

The All-Workers Revolutionary Union.

Workers'



Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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MR. NIXON.

In the cream gilded cabin of his steam yacht
Mr. Nixon advised me kindly, to advance
with fewer
Dangers of delay. "Consider
Carefully the reviewer.

"I was as poor as you are;
When I began I got, of course,
Advance on royalties, fifty at first," said Mr.
Nixon,
"Follow me, and take a column,
Even if you have to work free.

"Butter reviewers. From fifty to three
hundred
I rose in eighteen months;
The hardest nut I had to crack
Was Mr. Dundas.

"I never mentioned a man but with the view
Of selling my own works.
The tip's a good one, as for literature
It gives no man a sinecure.

"And no one knows, at sight a masterpiece.
And give up verse, my boy,
There's nothing in it."

Likewise a friend of Bloughram's once advised
me:
Don't kick against the pricks.
Accept opinion. The "Nineties" tried your
game
And died, there's nothing in it.
Ezra Pound.

THE RECRUIT.

His face was drawn, yet very young;
Upon the board he gazed for long.
His clothes were rags, his boots were done,
Of home 'twas plain that he had none.
To any passing by beholder
'Twas plain the rifle he would shoulder.

The victim looked around, above,
For help divine or human love,
Though desperation urged him on,
A greater fear bade him begone.
But hesitation's dead'ning spell
Hung o'er his limbs, rang his death knell.

That over-dressed and well-fed man,
The spider sergeant, smiling ran
To greet the lad and out of breath
He offered food and fire—for Death.

God! I would rather rot and damn
My soul than be that smiling man.

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

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Labour and the General Strike against War.

Soviet Russia and the War in the East.

War with Turkey seems imminent. Lloyd George has appealed to the Dominions to aid Britain in the fight, British reinforcements have already been despatched, and Allied soldiers are digging themselves in. Even should the war clouds appear presently to blow over, the Eastern situation is inevitably tending towards war.

It is the British Government that sounds the call to war which France rebukes, and to which Italy indicates she will not respond. All the foolish or insincere chatter about French militarism falls away rebuked at the news.

It is Lloyd George, the pretended peace-maker, who issues the call to war, for it is from Downing Street, not the Foreign Office, that the British Note to the Allies and the appeal to the Dominions goes forth.

In face of the threat of war, two questions blaze out, crying for answer:

Will the workers of Britain proclaim the International General Strike against War?

Will Soviet Russia stand out against the might of Capitalist Britain?

As to the Russian position, the Soviet Government has undoubtedly been helping the Kemalists by supplying aeroplanes, munitions, etc. (The "Observer" asserts, by the way, that French guns have also been used by the Kemalists; how far French opinion—official or unofficial—may presently be behind those guns, time will disclose.)

The question now is whether the Soviet Government will continue to support the Turks, or whether, if the British Government were to offer recognition and diplomatic relations in return for Russian assistance, the Soviet Government would capitulate.

One would hesitate to entertain the possibility that Soviet Russia would aid the might of British Capitalist aggression, but in this connection one cannot fail not to overlook the ominous import of the agreement the Soviet Government has just made with the great British Capitalist company, the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated, by which the Soviet Government hands over to the company £2,000,000 and the vast Russian properties the company held under the Czarism.

We cannot overlook the pleas which Mr. Leslie Urquhart, the spokesman of this great British Capitalist concern, and until lately one of the bitterest opponents of Soviet Russia, is now making for the recognition of Soviet Russia by the British Government.

The "Daily Herald" correspondent in Rome quotes what he alleges to be "a very high authority in the Italian Foreign Office" on this question:

"Italy," he continued, "regards the extension of Greco-Turkish conflict to the Balkans as a grave danger to the general peace. That is why she proposed the Venice Conference.

"We are well aware that a conference without Russia—whose decisions would, therefore, not be binding on Russia—could

not settle the problems of Constantinople and the Straits definitely.

"But Russia's admission does not depend on us. It would necessarily involve recognition of the Soviet Government, and that is not yet settled. But Italy has no objection, either to Russia's participation in the Conference, or to her recognition."

It would be the very greatest calamity and a terrible betrayal of the Workers' Revolution if the Soviet Government were now to join forces with the British Capitalist Government.

The power of British Capitalism is the greatest single force which is bolstering up the Capitalist system. British Capitalism, by its domination of the East, is hindering the development of the East, as an alien domination always must. Eventually the Eastern peoples will free themselves. Until they do, their evolution towards a higher form of social development is hindered by the racial struggle. Peoples are held back in primitive conditions: peoples are held back in Capitalist conditions by the fact of an alien domination. Peoples suffer grievously under the domination of an alien Capitalist oppression; and that, glossed over, however it may be, is what the British Empire in the East actually is.

British Governments have alternately supported and attacked the power of Turkey in order to preserve British supremacy in the East. Turkey was supported to check the growth of Russian power in the East, lest it rival British power. Greece has been supported against Turkey for fear that Turkey should become a British rival. Russia no longer appears a menace.

It is quite possible that France may be anxious to see the curtailment of British power, and that presently France may use Turkey against Britain, as Britain used Turkey against Russia.

The present conflagration in the East has, however, an important aspect, not directly concerned with the exploitation and control of the East by British Capitalism.

The revolutionary condition of Eastern and Central Europe, and especially of Austria and Germany, is undoubtedly an important factor in the situation.

British Government and the Revolution.

The British Government statement on the war situation contained this important passage:

"That the Allies should be driven out of Constantinople by the forces of Mustapha Kemal would be an event of the most disastrous character, producing, no doubt, far-reaching reactions not only throughout all Moslem countries, but also throughout all the States defeated in the late war."

Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, has hammered the point home:

"We have a Germany which may turn to revolution: and revolution among its virile, well-educated people would be infinitely more disastrous to Europe" (he means to Capitalism) "than anything that happened in Russia. We have to do our

best to get reparations from Germany and bolster up Austria, for war would follow Austria's throwing up the sponge. It is not easy to avoid war in Central Europe."

It means, then, that British troops must go to Constantinople in order to overawe the Austrian and German workers, and any others who may decide, in desperation, to fight for emancipation by the Communist proletarian revolution.

It means that the Government believes that if the fear of British naval and military intervention were withdrawn, the workers of Central Europe would make their industrial revolution.

More than that: if the Central European workers should rise in any event, British troops will be easily accessible to quell the rising.

An Evil War.

There are no redeeming features to this war, no excuses for it. It is compounded of nothing but evil.

Call to Labour and the Pacifists.

We call upon the Labour Party and all the members of the Trade Union, Co-operative, and Socialist organisations and the Peace Societies who declare they stand for peace to-day, to take action against this war—to make it impossible.

The Labour and Socialist Parties to-day are supposed to stand for

The General Strike Against War.

Now is their opportunity to prove their honesty.

An Appeal to the Rank and File.

We call to the Labour Party, the Trade Unions, and the Pacifist organisations to act against the war; but we appeal to the rank and file, to every individual who knows and cares and suffers, not to wait for the great organisations and the powerful officials to move, but to act without waiting for anyone to prompt or lead.

The vast unemployment gives the Government its opportunity. When men and women are starving, and do not fully comprehend the issues at stake, they are willing to enlist in the armies or make munitions.

Yet each war brings in its train a greater and greater harvest of suffering.

Socialists, Communists: away with your foolish talk of hours and wages; attack the system, and oppose this latest Capitalist war by action of every kind.

Now is the moment when the Revolutionary Workshop Movement should spring into being everywhere.

Now the Soviets of the streets should appear in every district.

Work for these, and act individually in every possible way.

CHOOSING AN EDITOR.

In a strong, sound Socialist movement, the choice of an editor for a country's sole Socialist daily would be a matter of first-class importance. The editor would be chosen, firstly, for profound Socialist convictions and knowledge. These assured, there would afterwards be sought eloquence and persuasiveness in argument, rapier-like keenness in debate—vividly interesting powers of description, and those business and architectural qualities which, combined with the ability to discern and to use journalistic merit in others, enable an editor to weld the various features of the paper into a harmonious unity.

The Labour Party's organ, the "Daily Herald," is not the mouthpiece of a strong, sound Socialist movement. The Labour Party is not a Socialist Party. Its members and officials represent a vague multiplicity of views. No firm, unalterable convictions bind the party together. Lacking the aid, both of guiding principles and of literary perception, the "Daily Herald" directors chose, as their editor, a journalist who had gained some appreciation, though not the highest, in the Capitalist Press.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, in taking over the "Herald" editorship, received an advertisement which would not have been accorded

him by any of the capitalist dailies. The Labour Party Press recorded, with misplaced pride, the posts which their new editor had held on such reactionary organs of Capitalism as "The Times," "The Morning Advertiser," the "Daily Mirror," and the "Daily Mail."

Those who expected that a real Capitalist Press Journalist would immediately work miracles with the "Daily Herald" were disappointed when they opened the paper on September 11th. Except for a slight change of make-up on the leader page, the paper was precisely the same as before.

As to the policy of the new editor, that was clearly revealed by his first leader; it was evident that he intended to be completely respectable, and by no means too radical. He declared that: "Our Labour Government, when it is formed, will be very radical indeed," but he carefully explained it will not be "radical" in the sense in which the term is used to-day in America, and was used in this country seventy or eighty years ago. In other words, Mr. Hamilton Fyfe desires it to be known that the Labour Government of the future, and the "Daily Herald" under his editorship to-day, have nothing in common with the radicalism for which James Larkin, or even Eugene Debs, is imprisoned in America, and for which the Chartists and early Trade Unionists strove and suffered in this country.

In subsequent leading articles Mr. Hamilton Fyfe is endeavouring, day by day, to set forth the policy of the Labour Party. His task is a difficult one, indeed, since the Labour Party has no definite policy on any subject.

In regard to the land, the new editor told his readers, with much diplomacy, that Lord Bledisloe had been talking about land nationalisation, land banks, small holdings, co-operative buying, selling, butter-making, and bacon production.

To accomplish any of these things (and whether he favoured some, or all, of them was not clear) Mr. Hamilton Fyfe announced: "We shall have to buy out the landlords."

How the landlords are to be paid, or who is to do the paying, Mr. Hamilton Fyfe did not indicate. However, by the statement: "We shall have to buy out the landlords," he made clear the fact that he is not a Socialist. Every Socialist knows there can be no Socialism so long as certain persons are in possession of great wealth, with which they can buy the produce of other people's Labour and hire others to toil for them.

In the same issue the "Daily Herald" editor declared for the perpetuation of the wages system as "an ideal," wages being graduated according to the size of the family supported by the breadwinner. In the meantime, he supported equal pay for men and women, and for "a fair day's work, a fair day's wage"—a most unsocialistic manner of expressing the matter.

On Wednesday the "Herald's" new editor discussed whether the Irish postal workers, being Government servants, have a right to strike. Instead of an inspiring call for proletarian solidarity in the class struggle; instead of an able analysis of the position of the workers versus the Capitalist State, this was his verdict:

"There will be no peace in the world till each man realises that everybody else's liberty is as precious as his own."

He ominously covered by certain vague phrases the probability that the future Labour Government will be found attempting to prevent its employees from striking.

On Thursday the "Daily Herald" editor was found declaring that: "No one who knows the harm done by begging-letter writers" will think too severe the sentence of fifteen months' imprisonment passed on a fragile old needle-woman of sixty-four years.

If Mr. Hamilton Fyfe had served even one month's imprisonment, we think his opinion as to the severity of the sentence would have been different. That the woman was in need

there seems no doubt, but she had posed as a doctor's daughter and written a begging letter to the Duke of Portland. Therefore, Law and Authority has spent some money in bringing her to Court, for attempting to obtain some of the considerable unearned increment which the Duke milks from the labour of others. The unfortunate old woman had only been released from prison for begging last July. Mr. Fyfe dubs her a parasite; maybe, but so is the Duke, and a vastly more expensive one.

We agree with Hamilton Fyfe's comment that in a proper system of society there would be no need for begging. We certainly should not agree with his version of a proper system of society. There will be no need for money at all under what we should consider a proper system.

In short, the new "Daily Herald," like the old "Daily Herald," is by no means a Socialist newspaper.

We offer a word of advice to the new editor of the "Daily Herald": it is that to be popular with the workers, and to be successful from the circulation standpoint, a daily working-class newspaper must be in advance of the working-class movement as a whole. It must represent at least the more advanced elements in the movement, and must at least open its columns to the views of the most advanced elements. Even working-class elements which are timid in action and hesitate to ally themselves with extremists, admire an advanced fighting policy. They appreciate a policy which leads them further than they have yet ventured, even though they follow the lead from a very considerable distance behind.

The Daily Herald, when a weekly, was heavily subsidised by middle-class supporters, and was widely advertised. Yet it never aroused the self-sacrificing devotion lavished by the workers upon more advanced weeklies with only the voluntary pennies of the workers to depend on. Whilst the "Herald" policy is in the rear of the workers' movement it will always be a costly drain on the movement, and will be received with no more than tolerance by the masses for whom it professes to cater.

IRISH NEWS.

FROM REPUBLICAN SOURCES.

The Republicans have no great Press at their disposal: their newspapers are but single sheets of type, or are merely stencilled from typewriting.

The Nation of September 9th, a stencilled paper of three pages, points out that Harry Boland, Colly, Cole, Daly, Stephens, Murphy, and Murray were murdered by officers of the Provisional Government; but

"So far no vendetta has been indulged in by the Republicans. They have made war when war was made on them, but they have not assassinated unarmed men. . . ."

"Why can we not have peace? Because Churchill, Lloyd George, Macready, and Cope say you must make war on your fellow-countrymen."

Dairmaid O'Crowley Jude, of the Dail Supreme Court, has been put to prison for standing by the Dail Courts.

Poblacht na H-Eireann for September 7th says: Peace!

"There are rumours of peace negotiations. The Provisional Government which began this war can have peace to-morrow by calling off the attack upon the I.R.A. and respecting the declared independence of Ireland. There can be no peace as long as the attempt is continued to make the Irish nation an English Colony. The Free State is dead. Let the Free Staters return to the Republic. Peace will follow."

The same paper comments on the articles on Michael Collins which are appearing in the Hearst Press:

Befouling Michael Collins' Memory.

The Irish Times of Saturday stated that Mr. Hadyn Talbot, of the Hearst Press, is engaged in writing an 80,000 word life of Michael Collins, to be ready in eight days. For eight months Mr. Talbot has been cabling to U.S.A. anti-Irish propaganda of the vilest kind. He is known even to his fellow-journalists as a man utterly unreliable and unscrupulous, and his efforts to make money out of Michael Collins' death is a typical example of his character. No reputable writer would belie the dead by turning out ill-digested matter at the rate of 10,000 words a day, purporting to describe the life of a man he had seen for less than forty-eight hours. If Mr. Talbot's "life" is anything like his articles in the London Sunday Express, which are filled with venomous misrepresentations, we fear for the honour of Michael Collins' memory. At the hands of such a man it will be dragged through any filth that will catch a dollar.

R.I.L.U. RETREAT. Memories of Better Things.

The "Back to the Unions" Conference in London was depressing. It met in the quiet shadows of the Memorial Hall, where we stood in sorrow for the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, in the days when many of those present on Saturday last were working with us for Communism, and were undertaking the special task of building in the workshops a revolutionary organisation of the rank and file.

The organisers of Saturday's Conference had abandoned the rank and file workshop movement, abandoned Communism and the Soviets. They were back in the squirrel cage of wages and hours demands. The virile cry, "Smash the system," was unheard, though occasionally someone on the platform spoke of being revolutionary.

The Conference had merely come to talk: to pass resolutions. It had no plans, no intentions for action. What mean and abjectly miserable resolutions they were, too!

The wages resolution appealed not to the rank and file, but to the General Council of the Trade Union Congress: and for what did it appeal? It appealed that "the existing rates of wages be regarded as the minimum standard rates, below which there shall be no further reduction!"

Are you content with the present rate of wages as your standard rates, fellow-worker?

Hours.

As to hours; again it was to the Trade Union Congress General Council that the official R.I.L.U. appealed; and for what? That the hours should remain as at present; that they should not be lengthened.

S. Elsbury moved an addendum that there should also be a demand for a 40-hour week, and no overtime.

Harry Pollitt, once so active as a protagonist of the 40-hour week, asked that the addendum should be modified so as to ask for a 44-hour week, because, he said, the Trade Union Congress, with great difficulty, had been induced to agree to that. He wanted to make the Trade Union leaders fight for what they had agreed to. Poor Harry Pollitt! He will have to wait a long time to see any fighting, if he waits till people who are only with difficulty brought to agree to something, are ready to fight for it.

The R.I.L.U. Conference meekly assented to Pollitt's request that, instead of leading the Trade Union Congress in this respect, it should humbly follow the Trade Union lead.

A Do-Nothing General Council.

J. T. Murphy then explained the R.I.L.U.'s present plan for union reorganisations. The resolution asked the Trade Union Congress General Council—always the General Council—to prepare a plan whereby the Trade Unions could be amalgamated into industrial unions. The resolution also urged that the unions, the political parties of the working class, the co-operative societies, and working-class organisations should be concentrated in the Trade Unions.

J. T. Murphy supported this resolution as glibly as he used to urge the exactly opposite policy, when he was in the Workers' Committee movement. The General Council had done nothing, he admitted, but it exists, and for that he considers the R.I.L.U. is responsible. He overlooks the fact that Mr. Arthur Henderson advocated its formation before the R.I.L.U. existed.

Industrial Unionism with a But.

As to the formation of industrial unions, Murphy declared that the General Workers could not be expected to distribute their members among the other unions; that, he said, would be impractical—it would not be done; he urged only that where there were several unions in an industry which could amalgamate without such difficulties, they should do it.

The fact that the old unions would never consent to dissolve was one of the arguments

Murphy used to use in favour of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee movement.

Waiting for the Press to Recommend Communism.

In the course of the discussion, a delegate declared that if Communism were something for the good of humanity, every newspaper would take it up. He considered Communism was not for the good of humanity; therefore he wanted something else instead. Alas! for the R.I.L.U. Its day is done. Too many so-called Revolutionaries, like the delegate who said he did not want Communism, are waiting to work for it till the Press begins to recommend it.

LABOUR FAKIRS AND SOUTH AFRICAN MINERS.

The Liverpool Labour Party had a large meeting in the Stadium on Sunday, September 3rd. Hayes, Stephen Walsh, and Sexton were the speakers, and some of us picketed the meeting for an hour before it started. We had a banner—"Smuts, South Africa, Blood and Gold"—with large splashes of red all over it. It was certainly a striking banner.

We walked inside and asked for an unemployed speaker to be allowed on the platform, and also a resolution to be forwarded to the Trades Congress. The first request was granted, and the speaker also dealt with the South African miners. Then Stephen Walsh got up, so we demanded the resolution be put.

The speaker continued to ignore the request, so I walked inside the reserved seats and picketed for a few minutes, then, as the meeting grew uproarious in demanding the resolution to be put, I climbed into the ring and took charge of the meeting. I spoke for about fifteen minutes, and then O'Flaherty spoke, and the crowd unanimously passed a resolution demanding the release of the miners on pain of similar action being taken with the bosses here. Of course the Labour fakirs had left the hall long before this happened.

Needless to say, the C.P. disagreed with our hasty action. There were nearly 2,000 people at the meeting, and the Press, of course, ignored the real reason why the meeting was broken up, and blamed the unemployed. We have also held meetings all over the town, and had resolutions passed at every one that each member of the crowd will make it his or her duty to bring this question up on every possible occasion. I also picketed the Trades Union Congress at Southport with the same banner; and whether it was due to my efforts or not, I do not know, for I worried every delegate I could grab; but an emergency resolution was moved in the afternoon after I had the banner out. One thing struck me as peculiar, and that was that, although there were sixteen members of the C.P. as delegates, not one came over to me and asked if they could do anything to help. The only two who did come over and offer assistance without being asked were the two men who were chucked out of the Party, Bob Williams and Cooke. That was the extent of the C.P. boring from within: sixteen out of 717 delegates, and they did absolutely nothing except talk, talk, talk.

WORKS.

From 1887-1921, a period of thirty-four years, though in the earlier years, only a comparatively small capital was invested, the mines of the Witwatersrand have returned in dividends the very respectable sum of £132,326,602, as against a total invested capital of £89,000,000.

Nevertheless, at the end of 1921, according to the local Press, the one salvation of the country lies in "hard work and plain living." General Smuts told the workers after the strike: "The people must work and live more sparingly."

The Report of the Inspector of White Labour for July is a dismal one. The long list of unemployed in the engineering trades is being added to day by day, and the trade grows rather than lessens. Conditions in the building trades have taken a turn for the worse. Carpenters, painters, and printers in large numbers are seeking work.

The ranks of the unskilled are being reinforced month by month, and, as Europeans, their position is hopeless. Literally there is no demand for their services. Coloured men are cheaper, and quite as efficient for the class of work required.

The meanness of the campaign carried on by the Chamber of Mines disgusts, but does not surprise. The patriotic employers, no longer able to make so large a profit as formerly out of their kind slaves, have closed down some of the mines, and hundreds upon hundreds of the miners are being sent away to swell the ranks of the hungry unemployed.

The Chamber of Mines is master: it owns and controls South Africa, the mineral resources of the country, and the machinery and tools of production; it has behind it the soldiers, the police, the burghers, the detectives, and the capitalist Press, always ready to respond to the call of the masters.

The policy of the Chamber of Mines is quite evident: it is engaged at the moment in separating the unions, abolishing agreements, reducing wages, and suppressing the monopoly of labour.

The African Labour movement is to-day in a state of flux. Confusion is rampant in its ranks. Indus-

trially, as well as politically, the Federations of Trades are absolutely bankrupt.

Things are, indeed, so bad here that I have seen human beings gathering their daily food from the garbage heaps in the streets to quiet their gnawing hunger.

The momentous conference between the Chamber Mines and the trade unions' representatives takes place next Monday. The recognition by the Chamber of Mines of the various trade unions connected with mining depends upon conditions laid down by the Chamber, which include the following clauses:

"The industry will not recognise as representatives of unions, for any purpose whatever, persons who have been associated with the Augmented Executive of the S.A.I.F. or with the Council of Action."

"By the term trade union is meant a trade union recognised by the Chamber of Mines."

"There is to be no compelling employees to join a trade union."

"An employee is at liberty to become a member of a trade union or not, as he thinks fit."

"Shop and shaft stewards, works, and grievance committees are not recognised by the industry."

"Employees who are not members of trade unions shall have exactly the same rights in placing their complaints before the management and the board of directors as are enjoyed by employees who are members of trade unions."

"A standing Conciliation Board will be established. The Board shall consist of ten members, five of whom shall be appointed by the Gold Producers' Committee of the Chamber, and five elected by the employees on a fixed basis. The members shall be appointed for two years, and shall be persons who are either employed by the gold mining industry or are whole-time trade union officials."

It is proposed that any machinery agreed upon at the Conference shall be given statutory authority by an Act of Parliament, providing that conciliation machinery, such as is now under discussion, may be registered in the White Labour Department, and shall thereafter have the force of law until denounced by either party after due notice. In the event of a lock-out or strike taking place, contrary to the provisions of such machinery, the employers, who effect the lock-out, the executive committee and officials of any employers' organisation which is a party thereto, the employees who go on strike, and the executive committee and officials of any trade union which is affiliated thereto, should be liable to prosecution, and on conviction to imprisonment without the option of a fine, and that a secret ballot under Government supervision shall take place before any strike is declared.

As far as the other industries are concerned in the Transvaal, the rate of wages is regulated by the number of men who are out of employment. When four men out of five are turned out of employment, there is nothing in the world for these four men to do but to bide and see how much lower each one can work on that man's job who is retained than the others. It tends to a reduction of wages, and in that way is a direct attack upon the interests of those who have no means and cannot have any.

What is to be done? Just now all we can do is to prepare for the revolution.

ISAAC VERMONT.

Sir,—I was at a meeting here on Sunday, August 27th, addressed by a Mr. Sara, of your Party.

In the course of his remarks he spoke of the way the Government of Russia were caring for and educating the children. I am, of course, in perfect agreement. But I must condemn the same Government in refusing freedom of speech, of the Press, the right of assembly and publication of their literature to the Russian Workers' Opposition, whereby they have had to go to a foreign Continental country to do same and to appeal to Communists for financial support to enable them to do so.

Now, I can quite understand a Government refusing reactionaries the right to attempt to undo all that they have had a bitter struggle for; but when that Government is in itself reactionary, and because it is stronger than its opponents who are not reactionary, but more advanced, refuse the common right of citizenship to others, then that Government does not deserve the support of the world proletariat.

In this country, up till now, speeches, meetings, publications, and the right of assembly has been allowed all parties. What must the people think of the loud praises given to Russia, above all countries, who refuse these rights to their own revolutionary, hard struggling workers, who wish to push forward with the very same flag that the Government alleges that they set out with?

The world knows well how reactionary the Government of Russia has become. We know their terrible difficulties, but she must remember that such conduct as she has meted out to the Workers' Opposition, Left-Wing, Fourth International, Non-Parliamentary Communists, will re-act upon herself by the workers of the world.

If such action by Russia is allowed to go unchallenged, what are we to expect in the near future from monarchies, republics, etc.? Even extreme Anarchists who are not British subjects are allowed to propagate their doctrines here.

I have refrained from using the word comrade because, according to Sara, that word used by me towards you and himself is only piffle, humbug.

I am, Sir,

C. J. DELAHUNTY.

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THE OUTLOOK.

Russia's Foreign Trade.

Hitherto the Russian Soviet Government refused to allow private individuals in Russia to engage in foreign trade, the Soviet Government itself retaining the monopoly.

This state of affairs belonged, however, to the period when the Soviet Government was attempting to establish Communism: it was incompatible with the re-establishment of Capitalism.

Therefore, whilst the Soviet Government still protests that it maintains its monopoly of foreign trade, it is actually surrendering it, though it still regulates it, by the issue of import and export permits, which are only granted upon payment of a tax, if the price and terms of the contract are approved. A Special Permits Department is being set up, and import permits may also be obtained from the Russian Trade Commissariats abroad. Export and import permits are subject to a duty of 5 per cent.

Truly in these latter days the Soviet Government is developing all the corruption-bearing features of Capitalist bureaucracy, which employ large numbers of people in useless toil.

Lending Money to the Capitalist.

The "Russian Information and Review" says: "The Russian Soviet State Bank has been authorised to advance credits to big industrial organisations and State enterprises to enable them to pay in advance duties in connection with exports." It will thus be observed that the Soviet Government is taking an active part in establishing the Capitalist system in Russia.

Russian Money.

"Russian money," says the "Russian Information and Review," "in any currency now accepted in Russia, may be imported freely."

All Russian currencies are now accepted in Russia, even the easily forged, unnumbered money of the Kerensky period. To open the door to the unlimited import of such money, is to set the international printing presses at work forging Russian money. Already it has been exposed that foreign Governments resorted to this means of attacking the Soviet Power in the early days of the Bolshevik Government.

Compulsory Arbitration of Trade Disputes.

Compulsory arbitration of trades disputes in Soviet Russia has come half-way: it is only partially established yet; but the thin end of the wedge has been inserted, and the system will soon be complete. The British Labour Government will be able to follow a Russian precedent. The "Russian Information and Review" observes that in Soviet Russia to-day:

"The worker again has to sell his labour; and industry, whether private or State, has to purchase it, and naturally in the transaction both sides aim to make the best of the bargain."

Volumes of argument could explain no more clearly than those words that the light or Communist idealism is no longer with those who are controlling the Government of Soviet Russia to-day.

Disputes Committees, consisting of employers and employed, are established in the

factories. Disputes can only be submitted to these bodies by the agreement of both sides, and a decision can only be reached by agreement; but once this has been done, the decision is a binding contract which may be legally enforced.

More Centralised Disputes Committees consist of one representative each of the Commissariat of Labour, the Commissariat of Justice, and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions. Here, again, disputes can only be submitted by agreement of both sides, and decisions can only be reached by agreement; but the decision has the force of law.

Conciliation and Arbitration Boards.

Where agreement cannot be reached in the Disputes Committee, the matter may be handed over to a Conciliation Board, by consent of both parties. If this fails, the dispute may, again with the consent of both parties, be submitted to an Arbitration Court. The arbitrators may be selected by agreement, failing which they are appointed by the Commissariat of Labour.

"In the case of nationalised industries, where the alternative is a strike or other interruption of work, submission to an Arbitration Court is compulsory." In the case of private industry, submission is optional; but in both cases the decision of the Arbitration Court is binding.

The workers employed by the Russian Government are therefore legally deprived of the right to strike.

Apologists for the present reaction in Russia will try to persuade us that the Soviet Government is quite unlike other Governments, and therefore the denial of the right to strike does not matter. Now that Capitalism is returning to Russia, however, the Russian Soviet Government is being steadily transformed into the custodian of the Capitalist State.

The Left Revolutionary Groups of Russia are carrying on an uphill struggle for the emancipation of the Russian workers, in face of the growing Capitalist reaction.

The Russo-Asiatic's Great Triumph.

Mr. Leslie Urquhart, of the Russo-Asiatic Company, in an article in the "Sunday Times," declares the conclusion of the agreement between his company and the Soviet Government will be a turning-point in the development of new Russia, which, he says, "is destined to play as commanding a part in the international commerce of the next half-century as the Western States of America have played in the past half-century." Mr. Urquhart also states that the agreement has been "hailed all over the trading world as an event of decisive significance."

Such views, coming, as they do, from well-informed Capitalist sources, should cause some heart-searching amongst those optimistic dreamers who imagine that the Soviet Government's sad reversion to Capitalism is a short cut to the establishment of universal Communism; and who base this fantastic notion on the belief that the development of Capitalism in Russia will, in ten years' time, produce such a crisis of over-production as to bring about the collapse of Capitalism, without any conscious effort on the part of anyone.

Mr. Urquhart proceeds to point out that the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated is "the biggest industrial concern in Russia, and one of the biggest in the world." It practically controls, he says, "Russia's non-ferrous metal industry, nearly 70 per cent. of her copper production, all her zinc and lead output, and over 20 per cent. of her gold production. It has large iron and steel works, numerous coal mines, over 300 miles of railway, and more than 2½ million acres of land."

All this vast wealth now passes out of the hands of the Russian workers and peasants who seized it in the revolution, back to the British shareholders who will never do a hand's turn on the soil of Russia; but who will continue (until another revolution arises to dispossess them) drawing wealth from the

labour of Russian people. When the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated was fully at work it employed 45,000 men, says Mr. Urquhart, and "supported," he adds, "a population of over 250,000, whom it housed, schooled, and supplied with hospitals, theatres, and many other of the conveniences and amenities of civilisation."

Thus with a stroke of the pen 250,000 people are handed back, whether they will or no, to the rule of an alien Capitalism. Many more will be thus disposed of in the near future. Mr. Urquhart says that the agreement with the Soviet Government gives him everything he needs in assistance, safeguards, and guarantees. He thinks "there is no British concern in Russia of any standing which cannot obtain from the Soviet rulers terms as good as the Russo-Asiatic Consolidated has received, if only the British Government will exert itself in its behalf." He urges that the British Government should lend the British companies in Russia £15,000,000. He believes that "an Anglo-Russian trade on a scale hitherto unknown will result from provident action."

He adds: "It involves, of course political and diplomatic recognition of the Soviet system. But does anyone suppose that recognition can be, or should, be delayed much longer?"

The Soviet Government having shown itself absolutely willing to facilitate the development of Capitalism in Russia, and disposed to be exceedingly generous to foreign Capitalism, there is no longer any reason for international Capitalism to show hostility towards those whom it once hated and feared.

Russia Exports Grain.

The news that Soviet Russia has abolished the State Communism for the relief of the famine, and is about to export grain from Russia, would be matter for rejoicing, could we feel quite confident that we are not to see a repetition of the pre-revolutionary custom of exporting wheat which is seriously needed and could be used in Russia itself, but which is exported because it is more financially profitable to export it, than to hand it over, either to poor peasants whose harvests have failed, or to starving town workers.

It is reported that 12,000 tons of Kuban wheat are to be exported from the Black Sea ports. It is said that the condition of transport renders it impossible to carry wheat from North Caucasia to Central Russia; though, according to the "Russian Information and Review," three million persons during the coming year will be dependent upon continuous relief to preserve them from starvation!

Austrian Soldiers Help Strike.

The Austrian printers, whose strike deprived Vienna of newspapers for several days, have obtained a substantial increase in wages. The most important thing about their victory appears to be that their strike fund received substantial support from the Army. The solidarity of the workers in the Army with the workers in industry is of immense importance in the class struggle.

Wages in Austria have for some time been graduated according to an index figure rising with the cost of living. An amendment to the Index Figure Law provides that from October 1st only 50 per cent. of the index figure allowance shall be payable to Civil Servants if the trend of food prices be upward. If the cost of living shows a downward tendency when an instalment of salary becomes due, the index figure is to be ignored altogether. The Austrian Government having taken this action, the General Association of Austrian Manufacturers has decided upon immediate curtailments of the index figure allowances to their workers.

The question that is uppermost regarding Austria is when the working class will reach the point of privation at which it will revolt.

Hungary Joins the League of Oppressors.

The Hungarian Government having excelled in its patronage of White Terror, Hungary is unanimously invited to join the League of Nations.

The All-Workers Revolutionary Union of Workshop Committees.

1.

NAME.

This organisation shall be known as the "All Workers' Revolutionary Union of Workshop Councils."

2.

OBJECT.

To emancipate the working class in the only possible way: by the overthrow of capitalism and the private property and wage system; and the establishment of a world federation of Communist Industrial Republics, in which:

The land and the means of production, transport and distribution shall be held in common.

There shall be no social classes, no employers and employed.

There shall be no money, no barter, or other form of buying and selling.

There shall be no wages or direct reward for services rendered.

All persons shall enjoy the free use of all that nature and human labour produce. They shall partake without stint, according to their individual needs and desires, since the community can produce more than its members can consume.

Administration shall be by the Soviets.

The Soviets, which shall administer the social services, shall be formed along the lines of production and distribution, and shall be composed of those who do the work on the land, in industrial, domestic, educational, and all other forms of work and service. The Soviet system comprises, in fact, one great union of workers, with industrial departments built up on the workshop basis.

All shall share the necessary productive work for the community.

All shall enjoy the opportunities created by the collective effort.

Method.

The All Workers' Revolutionary Union shall be composed of workers in all industries. Its object is to serve as the machinery which will enable the workers to take control of production, transport and distribution, and administer all services for the benefit of the entire community. The A.W.R.U. struggles to bind the workers together as a class.

The A.W.R.U. recognises the value of strikes, general strikes, sympathetic strikes, stay-in strikes, occupation of the workshops, and every form of industrial and active proletarian struggle which furthers its ultimate aim.

The A.W.R.U. recognises the value of propaganda, agitation and action, and all sorts of educational work to promote the spread of class-consciousness and Communist ideals amongst the workers.

Solidarity in the Class Struggle.

The A.W.R.U. recognises that those who assist in the production and transport of material to be used by combatants in war are themselves effective combatants. Therefore, the A.W.R.U. declares that those who assist the capitalists and employers or Governments which are opposing the workers in the class struggle, are themselves active combatants against the workers and against Communism.

Opposition to Old Trade Unionism.

The A.W.R.U. recognises that the various sectional Trade and Industrial Unions, formed for the purpose of providing friendly benefits and for palliating the wage system, will never emancipate the workers, but act as bulwarks of the capitalist system: also by their sectionalism and craft distinctions the present unions prevent the uniting of the workers as a class.

The A.W.R.U. rejects the policy of "boring from within" the old Trade Unions: its object is to supersede them; it fights openly against them.

Labour Party.

The A.W.R.U. is likewise opposed to the Reformist and Counter-Revolutionary Labour Party, and rejects all affiliation and co-operation with it and other Reformist Parties.

The A.W.R.U. opposes all opportunist tactics and diplomacy.

Red International of Labour Unions.

The A.W.R.U. rejects the Red International of Labour Unions, because it admits Trade Unions to affiliate, and adopts the policy of "boring from within" the old Trade Unions.

Opposition to Whitleyism and Conciliation With Capitalism.

The A.W.R.U. opposes all Whitley Councils, profit-sharing schemes, councils of employers and employed, Conciliation Boards, Workshop Councils promoted by the employers, or other methods of conciliating the organisers of capitalist production, as these are a hindrance to the workers in their struggle to overthrow capitalism.

Opposition to Parliamentarism.

The A.W.R.U. rejects all responsibility for the administration of the capitalist State or participation in the elections to Parliament and the local governing bodies. It directs its efforts to the creation of the Industrial Republic. It opposes Parliamentarism because it sabotages the Soviet idea.

Conditions of Membership.

1. All members of the A.W.R.U. must pledge themselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism, and the setting up of a World Federation of Communist Republics.

2. No member of the A.W.R.U. may assist in the transport or equipment of troops or blacklegs employed against the workers, or in the manufacture or transport of material for use against the workers in their struggle.

3. No member of the A.W.R.U. may take office in a Trade or Industrial Union other than the All Workers' Revolutionary Union.

4. No member of the A.W.R.U. may take office in a workshop committee promoted by the Trade Unions.

5. No member of the A.W.R.U. may take office in any council of employers and employed, profit-sharing scheme, or take office on any Conciliation Board.

6. No member of the A.W.R.U. may take office in any political Party unless its object is the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism, or any Party which is affiliated to the Labour Party or any other Reformist organisation.

7. No member of the A.W.R.U. may assist in the administration of the capitalist State, by becoming a candidate for Parliament or the local governing bodies.

8. The conditions of membership shall be signed and the occupation of the member given on joining the Union.

Members' Dues.

Members' dues shall be paid weekly at the rate of — per week.

Members who neglect to pay dues for — days shall be suspended.

Structure.

Shop and Factory Councils.

The Shop Councils of the A.W.R.U. shall comprise the workers in a given workshop or working place. Every worker on the job, irrespective of craft, grade, sex, race, or nationality, is eligible for membership. In large centres there may be a branch in each workshop, each of which shall send delegates to a factory committee for the whole concern. Mass assemblies of all the workers in the con-

cern being called either on the initiative of the factory committee of delegates or any shop council.

Unemployed Members.

A close co-operation shall be maintained between the employed and unemployed workers. The unemployed members of the A.W.R.U. shall be attached to Local Groups, with Industrial Committees. Each Industrial Committee of the Unemployed Local Group shall comprise all the members of the Unemployed Local Group who have belonged to the industry covered by that Committee. Each member of the Local Group will therefore belong to an Industrial Committee of the Group as well as to the Group itself.

District Councils.

District Councils shall be formed of one delegate for every Shop Committee, and two delegates from every Factory Committee, and two or more delegates from each Unemployed Local Group, in suitable proportion to its membership.

District Industrial Departments shall be formed from amongst the delegates to the District Councils.

Each District Industrial Department shall consist of all the delegates on the District Council who represent the industry covered by that Department. Thus every member of the A.W.R.U. will also belong to the District Industrial Department of the trade in which he or she works.

Area Councils.

Area Councils and Area Industrial Departments shall be formed of delegates from the District Councils.

National Council.

The National Council shall consist of delegates from the Area Councils, with an equal number of delegates sent from mass meetings of employed and unemployed members in the districts. It shall meet when necessary, and, in general, not less than once in six months. It shall be called on the demand of one-third of the Area Councils, or by the National Executive.

National Industrial Departments.

National Industrial Departments shall be formed from the members of the National Council, as in the case of the District and Area Councils.

National Executive.

The National Executive shall be elected half by members of the National Council, half by the National Convention.

National Convention.

A National Convention shall be held annually. It shall consist of delegates elected by mass meetings of the employed and unemployed members in the districts and delegates from the Area Councils.

Recall.

All delegates and officials of the A.W.R.U. shall be subject to recall at any time by those who appointed them. They shall be instructed by, and report to, the bodies they represent.

Unpaid Officials.

Delegates and officials shall in no case be paid more than bare expenses and loss of time.

Each Council shall appoint an industrial organiser, propaganda organiser, and treasurer.

Finance.

Half the money received from members' dues shall be retained by the Shop and Factory Councils.
(Continued on p. 3.)

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

A. McCALLUM SCOTT, M.P., ON MARX.

By Tom Anderson.

Girls and boys, a great big man by the name of Mr. A. McCallum Scott, M.P., one of our Coalition members for the East End of Glasgow, addressed the members of the City Business Club a few days ago in the La Doro Restaurant, Glasgow, on "The Legacy of Karl Marx."

"The character of Karl Marx was," he said, "not attractive; he was a 'Declassed Jew,' who was ostracised by the community to which he naturally belonged, an exile from the country of his birth, harassed by poverty, living in squalid surroundings, beset with petty cares and humiliations, and consumed by bitterness and gall."

"His monumental treatise on 'Capital' was palpably absurd, and was rejected by every serious economist; but he had thousands of followers all over the world, who were regarded as a menace in every European country."

"He was a prophet of the ideal, a prophet of revolution." This big man Mr. McCallum Scott, M.P.—and by the Press of our city he is said to be a "big man"—is very learned and well travelled, and quite able to overthrow any ordinary thinker in economics or knowledge. I am very sorry for him; the day is past for "gutter" language to prove anything. His address equals the discussion I heard between two rich men on board an Atlantic liner. They were discussing the Lord's Prayer, when the one bet the other 500 dollars he could not repeat it. "Done," said the other, and started with "The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want." "That will do," said No. 1, and paid over.

You will see, girls and boys, that Mr. Scott tries to be funny at the expense of Marx's poverty. But it is easy being funny. You all know in Glasgow what a "Macullum" is. You can get one for a penny. Well, Mr. Scott is a "Macullum"; and any Italian vendor, as you know, can provide you with one, so long as you have a copper or two.

There was a man of old, who was being sentenced, and when the Judge wanted to acquit him they said "No; away with him. Give us Barrabus." In like manner, when James Maxton stands for Bridgeton—and James is an honest, upright man—against Mr. Scott, the workers shall shout—led by the thieves, of course—"Away with him!" "Give us a 'Macullum.'"

As this man Mr. Scott has stepped down into the gutter, we must go there and meet him; and when the election comes round, you are all to go to his meetings and shout: "Give us a 'Macullum'! Away with the Labour man! Give us a 'Macullum'! Give us a 'Macullum'!"

I am quite certain that the average worker in Bridgeton would know what a "Macullum" is. Mr. Scott has said that Marx was a "declassified Jew." He wanted to appeal to the superstition of the workers. You may not yet know, girls and boys, that nearly all the workers have a certain antipathy against the Jews. They have been taught so. I told a story in the "Workers' Dreadnought" not long ago about old Tom Taylor, and he was a staunch trade unionist and Christian; and one day, during a discussion, someone said Jesus was a Jew. Old Tom was horrified. "I thought," he said, "that Jesus was a Scotsman. Man, do you tell me that Jesus was a Jew? I am surprised to learn that." So is your average worker. They are surprised, but say nothing.

Many years ago I was in a company, and we started discussing religion, and all the company present were members of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, I being the only one black sheep, and took no part in the discussion. In a lull in the wrangle an old lady said to me, quite seriously, "I am sure Jesus is a Scotsman, Tom." I replied, not wanting to hurt the old lady's feelings, that

I thought He was more of a Citizen of the world.

Who was Jesus Christ, girls and boys. Put it on your brain from this day onward. "He was a 'Declassed Jew,' a Declassed Jew, disowned by His own people." "A Declassed Jew," He lived in poverty, and even lower than Marx. He had no place to lay His head. He had not even a slum to live in. He did what Marx later on did—He lived for mankind. If any of you in your lifetime should live for the people, you will be "declassified." Some people think that Jesus was put on the "Cross" to save the world from their sin. Such is not the case. He was put on the "Cross" because He was a workman; had He been a McCallum Scott of the period, He would have been allowed to choose His own death. The "Cross," girls and boys, was reserved solely for the "declassified," and every member of the "declassified," without exception, who was sentenced to death was put to death on the "Cross." Jesus is no exception to the rule.

Why is Jesus so great to-day, and so honoured by all the elite of society? He is a "declassified Jew," just the same as Marx. He is so honoured because He is so long dead. If He were living to-day He would be in one of our big prisons. He would be "declassified," without the possible chance of escape. They made Jesus a God because the slaves made Him possible; and His teaching now has been made to fit into an economic order, otherwise He would have received the fate that has been given to every "declassified" man.

There is no comparison between Marx and Jesus, except it be in their humanity.

Marx spoke and wrote in seven languages; Jesus never left a written word. It has all been done for Him. Marx was the son of a Jew, Jesus was the Son of a Jew. Both were "declassified." In this they are one. Marx was exiled from Germany, France, and Belgium, Jesus was allowed to live where he was born. Marx was the son of a middle-class man, Jesus was the Son of a workman; and they both paid the price and were declassified and crucified.

I have a feeling, girls and boys, that if we would make Marx a God, a real God in the sense that Jesus is a God, we would grow and grow, and so be better able to accomplish the revolution with a faith we have not to-day.

Marx has left us a heritage a thousand times greater and greater than all the Gods that have been in the world. If we would make "Das Capital" our Bible, and read it, and study it, and proclaim our kingdom the kingdom of man. If we would live for revolution, we would win in the end; but that requires faith and courage, and so to me, who am an old man, Marx is God. I have said and written this before. I write again in the full growth of my mentality, that Marx is greater than any God that has ever been in the world. Once our slaves rise a little, once they perceive the ray of knowledge which Marx gave to them, and to them only, then shall the day be when we shall march forward.

IN FAIRY LAND.

WORDS AND MUSIC BY T.A.

In fairy land a king did dwell,
With whiskers on his chin,
And every night he went to bed,
He took a "tucker" in,
He took a "tucker" in, the king,
He took a "tucker" in,
Then all the fairies in the land
Began to sing this hymn.

Chorus.

The king, the king, long live the king,
The fairies sang with glee,
Bring Labour forth, with arms so strong,
So they their king may see.
And Labour came on "bended knees,"
And whispered sweet and low,
Take Labour strong, my king, my lord,
To run the little show.

The king he laughed, the queen she smiled,
At what dear Labour said.
My little ones, the queen did say,
It's time you were in bed,
It's time you were in bed, dear ones,
It's time you were in bed,
The fairies they are making fun,
Come sing this song instead.

Then Labour died of grief and pain,
And when the lights went low
They buried them, as you do know,
Where all good people go,
Where all good people go, my child,
Where all good people go,
To that dear land where angels dwell,
They're singing, sweetly, so.

The music of the above song appears in *Prolet-cult* for October. Monthly, 1d.

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO 13.

EKZERCO No. 14

Patrino!—Kion vi volas, karulineto?—Vi scias ke mi plantis terpomojn, sed vi ne scias, kio venis!—Terpomoj?—Ne, ne tio; venis porko kiu manĝis ilin.

Artisto montris al amiko pecon de blanka papero. Tio bildo, li diris, prozontas la pason de la Izraelidoj tra la Ruĝa Maro.—Sed kie la maro?—Ĝi jam foriris.—Kaj la Izraelidoj? Ili jam pasis.—Kaj la Egiptoj?—Ili ankoraŭ ne venis.

VORTARETO.

amiko	friend	maro	sea
artista	artist	montri	to show
ankoraŭ	yet	papero	paper
bildo	picture	pasi	to pass
blanka	white	patrino	mother
diri	to say	peco	piece
foriri	to go away	planti	to plant
ĝi	it	porko	pig
karulineto	little dear	prezenti	to represent
kie	where	ruĝa	red
kio	what	scii	to know
kiu	who	sed	but
ili	they	terpomo	potato
jam	already	tra	across
manĝi	to eat	veni	to come
	voli	to will	

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

La feŭda sistemo de industrio, sub kiu la industria produktado estis monopoligita nun ne plu sufiĉas al la kreskantaj bezonoj de la novaj komercaj kampoj. La fabrikada sistemo prenis ĝian lokon. La gildmajstroj estis flanken ŝovitaj de la fabrikanta mezklaso; divido de laboro inter la diversaj enkorpiĝitaj gildoj estis anstataŭita per divido de laboro en ĉiu memstaranta laborejo.

NOTICE.

If learners will kindly send the translation of this Ekzerco on a postcard to "Dreadnought Ekzercestno," 152 Fleet Street, London, saying how long they have been learning, they may get a prize, or some rude remarks about the quality of their performance in our next issue.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £283 2s. 9d. C. Mason, 2/6; J. Evans, 2/6; W. B. Findley, 5/- Total for week, 10/-. Total, £283 12s. 9d.

RUSSIAN LEFT COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS.

C. Josephs, 1/-; F. Jones, 1/-; James Taylor, 1/-. Total, 3/-.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"Poems, 1918-21, including Three Portraits and Four Cantos," by Ezra Pound. (Boni and Liveright, New York, 12/-.) May be obtained from the "Dreadnought" Bookshop. This is a wonderful book to read and enjoy at leisure. It is the product of a lofty intelligence and wide experience. Ezra Pound has a fine command of language, and writes with a bold assurance. Only occasionally using rhymed verse, he emerges from the pressing crowd of rhymsters in splendid blank verse, thus:

Great bulk, huge mass, the saurus;
Ecbatan, the clock ticks and fades out;
The bride awaiting the God's touch;
Ectatan,
City of patterned streets; again the vision:
Down in the vial stradle to gaol the crowd
and arm'd,
Rushing on populous business, and from
parapets
Looking down. . . ."

Or thus:

Actaeon. . . .
And a valley.
The valley is thick with leaves, with leaves,
the trees,
The sunlight glitters, glitters a top,
Like a fish-scale roof,
Like the church-roof in Poitiers
If it were gold.
Beneath it, beneath it
Not a ray, not a sliver, not a spare disc
of sunlight
Flaking the black, soft water;
Bathing the body of nymphs, of nymphs,
and Diana."

Or again, thus:

Flame burns, rain sinks into the cracks
And they all go to rack and ruin beneath
the thud of the years.
Stands genius a deathless adornment, a
name not to be worn out with the
years.

Brimful of various and unconventional
imaginings, he soars upward:

A new-fangled chariot follows the flower-
hung horses

A young Muse with young loves clustered
about her ascends within the aether. . .

Then comes tumbling down to:

"And I also among the later nephews of
this city

Shall have my dog's day

With no stone upon my contemptible
Sepulchre,

My vote coming from the temple of Phoebus
in Lycia at Patara,

And in the meanwhile my songs will travel,
And the devirginated young ladies will
enjoy them,

When they have got over the strangeness."

How refreshing and original is this:

. . . I had sung of all these

And of Hannibal, and of Jove protected by
geese.

And Phoebus looking upon me from the
Castalian tree,

Said then, "You idiot! What are you
doing with that water?

Who has ordered a book about heroes?

You need, Propertius, not think,

About acquiring that sort of a reputation.

Soft fields must be worn by small wheels.

Your pamphlets will be thrown, thrown
often into a chair

Where a girl waits alone for her lover;

Why wrench your page out of its course?

No keel will sink with your genius.

Let another oar churn the water,

Another wheel, the arena; mid-crowd is as
bad as mid-sea."

How lavishly ample is this vivid description:

I guzzle with outstretched ears.

Thus? She wept into uncombed hair,

And you saw it,

Vast waters flowed from her eyes?

You, you Lygdamus,

Saw her outstretched on her bed—

It was no glimpse in a mirror;

No gawds on her snowy hands, no
orflorerie,

Sad garment draped on her slender arms.
Her escriptores lay shut by the bed-feet.
Sadness hung over the house, and the deso-
late female attendants
Were desolated because she had told them
her dreams.

She was veiled in the midst of that place.
Damp woolly handkerchiefs were stuffed
into her undryable eyes,
And a guerulous noise responded to our
solicitous reprobatons.

But read Ezra Pound in rhyme and in
subjects more habitual to the pen of present-
day poets. You will find him as original as
before:

Alba:

When the nightingale to his mate sings day-
long and night late, my love and I
keep state

In bower,

In flower,

"Till the watchman on the tower cry:

"Up! thou rascal, rise,

I see the white light,

And the night flies."

Complaynt of a gentleman who has been wait-
ing outside for some time:

O Plasmatur and true celestial light,

Lord powerful, engirdled with might,

Give my good-fellow aid in fool's despite

Who stirs not forth this night,

And day comes on.

"Sst! my good fellow, art awake or sleep-
ing?

Sleep thou no more. I see the star up-
leaping

That hath the dawn in keeping.

And day comes on!

"Hi! Harry, hear me, for I sing aright,
Sleep not thou now, I hear the bird in
flight

That plaineth of the going of the night,

And day comes on!

Descant on a Theme by Carolan.

When the sweet air goes bitter,

And the cold birds twitter

Where the leaf falls from the twig,

I sough and sing that Love goes out,

Leaving me no power to hold him.

Clara:

At sixteen she was a potential celebrity

With a distaste for carresses.

She now writes me from a convent;

Her life is obscure and troubled;

Her second husband will not divorce her,

Her mind is, as ever, uncultivated,

And no issue presents itself.

She does not desire her children,

Or any more children.

Her ambition is vague and indefinite,

She will neither stay in, nor come out.

Soiree:

Upon learning that the mother wrote
verses,

And that the father wrote verses,

And that the youngest son was in a pub-
lisher's office,

And that the friend of the second daughter
was undergoing a novel,

The young American pilgrim

"This is a darn'd clever bunch!"

Sketch 48, b. 11:

At the age of 27

Its home mail is opened by its maternal
parent,

And its office mail may be opened by its
parent of the opposite gender.

It is an officer,

And a gentleman,

And an architect.

Very searching, very biting, are Ezra
Pound's modern satires. They recall the
little novels in verse of Thomas Hardy, but
are more modern, more real. Hardy's stories
in verse seem to have come from books re-
flecting the impulses and ideas of the last
generation. Pound has seen his satires in
the life of to-day:

There died a myriad,

And of the best, among them,

For an old bitch gone in the teeth,

For a botched civilisation,

Charm, smiling at the good mouth,

Quick eyes gone under earth's lid,

For two gross of broken statues,
For a few thousand battered books.

We should like to quote "Nodier raconte,"
Yeux Glaugues, and many more, but space
forbids. These words on Fleet Street, how-
ever, must not be omitted:

Conduct, on the other hand, the soul
"Which the highest cultures have nour-
ished"

To Fleet Street, where
Dr. Johnson flourished:
Beside this thoroughfare
The sale of half-hose has
Long since superseded the cultivation
Of Pierian roses.

With the noble poem Envoi we close the
covers, commending them to our readers:

ENVOI (1919).

Go, dumb-born book,

Tell her that sang me once that song of
Lawes;

Hadst thou but song

As thou hadst subjects known,

Then were there cause in thee that should
condone

Even my faults that heavy upon me lie

And build her glories their longevity.

Tell her that sheds

Such treasure in the air,

Reeking naught else but that her graces
give

Life to the moment,

I would bid them live

As roses might, in magic amber laid,

Red overwrought with orange and all made
One substance and one colour

Braving time.

Tell her that goes

With song upon her lips

But sings not out the song, nor knows

The maker of it, some other mouth,

Maybe as fair as hers,

Might, in new ages, gain her worshippers,
When our two dusts with Waller's shall be
laid,

Siftings on siftings in oblivion,

Till change hath broken down

All things save Beauty alone.

THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED.

(One of many MSS. written in Barlinnie Prison,
Glasgow.)

(Continued from last week.)

Cupid also understood the message of Jesus
when he destroyed that terrible obsession of
Puritanism, the Dismal Sunday, supposed, by
some odd freak of theological ignorance and im-
position, to be the sabbath. Intellect opposed
reason to this tortuous inquisition and blasphemy
all in vain. Each Sunday witnessed the impious
sabbath taking its toll of human joy and health.
One day Cupid revolted. It discovered the
bicycle and leisured love of music and declined
to take the misery lying down any longer. Then
the churches emptied and Puritanism collapsed,
not before its time. Cupid discovered, or re-
discovered, the right use of the day of rest
when it spelt holyday as holiday. Often sinners
were purer, truer, and nobler in their ethics and
vision than saints.

The Apostle spoke of the wonderful message
of Paris, the Paris of the great French Revolu-
tion. Nothing so revealed the poverty of
Carlyle's thought as his attempt to impose upon
mankind a blurred scenic effect of sketchy
worthlessness as a record of this tremendous
event. Following in his steps, a score of
pedants had retailed as history stories of the
National Assembly, the Convention, the Safety
Committees, the Directory, and Napoleon.
With less detail had they dwelt on the Com-
mune and the Sections.

(To be continued.)

You and the War.

War has broken out, fellow-worker; war is spreading as it spread in 1914.

What will you do in the war, fellow-worker?

"Never again," you said, "never again," when the last war ended.

What do you say to-day, fellow-worker? It is to-day that counts. What do you say now that war has come?

Two young errand lads were talking in a City court off Fleet Street on Monday—lads still in their teens; half-grown lads, still far from manhood:

"I tell you, my boy, I'm going up there to-day," said the younger; "I'm going up to-day. I'll get through my training in nine months, and then I'll be out to Smyrna."

That was the boy's answer to the question war puts up to each of us. That was the answer of the ignorant lad, who only knows that life is drab, and work here at home badly paid and difficult to obtain. That boy's answer is the result of the Jingoism of the war as it was taught him in the schools, and as his elders learnt it from the newspapers and retailed it in his hearing.

But you, fellow-worker; you are older—you lived through the war, and you understand its aftermath of unemployment and bereavement. You said: "Never again will I fight in a Capitalist war. It will be the class war for me next time."

What do you say to-day?

Are you going to fight the Turk? Are you going to carry men by rail and sea to fight the Turk? Are you going to make munitions to fight the Turk? You must decide quickly, fellow-worker.

It is your master's war, once more—a Capitalist war, more than ever it was. Surely you realise that: read what the Government says:

"That the Allies should be driven out of Constantinople by the forces of Mustafa Kemal would be an event of the most disastrous character, producing, no doubt, far-reaching reactions, not only throughout all Moslem countries, but also throughout all the States defeated in the late war."

Notice the last words, fellow-worker; in them lies the crux of the matter. The workers of Germany and Austria are driven to the verge of revolution. For sheer starvation they must rise to free themselves from economic slavery and set up Communism.

The fear of British troops is required to hold them down. If the British troops are driven out of Constantinople, those oppressed workers may rise. Will you, fellow-worker, help to hold them down for your masters' sake? Is that the blackleg's part you are ready to play? Will you be a scab, or will you take the part of the workers and Communism?

Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, who sends rich men to Broadmore and poor men to the gallows, against the jury's recommendation, says:

"We have a Germany which may turn to revolution: and revolution among its virile, well-educated people would be infinitely more disastrous to Europe" (he means to Capitalism) "than anything that happened in Russia. We have to do our best to get reparations from Germany and bolster up Austria, for war would follow Austria's throwing up the sponge. It is not easy to avoid war in Central Europe."

That is how the Government is preparing the boss class for the war against the Workers' Revolution.

But you, fellow-worker; do you not understand that you ought to take the workers' side? There is only one answer for the workers—to make to the question war puts to us all. That answer is advocated by all your leaders in peace-time. It is

THE GENERAL STRIKE AGAINST WAR.

The general strike, fellow-worker, will only arise from rank and file action.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Cont. from p. 5.

tory Councils, the other half shall be equally divided between the District Councils, the Area Councils, and the National Executive.

No part of the revenue shall be used for paying sick, death, or unemployment benefit, but for fighting purposes and the expenses of the organisation.

Any Shop, Factory, or District Council which fails to pay its dues for a period of —shall be suspended, and a month thereafter shall be considered defunct.

The A.W.R.U. is not a Union that will be welcomed by the capitalist: when he discovers that it has established itself in his workshop he will be as uneasy as if his plant had been visited by a plague of rats. The A.W.R.U. need not advertise its presence except by its actions.

Solidarity must be the basis of the Workers' Revolutionary Union of Workshop Councils. Fraternal consideration and self-sacrifice for the common good are the outward and visible signs of solidarity. Every member of the A.W.R.U. must be active with hand and brain in the task of securing the emancipation of the workers.

For further information, apply to Industrial Secretary, 4/o "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. Correspondence invited.

DEAR EDITOR,—It is a pity that Guy A. Aldred spoils his otherwise admirable M.S. this week (September 2nd, 1922) by his praise of Luther. That estimate of the "reformer" is, I know, the generally accepted one, but it is, nevertheless, utterly misleading. The hero of the event called the Reformation was not really on the side of the weak against the strong, and of the incorrupt against the corrupt, as has been carefully mass-suggested in schools, newspapers, and "histories," and from pulpits, platforms, and tubs, for nearly four centuries. Guy Aldred is evidently a victim of this mass-suggestion.

Doubtless the discovery that one did not need to purchase indulgences from the Pope in order to live without fear "shook the world." But Luther's great discoveries did not stop there. He discovered, to the benefit of the rich, that St. James' epistle was "an epistle of straw." He discovered the "deserving poor," and advocated in place of the "indiscriminate" (i.e., the real) charity of the monasteries, the following "vast improvement, ma'am," in the distribution of poor relief: "Poor householders who have laboured honourably (note the proviso) at their craft, or in agriculture, shall, if they can find no other support, be given loans without interest (!) from the common chest. . . The income of the chest shall be composed of the revenues of ecclesiastical estates, of free contributions, and, if necessary, of an assessment upon resident citizens, and a small poll-tax upon servants and journeymen." In other words, the rich are no longer to keep the destitute, but the poor are to help the poor, and relief is to be a loan, while the poll-tax on servants is not returnable.

This "reform" in the administration of relief is still the ideal of Bumble and of the Charity Organisation Society; and it is the mean sort of Poor Law guardian who suggests that help to the destitute should be lent and not given, who (more than Liebknecht) directly descends from Luther. Is there any reason why we should admire a man who "shook the world" out of hospitality and charity to all—to the poor, the unfortunate, and the stranger—into the organised dead charity that we know to-day, which discriminates against the so-called undeserving, and meanly suspects the stranger? The motto, "The

just shall live by faith," which Mr. Aldred calls inspiring and splendid, exactly suits the selfish rich, who, from Luther's day to ours, and "believing in the Lord," have put their money into banks for the benefit of themselves, instead of into monasteries for the benefit of others.

The despotism which Luther destroyed was a quite harmless one compared with the despotism which he helped to put in its place. No one was compelled to purchase indulgences from the Pope, but we are all compelled now to pay interest on the National Debt, which is a direct result of Luther's "Reformation" and of the system of usury which has been built up since that event.

Further, if Luther's Jesus was a Jesus of humanity and revolt, why did the "great reformer" take the side of the landlords in the German peasants' revolt? We do not read that the poor Pope-ridden John Ball supported the landlords in the English peasants' revolt of 1381. The truth, "A lie is known by its fruit," applies here as everywhere. The fruit of Luther's motto, "The just shall live by faith," is the inhuman workhouse and the casual ward, largely supported by the poor themselves: the fruit of the medieval Popes' teaching (whatever we may think of the sale of indulgences) was the human monastery, supported entirely by the rich, and dispensing charity to all, irrespective of desert or undesert. That Luther did not teach us to "live without fear," and did not "proclaim the knowledge of a greater Jesus" than that known of old, is sufficiently proved by this one fact alone, that the form of "charity" has always been feared and hated by the people; while the monasteries, which he helped to destroy, were loved and cherished by the people, and existed in England for some nine hundred years. And that, I venture to say, is a longer period than any fruit of the "Reformation" is likely to live, whether it be the casual ward, the workhouse, the Derby, the Stock Exchange, Scotland Yard, the Sunday newspapers, or the successful and popular company promoter.

Yours sincerely,

S. HUGH SIMCOE.

The Old School, Thaxted.

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