

Brighton Justifies Left Wingers.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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SHALL LABOUR PARTY CUT WAGES?

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The miners have been starving for three months in their great struggle against the concerted attempt of the coal-owner to reduce wages.

All Communists, Socialists and Labourists unite in applauding the miners for their heroic fight.

The attack on the miners, we, and they, all agree, is not an isolated blow; it is part of a general concerted movement—something that all sections of the working-class, from the most moderate to the extreme, must stand together to resist. Even the honest bourgeois economists agree with that, and send donations to the fund for the miners' children.

Labourists, Socialists, Communists, helping Employers to cut wages.

But yet we find one section of Labourists, Socialists, Communists, which has gone over to the employers' side, and is helping them in their attack on the worker's wage, on the working-class standard of living.

That is an extraordinary statement to make, but, unfortunately, it is a true one.

The Labourists, Socialists, and Communists, who are taking part in the great attack of the employing classes upon the workers' livelihood are the elected Labour, Socialist, and Communist members of local governing bodies which have assented to reductions in the wages paid to those bodies to workers in all sorts of industries and to the reductions in the scale of relief given to the poor people who come before the Boards of Guardians.

Let us consider a case in point.
On the Poplar Board of Guardians there are 8 Labour, 2 Liberal, 1 Independent, and 3 Conservative members.

The Labour Party has therefore a great majority on the Board, and amongst the Labour members, at least two are members of the Communist Party of Great Britain: A. A. Watts, member of the Communist Party Executive, and Edgar Lansbury, son of the Editor of the *Daily Herald*.

On June 22nd, at a Board Meeting of the Poplar Guardians, a report was presented from the sub-committee, signed by Comrade A. A. Watts, the Chairman, recommending that relief to the poor (with the exception of widows and aged persons) be reduced by 10 per cent.

This recommendation was agreed to without a word of opposition.

Labour and Communist Guardians reduce Wages.

The General Purposes Committee, of which Mr. A. R. Adams, Independent,* is Chairman, further reported:—

Your Committee find that a further reduction of 1d. per hour is due in the wages of labourers employed in the building trades from the 1st July. We therefore recommend that the following reductions be made:—

POPULAR INSTITUTION.—J. Harnwell, Painter's Labourer, from £4 4s. 4d. to £4 0s. 8d. per week; E. Gunn, Bricklayer's Labourer, from £4 4s. 4d. to £4 0s. 8d. per week; J. Priest, Labourer, from £4 4s. 4d. to £4 0s. 8d. per week.

SCHOOLS.—T. Harre, Painter's Labourer, from £3 14s. 5d. to £3 10s. 9d. per week; E. Gill, Painter's Labourer, from



"PULL TOGETHER."
"MY GOD! WHAT A NATION OF HEROES WE ARE."

£3 14s. 5d. to £3 10s. 9d. per week;
W. Bradley, Painter's Labourer, from £3 14s. 5d. to £3 10s. 9d. per week.
LANGLEY HOUSE.—C. Harper, General Assistant, from £4 4s. 4d. to £4 0s. 8d. per week.
NORTH STREET OFFICES.—J. Hill, Labourer, from £4 4s. 4d. to £4 0s. 8d. per week.

This recommendation also was approved without opposition from any quarter.

Wages of Woman Sewing Machinists Reduced.

Further reductions followed quickly, with general bored murmurs of assent.

That the wages of F. Carey and A. Shepherd, Machinists, be reduced to 43s. per week, i.e., 48 hours at 10½d. per hour, that being the present rate of wages fixed by the Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Board.

Bakers' Wages Reduced.

Your Committee have considered a letter of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers forwarding a revised scale of wages for the bakery trades dependent on the index figure of the cost of living, which came into operation on the 1st Saturday in April. The cost of living index figure for the 1st May was 128, and until the index figure falls below 120, the wages payable are as follows:—

	Less than 4	4 and less than 6
	employed.	employed.
Foreman—per week	£ 3 18 0	£ 4 2 0
Second Hands—per week	£ 3 12 0	£ 3 16 0

We have instructed the master to reduce the wages of the following officers on Saturday next, the 18th inst., accordingly, viz.:—

	Less than 4	4 and less than 6
	employed.	employed.
W. Batchelor, foreman baker	£ 4 0 0	£ 3 18 0
T. Wiley, assistant baker	£ 3 19 0	£ 3 12 0

	4 to 6	6 to 8	8 to 10
	employed.	employed.	employed.
W. Batchelor, foreman baker	£ 4 0 0	£ 4 2 0	£ 4 10 0
T. Wiley, assistant baker	£ 3 13 0	£ 3 16 0	£ 3 18 0

Then followed the recommendation:—

"1. That our action be approved and confirmed, and that the wages of the above-mentioned officers be further reduced by 2/6 per week each for every fall of 10 points in the cost of living index figures below 120.

"2. That wages of all temporary employees be reduced in accordance with the foregoing scale."

"I am not Opposing the Reduction," says Edgar Lansbury.

Comrade Edgar Lansbury rose slowly to his feet, perhaps he remembered the *Daily Herald* headlines.

"I'm not opposing the reduction," he said. "We've already agreed to it, but I don't like us pledging ourselves to do it in the future. There's a movement going on all over the country to stop these reductions of wages down to the pre-war, it may go below the pre-war level. That movement may get stronger. We oughtn't to bind ourselves in advance."

Comrade Lansbury should guard against laying himself open to the imputation that he is content to wait to act in support of that movement till it strong enough to act for itself.

Mr. Boddely, the trusted Tory, ingratiatingly remarked that these reductions in wages were in accordance with the agreements made with the Trade Unions.

Councillor Charlie Sumner, Chairman of the Board and a burly Trade Unionist and Labour man, long admired in Poplar for his genial consciousness, interposed blandly:—

"Yes, but d'you see, the baking trade has always been a terribly sweated trade, and it isn't to say that we should join in, just because everyone else is coming down on them."

But in spite of these words, Councillor Sumner did not oppose the present decrease.

It was agreed, with the complete assent of the Liberals and the Tories, that Comrade Lansbury's suggestion, to leave the future to take care of itself, resting content with the present wages cut in respect of these particular men, and waiting till the cost of living fell to cut at them again. This was effected by deleting the passage following "confirmed." On Comrade Edgar Lansbury's motion it was further agreed to insert the words "in the bakehouse" after the words "temporary employees," so that if any other kind of temporary employees were to have their wages reduced, the Board would hear of it. This, of course, was locking the stable door after the horse was stolen for the

* As the Poplar Labour Party has an absolute majority, why does it allow an Independent to monopolise one of the Chairmanships?

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Guardians, at that meeting, to say nothing of others, had reduced the wages of painter's labourers, bricklayer's labourers, labourers, general assistants and machinists, as well as those of bakers.

The defence for these reductions of wages is that the Trade Unions have agreed to such reductions. In the case of the women machinists, whose wages the Board decided to reduce to £2 3s. a week, the rate is that fixed by the Trade Board, because the trade is a sweated trade. The *Daily Herald* was protesting the other day, against Trade Board rates being reduced, on the ground that Trade Boards only fix wages in sweated industries and that it is less than human to reduce the wages paid in sweated trades on the ground that the cost of living has fallen.

Yet here we find the Party of the Editor of the *Daily Herald*, now that it finds itself in a majority, reducing the wages of Board of Guardian employees in sweated trades.

One may have some sympathy with the struggling private employer without much capital, who reduces the wages of his employees in these hard times, because all his big competitors are doing it, and he cannot keep out of the Bankruptcy Court unless he follows their example. Such a man is a victim of the capitalist system. We want to abolish him as an employer, but we know he cannot stand against the tide.

Stand By Your Principles or Resign!

The case of the elected members of a public body is an entirely different one. These are not poor employers with little capital, struggling with overwhelming odds to make ends meet and to hold their own with their competitors. They are public representatives who have been elected to vindicate and to put into practice definite principles.

It is their duty to act in accordance with those principles, or to resign their seats and their party.

It is neither logical nor honest to declaim on platforms against wages cuts and then to proceed to cut down wages when one finds oneself in the employer's shoes, as a member of a local governing body.

To those Trade Unionist members of local Boards and Councils who protest that in some cases for instance, that of the bakers, the Trade Union has agreed to a reduction in the rates, and that they, as Labour Representatives, did not pledge themselves to do more than advocate Trade Union rates for Municipal employees; we reply that such a defence is both cynical and narrow. Even the private employer, who is a trusted Tory or Liberal, is sometimes found to pay more than the Trade Union rate to efficient workers; he finds it advantageous to do so. The Trade Unions have only agreed to the reductions in wages because they have been forced to. They would have resisted if they could. Surely it is for the Trade Union representatives on the public bodies to fight to maintain the standard even though the Unions may have been forced to recede from it?

As to the Out-relief, there can be no pretence that this is a question of adherence to a Trade Union standard.

As to the Wages Board rates; these are admittedly lower than the workers would tolerate if they were efficiently organised. Wages Boards have only been set up in those trades where there has been a colourable contention that the workers were too weak to fight for their own interests. When Wages Boards were under discussion, the opponents of the scheme contended that the minimum rates fixed by the Boards would tend to become the maximum. Evidently the Poplar Board of Guardians is content that this should be so.

The root of the trouble appears to be that the Labour Representatives regard the public bodies as business concerns of which they have been given the stewardship, to administer efficiently and economically.

Hence we find the following case occurring in Poplar:

Refusing Relief to the Workless.

A man who, through unemployment, had failed to pay the rent of his lodgings and was turned out, managed to beg or borrow enough to

be able to sleep in a "common lodging house." He appeared before the Guardians and asked relief to enable him to survive till he could get work.

Some Labour members argued that it would be unwise to relieve him, as he was living in a "common lodging house," because, if anything were given to him, all the people in the lodging house would ask for relief.

In the past of long ago, the Poplar Labour Party used to tell the unemployed to refuse to starve, to demand relief; and if this were refused, to insist on being received into the Work-house—admission to which the Guardians cannot legally refuse to destitute people. The Poplar Labour Party, headed by George Lansbury, used to argue that these tactics were the sovereign specific for forcing the Government to find work for the unemployed. But yet when a man from "a common lodging house" came up for relief, here was Comrade Joe Banks, Comrade Lansbury's election agent, arguing that this man must not have relief, in case others should also come. The worst of it is that the argument of Comrade Banks had a great influence on his colleagues, for when the votes as to whether the man should be relieved were even, Comrade Banks, as Chairman, gave his casting vote against granting relief.

The Poplar Guardians in thus denying their principles and abandoning their old policy, are doubtless doing what they believe to be right; they are considering the RATEPAYERS, and they are looking to the fact that when the rates go up, the landlords raise the rates.

Abandoning the Unemployed.

But if it is the view of the Poplar Labour Party (and these remarks may be applied also to other Labour Parties), that its duty is rather to keep down the RATES than to force the Government to find work for the unemployed and help the miners to prevent the reduction of wages, then the Labour Party has become just like the other parties, and there is no longer a reason for its existence. In making this statement, we have no desire to be uncomradely or abusive; our desire is to induce the Labour Party to consider where it is going. We put it to the Labour Party, that its change of policy is a very serious one, and that its present policy is leading it down the inclined plane which leads to making itself responsible for maintaining the machinery of Capitalism as a paying concern.

Betraying the Miners.

Especially we want to urge the Labour Party and the Trade Unionists to remember that the miners, whose strike they approve, the engineers, whose ballot is going heavily against accepting the employers' demands for a decrease, are fighting to maintain the wages standard. To cut down wages all around them and leave them as the one isolated pinnacle that holds out, is to assist in their defeat.

As to the general question of reducing wages and Out Relief, have our good Labour Guardians forgotten, like their Tory and Liberal colleagues, that popular story, so many of them repeated on platforms: "It will never be the same again!" Do they now think that the pre-war standard of working-class living was so excellent that one's whole duty is fulfilled if one maintains it?

But after all, whilst the recalling of war-time pledges is a useful whip with which to beat Lloyd George, we should not need to fall to so low a level to speed up Labour Guardians!

The Labour Party was brought into existence to fight the intolerable pre-war standard. The Labour Party has been made out of the misery and disgust with which enlightened people have revolted against the pre-war level.

Communists Defying the Third International.

So much for the Labour Guardians; but what of the Communists?

The Communists have a definite Revolutionary propaganda to follow. The Second Congress of the Third International adopted a Thesis which represents the policy of the Communist Party on this question. This Thesis states that:—

"Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat."

"The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important apparatuses of the State

machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general."

"The task of the proletariat consists of abolishing the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie . . . and all the Parliamentary institutions with it . . ."

"Consequently Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over Parliaments; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism."

"The same relates to the communal institutions of the bourgeoisie . . . they are part of the same apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies."

"Therefore, it is only possible to speak of utilising the bourgeois State organisations with the object of destroying them."

"The Communist Party enters such institutions, not for the purpose of organisation work, but in order to abolish the whole bourgeois machinery and the Parliament itself from within."

"This work within Parliaments, which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the Parliamentary tribune, the denunciation of enemies, the ideological uniting of the masses, etc., must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the Parliament."

"The following conditions are indispensable:—

1. The absence of all 'autonomy' for the Parliamentary Communist groups and their unconditional subordination to the central committee of the Party.
2. Constant control and direction by the Party Executive Committee.
3. The adaptation of Parliamentary demonstrations to those going on outside."

The adaptation of the demonstration by Communists on the local governing bodies to those going on outside would at present include the refusal to reduce wages and Poor Law relief, since the principle demonstration which the workers are making outside just now is the resistance of the miners and others to the employers' attack upon wages.

"4. Revolutionary attitude in the Parliament: i.e., the absence of all 'principled' fear of overstepping the limits of Parliamentary regulations."

In the case of the local bodies, this would mean that there should be no fear of causing the bankruptcy of the local bodies, or of coming into conflict with the regulations of the Local Government Board, the County Councils, or the laws made by Parliament.

"5. The execution of part of the work outside Parliament, especially in connection with mass demonstrations by the Communist Members of Parliament."

That means that the Communist Members should arouse the masses to demonstrate outside and if possible inside Parliament, and the local Boards and Councils. Comrades Watts, Lansbury and the rest should be leading mob of unemployed workers to storm the Board meetings, not cutting down relief and refusing relief to people in lodging houses!

The following is important:—

"7. Immediate remand or exclusion from the Party of any member of the Parliamentary group who violates, in his Parliamentary work, any of the orders of the Party."

"Watch Your Leaders!"

This means that the Communist Party should look into the work of the Party's elected members, direct them, and bring them to book for failure to carry out the policy of the Party.

Every branch of the Party should watch the work of its elected representatives and discuss

Continued on bottom page 3.

* Local governing bodies.
† Remember this applies also to members of local governing bodies.

THE MINERS' DECISION.

On Friday our miner Comrades gave the lie direct to the oft-repeated accusation of selfishness and materialism raised against them by the capitalistic and bourgeois classes. They have preferred to face the possibilities of distress and want in defence of a principle rather than make a compromise which might be to their immediate advantage.

It is a notable fact that the heaviest vote against acceptance of the owners' terms came from those districts which would stand to gain most by so doing. They have shown the exploiters that they are not so susceptible to the desire for gain as the latter supposed—the governing classes have been signally unsuccessful in inducing the workers to pursue their own commercialistic tendencies.

What the Pool Means.

The question of the pool is, we know, a technical one to some extent—but the issues raised are far more important than any question of organisation. The very conception of a pool is, as Frank Hodges pointed out, an attempt to modify natural conditions into a closer compliance with humanistic ideals. We can quite understand the dislike of the orthodox economists for this kind of procedure—with them "business is business" with a capital B: spiritual and ethical considerations take second place—if at all. As the Mining Association puts it: "It may be sound Christianity, though we are far from sure, but at any rate it is not good business."

Deluded Workers.

There are even deluded workers who view the miners' action with disfavour. They have failed to realise the solidarity of Labour, and in many cases we fear that they are themselves under the influence of capitalistic ideas. It has been truly said by Conrad Noel that a democratic duke is much to be preferred to a plutocratic dustman—and the fact that a man is a worker does not necessarily mean that his mental outlook is even moderately socialistic. In some districts the unemployed have shown hostility towards miners' bands working for relief funds—as though unemployment were some novel phenomenon unknown in times of industrial peace.

Promises coming Home to Roost.

The real nature of the struggle is apparent to anyone familiar with the comments of the governing

Continued from page 2.

with them the Agendas of the Board and Council meetings.

Is the Communist Party of Great Britain doing this? Are its branches doing this?

Instructions to Elected Representatives.

A special annex to the Thesis on Parliamentarism gives explicit instructions to the Communist elected person and Party Executive Committee, from which we draw these striking passages:—

"When the elections are over, the organisations of the Parliamentary factions must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party . . . the party in general is a lawful or illegal one at the given moment. . . . The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the Parliamentary faction, with the right of veto. On all important political questions, the Parliamentary faction shall ask for preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party."

"At each forthcoming important debate of the Communists in Parliament,† the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand that he submit previously the Theses of his speech, or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Each candidate entered in the list of the Communists must sign a paper to the effect that, at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party, he shall be bound to give up his mandate, so that the Party might obtain re-elections."

"In countries where reformist, semi-reformist, or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the Parliamentary faction of the Communists (as this has already happened in several places), the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound to radically weed out the personnel of the factions, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist faction, than a numerous one without a regular Communist line of conduct."

"Each Communist member must remember that he is not a 'legislator,' who is bound to

By D. E. MULLINS

classes on the situation. The ultra-reactionary elements frankly desire to see the defeat of the Miners' Federation, the other Unions to be beaten in turn. The fact that a small section of the miners, driven perhaps by poverty and not sufficiently imbued with Socialist ideals to be prepared to suffer for them, have expressed a desire to return to work is a source of much pleasure to the reactionaries.

They hope that the pressure of want will cause a stampede back to work, which will lead to the disruption of the Federation. The Somerset branches, from the reactionary standpoint, are composed of "good, sensible men": they are not like the "bad revolutionaries" of S. Wales who want to rob the owners of their hard-earned royalties. The privileged classes do not like the workers' claim to equal social status with themselves, they regard it as an impertinence that a mere miner or factory-hand should expect to be regarded otherwise than as a profit-making machine or as fodder for their cannon. They forget how they fooled the soldiers, many of them miners, with vain and empty promises of a new England—"a land fit for heroes to live in"—while they were making handsome profits out of the national necessity. Those promises have, like the proverbial chicken, come home to roost, and the socially-conscious section of the workers is determined to fight for their fulfilment.

£16,000,000 for London Landlords.

One hears a good deal about the claims of the "community" to consideration. What is the "community"?—the nation minus the workers, we presume. Upholders of the present system are opposed to the socialisation of industry and urge the necessity of *laissez-faire*—until some crisis like the present occurs, when it becomes convenient to talk glibly about the "public" interest. What do they care about the interests of the public? Is it to the "public" interest, for example, that a gratuity of £16,000,000 per annum should be presented to the ground landlords of London?

"The Trade Depression Stunt."

Then there is the "trade depression" stunt. Of course, the workers are to blame for this, too—they alone had any share in the making of the Peace Treaty. They must be willing to endure

seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable, not to the dispersed mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party . . ."

"The Communist members must speak in Parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman and shepherd; so that the Party might publish his speeches on sheets of paper and spread them in the most remote villages of the country . . ."

"The Communist members must make use of the Parliamentary tribune to denounce, not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also for the denunciation of the social-patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the Centre, and other opponents of Communism, and for the propagation of the ideas of the Third International."

"The Communist delegates, even though there should only be one or two of them in the Parliament,† should, by their whole conduct, challenge Capitalism, and never forget that only such are worthy of the name of Communists—who not in words only, but in deeds, are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic flunkies."

Section 11 of the conditions for joining the Communist International further stipulates:—

"Parties desirous of joining the Third International, shall be bound to re-inspect the personnel of their Parliamentary factions, remove all unreliable elements therefrom, subordinate such factions, not verbally only, but in reality, to the Central Committee of the Party, and demand from each proletarian Communist to submit his work to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda."

Therefore it clear that, both in principle and according to the spirit and letter of the Party constitution, the action of the Communist Party members of the Poplar Board of Guardians should be made the subject of disciplinary action by the Communist Party.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

hardships in order to maintain the reputation of our rulers for "statesmanship." What a consolation it must be to a miner working only three shifts per week to know that some German comrade is working overtime without payment for his particular benefit. Mr. Lloyd George stated his intention of searching Germany's pocket till he got the last farthing—surely it is not for us to complain if ours are searched in the bargain—all for the edification of the "community." Even the coalowners have sufficient magnanimity to surrender their "claims" to profits—more particularly now that there are none to surrender. This is indeed unexpected generosity—if a similar attitude had been adopted during the period of the War we could have understood it! Great alacrity is shown in asking the workers to share the burden of depression—we have somehow failed to notice a similar anxiety that they should share in prosperity.

If National Industry were ruined.

No, Comrades, we must not be led away by the subtle arguments of our Press and our politicians. We must educate ourselves to analyse and detect the fallacies in the orthodox theories of social and political policy—not only for our own benefit, but also for the benefit of those who are not sufficiently revolutionary to do so. What is it to us if the national industry be ruined? Capitalistic industry has never yet meant anything but degradation both to worker and employer, and if our friends the miners are willing to face starvation in an attempt to substitute for such a rotten system a new social order, founded on Sacrifice and Brotherhood, then it is our duty to support them to the best of our ability. It is quite evident that we have hard times and an uphill fight before us—we must summon up courage to meet them, strong in the realisation that our efforts will not be in vain, and that even defeat in pursuit of an ideal is more honourable than the "success" of the seeker of gain. So long as the capitalists can side-track Labour on to material questions of wages, etc. they will not be so very bitter in opposition, since those aims are similar to their own.

Once, however, Labour begins to take action for the social revolution we may expect a fight—and the sooner the better.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

Mrs. Sidney Webb arranges to polish the Labour Leaders and their Wives.

Mrs. Sidney Webb writes to the "Daily Herald" to explain that a "Half-Circle Club" was established in November for the wives of Labour Members of Parliament and local bodies, Labour candidates' wives, "and women who are themselves engaged in public work connected with the Labour Movement." Quite an exclusive affair, you see. Not by any means a gathering to the vulgar mob!

Its purpose is to promote friendly intercourse between its members, and to provide opportunities for social meetings of members of the Labour Party, whether men or women. "But," adds Mrs. Webb, "there promises to be an even wider usefulness for the Half-Circle Club."

"The Labour Party has already attained the position of constituting in Parliament 'His Majesty's Opposition'; and it may any day become 'His Majesty's Government.' It is accordingly necessary for the leading members of the Party to make the acquaintance of, and to be accessible to, the public representatives of other sections with whom they will have to be in official relations—we may instance the representatives in London of the Dominion Governments, the diplomatic representatives of other nations, the leaders of the various religious denominations, the prominent educationists and workers in literature, science and art, and last, but not least, the permanent officials of Government Departments and municipal administrations. The Half-Circle Club hopes to be able to arrange opportunities for social intercourse with such of the above as may be desirous of meeting the members of the Labour Party."

"Eventually, the Half-Circle Club may be of use in working out the manners and ways of social intercourse, adapted by their simplicity and sincerity, economy and equality, for society in a great city under the influence of a Government of the workers by hand and by brain."

Change the tone, Mrs. Webb; at present it sounds a bit too much like playing the old game of snobbery and jobbery, and social wire pulling in the old way. Even if the Labour Party will run "His Majesty's Government" much as its predecessors run it, it is a mistake for the adherents of the Labour Party to say so!

You ought to have asked Mr. Henderson's permission and Mr. Robert Williams' advice before you sent that letter to the press?

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Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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INKPIN SENTENCED.

At the time of going to Press, with space for the bare announcement only, the news arrived that Com. Inkpin, against whom there were eight counts—three under E.P.A. and five under D.O.R.A.—has been sentenced, at the Mansion House, to six months' hard labour in each of three cases under D.O.R.A. relating to the "Thesis of the Communist International," "The Communist International, No. 1," and "The German Spartacists."

Three months' hard labour in each of two cases under E.P.A., relating to "The Communist International, No. 13," and "The Communist Review, No. 1."

The other cases were dismissed.
The sentences to run concurrently, the total term of imprisonment extending to one period of six months.

Costs were granted to the Crown for £50.

The National Labour Press was fined £200—£50 in respect of each of four pamphlets, and ordered to pay 40 guineas costs.

Rose, the Manager of the Press, was fined £30—£10 in respect of each of three pamphlets.

Com. Inkpin was removed in custody to Pentonville. An appeal, we hear, will be made.

MINERS BETRAYED BY LABOUR BUREAUCRACY.

The miners voted bravely, magnificently, to endure until their terms were won.

Their Executive has re-opened negotiations and has provisionally accepted terms which are substantially those rejected by the great ballot vote of a few days ago.

Lloyd George, seeing, as he believed, the miners tottering to defeat, grew truculent; he would not say whether the £10,000,000 subsidy the miners scorned when first it was offered will be forthcoming if the workers now cave in. He put forward difficulties and suggested further conditions, showing himself, as usual, an ungenerous conqueror.

Why has the Miners' Executive thus stampeded the miners' cause to a tame capitulation immediately after the magnificent ballot vote?

Because the Labour Movement, as a whole, has failed to support the miners in the lock-out. Who is responsible for the failure—the leaders or the rank and file?

Both to a certain extent, but observe that the only vote touching on the strike on which the rank and file had any opportunity to instruct their delegates, however limited, was the vote for the Executive.

That vote placed Frank Hodges, the Miners' National Secretary, at the head of the poll, and turned off the Executive Robert Williams, the one-time favourite of the direct actionists and Reds of the Trade Union World.

The defeat of Robert Williams is undoubtedly due to his failure to satisfy the movement that he was doing what he could as Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation to line up the power of the Triple Alliance in support of the miners. The expulsion of Robert Williams from the Communist Party has brought to a head the feeling, long growing in the Left Wing of the Labour Movement, that Williams is a very noisy windbag, never ready for action.

The financial support given to the miners by the movement is relatively not great, but this is a time of great financial difficulty for the Labour Movement. It is not in cash that the workers can best help each other when a serious fight with the Capitalist is going forward, but in unity of action.

The Labour Party Conference recorded no vote for action to help the miners; the slow machinery of the Party and of the Unions attached to it, made it inevitable that such a question could only be dealt with by way of an emergency resolution, that is to say, on the initiative of the delegates present, or on the initiative of the Executive of Standing Orders Committee. Such initiative was not forthcoming.

As usual a Sub-Committee has been formed "to offer its assistance to the miners, if the miners thought the Sub-Committee could help in anyway." Is this how comrades should fight together in

the throes of a great crisis when many are starving? Indeed, it is not!

The replies from the Union Executives asked to meet the miners are reported by the *Daily Herald* as follows:—

Transport Workers: "The matter is one for the Trade Union Congress."

Do these cold-blooded men in office expect the miners to starve until September?

Engineers: "We are balloting on our own attack."

A strong reason for solidarity in action one would have thought!

Agricultural Workers: "We are prepared to come and hear what you have to say."

Have they no brains to think: no imaginations to realise, since they are still undecided?

Cotton Workers: "We cannot come on Saturday, because of our negotiations and ballot, but could attend later!"

Later it was announced that the Cotton Unions had caved in and accepted a reduced wage.

The M.F.G.B. Executive has caved in; the speech of Frank Hodges at the Labour Party Conference foreshadowed surrender.

What will the Miners' Delegate Conference, which must be summoned, do now?

What will the men in the pits do?

We repeat our assertion of last week that the Miners' Lock-out of 1921 will introduce a new era into British Trade Unionism.

THE LESSON OF THE BRIGHTON CONFERENCE.

The Communist Party, the Labour Party and the "Daily Herald."

The Brighton Conference of the Labour Party has vindicated the judgment of the Left Wing Communists and throws a light on the British situation, which, we hope, may be seen and appreciated by the Conference of the Third International now sitting in Moscow.

Last year the situation was blurred. We had George Lansbury coming back from Moscow appealing to the Labour Party to join the Third International, and trying to cover with reformed white-wash the Red of Communism.

And we had Moscow Comrades of the Third International offering substantial support in hard cash to the *Daily Herald*.

We had the Third International Conference, urged on by Comrades Zinoviev and Lenin, insisting that the British Communist Party must join the Labour Party, and we had Robert Williams a member of the Communist Party Executive.

Now all is changed; the Lansbury faction has receded further from Moscow. Our Labour Party proves quite determined to refuse the affiliation of the Communist Party and Robert Williams, now ejected from the Communist Party Executive, is telling the Labour Conference that he is "not averse from admitting the Communist Party to affiliation, provided it realises the obligations of Party discipline."

Oh, that phrase, "Party discipline," what a multitude of betrayals and back-sliding it has been used to cover! May it never be used by any of our fellow Communists as a means of damping down Communist principles!

We have the *Daily Herald* abruptly departing from its habitual hymns of vague fraternity to put forth in a leading article of June 24th a statement, sharply and keenly concise, which effectively shows that the Third International need to look no more for sympathy to the *Daily Herald*. Here is that leading article:—

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY
"The debate on the proposed admission of the Communist Party to the Labour Party having been interrupted by the moving and carrying of the previous question,* we presume the matter is left somewhat in the air and will in some form be raised again."

"We would offer upon it only the following observation. The Communist Party is a party, with a constitution of its own, and does not admit anybody who will not accept that constitution. Exactly in the same way, the Labour Party has a constitution, and does not admit anybody who will not accept it. If the Communist Party is prepared to accept the constitution of the Labour Party, we trust it will be admitted. If it is not so prepared, we suppose it will naturally withdraw its application for admission."

That article effectively shuts the Labour Party's door against the Communist Party. The *Daily Herald* knows, the Third International knows, we all know that the Communist Party cannot accept the programme of the Labour Party, which is a reformist one.

* The voting meant: accepting affiliation, 224,000; rejecting it, 4,215,000.

GOING TO RUSSIA.

Isadora in the green room, exalted, triumphant, bathed in perspiration that dropped like rain from every lock of her henna-tinted hair. A motley throng of admirers swept upon her. Members of the actor fraternity, people with handles to their names, people merely persistent, brought her their albums to sign, and pressed upon her notice their short-frocked little girls.

There was a chorus of regret and and remonstrance: "Don't go; what shall we do without you? There is nothing there only barbarians, only chaos."

She answered impetuously: "It is the only place worth going to. Shall I take you with me?"

"I was there last summer."

"Why did you come back?"

"I had things to do here. Oh, this place is hopeless; there's no hope for England!"

* * * * *

The yellow-faced Russian prince, cousin to the late Czar, gazed at her with his strange, sly smile, and his eyes that look away from their far corners. He said: "They are barbarians; they have imprisoned all my family."

She answered:

"I arrived in Petrograd, for the first time, at four o'clock in the morning. There was a great procession of people marching with bowed heads. 'What is it?' I asked. 'What are they doing?'"

"I was told: 'It is the funeral of the people who were shot down before the Czar's palace. Their bodies are buried during the night, so that they may not be seen. People are hungry in Russia.'"

The Prince objected: "There is no food; you won't like it there!"

"People were always hungry in Russia," she said. "Your family has starved and murdered millions."

"It is the PEOPLE who matter; not the fortunate few. We, the artists, and you, the aristocrats, we are all rotters; it is the people who matter—the workers and the women who bring the children into the world."

* * * * *

She danced a South American tango, with her hat and her cigarette, her robe of flame and her scarf of many colours. She moved with a slow, sinuous motion her lovely form, and stepped in time with her firm bare feet.

"One could do it better," she said, "with a nice Apache."

* * * * *

"She is right to go to Russia," said a girl from her school. "That is the land for artists. But how will she stand it? She's fifty per cent. artist and fifty per cent. woman. She's used to luxury."

"She'll get it."

"Oh, yes, in food. They'll give what they have to the artists. But the accessories, can they do it?"

"She can get her hair shampooed and dried under an electric fan—all that sort of thing?"

"Oh, but that's not fair; they can't do it for everyone!"

She was a Communist, too, then; this girl from the Isadora school.

They make it as fair as they can, with a view to one's social usefulness. Things have to be done gradually; it's a transition stage.

IMPORTANT.

There are a few "Comrades" and a few news-agents who have regularly received the "Workers' Dreadnought" for the past months, and who have failed to settle their accounts, in spite of repeated applications.

Amongst these there are some who have not paid a penny all the time the Editor was in gaol.

We believe that persons acting thus are shamefully exploiting the Workers' Press, produced as it is, at the cost of so many sacrifices. If they do not pay us, it is quite possible that they exploit, in similar fashion, other organisations.

Reluctantly, but as a measure of self-defence and in the interests of the Movement generally, we shall publish, after this final notice, their names and addresses.

THINGS WE WANT TO KNOW.

Why the *Daily Herald* allows its columns to be used to advertise the reactionary Anti-Socialist Moderate, even though the Moderate Party does pay.

What prominent Officials of the Labour Party are members of the Moderate Party. Ask the Secretary of your Union whether he belongs to it.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Mrs. F. £1, Miss E. Gullard £1 1s., Mrs. Brimley 10s., J. J. Munns 3s. 6d., R. Scott 2s., Mr. Marks 2s., Mr. Robert Lees 1s., Dr. Herman Gorter £3. Total, £11 19s. 6d.



THE PRICE OF AN EMPIRE A TRUE TALE FOR YOUTH and AGE by Clara Gilbert Cole

There is a lovely country called Diani,* and in this country hundreds of summers ago the ryots or cultivators of the land were much happier than they are to-day, though even in those times they were oppressed as all peasants have been in the past.

To-day they are the most wretched of all the people who are being tortured under a banner which ought to have for its symbol, the skull and cross bones, for the men who fly it are pirates on the sea of life's highway, and we will call them Emperors.

Instead of the workers living to be 60 or 70 years of age in the Dorian Empire, they now usually die of starvation at the age of 25, and if you look at the photographs in our museums, you

will notice how many of these poor half-fed labourers look as if their bones were bursting through their skin.

So, I write this a7-true tale that you, dear children, you, our "Hopes of the Future," may know why this is, and make it impossible to happen again, or lest you should forget and put the Emperors in power after you have once dethroned them.

The short life of 25 years seems strange considering the sun never ceased to shine or the earth to give her fruits, nuts and grains as usual.

It is only made possible because the vital or life-giving Gods and Goddesses are taken captive, and made slaves to the rich under this British flag.

The names of the four Gods and Goddesses are Terra, Fireflame, Ria and Aqua.

Fireflame is the lover of Terra, and Aqua is the lover of Ria. Terra is dressed in rich brown, trimmed with varied shades of green, from bright emerald to dark olive.

She carries a lap full of good things, and her brown dress has huge secret pockets that are very deep and crammed with mysterious and unexpected delights, and these pockets have never yet been emptied.

She loves the Sungod Fireflame so dearly that she is never so happy as when he smiles and shines upon her. Fireflame dresses in pure gold, his hair quivers and radiates in a broad circle of golden rays.

So bright, so beautiful is he that only his sweet-heart Terra can look him in the face without being blinded, but robbed of his light, neither rich nor poor could exist. Mortals may only behold him reflected on earth in the looking-glasses of Terra.

Ria is invisible to mortal sight, but sustains us till the last breath.

Aqua takes fantastic and beautiful shapes, and is even active, seldom sleeping or resting, constantly changing, one hour a mass of misty draperies, at another the calm bosom of a lake.

She is seen to rest on the highest peaks in the form of snow, and anon will come rushing down in a silver stream. Sometimes she is a milk white horse prancing on the sands, she will show herself in a beautiful arch called a rainbow, which is as big as the sky, but she shoots no dangerous arrows, and all the colours ever seen on earth or in sky are arched in that bow.

Before the Emperors went over the sea to rule the Dians, so valuable were the ryots, the cultivators of the soil, and their families considered, that they were not called upon to fight even to protect their own land; moreover, even the hostile foe refrained from harming them, and allowed the ryots to go on peacefully cultivating their rice and corn, well knowing that unless there was bread even the soldiers could not fight; these men were free-holders of the land they tilled. Terra being free at this time, bestowed her blessings upon the kindly ryot and shaded under her green draperies of the

brass pots and looms, in which they learnt how to weave the beautiful muslin that is to this day called Diani muslin.

These people are easily pleased, happy by nature, and so simple in their habits that a very small number of hours would have sufficed to supply their own wants.

In spare moments, for pleasure, they carved toys, fans, beads and brooches, but these mostly adorned the rich; still so long as the ryot had enough to satisfy his simple needs, he did not grumble.

More than 200 years ago, a medicine man came over the sea from the British Empire, and he had the good fortune for himself, but the bad fortune for the Dians, to cure the daughter of a

Danian emperor. The emperor was so grateful that he gave him the privilege of free Commerce throughout all his dominions, and promised to allow the same to all the Emperors. The medicine man returned to his own country and told of his fortune and of his adventures.

Ships were built, and a piratical company formed which then set sail for Diani.

Soon after their arrival the pirates built three storehouses on the coast.

The first at Drama was formed of six fishermen's houses, and was guarded by a few native soldiers. The Emperors soon grew wealthy and strong, they kept creeping further inland and building more ships and warehouses till at last they openly started an offensive war on the Dians, and as they were experts in warfare they soon got rid of the government of the native princes in Galben.

The piratical company ruled, or, I should say, misruled this people so diabolically that even the Emperors across the sea had to call them to order, and bring them back to be tried for corruption and treachery.

One pirate named Vilee grumbled because he was accused like a common sheepstealer, for, you see, these pirates had one law for the rich and another for the poor, in fact they considered themselves above the laws they made.

Instead of being punished he was let off because he was a famous, or, as I should call him, an infamous soldier, for all his battles were battles of oppression and conquest.

This pirate was not only allowed to go free, but was patted on the back, and a sword set with diamonds was presented to him.

There was another mock trial of a man named Hasten Warrings, he was charged with having sold his troops to crush free peoples and obtaining money by starving and torturing people, but £76,000 was spent to defend him with such good result to this thief that instead of being imprisoned he was granted a pension of £4,000 a year for 28 years, and £50,000 was lent to him for 18 years without interest.

After this a Governor-General of Galben named Cornford Walks was appointed.

Up till now the ryots were owners of the land they cultivated, and only paid taxes to the king.

This arch pirate Governor with one stroke of his cruel pen turned the Danian tax-collectors into landlords, and the true owners, the ryots who had owned the land for hundreds of years, he turned into tenants-at-will of the tax-collectors.

Thus was the fairy Goddess Terra taken captive by men who never worked her will.

This was one of the greatest calamities that ever befel a harmless and contented race, for till this hour she had been free to the worker.

The Zimindars or tax-collectors grew rich and lazy, and lived useless and wicked lives; to collect the rent they appointed other men who in turn became rich and employed others.

* India.

All these men the poor ryot supported.

The rent was raised continually, and if the increased rent was not paid the now miserable ryot was turned out. He seldom went to law, as the case was always decided against him, and he had no money to pay legal expenses, also his crops were neglected if he went to court, as the court was often a long way off.

If by a wonderful chance he did win his case the vengeance of the Zimindar made his life unbearable. As the ryot was unable to read or write, he put his mark to documents he did not understand, and so was duped.

The rents were raised to such an extent that his simple home was constantly broken up, his crops cut by the landlord, and his home stripped of his brass pot, sleeping mat, and worst of all his plough and spade, though this the law distinctly forbade.

Having to carry so many rich men on his already overburdened back made the ryot desperate, and during one year 20,000 people sought refuge from British injustice in the jungles, and this was in a year of splendid harvests.

So long as the British Empire got the taxes from the Zimindar it never asked or cared how the ryot lived; if a ryot complained he was imprisoned, men were paid to swear falsely against him, often he was beaten, no one took his side, and if a friend tried to do so, he also suffered.

About 50 years after this time, the Empirates found by making their slaves at home work in big factories, supplying machinery and engines to people all over the world, that they became richer and more powerful than other nations.

The pirates then turned their evil attention to the millions of starving and discontented ryots in Diani, and resolved to make capital out of the very misery they, the pirates, had created.

Thousands of the poor ryots were forced to leave the land and to seek work in the towns, where they were employed building factories and working in them, receiving for this hard work but three farthings an hour, and working twelve hours a day.

This the pirates did for two seasons, the first was because the cotton and other raw materials grew in Diani, and it saved the expense of shipping to manufacture them on the spot, but the chief reason for building factories in Diani was because these wealthy robbers got cheaper labour.

Then the Empirates said to their slaves at home, "See, we can get these things at a much lower cost in Diani, so you must work for less money or we will get all our goods from Diani, and you will have no work."

Thus the cunning Empirates cut down their own workers' wages.

Terra cried aloud for her ryots, but they were unable to release her, or take from her bounteous lap, or pockets, without the Zimindar and British Empire grabbing the lion's share.

The symbol of the pirates is a roaring lion, which goes about seeking all it may devour.

It was devouring and oppressing other nations at this time.

The pirates being short of soldiers forced the ryots to become their soldiers and to cross the sea and fight a people who had never harmed them, a people they had never seen.

Before this time, the ryot was, as I told you, excused from fighting even to defend his own land, but under this change of masters, if the ryots refused to fight, their homes and villages were burnt, and the men were taken by force.

The Dianians were even robbed of the health-giving Goddess Ria, for twelve hours every day were spent in factories that were badly built, with no sanitation and windows that are never opened.

Here the workers eat their food smothered in fluff and dust amongst the machines in a temperature almost unbearable.

When a whole family live, sleep, eat and cook in one room ten feet by twelve, there is little space

for Ria or Fireflame, but there are not even enough rooms ten by twelve to suffice for all, so the latest Governor of Baybom suggests putting up 50,000 more of these ten by twelve atrocities; needless to say, he will not have to live in one.

Aqua's refreshing showers are now owned by the pirates, and doled out at their whim.

The key is turned and the pipes opened for a longer time in the rich districts than in the poor parts where the workers live.

The ancient waterworks of the Dianians are destroyed, so they are entirely at the mercy of the pirates in this matter, though the present system would be quite good if the water supply was shared equally.

The workers have often four or five miles to walk to their work, they have built fine railways, but, alas! can never afford to ride on them.

To work in the factories they must be up at four in the morning, and as the water is not turned on, no bath, no drink can be had before starting out.

The worker in Diani is always hungry, for his wages only average 5d. a day, and after paying his rent for ten by twelve, he can only afford one meal a day, which generally consists of rice and often only birdseed.

If anyone tells you that the Dianians do not need as much for or as decent a house or clothes in Diani as in other countries, do not believe them, the rich Dianians and the pirates who live there have four meals a day, plenty of suitable clothes, and they demand more money, not less, when they go to live in Diani.

The miners in Diani work twelve hours a day, and only receive 7d. and less for a day's labour.

Badly paid as our slaves are they get more than 7d. an hour, but when the pirates get enough Diani coal to supply us they will try to force our miners to work for 7d. a day.

These slaves cannot afford furniture out of 5d. or 7d. a day, and as they are only paid once a month are forced to borrow money, for which they pay dearly in interest; the unfortunate beings are always in debt, and constantly worried by the money-lender.

Their clothing consists of a piece of muslin round the waist, called a loin cloth, and another piece to protect the head from the extreme heat.

The women used to be able to afford a skirt, apron and bodice before they were driven into the factories, but now they also have to make one piece of material do for their only garment.

To hear the dear, dusky babies cry in vain for milk worries the loving mothers, so they mix flour with the water, but it does not feed the little ones or take away the pains of hunger.

The four Gods and Goddesses so necessary to all workers were born free, and they sigh, and sigh, when they see the state of the ryots, for they know that if Terra, Fireflame, Aqua and Ria were free there would be plenty for all.

A little time ago owing to the terrible conditions hand, brain and muscle failed to do the hard tasks that were set on 5d. a day, so a worker screwed up his courage to ask for a little more. He was



THE IRISH DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON.

A strange scene. The flags of the Sinn Fein, at war with the British Empire, brightly decking the Nelson column. A London crowd cheering the Irish Republican colours. A weary group of the unemployed who walked to Brighton; the Sinn Fein standard attached to their banner of proletarian aid, with its motto, "Our Leaders Talk Whilst We Walk." So Rebels of every colour flock together.

The police were not present in force, but wherever one turned one saw policemen: two at this corner, two at that, and groups of three leisurely strolling here and there. The members of the Royal Irish Constabulary in their tight-fitting dark green uniform, who are now always to be seen in the Strand, were also in evidence. Detectives in plain clothes honey-combed the crowd, some of them obviously fresh from Ireland.

St. Martin's Church at the corner of Trafalgar Square was packed with lads of all sizes in the uniform of the British Navy singing a hymn with a tune familiar at Labour meetings. Soon they poured out of the church to "The March of the Men of Harlech," and were re-enforced by a long line of others, who streamed on and on down St. Martin's Lane from somewhere, and across to St. James' Park, drowning the Irish speeches on the plinth in the din of loud brass bands. The crowd cheered the flag of the Irish Republic; the Union Jack was born past by the boys with never a cheer.

Who sent the lads to make this counter demonstration? Were they spare-time scouts or boys from training ships?

In St. James' Park the boys were drawn up in the square behind the Horse Guards, a thin, very thin, fringe of bystanders stood watching. Perhaps they were wondering whence had been gathered so many pale little rickety fellows, so many dwarfish and pigeon-breasted. There was a poor advertisement for "the metal of their pasture," wherever they had come from.

A small group of swells foregathered close to the Horse Guards' entrance; funny red-faced old men with spats and grey top hats, plain middle-aged women with costly fashionable clothes. By the unwritten law of snobbery the policemen knew them and shepherd away from them all the members of the public not belonging to the Upper Ten who dared to venture near.

The lads stood on in a long, still silence, waiting, as a patient bystander told his infant son, "for some gentleman to come down to them."

insulted, he and his comrades were locked out and robbed of even one meal a day.

There are a few rich Dianians who are sorry to see the terrible plight of their countrymen, they try to help them, but the pirates will not allow these men even to state the case for the workers.

During a recent strike the first thing the pirates did was to deprive the starving men and their families of even the miserable supply of water they usually granted.

Whilst the men were locked out the pirates paid men to throw stones and to say the workers had thrown them.

This was done in order to have an excuse for shooting the poor, naked and famished workers, which they did.

Once when the workers gathered together merely to talk about their troubles, a big bully of a pirate took his crew along and shot down 500 of these unhappy toilers.

A thousand were left wounded, and when this diabolical man's ammunition gave out, he ran away refusing all aid to the wounded, and leaving them with streaming wounds.

Without his guns he was afraid of men, women and children who had no weapons.

For this horrible act Empirates collected £30,000 as a reward, in just the same way as they rewarded Vile.

If you go to South Kensington Museum (and I strongly advise you to do so), you will see the exquisitely lovely houses, paintings, caskets, embroideries, carpets and models of the palaces and temples made before the Empirates misruled Diani, but in these days the Dianians make ugly things all alike, just for the pirates to make profit out of, not for the people to use and enjoy.

In the olden times, things were more often made for the mere pleasure of the making, and were useful and beautiful because the people loved their work.

I know you will say they did not live in the palaces they made, or use the choicest things.

That is true, life has never been fair for the workers, but life under the Empirates has been made much more ugly and wretched, for there is no joy in the work in the factories; there the dull longing of the people is to get finished.

In South Kensington Museum you may judge how priceless are the treasures we get from Diani by the expensive building in which they are housed, the cases which contain them and the care bestowed upon them show they are better housed than the men and women who made them.

Dianian art is cherished, but Dianian life is wantonly wasted, Dianian art is dear, but Dianian life is cheap.

When at the Museum look at the bazaar or market where you can see the Dianians at work, weaving carpets, driving the oxen, a woman walking and carrying her baby on her back, and firewood on her head, whilst servants of the landlord ride on an elephant.

You will see the poor Dianian being arrested by the man in blue for some small theft, his empty stomach was the cause, you may be sure.

Even the monkeys on the roof are better off, and are having a good time.

They have evidently been down and stolen the fruit without getting arrested, and are enjoying themselves.

Friends, big and little, lack of space stops me from telling you much I could have wished, but now the secret is out, your quick brains have long since guessed that we are the pirates who have taken Fireflame, Terra, Aqua and Ria prisoners and made the ryots miserable. When you grow up you will have power to set free these Gods and Goddesses.

Will you do this glorious thing and make three hundred million people happy?

What a noble task, and how the ryots would love you for it!

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

The Irish meeting went on as the meetings do; with their eager people who think they accomplish something, and their tired people who go to the meetings protesting that meetings are useless.

The roar of the cheering that ended the meeting was heard far down the Strand. The little Irish bands, uniformed in threadbare working garments, blowing the doleful "Wearing of the Green," drumming a fierce war march, piping some gay jig music, set-off for the far East End, followed by shabby people, the women carrying babies, the poor down-trodden workers.

After the banners of many causes the workers have marched over these stones, but always one cause has been theirs, the cause of the oppressed.

LET OFF.

At Pontypridd on June 17th Comrade A. J. Cook, Miner's Agent and member of the South Wales Miners' Executive, was brought up under the E.P.A., but the stipendiary magistrate let him go free. Cook is popular, the South Wales Comrades are vigorous; it was wisest not to imprison him this time.

NEWS FROM SOVRUSSIA.

Peat Production.

The peat production in the Province of Petrograd is two and a half times as great as in the same period of last year. Up to the present 30 million peat bricks have been prepared.

The "Morning Post" as Usual.

Rosta-Wien says: "The Morning Post has stated that the Congress has been postponed owing to the uncertain situation in Russia, and many newspapers have repeated the lie. On two previous occasions attention has been drawn to the fact that the Morning Post was guilty of publishing false reports, and documents which had been forged. Those papers which take their reports from the Morning Post, should by now be thoroughly aware of the unreliability, to use a mild word, of this publication. The Morning Post, so far as is known, has made no effort to prove the false information that it published, not to publish a disavowal of the same. The delegates will soon return from the Congress, and the Morning Post will have an opportunity to prove the truth or falsity of its last utterance. The chances are, however, that it will content to let it pass in silence. That is, of course, not at all in accordance with the ethics of British journalism."

Housing in Moscow.

During the last three months offices in Moscow with a floor area of about 130,000 square yards were made available for housing purposes. A portion of these rooms were allotted to schools and student homes, and further, group homes for migrant workers and foreign delegations. 2,921 houses were fitted out as collective households, and 1,786 as children's communes.

Distribution of Furniture.

The distribution of household articles has begun in Moscow. In the next few days the distribution of furniture will begin.

Summer Home for Actors.

The Commissariat for Health is furnishing holiday homes in the country for the players of the Moscow theatres, where they can pass their vacation.

League of Nations.

The Commissary for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherin, has addressed a note to the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, in which he points out that the intended support of the Russian fugitives by the League of Nations can only be regarded as a humanitarian undertaking so long as it is not supported by former counter-revolutionary formations who have not lost their character, and who still stand under their former leaders. Any support for such formations would in Russian opinion stand very much in contradiction to the conditions of the agreement which has been entered into by Russia and England.

A "House of Inventors."

In Moscow a special house has been placed at the disposal of inventors. Besides this laboratories and designing rooms are equipped for them.

The Third Congress of the Comintern.

The review of the Red Soldiers in honour of the opening ceremonies of the Third Congress of the Communist International was attended by all delegates to the Congress, the representatives of all parties and trade union organisations. Also the representatives of the foreign missions in Moscow

were present. After the parade Trotzki gave the following address:—

"Here on the Red Place, on this modest platform sit the representatives of the working men and women of Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and Australia. There is no land in the whole world that has not sent its representative here, its battle tried leader of the revolutionary proletariat. To-day, swear the Russian workers and peasants, in the presence of their brothers from abroad, to defend the red banner of international brotherhood against the bourgeoisie of the world. If we are forced to continue the struggle for the liberation of the workers we will shrink from no step and pledge our lives upon the mighty watchword, Long live the brotherhood of the workers! Long live the Communist International!"

The Red Soldiers and workers thanked Trotzki with a storm of applause.

After the speech of Trotzki Couturier declared in the name of the French Communist Party that the French Communists and the revolutionary youth of France were ready for battle and waited impatiently for the reckoning with capitalism. In the name of the German Communists Schneider said: "If the Red Army of the Russian Soviet Republic has understood how to defeat the enemies of the workers on Russian ground so will the army of workers of all lands also understand how to settle the bourgeois of all lands."

In the name of the Italian Revolutionary Youth Catagnano, in an enthusiastic speech, said that the Italians were ready when necessary to shed the last drop of their blood for the defence of the world revolution. Glinki, the representative of the Polish Communist Party declared that the Polish workers were only waiting for the moment to come when they could reach their hands in brotherhood to the Russian proletariat. The representative of the English Communist Party said that the Communists in England would work with all their energy, so that it would be possible to hold the next Congress in England.

Speeches were also given by the representatives of the women of the East, the secretary of the Central Council of Red Trade Unions, representatives of the Parties from Spain, Persia, Czechoslovakia and the German Young Communists. After the speeches a huge procession of workers took place.

In the evening great ceremonies took place in honour of the heroes of labour at which the delegates were present. In the public places of Moscow, kino performances took place, in which the pictures of the review which had taken place in the morning were shown. In the course of the evening "Rosta Moscow" issued its information in the public squares and streets by means of sound increasing telephones so that the reports were heard by crowds numbering thousands.

Numerous mass meetings took place at which the delegates spoke in every tongue known. A festive crowd filled the streets till late in the night. The delegates from the Orient in their native dress gave a very bright tone to the whole picture.

The members of the Lettish delegation to the Congress held a memorial gathering in honour of the Communists who had been shot by the hirelings of capitalism. Numerous speeches were given by the representatives of Lettland, Russia, Germany, Finland and Poland.

FROM MOSCOW.

By P. TCHUMAK.

Red Moscow is the capital of the workers of the whole world. It is the headquarters of the World Revolution. Soviet Russia is a country where the revolutionary pulse is throbbing after an unheard of victory of the young republic over the reactionary enemies, egged on by the imperialist governments of all countries. After a military shake up, a new life is being called forth on entirely new Communist principles.

For nearly seven years with unparalleled pluck and revolutionary readiness for further exploits the Russian workers and peasants fought on 19 fronts, defending their labour government—the government of Workers and Peasants' Soviets from enemy attack.

This watchword was echoed at the front, and was transformed into another more suitable to the front and more terrible for the enemy, namely— "Grasp your rifle closely, and keep a book in your side pocket."

Political enlightenment is the impetus to the Red Army. The Red Army men are very cultured, and they have a great respect for knowledge. That army has saved Petrograd from Judenitch and Moscow from Denikin. It is flexible and very enduring. The Red Army is the mailed fist of the Workers' Soviet Russia.

Now, after victory is won, our armies back from the front, were transformed into Labour Armies of equal strength. They continue to gain victories at the labour fronts: they get ore and minerals in the Urals, coal in the Donetz Basin—that all Russian coal-pit; they work on the Volga, in the Siberian forests, in the peat and oil industries; they build houses, repair the fleet, stock food supplies, work at the various factories and works, restoring some

In consideration of the importance of the Congress the Moscow papers have issued enlarged editions. "Pravda" says: "About 1,000 delegates have come from all zones to the International Congress in Red Moscow. Soviet Russia is the destination of hundreds and thousands of proletarian pilgrims who following the example of Soviet Russia have sworn henceforth to conduct war against capitalism and exploitation. That should spur on the victorious Russian proletariat to great efforts in order to create in its social existence a pattern of economic prosperity."

"Gudok," the organ of the transport workers, says: "This holiday is the most significant victory of the Russian proletariat for it proclaims the winning of the sympathies and the close understanding of the great mass of the proletariats of all lands, their belief and full conscious support. From the land of the Hindus to Italy, from the English to the Tartars all lands are represented, to which all hindrance and difficulty was offered that they should not find the way to Red Moscow, for they declare themselves in harmony with the great Revolution. The number of participants in the Congress shows that we have captured the mass of workers in many lands who have lost their trust in their untrustworthy leaders, and who are ready to follow our example."

CORRESPONDENCE.

A. D. Moore (Norwich) writes: "I hope the 'Dreadnought' will pull through. We cannot do without it! I have always done my best for it. I have got myself into hotwater with the I.L.P. They are going to expel me because I persist in selling it in their Club and at their public meetings. They have sent a notice asking me to resign. I have refused, and claimed a special meeting to decide my case." Many thanks for donation and brave support.

Dr. Sadler (Putney) asks for a series of articles on the "Path to a new Social Order and the Laws of that Order," with explanations as to "how to meet opposition and crime, and how to organise workers without re-enslaving them." We shall do our best to comply with this request in the near future. Dr. Sadler must, however, know that the task he has set is a super-human one, and that the new Social Order will be achieved only by patient and long experiment and experience.

Mr. E. Marsh (Portsmouth) sends a photograph of the Local Socialist Sunday School grouped round a coach based on the simile taken from Bellamy's the coach. The children of the school represented "Looking Backward," that a coach is like present day society. A skull and cross bones is painted in "surplus labour," some of them carried boot laces, for sale like some poor folk in real life.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

F.B. (Clerkenwell).—Yes, Malatesta is still in prison in Milan. He is entitled to receive letters. Yes; the Unione Sindacale Italiana is a federation of Trades Unionists and local Branches of Trade Unions of Syndicalist and Anarchist views, and has adhered to the Comintern.

L.S. (Peckham).—Thanks for cutting. We had already seen that "Punch" had a skit on Com. Pankhurst singing the "Red Flag."

The blood of the Russian Soviet toilers, which is like a sacred ointment to the soil of Russia, and the terrible age-long sufferings of the workers of the whole world bind us all into a solid whole at the front where Labour fights Capital.

Soviet Russia is a Red country where victory has been won not only by the Russian workers and peasants, but by those of the whole world. Hence comes the spirit carrying with it the ruin of the old hateful system, and the change in the old condition of human existence which, like the heavy chains of capitalism, still fetter the workers—the true masters of the earth.

The sun of victory is rising in the East—let us prepare to receive it. Let us help our brothers who have risen against capital—the workers of Soviet Russia in their proletarian exploit.

Your help and participation in the universal Revolutionary movement, your struggle against your own bourgeoisie and the emancipation of your own local constitution; all this will be a welcome and a powerful help to the Russian giant—the proletariat in his struggle with world capital.

The cause of the Russian Comrades is YOUR CAUSE!

In mutual help lies the final triumph of the workers.

Workers of the World, unite!

Moscow, April 20th, 1921.

(Specially contributed to the "Workers' Dreadnought.")

12 MONTHS' FOR GUY ALDRED.

The sentence of twelve months' imprisonment upon Guy Aldred is a monstrous one. Glasgow has now given a large number of prisoners to the Communist cause. What are Glasgow's Comrades going to do to release them.

We hope the Scotts will lead us!

UNEMPLOYED MARCH to BRIGHTON

The leaders of the Labour Party, anxious to convince the electorate of their ability to govern a decrepit economic system and busily engaged in the task of assimilating all the methods of political trickery, have so far failed to give any adequate consideration to the matter of the unemployed.

Moving in an atmosphere of deceit, living in conditions of middle-class comfort, they are divorced from the daily struggle of the masses for bare subsistence. To them "unemployment" is a "problem"; to the masses it is a fearful reality, pushing them from the factories to the bread lines, bringing starvation, prostitution, crime, despair and death. The Labour leaders are well content to deal with this matter when a Labour Government is in power; so they have promised us. But the masses want to deal with the matter *now*. It is action we want, not words; bread, not soft soap.

Unemployment cannot be abolished within the capitalist system. To abolish unemployment we must abolish capitalism, and this means the Social Revolution. There lies the cause of the apathy of the Labour Party, which fears the Revolution in spite of its socialistic objective. As the teachings of the Communists spread gradually through all sections of the workers and the apathy of the Labour Party becomes more apparent, discontent with its policy will increase, and the call from the masses for revolutionary leadership will become more insistent. It was to disturb the tranquil frame of mind in which as in a trance the Labour leaders move and to voice the demand of the unemployed for action that the London District Council of Unemployed organised a march of one hundred and fifty members from London to the Labour Party Conference at Brighton.

Fearful rumours preceded the marchers through the little quiet villages and towns of Surrey and Sussex, whose streets had never echoed before to the tread of a hundred and fifty rebels flying the Red Banner and singing songs of proletarian revolt. It was rumoured at Red Hill that we were coming to loot the shops, and although this rumour was soon dispelled, yet there must have been many timid souls who were glad to see our backs.

The majority of the men being ex-service men—for whom Lloyd George has made England a fit habitation, as promised—the marching was excellent, and the men were in fine spirit throughout. The discipline was not rigid, and the leaders—members of the London District Council—had no trouble in maintaining order. Only in one case was drastic action necessary, when two men were sent back to London for misbehaviour, an action thoroughly endorsed by all the men.

We put up the first night at Ruskin House, Croydon, which was fairly comfortable, and the following evening the authorities kindly put at our disposal a house unfit for human habitation. Protests led to one of the local churches being placed at our disposal, but this was too cold for many of the marchers to sleep in, and all night I heard them moving restlessly about or tossing about on the hard floor endeavouring to keep warm. One comrade proved that a pulpit could be of some use by sleeping in it. At Brighton the Salvation Army Citadel was placed at our disposal.

I should hesitate to state that those places—apart from Ruskin House—were placed at our disposal from motives of kindness and charity alone. The marchers were not going to sleep outside at any cost, and if the police or anyone else were not going to provide lodgings then the marchers would be under the painful necessity of taking it.

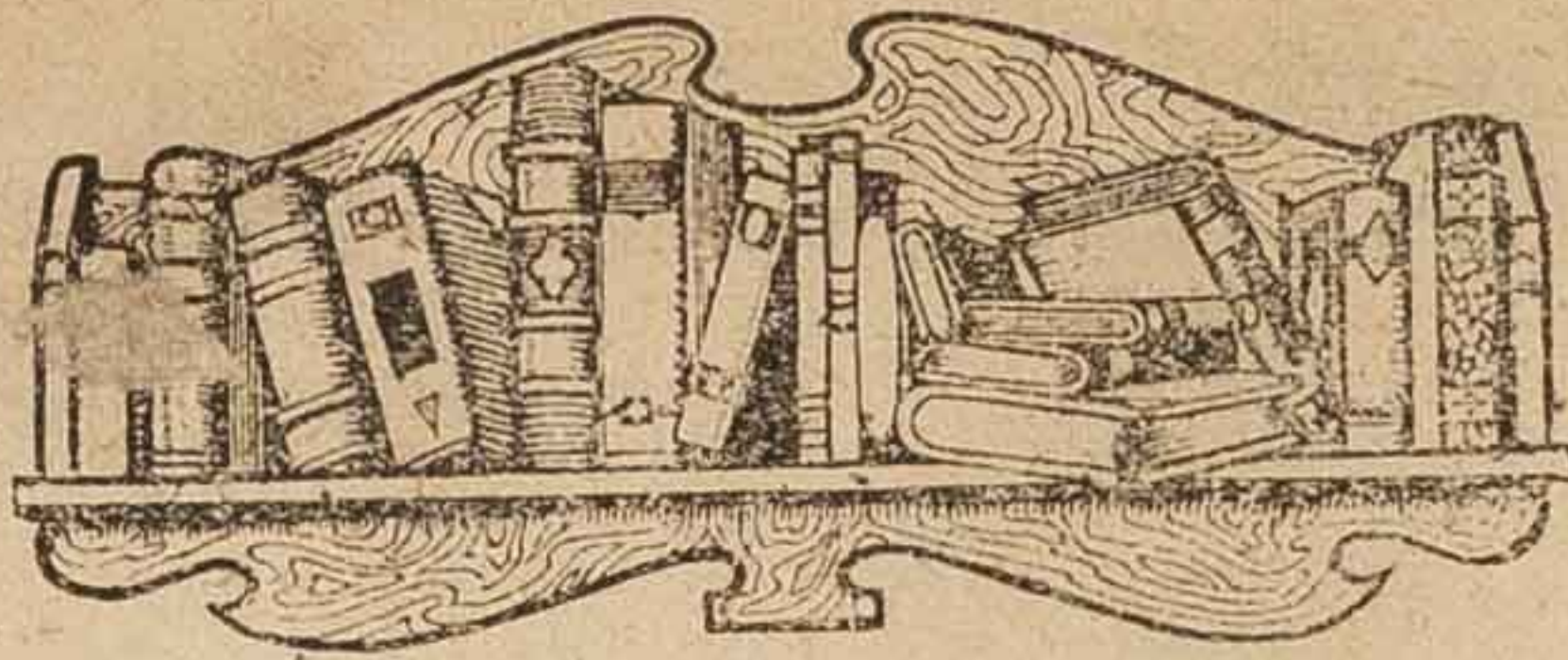
On the boundaries of Surrey and Sussex the contingent stopped for a rest outside "Ye Jolliffe Arms," and naturally some elbow bending soon took place.

Suddenly I heard a clear voice singing "Annie Laurie," and noticed a woman at the door of the inn. She was shabbily dressed and her face was pale and thin, and as she sang she gazed anxiously at the men in the bar, hoping they would be generous. A little girl hung on to her skirts contentedly eating a piece of cake. A thoughtless youngster laughed, and a bystander turned on him fiercely. "What in hell are you laughing at," he cried. "She's a woman, and you know her alternative. This is serious." "This is capitalism, mate," one man murmured to his friend. "It's a bloody shame," said another. They listened for a while in silence, then one of them stood up. "We're down and out, mates," he cried, "but it's a damn shame that a woman should have to sing for a living outside a pub. Let's have a collection and put in a penny each." This was done, and in a short while we had left behind us "Ye Jolliffe Arms" with its opulent owner, its tipsters, and the woman still singing outside its door. Oh, Merry Rural England!

So we came to the Labour Party Conference, where the representatives of the London Council delivered its message. Crudely, perhaps, but with proletarian vigour and straightforwardness they flayed the Labour Party, exposing its vacillating policy, its opportunism and its trickery, and issued an appeal for leadership towards Revolution.

The Labour Party, no doubt, will ignore the appeal, but will do so at its own peril. The greater part of these representatives of the unemployed are class-conscious; they have studied capitalism and the Labour fakir. They know the remedy for unemployment—the abolition of capitalism, and they are organising for this end. If they can obtain the assistance of the Labour Party, well and good; if not, then so much worse for the Labour Party.

M. LOPES.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The Philosophy of Marx. By Harry Waton, The Marx Institute, New York.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Juventud Mundial. Organ of Mexican Young Communists, Apartado, 5031 Mexico, D.F.

The Workers' Council. An organ of the III. International, published by the International Education Association, 80 East 11th Street, New York.

The Freeman. 116, West 13th Street, New York. (A weekly review of high literary standing.)

The Free Oxford. An Independent Socialist Review of Politics and Literature. Six issues per annum. University Socialist Federation, 36, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.

BEVIN, MEYNELL, "DAILY HERALD" AND THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA.

To the Editor of the "Workers' Dreadnought."

Dear Comrade,—In fairness to the *Daily Herald*, as well as to myself, I must correct the interpretation which your contributor "J.A." puts on a recent article of mine in "The Communist."

When I make "revelations," I hope I am good enough journalist to display them as such.

Your correspondent is in error in finding any "revelation" of dishonesty on the part of the *Daily Herald* in my allusion to the fact that Ernest Bevin arranged for payment to be made at advertisement rates for the reports of his speeches at the Dockers' Inquiry.

The *Daily Herald*, in printing the reports at a length, unwarranted by their news interest, published on each day of the Inquiry a prominent notice of the fact that the space was paid for.

In other words, it sold advertisement space to a very enterprising advertiser; and it made no secret of it. There is nothing here against the *Daily Herald*; and my point was confined exclusively to the mentality of the advertiser.

Yours fraternally,

FRANCES MEYNELL.

Dear Comrade,—I am obliged by you communicating to me the letter of Com. Francis Meynell.

There is no denying that Com. F. Meynell is a good journalist: an excellent one if judged by the looseness of his assertions.

I will review the facts and allow readers to judge:

In the article, "My Friend Bevin," Com. Meynell said: "Was I not one of the people who propagated his (Bevin's) title of Dockers' K.C., which won him not only fame, but many a presentation, piece of furniture and cheque? Did I not sub-edit in the *Daily Herald* the long reports of his speeches, for which he paid at advertisement rates?"

In the letter to the "Workers' Dreadnought" Comrade Meynell no longer says: "For which HE paid," but writes: "Ernest Bevin arranged for payment to be made at advertisement rates for the report of HIS speeches at the Dockers' Inquiry."

To my uncultivated mind to "pay for" and "to arrange for payment" is not the same thing.

Turning to the files of the *Daily Herald*, however, I find in the issue of February 4th, 1920 (the day following the opening of the case for the Dockers at the inquiry held at the Royal Courts of Justice), that the first two columns on the front page were devoted to Bevin's speech; "a slashing indictment of the industry," "the extraordinary performance of Ernest Bevin as the Dockers' K.C."

There is no printed indication that these two columns, fully devoted to Bevin, were paid at advertisement rates.

They either were, and our query of last week stands; or they were not, and then what Comrade Meynell says is inexact.

On page 6 of the same issue we find a full report of the proceedings with names of the members of the Court of Inquiry, etc., and also a paragraph in black type stating:—

"This page has been taken by the National Transport Workers' Federation for the purpose of putting before the whole Labour Movement a fuller report of yesterday's momentous proceedings than would otherwise be possible."

We have it, then, on the authority of the *Daily Herald* that page 6, which is distinct from the two columns devoted to Bevin, was paid—and that page only—by the National Transport Workers' Federation.

If the Federation paid, Bevin did not, for one has yet to learn that he has the full control of the funds of the Federation.

Even Com. Meynell, however "good enough a journalist" he may be, cannot have it both ways.

A suggestion might present itself: Bevin "arranged" for payment of that page, and got from Com. Meynell a free puff on page one. This would be an unpleasant explanation, and I do not put it forward as the true one. Probably the *Daily Herald* will set dubious minds at rest by a perfectly frank declaration of the facts.

On the report of the second sitting (*Daily Herald*, Feb. 6th, 1920), again the two first columns of page one are wholly devoted to Bevin, K.C., and there is no indication that they are either "paid for," "arranged for payment," or "taken." Page 6 of the same issue states, as before, in black type, "This page has been taken by the National Transport Workers' Federation for the purpose, etc."

Therefore, if that statement is correct, and Meynell's also is correct, the two columns of page one, wholly devoted to Bevin, have also been paid, without any printed indication to that effect.

My query of last week remains, and I now extend it both to Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Bevin.

On the issue for February 21st, 1920, we find, on page one, that the "Dockers' K.C.", grown to the importance of a two columns double heading, cross-examines Prof. Bowley. There is here no indication of payment.

The regrettable fact still remains, as brought out by Comrade Meynell, that if one can afford to pay for space in the *Daily Herald*, one can obtain reports "not warranted by their news interest" in "Labour's only Daily," and if the Dockers' K.C.'s articles were paid for, one can also have reputation-making puffs in accordance with one's purse.

J.A.

We have for Sale a few copies of

"MOSCOW."

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

3d. each.

4d. Post Free.

An interesting and valuable record.

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Comrades are asked to note that we have a number of books on Russia that we are clearing out at reduced prices.

In some cases there are only single copies, which are shop-soiled and are therefore marked at half price.

A visit to the office will repay any comrade who wishes to have a library of reference for Russian and Communist activity and thought; but as the supply is limited, comrades should lose no time in applying.

BOOKLETS TO READ.

SOVIETS OR PARLIAMENT? (Bukharin)	1d.
BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (Lenin)	2d.
THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND INDUS- TRIAL UNIONISM (Zinoviev)	2d.
THE LOGIC OF THE MACHINE (W. F. Hay)	4d.
FACTS ABOUT COMMUNIST HUNGARY (Alice Riggs Hunt)	3d.
THE REVOLUTION TO-MORROW (L. A. Moller)	2d.
TRUTH WILL OUT (Leigh Rothwell)	1d.
AN APPEAL (E. Sylvia Pankhurst)	3d.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

THE YOUNG COMRADE.—Have you seen it? It is the Mag. for Proletarian children. To be had at our Office. 3d., post free 4d.

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FOR SALE Grindstone. Apply Box 110, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

WANTED Agents for selling Dreadnoughts which we supply to those who take quantities at 3s. a quire.

FURNISHED FRONT ROOM for two or three TRUE Communists. Library in different languages at disposal.—58, Fortess Road, Kentish Town, N.W.

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