

Japan and the Revolution.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
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THE CAERPHILLY ELECTION.

COMMUNIST PARTY v. LABOUR PARTY

There is to be a three-cornered contest in Caerphilly, in the South Wales coalfield. The Labour Party and the Communist Party are running rival candidates. The contest will be exceedingly bitter.

The attitude of the *Daily Herald* is illuminating because it must be remembered that the *Daily Herald* is supposed by some people to be a Red paper, a Left Wing paper, even a Bolshevik paper to which Third International money has been offered because its profession of Redness and of Socialism were taken seriously over there in Moscow.

The *Daily Herald* has come out in open and strong opposition to the Communist Party candidate. There is no longer any doubt that the *Herald* must be taken as voicing the views of the officials in power in the Labour Party on questions of policy where the official caucus intervenes.

The *Herald's* opposition to the Communist candidate was first displayed by its special correspondent, who declared that the Communists should come into the Labour Party as an integral part, and offer their candidate to be chosen or rejected by the Labour Party. The *Daily Herald* correspondent here overlooked the fact that the Labour Party has refused the Communist Party's application for affiliation, both nationally and to the local Labour Parties. Only if it were affiliated could the Communist Party become an integral part of the Labour Party.

The *Daily Herald* correspondent, in the *Daily Herald* way, made an effort to keep a foot in both camps (one must not offend the Reds, you know; circulation, circulation) by praising Bob Stewart, as a "good fighter," "everyone respects him" and at the same time coming down heavily against his candidature: "It is very strongly felt that this is no time to divide the ranks of Labour, especially in view of the fact that whoever is adopted would be bound to vote Left on any question of public importance, or of special importance to the miners."

What a weak, false argument for supporting reactionaries! It reminds us of the plea that Socialists should support Liberal candidates in order "not to split the progressive forces."

As for the pretence that whoever is elected will be bound to vote Left, the fact that a Right candidate will be chosen by the Labour Party is a proof of the absurdity of that assumption. Moreover, the cases of G. N. Barnes, repudiated by the Gorbals Labour Party, and Roberts, repudiated by the Norwich Labour Party, shows how easily a Member of Parliament snaps his fingers at those who put him there when he goes over to reaction!

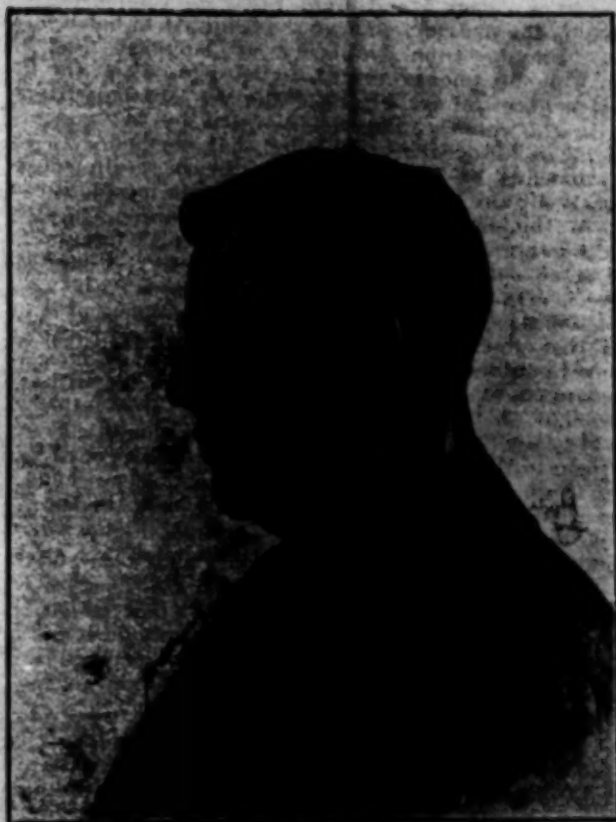
But all that is merely the work of the special correspondent.

On August 8th, the *Daily Herald* came out against the Communist Party candidate in a leading article. Here are the most salient passages:—

"In our movement there must be wide diversity of thought as to method, and sometimes it may be divided on questions of principle. But at this moment we think everything, except absolute essentials, should be put on one side in order to defeat handsomely the Government's nominee."

"We desire this for the sake of our own people here at home, those millions whom Lloyd George and his Parliament of hard-faced men have so grievously betrayed."

"The same call comes also from our comrades abroad. So long as the Coalition is in power Russia



BILL HAYWOOD, U.S.A.

is not safe, nor indeed is any revolutionist anywhere safe. We want Organised Labour to realise that the millions in Russia are starving because the failure of Nature has been accentuated and made worse by the callous, brutal policy of boycott and open war which Lloyd George and his Government have waged against the Russian people. To drive this lesson home, unity, above all things, is needed.

"Caerphilly can, by giving a thumping Labour victory, send a message of good cheer to the toilers at home and of goodwill and fellowship to our comrades in Russia and throughout the world."

The name of Stewart is not mentioned in the leading article, and the statement, under the photograph of Morgan Jones, that "the seat will also be contested by the Coalition and by the Communists," shows that the Communist candidate is to be thoroughly cold-shouldered by "Labour's Own Daily."

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It is important to note that the *Daily Herald* claims to speak on behalf of Soviet Russia; the phrases are subtly worded: "The same call comes to us from abroad. So long as the Coalition is in power Russia is not safe," etc. The inference is that the call to ignore and boycott the Communist candidate, in the name of unity, comes from Soviet Russia; but, of course, it would not do to more than infer that, for repudiation from Moscow might follow.

The Caerphilly situation is one that gives food for stimulating thought. What would have been the policy of the Communist Party at Caerphilly had the Labour Party accepted its affiliation?

Would it have contented itself with putting up its nominee in the Labour Party caucus, and on his rejection in favour of an anti-Communist reactionary, would it have joined in supporting the anti-Communist reactionary, as the *Daily Herald* advises?

Or would the Communist Party have persisted in running its own candidate, in spite of its affiliation to the Labour Party? If it did that, it would be expelled; that is certain.

Is this running of Communist candidates adopted to force the Labour Party to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party, or does the Communist Party intend to persist in running its own separate candidates? If the latter be the accepted policy, the repeated requests for affiliation to the Labour Party are not to be taken seriously. The Communist Party would do well to decide which way it is going.

And what is our position?

Our position remains clear and consistent: you are all aware of it. We say: do not affiliate to the Labour Party or enter into compromising alliances within it; stand aside: let it get into power and prove its uselessness and powerlessness. Stand aside warning the workers that the Labour Party cannot emancipate them, because it is merely reformist and will not sweep away the capitalist system when it gets into power.

We say, further, that the best propaganda that Communists can do at this juncture is to let the Labour Party continue with its effort to become "His Majesty's Government," and to tell the workers that all such shams must pass; that the way to emancipation is through Communism and the Soviets.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE WITH FAMINE

In order to help the hungry the Soviet Government has authorised the Red Cross to do all it can to relieve the distress. The Red Cross shall: 1. Purchase drugs, food, and fodder at home and abroad and distribute them among the sufferers. 2. Distribute the goods and money in the possession of the Red Cross among the sufferers. 3. The Red Cross has the right to make use of all means of transport without payment. 4. Erect food centres wherever necessary. 5. Give the population medical aid. 6. Make collections where desired for the benefit of the sufferers.

The Red Cross will work jointly with the Russian Relief Committee, which is sitting in permanence in the Kremlin, and jointly with this committee, form committees abroad and collect funds.

The committee has been given the right to conclude agreements at home and abroad, and to place orders for goods without any control on the part of the State. The committee is merely required to give the all-Russian Central Executive Committee an account of the moneys expended. All government institutions are obliged to show the greatest helpfulness towards the relief committee.

A decree of the all-Russian Central Executive Committee orders that all State institutions as well as the larger Party organisations are to send one person to the relief committee out of each five hundred members.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

MAX HAVELAAR.

Edvard Dorek Dekker, who used the pen name of "Multatuli," was Assistant Resident of the Dutch Government in Java during the 'eighties. He agitated against the monstrous entortlements and tyrannies of which the natives were victims, and sacrificed his position in a vain effort to secure reform.

This novel, built up from his experiences in Java, contains, he declared, nothing that was not true.

We reproduce here a translation of Multatuli's work by Baron Alphonse Nahuijs, using, not the complete novel, but the more striking portions welded together so that the continuity of the story shall not be broken.

INTRODUCTION.

There was, one morning, an unusual bustle on the frontiers between Lebak and Pandaglang. Hundreds of saddled horses were on the way, and a thousand men at least, a large number for that place, ran to and fro in active expectancy. There were the chiefs of the villages and the district chiefs of Lebak, all with their followers; and judging from the beautiful Arab steed that stood there in his rich caparison, a chief of great importance must be there also. Such was the case. The Regent of Lebak, Radeen Adhipatti, Karta Natta Negara* had left Rankas-Betong with a numerous retinue, and, notwithstanding his great age, had travelled the twelve or thirteen miles that separated his residence from Pandaglang.

A new Assistant Resident was coming; and custom, which has the force of law in the Indies more than anywhere else, will have it that the officer who is entrusted with the rule of a district must be festively received on his arrival. The Controller, too, was present. He was a man of middle age, and after the death of the last Assistant Resident, being next in rank, had carried on the government for some months.

As soon as the arrival of the new Assistant Resident was known, a *pendoppo* was erected in great haste; a table and some chairs brought there with some refreshments, and in that *pendoppo* the Regent, with the Controller, awaited the arrival of their new chief.

After a broad-brimmed hat, an umbrella, or a hollow tree, a *pendoppo* is certainly the most simple representation of the idea "roof."

Picture to yourself four or six bamboo canes, tied together at the top with other bamboos, on which is placed a cover of the large leaves of the water palm, called in these regions *atap*, and you will have an idea of such a *pendoppo*.

It was not very correct of me to call the Assistant Resident the "chief" of the Regent. I must explain that the machinery of Government in these regions, the so-called "Dutch India"—[I think the expression inaccurate, but it is the official term]—as far as regards the relation of its population to the Mother country, must be divided into two very distinct great divisions.

One of these consists of tribes whose kings and princes have been content to be tributary to Holland, but have, nevertheless, retained the direct government to a greater or lesser degree in their own hands. The other division to which the whole of Java belongs, with a very trifling, perhaps only apparent exception, is totally and directly subject to Holland. There is here no question of tribute, tax, or alliance. The Javanese is a Dutch subject. The King of Holland is his King. The descendants of his former princes and lords are Dutch functionaries; they are appointed, transferred, promoted, dismissed, by the Governor-General, who reigns in the name of the King. Criminals are condemned and punished by a law made at the Hague. The taxes paid by the Javanese flow into the Exchequer of Holland.

The Governor-General is assisted by a Senate, but this Senate has no power to modify his resolutions. At Batavia, the different branches of the Government are divided into Departments, with Directors at their head, who form the link between the supreme direction of the Governor-General and the Residents of the provinces. Yet in matters of a political nature, these Residents apply directly to the Governor-General.

The title of "Resident" dates its origin from the time when Holland acted the part of a protecting State rather than that of a feudal superior, and was represented at the Courts of the several reigning princes by resident functionaries. The Princes are gone; the Residents have become rulers of provinces; they have acquired the power of prefects. Their position is changed, but the name remains.

It is properly those Residents who represent the Dutch authority in the eyes of the Javanese population, who know neither the Governor-General, nor the Senators of the Indies, nor the Directors at Batavia; they know only the Resident and the functionaries who reign subordinate to him.

A Residency, so-called—some of them have a population of one million souls—is divided into three, four, or five Departments or Regencies, at the head of each of which is an Assistant Resident. Under these the government is carried on by Controllers, overseers, and a number of other officers, who are required for the gathering of the taxes and superintendence of agriculture, the erection of buildings, for the waterworks, the police, and the administration of justice.

In every Department, the Assistant Resident is aided by a native chief of high rank, with the title of Regent. Such a Regent, though his relation to the Government and his Department is quite that of a paid official, always belongs to the high aristocracy of his country, and often to the family of the princes, who have governed in that part or neighbourhood as

A Tale of the Dutch East Indies.

By MULTATULI

independent sovereigns. It is very politic in Holland to make use of the ancient feudal influence of the princes, which in Asia is very great, and is looked upon by most of the tribes as a part of their religion, because, by making those chiefs paid officers of the Crown, a sort of hierarchy is created, at the head of which is the Dutch Government, in the person of the Governor-General.

There is nothing new under the sun. Were not the Margraves, the Burgraves, of the German Empire, appointed in the same manner by the Emperor, and generally elected from among the Barons? Throughout the Indies the same causes have had the same effects as in Europe. If a country must be ruled at a great distance, you will need functionaries to represent the central power. Thus the Romans under their system of military despotism chose Prefects from among the generals of the legions which had subjugated the country. Such districts thenceforth remained "provinces" and were ruled as conquests! As soon as the distant region was considered to belong to the Empire from similarity of language and customs, it became necessary to charge with the management of affairs a person who was not only at home in the country, but was elevated by his rank above his fellow citizens, in order that obedience to the commands of the Emperor might be rendered more easy by the military submission of the people to him. In this manner the cost of a standing army was altogether or in part avoided. The first Counts were chosen out of the Barons of the country. Count is the denomination of a person invested with a certain office. In the Middle Ages the opinion prevailed that the German Emperor had the right to appoint Counts (Governors of districts), and Dukes (Commanders of armies). The persons entrusted with government naturally tried to obtain from the Emperor, that their sons or other relations should succeed them in their employment. This often happened, though I do not believe the right to that succession was ever proved, at least, in the Netherlands, in the case of the Counts of Holland, Zeeland, Flanders, Hainault—the Dukes of Brabant, Gelderland.

In the case of a native functionary at the head of a district of Java, hereditary succession without being established by law has become a custom. During the life of the Regent this is often arranged: it is regarded as a reward for zeal and trust if he gets a promise that he shall be succeeded by his son.

The relation between European officials and such high-placed Javanese nobles is very delicate. The Assistant Resident of a district is the responsible person: he has his instructions and is considered to be the Chief of the district. Still the Regent is much his superior—through local knowledge, birth, influence on the population, pecuniary revenues and manner of living. Moreover a Regent, as representing the Javanese element and being considered the mouth-piece of the hundred thousand or more inhabitants of his Regency, is also in the eyes of the Government a much more important personage than the simple European officer, whose discontent need not be feared, because many others can be got in his place, whilst the displeasure of a Regent would become perhaps the germ of disturbance or revolt.

From all this arises the strange reality that the inferior actually commands the superior.

The Assistant Resident orders the Regent to make statements to him; he orders him to send labourers to work at the bridges and roads; he orders him to gather the taxes; he summons him to the Council, of which he, the Assistant Resident, is President; he blames him where he is guilty of neglect of duty. This peculiar relation is made possible only by very polite forms, which need not exclude either cordiality, or, where it is necessary, severity; and I believe that the demeanour to be maintained in this relation is very well described in the official instructions on the subject, as follows: "The European functionary has to treat the native functionary who aids him, as his younger brother." But he must not forget that his younger brother is very much loved, or feared, by his parents, and in the event of any dispute, his own seniority would immediately be accounted as a motive for taking it amiss, that he had not treated his younger brother with more indulgence.

The innate courteousness of the Javanese grandee—even the common Javanese are much politer than Europeans in the same condition—makes this apparently difficult relation more tolerable than it otherwise would be.

Let the European have a good education, with some refinement; let him behave himself with a friendly dignity, and he may be assured that the Regent on his part will do all in his power to facilitate his rule. The distasteful command put in an inviting form is punctually performed. The difference in position, birth, wealth, is effaced by the Regent himself, who raises the European, as Representative of the King of the Netherlands, to his own position; and the result of a relation which, viewed superficially, would have brought about collision, is very often the source of an agreeable intercourse.

I said that such Regents had precedence over the European functionaries on account of their wealth, and this a matter of course. The European, when he is summoned to govern a province which in extent is equal to many German Duchies, is generally a person of middle or more advanced age, married and a father; he fills an office to gain his livelihood. His pay is only sufficient, and often insufficient, to procure what is necessary for his family. The Regent is "Tommongong," Adhipatti,† yes, even "Pan-

gerang," that is, a "Javanese prince." The question for him is not that of getting his living; he must live according to his rank.

While the European lives in a house, his residence is often a *Kratoon* with many houses or villages therein. Where the European has a wife with three or four children, he supports a great number of women with their attendants. While the European rides out followed by a few officers, the Regent is followed by hundreds of retainers.

But all this must be paid for. The Dutch Government which has founded itself on the influence of these Regents, knows this; and therefore nothing is more natural than that it has raised their incomes to a standard that must appear exaggerated to one unacquainted with Indian affairs, but which is, in truth, very seldom sufficient to meet the expenses of the mode of life of such a native chief. It is no uncommon thing to find Regents in pecuniary difficulties, who have an income of from £16,600 to £25,000.

The revenue of the Javanese may be divided into four parts: Firstly, their fixed monthly pay; secondly, a fixed sum as indemnity for their bought-up rights, which have passed to the Dutch Government; thirdly, a premium on the production of their Regency—as coffee, sugar, indigo, cinnamon, etc.; lastly, the arbitrary disposal of the labour and property of their subjects. The Javanese is by nature a husbandman, he devotes his soul to cultivating his rice-fields. Whilst still very young, he accompanies his father to the fields and helps him to plough and dig and make dams and drains to irrigate the land. He chooses his wife from the girls who tread the rice in the evenings with joyous songs. But foreigners from the West came to make themselves masters of the country. They ordered the native to devote a part of his time to cultivate other things that would produce higher profit in the markets of Europe. To persuade the lower orders to do this, the foreigners had to win the chiefs they obey; to win the chiefs, it was only necessary to give them a part of the gain.

The Government compels the Javanese to cultivate certain products on his ground, and punishes him if he sells them to any purchaser but itself. The Government fixes the price it shall pay the native. The expenses of transport to Europe through a privileged trading company are high; the money paid to the chiefs increases the cost. The Javanese cultivator is paid just enough to keep him from starving.

To the European officials, also, a premium is paid on the produce. The poor Javanese is thus driven from his rice-fields; famine often results from these measures, but the flags of the ships, laden with harvests that make Holland rich, are flapping gaily at Batavia, at Samarang, at Parsaroon, at Bezookie, at Probolinga, at Patjitan, at Tjilatjap.

"Famine? In Java, the rich and fertile; famine?"

Yes, reader, a few years ago, whole districts were depopulated by famine; mothers offered to sell their children for food; mothers ate their own children. But then the mother country interfered. In the halls of the Dutch Parliament, complaints were made, and the then reigning Governor had to give orders that the extension of the so-called European market should no longer be pushed to the extremity of famine.

Oh! this angelic Parliament!

According to the general idea in almost the whole of Asia, the subject, with all he possesses, belongs to the prince. The people do not understand that their "Tommongong" is now a paid official who has sold his own rights and theirs for a fixed income. Hence nothing is more common than that hundreds of families are summoned from far remote places to work without payment on fields that belong to the Regent or in his Court. If the Regent happens to cast a longing eye on the buffalo, or the daughter, or wife of the poor man, it would be thought unheard of if he refused the unconditional surrender of the desired object. The Javanese is cordial, above all things, where he has to give a proof of attachment to his chief. He would think himself wanting in respect if he entered his *Kratoon* without presents.

If the square in front of the chief's residence is in an uncultivated condition, the neighbouring population would be ashamed of it. Force would be needed to prevent them clearing it of weeds. To give payment for this would be an insult to all. But when the Regent's rice-fields wait for the plough, he summons the populations of whole villages to work for him, though their fields need labour as well as his.

This is known to the Government, and where the European is entrusted with power in Java, he is told to protect the people. But where could the European officer get witnesses with the courage to give evidence against their lord the Regent? And, if he ventured to make an accusation without being able to prove it, where would be the elder brother, who, in such case, would have impeached his younger brother's honour? Where would he then find the favour of the Government, which gives him bread for service, but which would take that bread from him, which would discharge him as incapable, if he rashly accused so high a personage as an "Adhipatti," or a "Pangerang"?

(To be continued).

* "Radeen Adhipatti" is his title, and "Karta Natta Negara" is his name.

† Titles of nobility.

‡ Castle or Palace.

JAPAN'S POSITION IN THE COMING WORLD'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

A Report sent by the well-known Japanese Communist SEN KATAYAMA to the Communist Third Congress in Moscow.

Japan is to-day dominated by a well-organised, greedy Imperialist capitalist class, which has made the country an object of fear to white countries, and the Japanese the most despised and hated people on the earth. This is especially the case in the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and other British possessions. In most of these countries not only are the Japanese despised and hated, but, if they belong to the working class, they are entirely excluded from entering the country.

The fear of Imperialist Japan is not unreasonable, looked at from the standpoint of rival countries equally dominated by both Imperialism and Capitalism. But the extreme hatred of the Japanese workers displayed by the proletariat of other countries is not by any means reasonable.

Japan's last census, taken in 1920, shows that out of seventy million Japanese, about a half million are outside Japan. Of these, less than a quarter million are in the United States of America and its territories, chiefly the Hawaiian islands. The Japanese sugar plantation workers were mostly imported by the American capitalists before Hawaii was annexed by the American Imperialists. The rest of the Japanese are scattered all over the globe. It is absurd to suggest that a hundred and fifty thousand Japanese in America, a land of over one hundred million people, could be the cause of a bloody racial war!

Recently the Chinese and the Koreans have joined in the world-wide anti-Japanese movement. They have apparently a good reason for hating the Japanese on account of the brutally oppressive policy of Japanese Imperialism. But even in this case it is not the poor Japanese proletariat that they should make the object of their hatred. The Japanese proletariat is powerless under the present Imperialism. It is to be pitied, but not despised and hated. It is Japanese Imperialism and Capitalism that they as well as we should despise and hate, endeavouring to destroy them both by our common effort, nationally and internationally combined.

The proletariat, misguided by opportunist Labour leaders and prejudiced against the workers of other countries, is in peace-time exploited by the capitalist class for its own profit-making, and also used for the preparation of another war.

The English-speaking proletariat of the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and other British colonies, is perpetually fed upon racial prejudice and hatred against all other races, by the leaders of the Second International, such as Hillquit, Berger and Co., as well as the "yellowest" Labour leader, Sam Gompers.

It should be made an urgent work of the Third Communist International to break up this mistaken conception of the White domination and its inherent racial hatred and prejudice, and instead of these, to build up the movement of World Communism. Our dominating aim and work must be the destruction of Imperialism and Capitalism; as the groundwork of the Communist International, based on the Soviet system.

Destruction of Japanese Imperialism will profit not only the Koreans and Chinese, but also the Japanese proletariat. Destruction of British Imperialism would profit a far greater number of peoples and races than the destruction of Japanese Imperialism. The destruction of American Imperialism would profit the Negroes, Mexicans, Cubans, Haitians, the people of San Domingo, Philippines and Central Americans. However, the destruction of one Imperialism by another would only strengthen the victorious Imperialism, as was well demonstrated in the late Imperialist war; and the proletariat of all the countries, victorious or defeated, would suffer and be exploited more than ever.

The proletariat of England has been for more than a century benefited by English Imperialism. The majority of English proletarians have felt that they were profiting by it. Indeed, the English workers have felt, and not without apparent reason, that their very life depended upon British Imperialism. This has been the chief reason why the English workers did not accept even the Socialism of the Second Inter-

national, still more the Communist principle of the Third Communist International. They know very well that the whole tenure of industry has been built upon the world-wide Imperialism. Thus, the continuation and prosperity of English Imperialism is the very life and prosperity of their industry and commerce. That was, and still is the very reason why the English workers supported the late world war, as they also did the Transvaal war. That is why they suffer the English soldiers to butcher the Irish proletariat to-day! The English proletariat, sooner or later, must realise that British Imperialism will not last for ever. It will, and must see, that the proletariat of India has already seen the light of the Communist dawn. Every day India is slipping out of the grip of British Imperialism and coming under the influence of Communist or Bolshevik Russia.

The proletariat of England must realise that it cannot and ought not live on the Imperialist exploitation of India or any other British colonies! The doom of British Imperialism before the power and influence of the Third Communist International is written and endorsed when it has been so utterly powerless in little Ireland that it has had to resort to brutality and barbarity and has signed the Russo-British Commercial Treaty on March 16th, 1921. British Imperialism is a concrete product of modern capitalism, supported by historic circumstances. With the inevitable doom of modern capitalism, British Imperialism must go down to destruction with all the other Empires and Imperialisms.

American Imperialism differs from British Imperialism. The former has unbounded rich resources within the territory of its own country, while the latter, with the exception of coal and iron, has almost none. The latter must go out and get all the necessities of life, either from her own colonies or some other territory. To get its own needed supplies from its own colonies rather than from others has been to British Imperialism, a matter of life or death, while to American Imperialism it is a secondary matter. American Imperialism wants markets for its products above all else, while English Imperialism wants both markets and colonies. We can see that American Imperialism has become more and more thirsty after colonies, too, yet the workers are not in accord with the desires of the Imperialists, as the British proletariat tacitly is. To-day, all Imperialism wants its own exclusive market; American Imperialism is more for the market than for the colonies. The English is open and haughty, and above all, aggressive, whilst the American satisfies its appetite for territories under the guise of that famous Monroe Doctrine. It has already overridden the economic interests of entire Central America, Mexico, and some weaker Latin-American countries. The coming Imperialist fight for the markets will be in China, centred on the Pacific Ocean.

America's proletariat, in general, is far behind that of European countries, especially that part of it which is led by leaders like Sam Gompers. In fact, American proletarians are opportunists like most of their leaders. This is true, not only in the Trade Union movement, but also in the Radical movement, including Socialists and even the Communists.

American opportunism is largely due to its historic condition and training. Every American boy is taught in school that he is entitled to be a President and his sister a Mrs. President of the United States! Every teacher tells his pupils proudly that that President was a poor tailor, this President grew up in a log cabin, or was a cow-boy, or a poor junior in a college. This food of glittering opportunism in the political sphere is not the only educational opportunism; there are also many living examples in the industrial and commercial spheres that mislead ambitious youths in the same way. The extraordinarily rapid growth and development of American capitalism in the new rich country has caused a countless number of millionaires and multi-millionaires to spring up like mushrooms after rain. Among them, many have risen from the position of a common labourer, a street sweeper, and a Jewsbay. Bourgeois

teachers point to them, both in and out of school, as examples that every one in America can follow, if he is earnest and diligent.

Such false teachings poison the minds of American youth. Every one in America is after fame and money. The American is always proud of his common sense. The American's common sense means his ability to change his occupation from one to another without difficulty. Not only that, his common sense means that he can change his standpoint or his convictions to suit his convenience. A good sound Republican, crossing Mason and Dixie Line, becomes a good and thoroughbred Democrat in the all the State elections, while he is still a Republican in the National Presidential election!

It is a well-known fact in the Far East, especially in China, that the American is mostly a man of change. To-day he is a good missionary preaching the Gospel; to-morrow, a manager in some mercantile house selling American goods; next day, an Army officer, or a journalist, or a spy or what not. Americans are proud of their cleverness and versatility. This is the very reason why our Communist movement in America has been so slow, in spite of so many Russian comrades working there for the Cause, and although so many books on Bolshevism and its activities have been published there. More especially has this been the case since the movement was declared illegal. The membership fell, after the big raids of January, 1920, to an insignificant number. Those who were left in the Party were mostly foreigners who have been trained in the underground Party work in their own country.

The American proletarians are mostly opportunist in their temperament and thought; they do not care a cent for the theory of Communism. They are satisfied with high wages and with the rule of Gompers and Co. Out of ultra-hatred and extreme prejudice against the Asiatics, especially the "Damned Japs," the American proletarians tacitly consent to the enormous expansion of armaments, and support the bourgeois Government. Moreover, they approve the most inimical attitude of Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour towards the Soviet Republic of Russia, the only Workers' Government in the world.

The American Parliamentarism of complicated rules and by-laws has given a supreme chance to keep down Radical movements amongst the rank and file in the American Federation of Labour.

The Radical movement of America has been mostly carried on by the foreigners; but again, those foreigners, with few exceptions, have come to America for their own ends. They were very good comrades as long as they were free to pursue the "Almighty Dollar," and especially until the Bolshevik Revolution of Russia. Since then, the best comrades of the Second International, such as Hillquit, Boudin, Debs, and Ab. Cahn, as well as many others, left the revolutionary camp, and went to the reactionary side. Hear how wisely and smartly American Professor Nearing, and still more keen and logical Hillquit, reason and teach the American proletariat: "The Russian Soviet Republic and Third International or Bolshevik Party are different entirely," they say; "we support the Russian Government, but we oppose the Bolshevik or the Third International." If Bolshevism invades America, says wise Hillquit, he will shoulder a gun and go out to fight against it. Thus Imperialism in America has a very bright future as long as Hillquit and his gang lead the Socialist Party! Viewing all these facts, the proletariat of America's Imperialist Republic will take some years to become converted into a class-conscious revolutionary army. There is the danger of another world war, financed and manoeuvred by the most powerful American capitalistic Imperialism.

(To be continued.)

[* Debs is in prison: when he comes out he will be able to express his own views.—Editor, Workers' Dreadnought.]

IN PRISON.

O clouds that drift across the sky,
Take with thee now mine active brain
That would not be confined,
Oh wondrous are your myriad shapes
And lovely are your colours fair,
But marr'd by these bars.
Oh could I range now far and free
On some swift plane I'd follow thee
And leave the cell behind.
O skies that sun and showers bring
And little birds a-chirruping,
You all do set me wearying
That I'm a prisoner here.

E. S. P.

THE BEGGAR.

Thou'rt old; thy blood runs feebly on its course
All slowly dost thou move and fails thy tread
Thou'rt here for begging, Gran, these many
times;

Yet dost thou boast thee rich; thy thousands
count,
Thy numerous rows of houses, fancy's growth,
This sad starved soul who lacks two pence to
chink,
Doth hear with frowns thy tale of wealth that
begs,
And like a workman jealous for his craft,
Thinketh the alms thou had'st were stolen from
her.

E. S. P.

THE STOKER.

Thy veins are knotted on thine ancient brow
And weakly pallid gaze thine old eyes forth
From fiery flush that mounts like furnace heat,
Short is thy breath and drawn with panting
wheeze,
Yet knowest thou never neither stop nor stay,
But still on runneth, to the stokehold now
To feed the fires that heat this damned place,

Or coals, or stores 'tis aye another load;
And if the blood-rush to thy crown force halt,
When as thou dragg'st the handcart burdened
high,
Only a moment pause thee, then rush on,
Until at last when tardy twilight falls,
Resting thy wrinkled hands on shrunken sides,
Observ'st thou pensive how thou'rt "getting
thin."

E. S. P.

Instead of "roses round the door" and a quarter
of a mile between each of us, we live like rabbits in a
warren—seven millions of us, and it's done for the
sake of money.

—MR. SYMONS (Clerkenwell Magistrate).

WILL YOU?

Will anyone pay for "Workers' Dreadnought" to
be sent to five unemployed comrades who "feel they
are losing a good little paper, but can hardly get
bread?" They say: "The boss has the whip hand
since our betrayal, and won't allow any active Trade
Unionist back in the collieries."

Workers' Dreadnought

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TO ALL OF YOU.

DEAR COMRADES—

You have supported the *Workers' Dreadnought* and brought it through many trials. We ask you to make another effort to bring us through this period of holiday stagnation. A donation first and then a steady effort to increase the circulation.

Our appeal to you is urgent: we ask you to respond to-day.

ZINOVIEV TO THE COMMINTERN.

A "Left" Wing View.

Zinoviev, in the *Moscow*, gives a review of the International situation. We will confine ourselves to the passages dealing with Britain.

Comrade Zinoviev says:—

"England this year has witnessed the unification of all the formerly dissenting Communist Groups and Parties.

"The arrests and other repressions with which the bourgeoisie came down upon our British comrades attests the growth of Communism in England."

The first of these statements is not quite accurate. The S.L.P. still stands outside the Third International, and there are the anti-Parliamentary Communist Party and some other groups still outstanding.

As to the second point, we should like to think, with Comrade Zinoviev, that the arrests of Communists, genuinely prove the growth of Communism; but it is useless to blind ourselves to facts; the coal dispute; the fear of other great industrial disturbances, on account of the all round lowering of wages, was the main cause which prompted the Government to special censorship of propaganda during the past months. Many of the persons imprisoned under D.O.R.A. and the E.P.A., were charged on account of speeches which had not even a Communist tendency.

Comrade Zinoviev justly observes:—

"Towards the end of the year the attempts of certain unsteady adherents of the Comintern to create a Right Wing within it became more apparent."

That is so; but such attempts have by no means ceased. Their power is due to the fact that, in Britain at any rate, we have numbers of people in the movement to whom Communism is nothing more concrete and definite than opposition to the capitalist intervention in Soviet Russia. Study and discussion is greatly needed in our movement.

Comrade Zinoviev continues:—

"The so-called 'Left' opposition at the Second Congress of the Comintern was represented by the Dutch Marxists, Sylvia Pankhurst's group, and partly by the representatives of the Shop Stewards Committees of England and America, some Syndicalists groups and the group of the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.).

"The Second Congress approached the opposition of the Left carefully, and patiently explained the blunders of these 'Left' comrades, succeeding in securing a revolutionary collaboration with many of these groups.

"Only a year has passed. A very considerable part of these Left elements has been thoroughly assimilated by the Comintern.

"The tactics of creating Communist nuclei within the trade unions have justified themselves completely, and given excellent results in France, in Germany and in England. The best elements of the French syndicalists have sincerely come over to the Comintern. The same is to be observed in reference to the Spanish and Italian syndicalists.

"The adherents of the Shop Stewards' movement and the group of Sylvia Pankhurst have joined the united Communist Party of Great Britain. The most friendly collaboration is observed between the Comintern and the best part of the I.W.W.

"Our Left British comrades should have recognised, and we are sure, have recognised the justice of our

position on the question of their working in the Labour Party. The social-traitor leaders of that Party have themselves begun to drive our comrades from the ranks of the Labour Party, thus confirming the correctness of our viewpoint."

Comrade Zinoviev says "the tactics of creating Communist nuclei within the Trade Unions have justified themselves completely and have given excellent results in France, in Germany, in England." Well, well, we should like to come in touch with some of those nuclei and hear what they have done; it would do our heart good if they really are advanced enough to be called Communist, and really are powerful enough to achieve results.

Let us hear from you, O Communist nuclei!

Comrade Zinoviev says the adherents of the Shop Stewards' Movement have joined the united Communist Party."

This is not quite accurate. Certain members of the Shop Stewards' Movement have joined the Communist Party, but no organisation answering to that description has done so. The Workers' Committee Movement in England is now reduced to a low ebb; broadly speaking, one must admit that the Shop Stewards of that movement no longer function.

In Scotland, the Workers' Committee is still a force: it remains apart from the Communist Party, publishing its own organ, *The Worker*.

Comrade Zinoviev returns to what he calls our "blunders."

He says we should have recognised the justice of the opinion that the Communist Party should work within the Labour Party, and that the Labour Party, by driving Communists out, has proved the correctness of this view.

On the contrary; we believe that the Labour Party's action proves that it is impossible for Communists to work inside the Labour Party.

Comrade Rothstein, one of the Russian comrades who at one time sent Reports on the British situation to Moscow, used to argue that the Communist Party could remain in the Labour Party, because it was not really a political party at all, but a loose federation of Trade Unions, within which one could carry on any sort of propaganda that one chose.

This was the line of argument followed also by the British Socialist Party, which later became one of the predominant factors in the present Communist Party.

Comrade Lenin himself used the same argument at last year's Comintern Congress. In the Committee on this subject, he turned to us pointedly and said: "The question is firstly, whether the Labour Party is a political party or a federation of Trade Unions; secondly, whether there is freedom of propaganda within the Labour Party."

Our reply was: *The Labour Party is a political party. Freedom of propaganda hostile to Reformism is only tolerated within it by the Reformist majority, so long as that majority considers such propaganda unimportant.*

That was, and remains, our view; but Lenin and the Comintern decided otherwise.

The Labour Party has twice justified our contention, by refusing the affiliation of the Communist Party, and now by the even more drastic step of notifying the local Labour Parties that they may not accept the affiliation of the Communist Party even locally, and that disregard of this instruction may imperil their own affiliation to the National Labour Party.

We heartily thank the Labour Party for this decision; it will help to strengthen the Communist Party and purge it of Reformist elements.

Now that everyone, including Comrades Zinoviev and Lenin, must finally admit that the Labour Party is a political party with all the attributes of a political party, we again submit, that for the Communist Party to affiliate to the Labour Party, striving to capture it from within, is the same as for Communists to remain a part of the Scheidemann Party in Germany, striving to capture it also from inside.

We are told that wherever there are backward and unenlightened masses, there must the Communists be to teach them. Quite so; but if combining the Communist Party with the Labour Party be the correct method why not have remained in the Scheidemann Party in Germany; why have split the Communist Parties of Italy and France?

Will Comrade Lenin please reply?

When we were in Moscow last year, Comrade Lenin advised our group to join a united Communist Party and to work for the acceptance of our own policy within that Party and within the Comintern.

"If the decisions about the Labour Party and Parliamentarism are wrong," he said, "they can be altered by a subsequent Congress. Form a Left block within a United Communist Party."

On that advice we have continued to act in good faith.

THE IRON HEEL.

The Burial of Sankeyism.

In these days we see the passing of ideas of co-operation between capital and Labour, of all those theories of joint control by employers and workers, which are associated with the Sankey report on the Coal Mines, and the Joint Industrial Council.

These impractical theories long cherished by those who would rob capitalism of its ugliness, but have not the courage to face its abolition, seemed to many people to have become really practical and imminent in the war period when the demand for Labour exceeded the supply, when trade was booming and prices scarcely knew a limit.

Now that Labour is a drug on a falling market conciliation in the industrial field vanishes like the morning mist, and the workers are forced to submit to the iron heel.

Unemployment benefit is cut down in this time when it is so terribly needed, and the terms on which it is granted grow narrower and harsher.

The great masses of miners who have not been taken back after the Coal Lock-out are told that they are not entitled to benefit on the excuse that there unemployment is due to the mines not being fit for working as a result of the lock-out. Of course, the reason the miners are kept idle is because the British coal trade is slack and coal owners prefer dealing in indemnity and other foreign coal to raising their own.

The Joint Industrial Council is a thing of the past; it resigned because it could do nothing. Dr. Macnamara, Minister of Labour, told the House of Commons the other day that the employers' and workers' representatives could not agree. In the long run, of course, they could not, although the workers' representatives were Trade Union officials no longer a part of the working class in many cases. The two sides could not agree on an unemployment scheme, on an hours of labour scheme, or on a minimum wage. How could they?

The Agricultural Trades Board has been scrapped. The other Trades Boards, so greatly vaunted by a host of tinkering Reformists and Fabians, will probably be abolished soon.

Dr. Macnamara, on August 4th, said:—

"There is, as the House is aware, considerable controversy to-day on the subject of Trade Boards as established under the Act of 1918. There is criticism that the establishment of Boards and the fixing of rates of wages by them may cause unemployment, and so adversely affect the industry which they desire to benefit."

These Trades Boards were created to be the protection of the sweated woman so depressed that she cannot fight for herself. They never did much for her; presently they will be gone.

The Labour Exchanges are being reduced; 84 are closed, 150 or more will be gone by the end of the year.

The Fabians, Beatrice Webb, for she has been the soul of the Fabian Society, have made the policy of the Labour Party, and in a little way have influenced the Capitalism Government in the prosperous days when capitalism could afford to give little things away.

Now the politics of Fabianism are on their death bed. The iron heel takes their place. Only by stern determined fighting can the workers meet the situation.

SPICE.

J. H. Thomas, M.P., at Leyton Town Hall:—

"During the past seven years it had been his unfortunate lot to find that when a great crisis had arisen members of his union had said: 'It does not matter; leave it to Jimmy; he will pull us out.' Such a state of affairs had nearly resulted in disaster more than once."

Unexpected candour!

Moral, don't leave it to J.H.T.

The "Labour News," issued by the Labour Party Press Service, says:—

"Stecloff writes in *Izvestia* on the Brighton Conference resolution which refused affiliation of the Communists to the Labour Party:—

"The Labour Party is in every sense of the word a Colossus with feet of clay, corroded, moreover, by the poison of the Coalition. . . . It is a mastodon whose defences have given way, whose skin is mangy, and which should be carried to the grave, or, better still, thrown on the dung-heap."

"It is perhaps superfluous to recall that the admission of the Communists to the Labour Party was pleaded for on the grounds of 'brotherly love.'"

But then the *Daily Herald* and its satellites always bring "brotherly love" into all their appeals.

THE GRIEF AND GLORY OF RUSSIA.

Continued from last week.

I spent nearly three days in Samara, a town on the Volga, with a population of 200,000. The Market was a very large one and trading was going on quite briskly. The big theatre was playing the opera *Faust*. Red Army aeroplanes were spinning up at frequent intervals, rising from the surface of the ice-bound Volga; and from one I beheld the city through a pair of field binoculars.

A Conference of the Communist Party was being held during our stay; it was a splendid gathering, held in a magnificent hall. Another large gathering, this time was held in a theatre—the largest in Samara—packed with Ukrainian peasants. The following night, the local Communist Party held another meeting in the same theatre. Enthusiasm for the Third International, Lenin and Trotsky, and World Revolution, was intense.

Russian Schools.

Mrs. Snowden has dealt with the schools in Samara in her book, and in referring to her visits, says the places were houses of the bourgeois. Of course! The obvious reason why children—or rather, some children—are taught in what were once private houses, is because there never had been a sufficient number of schools in the Czar's time.

In Samara and environs, there are about 10,000 children having a splendid education and living healthy, clean lives. The stories going the rounds of the anti-Bolshevik platforms in this country as to the immorality in the schools and the congratulations by the officials of children who indulge in vice, are vile calumnies against some of the highest-minded men and women in the world.

A typical infants' school would be made up of children of from four to seven years of age, with a total in one building, of 36. Hours, 9 till 4; breakfast at 10, dinner at 2. Dinner table very orderly, with china plates, wooden spoons, small American-cloth mats for each plate, and white linen table cloth. Bread handed round by the children themselves. Their behaviour was splendid. Toys were plentiful but simple; most of them having the teaching of cleanliness for their main object: small wash-towels, flat-irons, and similar household furniture, reaching on to the tooth-brush rack. They went through teeth cleaning drill daily: the brushes were boiled once a week. Diagrams, in coloured chalks, illustrated types of vermin that the children were taught to avoid. I asked if they had an allowance of milk, and was told they were not having any, but were having plenty of butter and meat, and that they were allowed to have as much as they could possibly eat.

A typical school for older students was one where the average ages were fourteen to eighteen. A large room, with a brilliant red banner inscribed with the words "To the Intellectual Workers" in gilt letters gave colour; blackboard and forms usual in class rooms were in use; the class consisted of eight boys and three girls. One of the boys read a remarkable essay; and a discussion followed on the question of "Free Labour."

In this very fine building, the pupils underwent a four years' course in Science. There were three resident teachers from Moscow, and 22 lecturers on circuit attended for different subjects. The system is one of Applied Theory.

Children as School Managers.

The old discipline has been done away with, and the children have now a greater freedom of thought.

A child is appointed by the school to act as manager, and is given the keys. The boys and girls share equally in the work involved in the upkeep of the school. Of course, for kitchen work, etc., there is a staff; but the children are taught first and foremost that labour is necessary, and making a bed, or sawing firewood, is not beneath them. There is a criticism of each child by the other, and if a group desire to take up the study of any special subject, they are free to do so, and every facility is given them to carry out their plan, besides protection from the interference of those not interested. The chief study is agriculture, and during the summer months they live an outdoor life and sustain themselves very largely in consequence. Bookbinding, wicker-work and such practical work, form part of the curriculum, and in addition to lectures, dramatic performances have an important place. In reply to my query regarding the science of Economics, I was told that "Marxian" Economics is not taught direct from Marx's writings, but through the medium of a textbook issued by the Communist Party at the Moscow headquarters.

A huge flour mill on the banks of the Volga told us once more of the grief through which these people were passing. Machinery, imported before the war, broken through hard usage, or worn out by sheer wear and tear, was still. The crisis made it impossible for new parts to be obtained—much of it was American patent machinery.

Dutoff beaten by Orenburg Workers.

Orenburg, with a population of 110,000, and a Communist Party membership of 5,000, has tasted to the full the grief and glory of Russia. Unfortunately, the glory has been more ideal than tangible, and the grief has been bitter and prolonged.

General Dutoff marched a section of his army, consisting of 19,000 men, against the workers of Orenburg. The workmen had no intention of being beaten by the hired Guards of Capitalism, and as the Red Army was not in time to assist them, they themselves marched against Dutoff's army and won. It is a thrilling story, told best by those who took part in it, on the spot. The glory of their achievement could be recognised whilst watching their Soviet—it was being held in the splendid hall, formerly the School for the military officers of the Czar, now—the People's House.

Tashkent.

From Orenburg to Emba; through falling snow to Tashkent. Tashkent or Tarkend is the first large town one reaches in Turkestan, or Turkestan, travelling from Moscow overland. Different races make up the population; ninety-five per cent of whom cannot read or write, such as Usbeks, Kirghiz, Turcomans, Sarts, Persians and Russians. Under the old regime of the Czar, the natives were oppressed by the Russian colonists, now the Red Flag flies!

In all the large places visited, such as Tashkent, Kokaln, Andighan, and Samarkant, there was the New Town and the Old Town. In the Old Town the natives lived under the primitive conditions of mud dwellings and gaudy bazaars. Amid the glow of colour stood out the Red Star, the symbol of Internationalism. The walls were placarded with vivid posters depicting the force of the workers' smashing reactions.

In the New Town one found wide streets with trees planted to form an avenue, usually with running water in the main street in an artificial ditch. Amidst the theatres and big buildings, the Red Star stood out here, too. The walls, likewise, were placarded with

fanciful posters of the night of the labourer, to be used in the interest of the whole community.

Anti-Bolsheviks are always bemoaning the fact that the Soviet Government never knows where to draw the line—the Soviet retorts: "There is no line!"

Race hatred will die a natural or unnatural death if the Communists can get control of the education of the workers of the world for a few years.

The Nomad Soviet.

In 1917 was formed a "Soviet of Nomads and Settlers." A rapid revolution took place, and the old police officials scurried away, lest the down-trodden, who were rising from their knees, should obliterate them.

The religion of Mohomet predominates in this part of Asia, and the mosques still stand. The worshippers can still attend if they wish, but—the printing press is busy.

Bar to Knowledge Withdrawn.

Under the police control set up by the Czar, the Kirghiz were not allowed to publish anything; now they begin to taste of the fountain of knowledge. And the race is with the young—the Youth. I have seen mere lads get up at great meetings, and in torrents of eloquence pay tribute to the Great Cause of Internationalism. Most of them knew, and said, that the old would not understand, but they, the young, could usher in the New Era, and fervent were the cheers for the Third International.

(To be continued.)

A SOUTH WALES VIEW.

With the collapse of the Trade Union Movement the Iron Heel is being crushed home pretty well. In most places all the active boys are out of work. Victimization is too general to be spoken about. Great difficulty is going to be experienced in getting men to pay their Trade Union dues. This, of course, is merely a reactionary negative action born of disgust, without understanding, at the defeat we suffered. How the movement will fare in view of the present conditions I should not like to say. General unemployment amongst the active elements is rather a new and startling experience to most in S. Wales. It must have some effect upon the movement.

The best thing, so far as I can see, is the almost utter impossibility of the boys rattling. Having no other alternative but to fight, they should fight better because of their suffering. I saw that happen with a few of our wobblers locally. They tried to rat, but could not, so they have had to fight.

In South Wales at the present moment the Communist Party is more firmly entrenched than any other organisation has ever been. The active rank and file elements are in the party with a few exceptions. The Left Trade Union leader is mostly outside the party. Cook has resigned, but we have I understand, still a couple of members who are on the S.W.M.F. executive.

The Party is not giving complete satisfaction. Most of the South Wales element dislike the Parliamentary Plank in the programme.

You know how disorganised a rabble we have been in South Wales. Well, at present the C.P. is solidifying our movement here, and for the time being we are satisfied with that. For the purpose of consolidating our position we are making sacrifices.

THE INTERNATIONAL ESPERANTO CONGRESS From our own Correspondent

The English Press give very little information about happenings abroad unless it be upon subjects which politicians and financiers have an interest in keeping open. It is thus quite possible that the great International Congress now taking place in Prague may pass almost unnoticed, although we are over 2,000 delegate members now assembled here from every country in the world to talk to each other in Esperanto.

Dresden Police speak Esperanto.

A few days ago, as the trains containing advance parties of the members from Western Europe arrived at Dresden, they were boarded by police officials asking us for our passports in Esperanto!

The Dresden Town Council is so much interested in Esperanto, that it has encouraged the police to learn it, and I am told that 85 Dresden policemen speak Esperanto.

Dresden Town Council entertains Esperantists.

Our next surprise was that, on landing on the platform, we were met by a small crowd of ladies carrying Esperanto banners—a green star upon a white ground—accompanied by head police officials in gorgeous uniforms, informing us in Esperanto that they were at our disposal for any information that we might require, and that the Town Council and local groups had prepared meetings at which to welcome and entertain us; they induced us to stay two days at Dresden for a sort of pre-Congress, and then saw us off for Prague.

Esperanto Official Language in Czecho-Slovakia

The Czecho-Slovak Government was not to be beaten by Dresden. When we reached the frontier, some more police, in different uniforms, also speaking Esperanto, again looked at our passports, and one of

the officers told a small group of passengers that he had rooms to let in his house; this led me to wonder whether we were being "nursed" for political reasons, or for profit, or whether these were genuine tributes of admiration for our new language.

I have now come to the conclusion that these new Republics are genuinely trying to advance upon educational lines, and are competing with each other in adopting ways and means in this and in other directions for getting out of the slough of despond into which the war has thrown them.

Czecho-Slovakia especially has such an excruciating language—Tcheck—that business used to be carried on in German; but now that the country has attained its independence, it will have nothing to do with the German language, and Tcheck is alone tolerated in home matters, whilst for contact with foreigners, Esperanto is being officially encouraged.

The great Congress now in progress is naturally welcomed at Prague, for besides bringing money into the town, it increases the momentum of the official drive towards Esperanto.

Small Countries Desire Esperanto.

In the course of the speeches of the delegates from different countries, it became quite plain that all the small countries are more or less enthusiastic on the subject of Esperanto, and have sent official delegates, whereas France and England are only represented by unofficial local group delegates, or private individuals.

A burly Irish priest made a short speech in excellent Esperanto, bringing greetings to the new Republic of Czecho-Slovakia from the still newer Republic of Ireland, and was much applauded!

During the whole Congress, no language but Esperanto is allowed, though a Japanese doctor was per-

mitted to address us in English, his speech being at once translated to the audience into Esperanto.

A Useful Medium.

When I think of the tedious and time-wasting job that we have at international congresses, translating English speeches into French, and French speeches into English, and then translating again for the benefit of Germans or Italians, and leaving out many other members speaking other tongues, I wonder that we have not thought of Esperanto before!

Happily many countries, or parts of countries, have taken it up as a subject for elementary education, in some cases obligatory, and even some English local councils have adopted it; but, of course, its real utility will only be attained when all countries follow suit.

Quite apart from the use of Esperanto as a means of international intercourse, many schoolmasters assert that a logical and easy language such as that, greatly strengthens the grammatical grasp of one's own language, just as do the ordinary Latin and Greek classics; in that case, what a benefit it would confer upon the British workman, who so often feels himself at a disadvantage in public speaking, owing to his uncertain and shaky grammar.

But it won't insure Peace.

It is, of course, impossible to join in the Utopian hopes of many Esperantists, that being able to understand each other will make us love one another and put an end to war. Alas! we know only too well that coal-owners and miners don't live at peace because they speak the same language! But as a piece of common sense, labour-saving machinery, Esperanto is a distinctly desirable organisation, and as such should be pressed on all education authorities.

WORKING WOMAN AND CLASS STRUGGLE

By FRANK CONNER.

Clear visioned working women (whether they work with hand or brain, or both) are swinging clear of the so-called "Woman's Parties" and other associations of like stamp—organisations which, though indicting certain features of the capitalist system, do not move in the orbit of the proletarian revolution. These bodies, one and all, are earmarked with the bourgeois ideology. In so far as they faintly grasp the idea of a better society, they are Utopian. They feature the exploded idea that individuals or groups, by power of personality (irrespective of economic conditions), may cause or block great world movements.

Along this line, it is a pet dream of their leaders that women are to combine against armaments, and usher in the era of world peace.

The story has come down from the time of the Greek myth makers that Helen of Sparta caused the Trojan War; and through succeeding centuries, down to the present, story weavers have regaled their hearers and readers with tales of fair princesses that intrigued their countries into strife.

Entirely of a piece is the twentieth century fairy tale that women, banded together, will succeed in putting an end to war!

Ancient bards, story tellers of more recent date, twentieth century bourgeois feminists—are all birds of a feather in that they ignore the economic foundations of peace and war.

Undoubtedly the Trojan War had an economic background; and a study of the history of society shows that in the "changing economic factor" of human environment, lies the chief explanation of subsequent wars. Running counter to this economic factor, not all the princesses under the canopy could have made or stayed the conflicts.

Nor can all the "Woman's Parties" in the world to-day beat the machine guns into farming tools, or remodel the submarines into pleasure boats, as long as economic conditions prevail that make for war.

Furthermore, those who expect women to be banded together as a political unit on any great question are weaving a rope of sand.

Women do not constitute an economic group; and, for that reason, they cannot, under present conditions, act together on world or national issues; for such issues involve economic considerations. In the onward sweep of human society it is those that are swayed (directly or indirectly) by the same "economic motivation" that eventually find themselves marching under the same standards.

Though individuals, and even groups, are often directly moved to action by ideals rather than by economic motives, examination is likely to disclose mighty economic forces back of the agencies that foster these ideals, and that push them into the foreground where individuals and groups will pick them up.

The all-powerful Economic Factor.

Undoubtedly the opposition to negro slavery that grew up, little by little, in the Northern States before the Civil War was sincere (for the abolition of chattel slavery in America was an important historic advance). Yet the forces that spurred the people on were economic. In the last analysis (though the Emancipation Proclamation actually came merely as a war measure) the Southern slavery met its finish because it ran foul of the material interests of the Northern capitalists. It was when this clash of interests had grown violent (in the period before the war) that the masses of the North awoke to the real horrors of negro slavery.

Furthermore, Northern men and Northern women thought alike on the subject because their ideals were formed, and their opinions built up by identical economic forces. For the same reason, Southern men and Southern women were alike filled with bitterness when the institution on which the pelf of the Southern aristocracy depended was swept away.

As far as the banding together of women is concerned, it needs no ghost to tell us that getting Northern women and Southern women to hang together on the question of negro slavery in Civil War days would have been about as easy as extracting sunshine from cucumbers.

Coming down to recent years, the women of America did not vote as a unit on prohibition. (In California, the economic importance of the grape-raising industry influenced the woman's vote mightily.)

It wouldn't be safe to wager that women would vote alike on the matter of teachers' pensions, though a majority of teachers are women. (Even as men will not all vote the same on a working man's compensation law.)

Not even the women of the bourgeoisie can act as a unit. A Minnesota farmer's wife, taken up with the *petit bourgeois* program of the Non-Partisan League cannot be expected to vote the same as a woman whose opinions run in grooves formed by the economic motivation of finance capital or of a big manufacturing group.

Yet immeasurably great is the economic gulf that separates the women of the proletariat from those of the bourgeoisie.

True, "the brotherhood of man" includes "the sisterhood of women."

"For Judy O'Grady an' the Colonel's Lady
Are sisters under their skins."

Class-consciousness.

Judy O'Grady, however, if class conscious, glories more in kinship with her brothers and sisters of the proletariat—working men and working women.

With good reason does she thank her stars that her place is with the proletariat. Never yet was work like ours held in human hands; for it is the mission of the workers to establish the "Comrade State" (Dictatorship of The Proletariat) through which "the peoples of the world" shall pass, as over a mighty bridge, into the new society, where every child (and every grown-up) shall have a chance to make the most of themselves; where all shall do their share of work, but where all shall know the grace-giving buoyancy that comes from unstrained muscles and feet that have a chance to rest after labour; where all shall have their opportunity to exercise brain as well as brawn; where all shall know "the joy of life;" where all may reach up for the highest things of life.

Shall the working woman give up her personal share in the struggle for these achievements, neglect the proletarian movement, and fritter away her energies on woman's organisations that have nothing to do with the class struggle unless it is to oppose it?

Even as far as work for women is concerned, everything is to be accomplished by concentrating on the proletarian movement.

The day is near when women will really come into their own; but that day is not going to dawn because of the efforts of noble-minded persons, without regard to economic conditions. It is coming because the time is ripe, because the social order will require it. As the status of women in the past conformed to what economic conditions demanded of them, so is their position, even now, beginning to

grow into harmony with the coming needs of the future society.

The new society will be served by peace. It will have no place for war. The mighty machines will be the slaves to do the world's hard drudgery. Right conditions of living will further reduce the death rate. There won't be the necessity of continually replacing millions slain by war, pestilence, poverty, and overwork. Under the conditions of the new order, the quality of the human product will count for more than the number of individuals brought into the world. All this, of itself, spells a larger measure of freedom for womankind, greater opportunities for self-development.

Life is going to open up vistas undreamed of in the meager past; and the highest well-being of humanity is to count for all in all.

However, if humanity is to be at its highest, motherhood must be at the best; but motherhood cannot be at its best while any degree of economic dependence for women remains. As long as love can be brought in the market (though church and State O. K. the sale); as long as a woman's marriage is in any wise symbolised by a meal ticket; as long as motherhood may be penalised by financial subjection—so long will humanity fall short of the heights it is capable of attaining.

The complete economic freedom of women could not be realised under the present system. As long as Capitalism is on the throne, money must, to an extent, remain the feudal lord of love.

The way to bring nearer the day of highest opportunity for women, as well as for humanity in general, is to work with the proletariat, whose historic mission it is to bring in Communism, which will automatically do away with all economic dominance of one individual over another.

By propping up Capitalism, by measuring everything with the back-number standards of the bourgeois ideology, the woman's organisations are actually, as far as in them lies, retarding the day of woman's real freedom.

The abiding faith of their leaders in the ultimate efficacy of capitalist class democracy is childlike and touching. They are always pushing rosy projects for doctoring up said sick democracy with legislative reforms.

With their bourgeois trick of blaming everything on individuals or groups they are prone to lay the inequalities under which women have laboured through the centuries to the mere personal arbitrariness of men. "Woman has been enslaved," say they, "by tyrant man" (not by private property, not by economic conditions!)

This line of argument fosters sex antagonism; and sex antagonism, if it extends at all to the proletariat, hinders working class solidarity. Anything that might block working class solidarity, even in a slight degree, is as welcome as the flowers in May to those that are seeking to perpetuate the old system. Thus do the feminists serve Capitalism!

All in all, the working class woman that lines up with these woman's organisations is pretty decidedly in the wrong camp.

"Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place."

The place of the working woman is with the vanguard of the proletariat, marching in step with her working class brother, not trailing after the Colonel's Lady, promoting activities that amount to nothing more than an effort to keep the tattered and dragged standards of Capitalism floating a little longer.

== CORRESPONDENCE. ==

COMMUNIST MEMBERS OF POPLAR BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

Dear Editor,—As a member of the Bow Branch I was sorry to see in the "Workers' Dreadnought" a resolution passed by the branch censuring Comrade Pankhurst for her criticism of the Communist Party members of the Poplar Board of Guardians. I do not think she was out of order in the least, as one of the rules of the Communist Party is, that if any member is speaking or acting contrary to the principles of Communism, they should be recalled. I think this subject should be publicly discussed, and not hushed up. If wages are to be lowered let it be done by the factory-owning class and not by the Labour and Communist Party.

Yours for Communism,

F. BRIMLEY.

To the Editor of the "Workers' Dreadnought."

Dear Comrade,—Although somewhat late I wish to write a correction to a leader of the "W. D." of July 23rd. The leader dealt with the Dockers' Congress and the work done by Liverpool No. 3 Branch. While we do not wish to deprecate the efforts of the rebels in that branch I would like to point out that the work done was not the efforts of any one branch or any one individual, but the united efforts of the Dockers' Vigilance Committee, which is a part of the Dockers' Section of the

National Workers' Committee Movement. With regard to the circular, that also was issued by the Dockers' V.C., and Liverpool No. 3 Branch had no hand in drawing up the circular or the distributing of the same. Our reason for pointing this out is because we wish to draw the attention of any rebel dockers who read your paper and impress on them the importance of sharing the work done in the Dockers' Union and of linking up with the National movement, if they are not already linked up. A number of Dockers' Vigilance Committee linked up nationally will obviously hurry on the work you wrongly attributed to Liverpool No. 3 Branch of the N.U.D.P. & G.W., and will undoubtedly hurry on the burial of the already rotting bodies of the decrepit Trade Unions of to-day.

For the Mersey Council of Vigilance Committees,
JOHN NIELD,
(Hon. Sec.)

FROM A PRACTICAL PACIFIST.

Dear Editor,—I see that the interesting correspondence between yourself and the Rev. G. T. Sadler is closed, but as a practical pacifist I should like to have been allowed to have asked Mr. Sadler two questions. Firstly, what is going to happen when the army and navy are called upon to use *capitalist* munitions against the workers (Amritsar)?

Secondly, in that certain eventuality (the guns were placed in position just lately) is Mr. Sadler prepared to go to the army and navy *now* and advocate openly, in the street, that they shall refuse to fire, and demand that these munitions be destroyed?

I have already been out for this, and am ready to go again at any moment, my new banner is made. Mr. Ghandi is consistent, non-co-operation is the solution, but personal property was ever the greatest bar to freedom.

Yours truly,
CLAIRA GILBERT COLE.

85, Camberwell Grove,
London, S.E. 5.

August 6th, 1921.

S. Robinson writes: "We who read the "Dreadnought" hope it will continue. Congratulations on persistent and courageous fight."

A STRANGE PHENOMENON.

R. Mary Barclay, M.A., M.B. Edin., is circulating the press advocating that the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Edinburgh should be reserved for men students only; also that the medical schools in Edinburgh, both University and Extra-Mural, should be barred to women. This woman, who has herself taken a medical degree, appears to be a victim of war mania, she makes her proposal on the ground that the men "suffered for us" in the war.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Where the Labourer didn't ask for more.

Mr. Pretzman (C.U.), declaring that the Agricultural Labourers' Wages Board had done harm, said that the farmers and their labourers had previously been working together in a common industry for the common good. In his district the labourers' wages before the war had been 16s. and 18s. a week (no one said "Shame"). On 8th March, 1917, they were 21s., on March 15th, 1917, they were raised to 23s., and on July 19th they were raised to 24s. These increases were offered by the farmers. "In no single case in that district were the rises asked for."

(What a state of oppression must exist in that district when, whilst prices were rising so fast that even the employers had compunction, the workers dared not ask for more.)

"Everybody knows," Pretzman continued, "that 30 hours a week, of which you are liable to lose a considerable proportion by weather, is not sufficient for dealing with the natural conditions of a farm in summer." That was a big bone of contention, the farmer wants the labourer to work unlimited hours, and at the same time he is expected to eke out low wages by working on his own little patch of land in his almost non-existent spare time.

"One thing the labourer cannot get in the country districts is money, but he can have as much land as he wants for cultivation." (Members cried "No.") "Yes, in the poor land districts it is so. The land is going out of cultivation by hundreds of acres because it is absolutely impossible to find the money on these poor lands to pay the wages stipulated by the Agricultural Wages Board. We can make it possible for the agricultural labourer to live."

Fendal England.

Mr. Halls (Lab.) said he was one of a family of an agricultural labourer:—

"I was one of a family of 10 whose father never received above 18s. a week, and I knew what it was to live in poverty when my father worked on the land. It may be news to some hon. Members but I remember a time when a man who worked on the land dare not even let it be known that he was discontented with his lot. . . . let alone ask for increased wages. If a man let it be known that he was dissatisfied, or asked for an increase of 1s. or 2s. a week, it would be regarded as a sufficient reason for getting rid of him. It was only in the family circle that a man allowed discontent to be known. . . . I remember as we sat at the fire, if we were talking about our lot and all that we had to put up with, my poor old mother, when she heard any person going past would say: 'Do not talk so loud, or so-and-so may hear what you are saying.' . . . That is why I say it was one of the greatest blessings that ever came to the agricultural labourer to have these Wages Boards established, and an authority set up which determined wages and conditions."

(But the Wages Board did not free the agricultural labourer from his state of abject fear, did not give him courage to adopt an independent stand; it merely referred the question of his conditions to the Wages Board.)

Halls continued:—

"With regard to the old men . . . I would like hon. Members to remember it is their predecessors who are to blame for not having made some provision for these men at an earlier period of life than 70 years. If it had been done there need not be so much concern about the older man who is becoming less fit. In any case, if a man does become a little slower with his hands, if we have had all the value of that man's experience and knowledge out of him we should not be anxious to get rid of him nor seek to pay him a lower rate of wages."

Weakness of Labour Party.

Nevertheless, the policy of the Labour speeches was exceedingly weak.

Mr. Halls said:—

"I am prepared to admit with the farmers that if a certain wage had to be paid, it was only right that there should be a standard price for produce."

Hand in Hand with the Boss.

Smith (Lab.) said:—

"So mutual has been the working [of the Wages Boards] with regard to the necessity of permits [to pay lower wages to old or unfit men, etc.], that where there has been doubt or difficulty with regard to a specific case, the understanding between the two sides has been so complete that they have left it to the officials of the Labourers' Union to investigate, and they would take his word as to whether the permit should be taken or not."

Clynes calls Minister "Innocent."

J. R. Clynes (Lab.) said he feared the Minister in charge of the Bill would find himself "the innocent cause of a great deal of mischief, strife and conflict." It is absurd to describe the Minister in charge of a Government Bill as "innocent" of its results. He must accept joint responsibility with the rest of the Cabinet for the measure as well as a special personal responsibility in regard to it. Perhaps Clynes regards Cabinet Ministers merely as men who work for paid jobs. That may be largely true, but if so, it is a matter of guilt, not of innocence.

What more could the Government desire in complacent tolerance from a Labour Party than the Labour Party displays?

The House decided to abolish the Wages Boards by 73 votes to 202.

Voluntary Joint Councils.

Voluntary Joint Councils of Employers and Workmen are to take the place of the Agricultural Wages Boards. Their establishment is practically compulsory, because till they are set up those who formed the Wages Boards shall act in their place. But their agreements are voluntary. They may, but are not, compelled to submit them for confirmation to the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries (or, in Scotland, to the Board of Agriculture). If so confirmed, the agreement adopted by the Wages Board shall be the one implied in every contract for the district, except "where the Committee is satisfied that the agreement for payment of wages at a lesser rate was, having regard to any special circumstances affecting the worker or the special terms of the agreement, fair and reasonable." In that case the wages recoverable shall be at some lower rate than the rate so agreed by the Committee. The security for the payment of the agreed rate to the labourer is therefore very flimsy.

J. H. T.'s Inconsistency.

J. H. Thomas (Lab.) objected to "forcing the workers to the Courts." He said:—

"On the one hand, the employer feels the services this man can give are not sufficient to warrant the full wage being paid. The worker, on the other hand, says: 'Very well, I admit my disability, and I will take a less wage.' If both are satisfied, there ought to be some mutual arrangement outside the rigid application of the Wages Board."

This sounds like the reasoning of a Tory squire. We had understood that Thomas was all for Wages Boards, Conciliation Boards and collective bargaining. Evidently he took no heed of the arguments of the agricultural members of the Labour Party, who had declared that the labourer is too much oppressed to get fair terms for himself.

Renegade Roberts.

S. Roberts, the renegade Labour man of Norwich, said he would vote against the Third Reading of the Bill, but he deprecated the charges of breach of faith made against the Government. He did not think the Government had been "dishonourable," he only thought its reversal of policy undignified. "Many people forget," he added, "when they make charges of breach of faith that there is in connection with contracts what is legally called 'consideration.' So he went on to whitewash the Government, but to suggest a little compensation would be paid to farmers on account of the withdrawal of the subsidy—it was the farmers who were concerned, not the labourers."

Edwards promises to help the Government.

C. Edwards (Lab.) observed that Roberts had been repudiating his attack on the Government in the Second Reading debate. He repeated that the Bill was a betrayal, but made his first grievance not the loss of the agricultural labourers' minimum wage, but the repeal of the clauses dealing with increased cultivation. He concluded, after all his fire-eating of the Second Reading debate:—

"I am as much against this Bill now as when it was introduced. . . . I shall do my best, if it is passed, to endeavour to help it to work smoothly."

What a Labour Party!

The Third Reading of the Bill was carried by 193 votes to 66.

The Railways Bill.

The Government Bill providing for amalgamation of railway enterprises, to prevent overlapping, and to promote economy in working, makes the running of railways still more a monopoly than it is at present. As usual it safeguards and increases the profits of the railway companies.

Firstly, it ensures to the railway companies the revenue they drew in the year 1913, the year in which railway revenue reached its highest limits.

Secondly, five per cent. on the capital expenditure during a period of Government Control.

Thirdly, "such allowance as may be necessary to remunerate adequately" capital invested after the expiry of Government Control.

Fourthly, "such allowance as appears to the Rates Tribunal reasonable" on capital expenditure which had not become fully remunerative at the end of the year 1913.

Fifthly, 20 per cent. of any fall in railway charges expenses are paid. The reduction, of course, coming about through amalgamations and economies resulting from this Bill and dictated by the Rates Tribunal which the Bill is to set up.

Sixthly, 33 and a third of any reduction in railway charges brought about by the railway companies before these are forced on them by the Rates Tri-

bunal. A large part of these reductions will be due to reductions in wages which are falling on a sliding scale. They don't offer 33 and a third to the railwaymen.

Colonel Wedgwood moved to give 5 per cent. interest to the railway companies as the "standard revenue" instead of the revenue of 1913.

This was resisted by the Government and by persons interested in railways, and defeated by a large majority: 244 votes to 42.

Although Mr. Hills, an upholder of railway dividends, admitted that if 5 per cent. were substituted for the revenue of 1913, the amount which the public would have to pay to the Government would be reduced by half.

Sir Auckland Geddes (Minister of Transport), whose business it is to safeguard the public, pretended that the 1913 rate was very moderate, and only averaged $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. It was revealed, however, that his estimate was based on the face value of the shares, which were bought at half-price. Therefore the percentage on actual capital would be more than $8\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 per cent. Moreover, that little clause about the Rates Tribunal making what allowance it thought fit on capital expenditure on works not fully remunerative in 1913, has also to be taken into account, as a means by which more than the 1913 revenue can be got where revenue was low in 1913, whilst its utmost falling can be obtained where it was high.

W. Graham (Lab.) made a mild speech in support of Wedgwood's motion. He said, however, that "the companies should be allowed some reasonable return on the capital sunk in these concerns."

Graham has a vivid sympathy with the capitalist in his troubles at all times.

It should be observed that the railway companies are to be assured of the highest that they could make as private capitalists. Moreover, they are to be safeguarded against loss and competition, and should their employees go on strike the Government will fight the companies' battle and use every means to coerce the workers into submission.

Graham does not seem to realise that.

Major Hills moved to give the companies 50 per cent. of any economies effected before the Rates Tribunal forces them to economise. Several Liberals opposed this, saying it was unfair for the railway companies to be thus bribed for making the economies which the Railways Bill was ostensibly introduced to effect.

Mr. Neal, on behalf of the Government, signified that the Government would accede to the suggestion, if the companies would agree to accept 33 and a third per cent. Their spokesman did so, and the matter was thus amicably settled.

Kenworthy (Lib.) attacked the proposal complaining that high railway charges were ruining the fishing industry. He said that in Hull only 20 per cent. of the trawlers were fishing, and gave the following rate for the carriage of fish:—

	1914.	1921.
Hull to Aberdare	2/9	4/10
Hull to Accrington	1/9	3/1
Hull to Amesbury	2/-	3/10
Hull to Ashwater	2/-	5/10

Agreement between J.H.T. and the Bosses.

J. H. Thomas (Lab.), the railway workers' M.P., at once rose to defend the employers of his members. He said that in his Bill to nationalise the railways "the underlying principle is recognition both of the railway shareholders and other interests, and there is no confiscation at all."

Thomas has always a kindly thought for the poor capitalist. He went on to praise the workers for taking lower wages, evidently he thinks that shows his members to be almost as fond of the boss as he is. "I hope," he said, "unusually, and what could ever be so unctuous as J. H. Thomas, 'I hope the House will appreciate that the £17,000,000 that came off wages this year—there are many millions more to come off—came off without any agitation, ill-feeling or disturbance.'" ("Hear! Hear!") cried the well-fed gentlemen of the House of Commons. "I am entitled," he went on proudly, "to point out how readily the railwaymen are accepting reductions in their wages."

Major Hills, so zealous for the railway companies, moved to let them off paying the Corporation Profit Tax.

Kenworthy sarcastically advised the Government to concede this point, saying: "It is a little bit extra for the railway companies." And that he was sure Major Hills would have the support of the Member for Derby (J. H. Thomas), who always votes with him on all these matters, in case some people on his side are so misguided as to challenge such an obviously generous course."

It is true J. H. Thomas always votes with the railway employees, and in the debate of 1st August he admitted that there is an agreement regarding this Bill between the railway companies and the N.U.R. or its officials. He said:—

"WE IN THIS CASE MERELY ADOPTED THE COMMON SENSE PLAN OF SEEING WHERE OUR INTERESTS WERE SAFEGUARDED AND WHERE WE COULD WORK TOGETHER THAT WE DID SO."

Sir Eric Geddes obviously wanted to give in to the railway companies, but, after the fight to impose the Corporation's Tax on the co-operative societies it would seem a little too crude to let the companies off quite openly. He therefore said he could not quite understand the amendment, and asked its promoters to let it be dealt with by the House of Lords.

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW
WHAT YOUR LABOUR M.P. IS DOING
Watch the "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT"
IT WATCHES HIM.

LITERARY COMPETITION.

Subject:

THE MEANING OF COMMUNISM AND AFFILIATION TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The essays sent in for this Competition are, on the whole, far too long, too rambling, and quite lacking in that clarity and simplicity which was especially asked for. The writers in most cases have scarcely touched the subject actually set, but instead have dealt at great length with the history and manifold evils of capitalism.

The writers have gone to considerable and highly commendable pains in this direction, but greater brevity would have enhanced the value of their work.

The Man from Jupiter.

This essay shows a failure to understand what Communism is, and contains several grave errors.

It says:—

"Economic equality will be based upon a reasonable classification of the individual, upon the nature of the work, as well as the faithfulness of the worker."

This passage is wholly wrong in principle, for under Communism economic equality will be an absolute right, not subject to qualification or reduction.

In the next passage the writer refers to rates of wages, but wages under Communism will be abolished. That is essential to Communism, under which the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the books we read, and so on, will not be measured out to us: we shall have the use of all these things what we need; we shall never be stinted in our use except by an actual shortage of any commodity, and all the resources of the community will be organised to insure that there shall be a scarcity of nothing.

The Comrade who wrote this essay seems to have confused the State Socialist reforms introduced in Russia with what will happen under Communism; but Russia is not Communist yet. The Russian Communists, Lenin, Bucharin, all of them insist upon that fact. Says the Man from Jupiter:—

"Communism gives to the mother 8 weeks' holiday before the birth of her child, and 8 weeks after at full pay."

That is not Communism; that is merely the temporary makeshift set up in Russia. Communism gives to the mother, as to everyone else, all she needs for life.

The Man from Jupiter suggests a six-hour day, but the Communist work-day will be less than that.

The whole conception outlined by this essayist is that of State Capitalism and not Communism at all.

"Early in the Morning."

This essay also is too long. It has many good points, but covers too wide a field. It contains good expositions of "History and the Worker, Bluffing the Workers, the Meaning of Crises," "The Weakness of Labour," etc.

Too little space is devoted to Communism itself, and the exposition is by no means adequate. The Chapter "Communism, Women and the Family," is exceedingly good.

Redhead.

Redhead's essay is also too long, and covers too wide a field. It deals rather with "what Communism is not" than with what it is. It is an excellent description of the evils of capitalism, but not an exposition of what Communism is and of the programme of the III. International. It is, however, full of excellent passages well worthy of reproduction.

Derby.

Derby, as he says, is in "deadly earnest," but his pages are an earnest plea for Communism, not an explanation of it.

"1917."

1917's essay is one of the longest—a book not a pamphlet! It has six chapters, the two last, entitled, "Communism" and "Ways and Means," are long enough to make an ordinary-sized pamphlet. This essay is in many ways exceedingly good and forceful, but it does not keep to the point.

Mary Ruby.

Mary Ruby leads off effectively in an original style:—

"You cannot get a house in your country without paying rent."

"You cannot get a loaf of bread in your country without paying profit and rent, as well as the cost of flour and labour."

The essay contains a surprising number of useful facts, but it does not tell us what is Communism. Indeed, Mary Ruby has headed it, "World War or Else the Communist International. Other essayists could learn lessons in conciseness of statement from Mary Ruby, who is inclined to go to the other extreme—but the essay is a list of glaring facts, not an explanation.

Plymouth.

Plymouth's essay is attractive: it observes shrewdly:—
"We need that simple pamphlet. That there is anyone in the movement able to write it is quite another thing." This essay has considerable breadth of vision, and reveals a Communist spirit in its author, but it does not meet the test set.

X.Y.Z.

X.Y.Z. leads off clearly with a definition of Communism from the concise Oxford Dictionary. Some essayists have evaded even a bare definition of Communism. This essay is comparatively short, but its style is rather verbose; therefore its 4,000 words

give a very incomplete presentation of the subject. Still it covers some essential points not dealt with by any of the other essayists.

Pencaitland.

Pencaitland's essay does not begin well. Its first section, "The Problem stated," is incomplete and ineffective. The second section, "Present Productive Powers," is good. The third section, "The Capitalist System," requires some revision, but is satisfactory in the main, and commendably free from unnecessary detail.

The section on "Communism" is good, so far as it goes, but incomplete. The comparison between capitalism and Communism is also good.

This essay ignores the second part of the subject, the Third International: its conclusion, is rather weak. But it is the best attempt to deal with the subject set that has been sent in.

M.I.C.P.

This essay is again rather too long, because M.I.C.P., whilst in part applying himself to the very difficult task of clearly explaining what is Communism, has, to a certain extent, run off on side issues, like all the other essayists except Pencaitland and X.Y.Z.

The Verdict.

Pencaitland, M.I.C.P. and X.Y.Z. are the only three essayists who have really applied themselves to solving the problem set. M.I.C.P. and Pencaitland have come nearest a solution, but neither essay seems to us to fulfil adequately the general need for a simple pamphlet clearly explaining "The Meaning of Communism and Affiliation to the Third International."

A satisfactory result might be obtained by the collaboration of M.I.C.P. and Pencaitland, with a few hints from "Early in the Morning" and X.Y.Z.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

Workers' Control for Railwaymen. G. D. H. Cole. 6d.

Workers' Control in Engineering and Shipbuilding. G. D. H. Cole. 6d. Both published for the National Guilds League by the Labour Publishing Company, 6, Tavistock Square.

Workers' Control in the Distributive Industry. G. D. H. Cole. 6d.

Capitalist Speculation and Workers' Control in the Textile Industries. G. D. H. Cole. 6d.

Workers' Control in the Mining Industry. G. D. H. Cole. 6d.

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