mrs. Cahill, as I think I have said sufficient, for the present, at any rate, to indicate to you what I am aiming at. Perhaps if you agree, you will say so; if not you will suggest your alternative—I am not at all dogmatic, provided we can get something done before our lights go out for ever.

Yours fraternally,

D. T.

re Communism. I am interested in the ideas put forward by "Dionysus."

For example, I think the way it could be done would be:—

1.—A meat safe requires new hinges, a notice is published to this effect, and a comrade capable of doing same comes forward.

2.—A comrade requires some mending done, a notice appears, and forward comes a comrade.

3.—A special occasion arises when a comrade, unable to make cakes or light pastry, very much wants some; a notice appears, and a comrade comes forward to do same.

4.—Some comrades are going for a holiday; well, instead of having to clear up on the morning of their departure, another comrade undertakes to go in and tidy up and leave things ready on their return.

5.—Many who are clever at dressmaking and tailoring could undertake this work.

6.—Many find it a bother to write letters, etc., some to whom this comes easy would undertake this work.

7.—A list of names and addresses could be published of comrades who could be called on in cases of illness, or other emergencies.

Further, I do not think we should forget the lighter side. There is no doubt many comrades who can play and sing and have other accomplishments—it might be possible at times for them to combine and give to other comrades the benefit of their talents.

Another thing that could be very well arranged would be the cultivating of an allotment, all those living near, helping with same. The keeping of chickens in, perhaps, a corner of a comrade's garden could also be carried out.

Of course, it must be understood that satisfactory arrangements would need to be arrived at where the need of money came in.

With regard to the letter from Leigh Rothwell, I think it would be a mistake at any time to form a colony. You would be away from the public eye, and the living of such a life would undoubtedly tend to narrow one's outlook, and whilst you were comfortable and well cared for, the hardships of those in the outside world would probably be forgotten. A much better method would be to have a few houses in different streets, so that the communal life in practice could be seen by the unconverted.

A. Y. L.

Co-Operative Director's £850 a Year.

DEAR EDITOR—

The *Daily News* of April 4th, printed a piece of news which I think ought to be given greater publicity: "Co-operative women are highly pleased at the success of Mrs. Cottrell, of Birmingham, in being the first woman to secure a seat on the board of directors of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. The post carries £850 a year."

What right have the C.W.S. directors to pay these inflated salaries to officials of the Society? Have they a mandate from the rank and file of Co-operators to do so? Would the Rochdale Pioneers approve of huge salaries for office-holders, and long hours and low wages for employees?

The C.W.S. advertisements tell us that all profits made by the Society go to the purchasing members. It is clear, however, if £850 a year is a sample of the salaries being paid to its officials, that the cream of these profits goes to the administrators, and only the skimmed milk of them to the purchasing members.

No wonder prices at the Co-op. Stores are, in general, higher than those at the capitalist shops. No wonder that the *Daily News* speaks of seats being "secured" on the C.W.S. board of directors. Naturally there will be plenty of ambitious people in the movement anxious to "secure" seats at £850 a year. These big salaries will certainly attract capitalists into the C.W.S., as they have attracted the undesirables into the Trade Union movement, to its undoing.

Yours, etc.,

S. HUGH SIMCOE.

THE HAY MURDER CASE.

Justice Darling, in acting as Super-Council for the prosecution in the Hay murder trial, followed what has become a common custom amongst judges. In theory the judges should sum up and recall to the jury the arguments on both sides; in practice Justice Darling assisted in browbeating the accused and his witnesses, and in a four hours' speech to the jury, used every argument he could muster to secure a conviction.

The unfortunate accused certainly does not get fair play in our Courts of Law—we prefer not to call them Courts of Justice. Firstly the prosecution is opened by the attorneys of the Govern-

ment. The defence replies. Then the prosecution is given a second innings of unlimited length, after which the defence has not a word of reply. Then the judge "sums up," or, as in this case, makes another speech for the prosecution.

Swayed by the persuasive arguments of judge and prosecuting Counsel, the jury is apt to forget all about the defence. The accused, if a person of limited means, cannot afford to hire one of the more famous legal luminaries. If his Counsel fails in the unequal battle of argument, the life of the accused is forfeit.

It is perhaps a hopeful sign that it required four hours dragging by Justice Darling to induce the jury to convict Armstrong. Justice Darling complimented the jurymen on their intelligence; because they presented a verdict of "Guilty." We should have felt more respect for their intelligence had they possessed the independence of mind to withstand the influence of the big-wigs.

It appears to us that if Armstrong were guilty he must be insane. It would seem that a poisoner is the last person on whom poison will be found. Having every reason to be circumspect, he is the last person to forget that he has a packet of arsenic in his pocket. He certainly would not run the risk of its being found there by carrying it about with him daily, unless he were insane.

The mercenary reasons alleged to have been the motives which caused Armstrong to attempt two murders, were very flimsy. The rottenness of our civilisation is shown by the fact that any sane person has accepted these as motives for murder.

If we lived under Communism, no man would desire to murder his wife for her money, or to poison a fellow solicitor from professional jealousy. Moreover, no man would murder his wife because he wished to part from her and secure another companion, fearing that to do so would create a scandal which would cause him to lose his post. Evidently that is the motive which is supposed to have animated Armstrong in this society of Pauls Pry.

We predict that in the not distant future post mortem will be held on the body of a person to whom arsenic has been medically administered, as it was to Mrs. Armstrong in the asylum, but in whose case no unfortunate person will be charged with murder. Then it will be discovered, as in so many other matters, that the doctors do not know everything about the effects of arsenic. Then it will be found that either because the organism was unhealthy, or for some other reason, arsenic may remain and accumulate in the system—and perhaps even cause the death of the patient the doctors were trying to cure.

As in the Kidwelly case so in the Hay case, the various doctors concerned with the unfortunate patient have shown themselves miserably incompetent and unfit for their professional responsibilities.

Lord Knutsford says that women doctors are not proving a success; the male members of the profession have not much to boast of if the medical men who attended the alleged victims in these cases may be considered a fair sample of the rest. In this case, Dr. Hincks asserts that his patient was gradually done to death under his eyes and he did not know it. We respectfully submit that if this were the fact, his name ought to be struck off the Medical Rolls, for gross incompetence. As for the Asylum doctors, they, too, are hardly the sort of people we should care to trust if they received a patient suffering from acute arsenical poisoning and, so far from discovering that, went on treating her with arsenic without knowing that her system was already overcharged with it. Did not Dr. Hincks: did not the Asylum practitioners take, for instance, the simple precaution of examining the patient's urine?

It is evident that the doctors were incompetent and neglectful. It is interesting to notice how easily they accept the stigma of failing to discover a patient was being poisoned, when once the Government has made itself responsible for proving that the patient was poisoned.

We say, advisedly, that the Government makes itself responsible for proving the case against the accused. Therein lies a great evil. The effort of the Government lawyers and police, analysts and medical experts is not to discover the truth, but

(Continued on page 8.)

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS EDUCATION AND OFFICIAL LABOUR.

SHALL THE LABOUR COLLEGES ACCEPT GOVERNMENT GRANTS?
IS THE LABOUR COLLEGE MOVEMENT PREPARED TO BE RUN UNDER
THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS GENERAL COUNCIL?
WHERE THE UNITED FRONT IS LEADING.

The Trade Union Congress General Council has approached the Executive of the National Council of Labour Colleges and the Governors of the Labour College, with a view to bringing the Independent Working Class Education movement under the control of the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. The General Council has formed a committee called the Joint Committee on Education Facilities for Trade Unions. This Committee consists of Messrs. A. Pugh, G. Hicks, J. W. Bowen, A. H. Findlay, and C. W. Bowerman: these persons represent a General Council Sub-Committee. On this Joint Committee there is also represented a Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee. The Enquiry Committee is evidently the generating force from which has sprung this Official Labour move to gobble up the Independent Working Class Education movement. The Trade Union Education Enquiry Committee was represented by Messrs. G. D. H. Cole, A. Creech Jones, J. M. McTavish, T. W. Burden, and Mrs. E. Calthrop.

Mr. A. Pugh acts as chairman, and Mr. Bowerman as secretary of the Joint Committee on Education Facilities for Trade Unions. The Committee is therefore of a completely Trade Union Executive complexion. A large proportion of the members of the Joint Committee are officially connected with the W.E.T.U.C. and W.E.A., with which the I.W.C.E. has always been at war.

A meeting between the Joint Committee from the T.U.C. Executive and representatives of the N.C.L.C. and I.W.C.E. movement took place on March 30th.

After a general discussion, in which the I.W.C.E. spokesman declared that they would not agree for a moment to any interference with the principles on which their movement has been built up, the I.W.C.E. deputation was invited:

"(1) to send in details of the Labour College curriculum, and

"(2) to submit answers to the following questions:—

(a) Is the Labour College Movement prepared to accept Government grants, provided there are no conditions attached to them, and

(b) Is the Labour College Movement willing to be run under the T.U.C., provided its principles, policy, and curriculum are guaranteed against interference?"

The National Council of Labour Colleges is therefore sending out a questionnaire to its branches, asking:—

"(1) Are you prepared to accept Government grants on condition they do not involve any interference with, or modification of the present educational policy of the N.C.L.C.?"

"(2) Are you prepared to participate in the proposed T.U.C. scheme, on condition that our present policy and standpoint in education remain unchanged, which involves the liberty to run the N.C.L.C. classes in any area, and to take the necessary steps to obtain Trade Union support?"

Our advice to you, fellow worker, should you happen to move in Independent Working Class Education circles, is to vote for continued independence. If the Labour Colleges and Classes become tied to the Trade Union Congress, they will grow more and more bourgeois-reformist, and will become, not an exact model of the W.E.A., but something much more carefully "form" typed for Reformism.

The Governors of the Labour College have decided to reply in the affirmative to the Labour questions regarding the acceptance of Government grants and being run by the Trade Union Congress. The Executive of the National Council of Labour Colleges are making a similar recommendation to their members.

This is the Unity Front carried to a disastrous extreme.

We urge all Plebs to vote against running under Trade Union Congress control, or accepting Government grants.

Remember that the power of the purse is paramount, fellow worker.

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