Side Stepping by 'Wobbly.'

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 42. SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31ST, 1921. [WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

COMMUNISM AND OUTPUT.

Heveshi, Hungarian Communist Commissary in Bela Kun's Soviet Government, declares that the biggest mistake made by that government was the abolition of piece rates, which was followed by an immediate fall in output.

Undoubtedly Capitalism has produced in the people a strong tendency to work only for their own particular interests; but piece-rates prolong that tendency. When is the regeneration, the real Communist experience to begin?

The problem is a difficult one, especially for a country endeavouring to establish Communism whilst ringed about by capitalist nations.

The *Mining World*, an employers' paper, and, as such, no friend to Communism, declares that industrial Russia's "new economic policy," her reversion to the old economic policy of Capitalism, has been forced on her because she has consumed the old stock of goods on which she was subsisting.

The output of gold, according to the *Mining World*, was, in 1920, only 2.7 per cent. of that in 1914, whilst in the first eight months of *1921 it* fell to 0.8 per cent. The Lena goldfields, which used to yield 3,000 lb. a month, only produced eight lbs. in August 1921, and 14 goldfields out of 20 were idle. Gold, however, is not an essential, and the Soviets have explained that the peasantswho used to get gold have been producing food, or fighting in the Red Army.

The output of platinum, according to the *Mining World*, is 10 per cent. of the normal, iron ore 0.5 per cent., manganese ore 0.6 per cent., copper ore 0.8 per cent. The *Mining World* (remember it is a prejudiced voice) further says:—

"There appears to be no way out of the present difficult position, except by a complete change in the economic and political system. The Bolsheviks themselves are aware of this, and are attempting to alter their economic system.

"They want to let the nationalised undertakings on lease to private persons—even the former owners of the concerns—*BUT SOVIET PAPERS DECLARE THAT IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO PERMIT THE LESSEES TO PAY THEIR WORKMEN BETTER WAGES THAN ARE PAID TO THOSE WORKING IN SOVIET UNDERTAKINGS, AS OTHERWISE THE LATTER WILL BE LEFT WITHOUT LABOUR.*"

If this be so, it shows into what a terrible deft stick the Soviet Government has got itself by its "new" economic policy; its compromises with Capitalism. To ask the workers to make sacrifices for the building of their own industries, which they control, is easy; to ask them to accept a position of great sacrifice under capitalist employers is a very different proposition!

The *Evening News* says that the notorious German capitalist, Stinnes, has raised the capital necessary to negotiate with the Russo-Asiatic Company for exploiting Russia by an Anglo-German consortium. This was the plan pursued in China; the plan which wrecked the Chinese Revolution and made China the prey of foreign Capitalism.

Apparently the Capitalists are not yet satisfied with the conditions open to them in Russia. The *Mining World*, very informative as to the mining capitalist's view of things, says:—

"No results can be obtained without altering the politcal system likewise. [As well as the economic.] The incredible terrorism which is the principal means of governing by which the Bolshevists remain in power will prevent the development of economic enterprise."

High cost of production makes our struggle a great one.

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Every Little Helps!

What is meant by this paragraph may be gathered from the following list of conditions laid down by the Soviet Government as a basis of negotiation with an American company which is desirous of working asbestos deposits in the Urals:—

1. The syndicate shall acknowledge the "Workers' Protection Legislation."

2. All disputes are to be submitted to the Russian judicial authorities.

3. The company is bound to introduce the most modern technical appliances into the industry.

4. The number of employees must consist at the lowest of 50 per cent. Russians.

As to production and the financial side, the following agreements have been reached:—

5. Production, which before the war reached 50,000 poods, must be raised in the course of 5 years to 160,000 poods.

6. The company has to deliver free to the Soviet Republic 10 per cent. of the produce or pay the corresponding world-mark price in foreign values. (But only the Soviet Republic has the right to choose between the national tribute and the gold payment.)

7. The company deposits 50,000 dollars as security in the State Bank.

This agreement holds for 20 years, but the Soviet Republic has the right, after 5 years, to give six months' notice to terminate the agreement and buy back the undertaking, when the plant reverts to the State for an agreed compensation. But if the agreement remains in force for 20 years, the Soviet State shall receive back the undertaking with plant, without paying compensation, and the company its deposit of 50,000 dollars.

The American capitalist secured an agreement giving him an almost completely free hand for 90 years. British Capitalism doubtless demands no less.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

The lesson given on Christmas Eve, in our hall in Glasgow, was: "The Origin of Christmas." It came as a surprise to very many of the audience to learn that the celebration of Christmas was not of Christain origin. It is one of the Ragan festivals, and mankind by common consent adopted it, because it belonged to the Invincible God Sol. It means the end of the Winter Solstice. In China it is a general holiday, and all shops are shut, the same applies to India. In Assyria and Egypt, and over the entire Eastern Continent the festival was held with great rejoicings, and also all over Europe. Even here in Britain we have account given of the natives celebrating the Noel night. They made large bonfires on the hills, and eat and drank and danced in honour of the God Sol. The first celebration by the Christains was held 190 years after the death of Jesus; but it was not until the fifth century that the Church decided to make it the statuary anniversary of the birth of Jesus. No one can tell the day, month or year on which Jesus was born; the Church decided that question in the fifth century, and we all accept it as correct.

After our lesson we had a

Naming Service (*a Christening*).

And this was the first Naming Service in this or any country of the world at a public meeting. We have them regular in our schools, but this one we wanted the proletariat to come and see it. It was a splendid service. We opened it by singing our Naming Service song, "Child of Love, our Comrade." Then a young woman of the working class walks up the centre of the hall with the child in arms and takes a chair opposite the platform. On this occasion she was a fine-looking young woman, and the baby was dressed in long white robes. At the finish of the song, the President says: "Comrades, on your behalf to-day, I name a child of the working class." And as he finishes his short address, he presents a child's drinking cup to one of the little girls of the school, and she in turn presents it to the young woman carrying the child, and at the same time kisses the child. We conclude our service by singing another verse of our Naming Service song. The parents also get a Naming Service card with the child's name entered on it, and signed by the President and Secretary as a memento of the service. The entire audience with a reverence which was grand to behold followed the service to its close with marked attention, and when the little girl kisses the child, this pent-up feeling find an outward expression in a splendid round of applause. Fellow-worker, we do these things because we are human, and our women are human; and it gives us an outlet for the expression of our feelings. The meeting closes at this point by the singing of "The International," and the President ask all the womenfolk up to see the child, and the scene then is one of great animation. It is worth seeing. May I ask, what do you see; the mass say, Nothing. Terrible! We invite you to do as we are doing, and you will grow strong, and your children will gather round, and your youth and maidens will also be there; and then we will marry them, and in course of time we will kill superstition, and set the worker free.

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A COMMUNIST SANCTUARY.

By Norman Matson.

Behind the grey, mediæval walls of the Republic of San Marino, fifty communist leaders, refugees, all live in security. Neither Italy's Government nor Hungary's can reach them there, although the little Republic can muster for their protection an army of no more than eight privates and one general. Politically independent for fourteen centuries, and with a democratic government since the "pacific revolution" of 1906, San Marino to-day, like every other country in Europe, is torn by the struggle of its Communist citizens against the anti-Communists, and signs are not wanting that before long the red flag will wave from the tesselated walls of the First, the Second and the Third Towers, high above the smooth hills of Romagna, and the blue waters of the Adriatic.

The Republic of San Marino is the oldest independent State in Europe and the smallest; the population numbers 12,000 and the frontiers enclose no more than thirty-two square miles. It is situated in Central Italy on the Adriatic slopes of the Apennines. It was founded in the fourth century by a stone-cutter named Marinus, who fled Dalmatia during the anti-Christian activities of Diocletian. He managed to negotiate the grade to the top of Mont Titan, 2,450 feet high and 15 miles from the coast, and before long pilgrims had carved a road to him, and Felicita, a Roman matron, herself a convert, gave him the mountain. There is another story, however, which is much more interesting and human. Marinus, it appears, was indeed a stone-cutter, a Dalmatian, and a Christian; but it was his wife from whom he fled, not Diocletian. This version of the story declares that Marinus, having settled in Rimini in imagined security, met his wife one day upon the street, she having just disembarked from Dalmatia, whereupon at the sight of her he ran away in a panic back into the hills, choosing in his desperation the highest, most inaccessible rock in the whole land. Finding security there, he was faced with the problem of making a living, and the establishment of a Christian mission was his successful way of meeting the difficulty. From that day to this the little realm has stood on its own sturdy legs, and to-day it has three live industries—grape-culture, stone-mining, and protecting political refugees.

There is only one route into the republic; a motor bus-line from Rimini, fourteen miles away. Rimini's white and dusty streets, busy with tanned men in long capes, women clicking their wooden slippers on the stones, white oxen moving slowly through a high old gate, soon give way to the smooth fields and regiments of stunted trees, radiating to the mountains.

Once across the frontier and on republican soil, Rimini and the blue line of the Adriatic lie far away and below; and suddenly, ahead, Mont Titan rears black against the sun, crowned with the towers of the Citta.

The bus stops a moment in the one street of the Borgo, second city of the realm (with 600 inhabitants), where the housefronts are plastered with placards saying "Citizens! For the life of the Republic subscribe generously to the National Loan!"

When we stopped at the gate of San Francesco, whose studded doors stood open, I asked a fellow-passenger where I might find an hotel. "Where?"—he smiled with evident amusement. "I will accompany you, if you wish," he said. "It is not hard to find. This is a little land." He was right, a hundred yards and the street widened into the Piazzetta, and here were the hotel, the café and a shop, and the beginnings of two other narrow ways.

My room on the fifth floor had a window looking out to the Apennines across a roof crazy with chimney-pots, and bending under the weight of old tiles. Leaving it, I turned to the left and came upon still another flight of stairs, evidently leading to the roof. I opened the door at the top and stepped out into the street!

That night in the Café Garibaldi, the Communist Party of the Republic of San Marino sat grouped around the billiard-table in conference. For seventy years the Republic has been a refuge for libertarians whose incarceration or death outraged Governments have sought in vain. Garibaldi fled to Mont Titan, as everybody knows, and thereafter there have always been one or two refugees living within the frontiers. To-day, however, there are no less than fifty. Some are socialists, some anarchists, some Communists, some republicans—engineers, writers, soldiers, orators. Less than twenty are from Hungary or elsewhere outside Italy; the rest are Italians, most of them from "Communist Bologna." The "comrades" in the home town of each *profugo* supplies him with about ten lire daily, approximately thirty-six cents. American, and he eats and sleeps well enough, though the need for news from the "outside" is acute.

Julian Hevesi, who was Commissar for the Socialisation of Industry in the short-lived Soviet Government of Hungary, is a pale, slim young man, rather clerkish in his blue serge. He talked a species of Italian which was the one language we had in common. Like all his fellows in San Marino he is not discouraged.

"What was the biggest industrial mistake made by the Soviet Government of Hungary during its existence?" I asked him. He replied without hesitation: "The abolition of piece-work in the factories. Production dropped disastrously at once, and our belated attempt to re-apply the ssytem was foredoomed to failure. Of course, our greatest failure was with the peasants. We could not persuade them to join the revolutionary army in sufficient numbers and, when food ceased to come into the cities, our organisation for the requisition of it was inefficient and ineffective."

"You would have failed then, Entente or no Entente?"

"No, had there been no interference from the outside, we should certainly have overcome the counter-revolution and firmly established the Soviet. Industrially we should have moved faster than Russia, for we had the technicians with us. But we had so little time and, what was even worse, so little room in which to retreat."

Then Hevesi began to talk of present conditions in his native land. The Government of Admiral Horthy rests upon an army of 50,000 professional soldiers, the small peasant-proprietors, the big bankers and industrialists, and the Entente. The Regent's declared programme is: "Hurrah for Christ. Down with the Jew. Return to the good old days before the war." The activities of his Government are chiefly directed to the cleaning up of *contadini*, proletariat, and petty bourgeoisie to meet the expenses of the army and of the Government. The country has been divided up into districts, each ruled over by councils of individuals equipped with power of life and death, and "expropriation proceeds in every district just as under Bela Kun's Government with the single difference that the proletarians had at least a programme, whereas Horthy's bravoes have no programme; they are army officers. 'Hurrah for Christ! Down with the Jews!' is enough for them."

That night there was a ball at the Teatro di Citta for the benefit of the *New Titan*, the Socialist publication. The theatre, on its ledge of rock, has a seating-capacity of about 600, but the grand manner, characteristic of San Marino, is not absent. The theatre is built in the old-fashioned horse-shoe plan, a pit and three tiers of boxes. There were pretty girls in red gowns, and young men with red badges, and the wheaten wreath of the Soviet on their lapels; the air was full of confetti and paper serpentines; ice-cream was served on the stage; and the Republic's band of six pieces played ragtime *alla Americano*. The proscenium arch was covered with a huge placard: "Comrades, in this hour of joy do not forget that the time of battle approaches."

In a spacious kitchen, belonging to the household of the owner of the café on the Piazzetta, with copper pans shining on the walls and a great fire-place, in the middle of which a fat black pot hung over a bit of charcoal fire, the genial secretary of the Socialist Party of the Republic, Gino Jacobini, explained San Marino's internal situation to me. The regents of the Republic in past years, he told me, had contracted with the Italian Government not to enter upon the manufacture of any commodity which in Italy is heavily taxed—alcohol, tobacco, electric globes, ect.—and, in return, the Kingdom of Italy agreed to collect the Republic's customs for her. Thus each year, from the total revenue obtained from the customs-duties by the Italian Government, is deducted the percentage obtained by dividing the total number of the population of Italy by the population of San Marino. On this income, the Republic lives well enough up to *post-bellum* times. Now it is all but bankrupt. An attempt to raise a national loan resulted after two months in obtaining 71,000 lire only—about £700. The goal is 1,000,000 lire, but if the equivalent to £2,500 is obtained, everybody will be fairly well pleased.

The government of the little Republic consists of a parliament of sixty deputies, twenty of whom are elected every three years. Every six months the parliament elects two regents: these are the country's executives. This form of government has existed since 1906. At present there are about 1,800 voters and four political parties. Last November four of the twenty new deputies were Socialists, making the chamber's total of revolutionaries eighteen. All of them refused to take their seats, for the reason that accepting office is tantamount to participating in the government of a nation ruled in a truly parliamentary manner.

While we were talking, a boy came in excited with the news that at a meeting of peasants in Serravale, a hamlet down the mountain, a debate between a Socialist and a priest, who had been arguing for the Popular Party, had ended when the latter drew an automatic from his vestments and took a shot at his opponent—doing no damage.

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BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

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HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

VII.

Marx and Engels sought the dynamic laws of history—the prime motive power of human society, which is responsible for the change of human consciousness and thought, or which causes the various social institutions and conflicts to arise, but does not originate from thought, from the Idea, from the world-reason or world-spirit, but from the material conditions of life. The material conditions favoured such a discovery: "The years during which the elements of this new conception of history were accumulating in their minds and shaping themselves into a system were involved in a revolutionary atmosphere. In 1842, England witnessed the first strike on a large scale, which threatened to extend into a general strike and bore a political revolutionary character. Between 1834-42, the first national working-class movement, that of the English Chartists, reached its height; the class-struggle came more and more to the front, the interests of Capital and Labour became more and more opposed to one another. In 1845-6, Socialism spread rapidly in France and had its reflex in Germany; the spectre of Communism was abroad in Europe."

Marx and Engels carried over the conception of historical progress through the process of antithesis from the abstract form which the Hegelian dialectics had already described in its most general features, to the concrete explanation of the class struggle, and in this historic movement where it had been supposed that we observed the passage of one form of idea to another form, they saw for the first time the transition from one form of social anatomy to another, that is, from one form of economic production to another.

While on the one hand the new doctrine of historic materialism had to contend with the "idealism" of Hegel, it was confronted, on the other hand, with the necessity of refuting the false doctrines of the crude materialists. The latter attempted to extend to human history the laws and manners of thinking which had appeared suitable to the study and explanation of the material and animal world. Thus man, like the animal, underwent only such modifications as resulted from adaptation to the environment in consequence of the immediate struggle for existence. Marx and Engels were opposed to the doctrines of mechanical materialism, because it failed to take into acount the fact that men can change their environment.

The outstanding features of the new doctrine were:

1. The recognition that man is a social animal, and, as such, is the product of his social relations.

2. That at the basis of all human activities lies the need for satisfaction of certain elementary needs, which, in their turn, give rise to others in their upward development, and that for the satisfaction of their needs men invent and employ certain tools and associate themselves in certain definite fashions. Thus, according to this doctrine, history is the work of man, in so far as man can create and improve his instruments of labour, and with these instruments can create an artificial environment whose complicated effects react later upon himself, and which, by its present state and its successive modifications, is the occasion and the condition of his development.

The new doctrine became ever clearer in the minds of its authors, and took on a more perfect form in proportion as a study of the objective conditions revealed the true nature of the social make-up. Thus, as far back as 1845, in "The Holy Family," Marx and Engels exposed the crude materialistic doctrine, pointing out that the Utopias of Fourier and Baboeuf were it's logical development.

In "The Poverty of Philosophy," written in 1847 by Marx, there is a closer approach than in "The Holy Family"; "The hand-mill creates a society with the Feudal lord; the steam-mill a society with the industrial capitalist; the same men who establish social relations in conformity with their material production, also create principles, ideas, categories in conformity with their social relations; all such ideas and categories are, therefore, historical and transitory products."

Finally, the doctrine found its most perfect expression in the Communist Manifesto, in which, starting out with the Materialist Conception of History as the basis, the authors point out that the laws of capitalist society point with inexorable necessity to Communism as the next phase in human evolution.

Charles Brower.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION OF THE I.W.W.

By Gunnar Soderberg

During my travels round the world, I have come into contact with many a branch and many an administration of the I.W.W. in different countries. I have found some of them full of life and revolutionary spirit, ready to do anything for the sake of the organisation and emancipation of the working class.

The administrations of the I.W.W. are established in nearly all countries: South America and Mexico, Sweden and Norway, Australia and Africa, as well as other countries. And those that are virile and full of life, are working like hell for their final goal, namely, the abolition of wage-slavery and the creation of a new society, a free society, or, in other words, Industrial Communism. But, on the other hand, I find there are administrations which are so apathetic as to appear to be either asleep or dead, and among those that are fast asleep, the British administration is No 1, and an excellent No. 1 that. I have never come across such a sleepy bunch of "Wobblies," yet (I suppose they are "Wobblies," for that is what they call themselves and that is what they claim to be). They are so much asleep that I fear nothing short of an earthquake will awaken them, or even produce as much as a stir among them to show that they are not absolutely dead and cold.

When one thinks of what the "Wobblies" have sacrificed, and what they have endured for the movement in other countries, especially in America and South America, it makes one's blood boil to hear this outfit in England calling themselves "Wobblies," and to hear them claim to be so.

One of the slogans of the I.W.W. is: "An injury to one is an injury to all." One would hardly think so when one contemplates this bunch in London who call themselves the British administration of the I.W.W. We have, to-day, two of our Fellow Workers awaiting death by the electric chair in Massachusetts, U.S.A., condemned for a crime which they never committed, condemned simply because they were enemies of the master class, condemned because they had aroused the hatred of the master class through their activities in the I.W.W. These two Fellow Workers are Sacco and Vanzetti. Protests against this injustice are pouring in from all parts of the world. Have we heard anything from the British Administration of the I.W.W.? Have we ever seen them or heard them from a platform protesting against this injustice? No! We have not, and we are not likely to hear them either.*

The I.W.W., who ought to have been the first to protest, have done nothing, absolutely nothing in the matter, or for that matter, in any other. What are they doing, then? Their time is fully occupied in criticising others who are really trying to do something, and can prove that they have already done something in this great class struggle. If Sacco and Vanzetti had depended upon the British Administration of the I.W.W. they would have been in their graves long ago.

In America to-day the "Wobblies" are undergoing sentences of from one to fourteen years' hard labour for selling their literature on the streets. Hundreds and hundreds have been thrown into gaol, simply because they were members of the IW.W. Two years ago, Fellow Worker Everitt was lynched by a mob for the Organisation. Frank Little and hundreds of others have sacificed their lives for the I.W.W. Six years ago Joe Hill faced a firing squad in the prison yard of Salt Lake City and gave his life for his share of the activities of the I.W.W. From his dying lips came those brave words to the workers of the world: "Don't mourn for me but ORGANISE."

Is the I.W.W. in London responding to those words? No! They are not, and I do not think they ever will.

Over two hundred rebels are to-day doing from five to twenty-five years in the insanitary dungeons of U.S.A. "Remember we are in here for you, and you're out there for us." That is their message from gaol to those of you who are outside, including you of the British administration. Have you done anything to show that they are conscious of that fact? No! Not a bit! Instead of protesting against this class injustice by organisation and education of the slaves on the industrial field, you are doing nothing but telling other people and parties and organisations who are really doing their bit, that their programmes are wrong and that they are doing nothing for the working class.

Fellow Workers don't you think you could do better than that? Don't you think it is time that you tried to do something yourselves in the way of making a move to try and live up to the programme and preamble of your organisation, the Industrial Workers of the World, which you claim to represent? If you are the Red Revolutionary men you claim to be, why, oh, why, don't you show it? It is time for you to act, and time for you to cut out all your foolish criticism of the different organisations and parties who have their hearts and souls in the revolutionary movement of this country. If you intend to continue your present policy, you had better return your Charter to Chicago and get old man Sammy Gompers to give you one from one of his dying branches. With your present policy, you are driving members away instead of getting them to enrol, and if you do not make a move quickly you will discover that the management of even a fish shop would be extremely difficult work for you to do; so difficult, in fact, that the colossal task of running the land after the overthrow of Capitalism will never be within your power.

Fellow Workers of the I W.W. British Administration, let me make an appeal to your real class-consciousness. Arouse yourselves from your deep apathy; be real live members of the Organisation whose name is known throughout the world as the greatest and best kind of industrial organisation that ever was. Be true to those who have given their lives for the emancipation of their class. The day is coming, Fellow Workers, get ready for it. Remember Joe Hill's last message: "Don't mourn for me, but ORGANISE."

* A group of I.W.W. members are now organising some protest demonstrations.

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FOUNDED 1914.
Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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Vol. VIII. No. 42. Saturday, Dec. 31, 1921.

AROUND THE WORLD.

Germany Stil' To Pay.

A week ago the air was full of declarations that Germany could not meet the war reparations payments, and if she did, she could only do so in kind and would therefore add to the slump in British trade. Winston Churchill was leading the chorus. All sorts of rumours ran through the Press as to Lloyd George's most kindly intentions towards Germany.

When, however, the Labour Party waited upon him to urge a moratorium for Germany, to improve the international situation and thus reduce the British trade depression and gradually find more work for the unemployed, Lloyd George coolly repudiated and ridiculed the suggestion that Germany should be excused payment of the indemnity or given any substantial accommodation.

Meanwhile Germany had declared her inability to meet the payments required of her, and immediately afterwards appeared a suggestion in *The Times* that the Allies should exercise their power to control German finances, to dictate her taxation and the expenditure of her revenue.

Is this what will finally happen?

In spite of Lloyd George's answer to the Labour Party, the *Daily Herald*, trustful *Daily Herald*, continues saying it is the naughty French, through their spokesman, Briand, who have prevented the Good Lloyd George from allowing Germany a moratorium, and that Briand gained his point by threatening to resign, in which case Lloyd George would have to deal with President Poincaré, and, of course, that would be so much worse! Why it should be worse may be difficult to discover for Briand appears quite indistinguishable in his policy from the other French capitalist militarists; but he was once a Socialist, and if the French Socialists were so far in the ascendant as to have a chance of forming a Government, Briand would doubtless come back to the fold. Therefore, the conventions of Parliamentary politics insist that he shall be regarded as better, from the workers' standpoint, than those who have never marched behind the Red Flag.

Briand's Startling View.

Briand is credited with startling opinions concerning the International situation. He is said to be greatly concerned about the prospects of international Capitalism, so much so that he is quoted privately as saying that unless international Capitalism can bring about the reconstruction of Europe on an improved and more efficient capitalist basis within the next two or three years, we are likely to see a spread of Bolshevism throughout Europe.

It should be noted that Briand by no means welcomes the latter alternative, but fears it: therefore, if this version of his opinions is correct, his determination to maintain big armies in France and Poland is doubtless connected with his desire to prevent the spread of Bolshevism. If Briand takes the above-mentioned view of the situation, it is a sign that Communists should bestir themselves, for Briand is one who sees behind the scenes of Government.

The Anti-British Boycott.

The boycott of British goods and the British administration, which first became efficient in Ireland, has taken a firm hold both in India and Egypt, and now it is beginning in China, as the Vienna branch of *Rosta*, the Soviet News Agency, reports. The Egyptians are just now on fire against the British Government domination, and the Government forces are repressing them with a murderous hand.

Such incidents as the firing upon the crowds at Port Said and Cairo, on December 26th, and the threat of the British Commandant, which perhaps by now has been carried out, to drop bombs upon the people in the streets, show that the recurrent horrors of capitalist-imperialist rule are quite equal to the temporary outbursts attendant on revolution. Such methods of procuring obedience to Imperialist rule were successful in the past, but now that the dependent peoples have learnt to organise industrially and to practice the boycott, they are dangerous weapons for an absentee Imperialist Power to play with. Certainly they serve to enhance the solidarity and determination of the subject people.

IRELAND.

If the Downing Street Treaty with Ireland be ratified by Dail Eireann, black flags will be hung out on that day; for the Irish people will regard it as a sad, humiliating compromise of the stand for a completely independent Irish Republic. In so far as the Irish agree to ratification, they do so only because they see themselves faced with a stronger Power which threatens a war of extermination.

It may be that even if the Treaty be ratified, a minority will refuse to submit. If that happens, the minority will meet with the same abuse and persecution that was the portion of the rebels of Easter week. Nevertheless, since the rebels will represent the actual wishes of the majority, they will gradually win, if they persevere, the sympathy and assistance, either openly or secretly given, of the mass of the Irish people.

The Irish Communist Party has issued a manifesto which declares:—

"The Communist Party swears no allegiance to the Free State: will not be faithful to King George. We repudiate with scorn and hatred, common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain as she now is. We denounce as a fraud and a mockery the British Commonwealth of Nations. The only true Commonwealth of Nations is the World Federation of Workers' Republics. Only as a unit of such a World Federation, can Ireland achieve her freedom."

Meanwhile, on January 1st, the Irish employers have given notice to terminate all agreements with the workers on hours and wages. A great effort will be made to force down the standard of living. Shall we see a general strike in Ireland? Shall we see an Irish Commune?

THE UNEMPLOYMENT DEADLOCK.

The deadlock in the British local government system, which has arisen through unemployment and underpayment of the employed workers, grows more and more acute.

At a meeting of South Wales Labour members of local authorities, it was disclosed that £250,000 is being paid weekly to the unemployed, that 50,000 colliers are out of work and 50,000 on short time, that the average wage of those employed in the mine is no more than £2 a week, and that 30,000 people, other than aliens, are also unemployed.

Councillors and Guardians may strike without finding the larder empty. We have advised them continually that they are powerless to assist the workers under he present system and had better frankly admit it and refuse to administer the capitalist machinery of local government.

The workers are also powerless under the present system. Their mission is not to strike, but to take control.

RUSSIAN NEWS.

Private Employers break Labour Laws.

At a special session of the Council of People's Tribunals, it was complained that certain employers extend the working day to 12 or even 16 hours, that they pay less than the prescribed wages, fail to engage workers through the Labour Exchange, and neglect to pay the Insurance contribution.

On December 14th, an employer for breach of the Labour regulations, was sentenced to pay 150 million roubles and his factory is to be given to the Food Workers' Union.

Six other employers were ordered to pay 50,000,000 roubles or, in default, a year's forced labour. Ten were sentenced to six months' forced labour.

Bringing back the private employer is evidently not a success! Why not have called in the workers in the first instance?

Women's Work.

Alexandra Kollontay, writing in *Isvestia*, complains of the crowding out of the working woman by men, even where the interests of production demand nothing of the kind. Thus, not only the number of persons living on others (husband's) is increased, but another phenomenon comes to light which is utterly unpermissible in a Soviet State, to wit, that women have to work under less favourable condtions than men. In many institutions, for example, in military ones, the men workers get working clothing and the women workers do not. This inequality in treatment may also be carried into the Communist Party; the number of women exercising public functions will diminish. Such a situation is quite impermissible. The Workers' State must see to it that all citizens work equally. It is therefore necesary to take measures to regulate the question of women's work. This question will have to be solved by the Ninth Soviet Congress.

Russian Budget, 1922.

The estimated revenue is 1,671,940,780 gold roubles, and the expenditure 1,827,117,0[illegible] gold roubles.

Agricultural Machinery.

The American Harvester Company proposes to supply the need of Siberia in agricultural machinery in return for raw material stored in the provincial co-operatives.

Intervention Policy.

The *Revaler Bote* learns that the Governments of Poland, Roumania, Esthonia and Lettland have instructed their representatives in Geneva to support the actions of the Finnish Government with the League of Nations in the question of the band raids into East Karelia.

CHINA AND SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Chinese representative at the Washington Conference has stated that China cannot come on justice whilst she remains weak, and only on agreement with Soviet Russia and the re-organisation of the Chinese army can help China.

Rosta reports that the Chinese people are angry because the Washington Conference has failed to recognise China's sovereign rights. In Shanghai a protest demonstration lasted ten hours, and a section demanded the overthrow of Capitalism and private property.

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THE ART OF SIDE-STEPPING.

By "WOBBLY."

Seldom have we seen such a display in the art of side-stepping as was indulged in by the revolutionary industrialists and the Communist Party in the recent upheaval of the Marine Trade Unionists, against the to-be-pensioned-off Have-the-lot Wilson (*vide* the *Communist*).

Judging from the spirit of the rank and file and their apparent disgust at the result, it is not likely that such a cowardly shirking of a revolutionary necessity will happen again.

Months and months, nay, years of "One Big Union" propaganda has been directed to the slaves of the sea, until it became a watchword of the most servile and apathetic seafarer, and when the chance of promoting an industrial Marine Union—which would take a fighting attitude towards the Boss Shipowners and Trade Union leaders—came, the industrial fighters nimbly side-stepped and chuckled at their cleverness in evading the blow. "Oh, for a new white hope!"

Now, you side-steppers, tell the world that the writer is not an internationalist. Once more we take our brace and bit and begin to bore anew into the same rotten old structure but unfortunately for the short-sighted slaves, with a new coat of paint covering its rottenness. In a few short months, the "boxers from within" will find themselves once more "bored right out" and looking round for a new organisation to resume boring operations. Ultimately they will join the Borers' Union.

As the pressure by the reactionary officials of the N.S. & F.U. began to force a protest from the rank and file, there grew up a body which concentrated the protests into a concrete organisation: the Seamen's Vigilance Committee. Day in and day out the "Vigies" brought to the notice of the rank and file the audacious robberies and autocracies of the King of the Fo'castle—Grab-the-lot Wilson. Day in and day out, they pressed forward for a reconstruction of the Union, and subsequent events made them draw aside the veil and look to the growing light of the O.B.U. The rank and file were as so much clay in the potters' hands and could be moulded at will.

Week after week the "Vigies" stormed and battered at the Citadel of Trade Union autocracy and they shook it to its foundations; and with what result? That eventually, instead of placing before the seamen the only form of organisation that could aid them in their fight, the Communists in the "Vigies" flustered the rank and file by talking of ships, ports, divisional and national committees, which were to operate in the most reactionary Union in the country. The rank and file took to heart the criticism of the Union and naturally expected something which was to further the fight, as seamen, they wanted to fight, but no! wait until we can constitutionally vote out the leaders, vote in new rules, vote this and vote that. These are the rebels who oppose constitutional Trade Unionism.

What was the position of the Communist Party over this *debacle*? The obvious duty of the Party was to help and instruct the seamen to build up the fighting organisation which would wage the Class War in no indefinite manner; to fight the reactionary tools of Capitalism, who are posing as Trade Unionists, and to aid the toiling masses to go forward to a conscious realisation of the Class Struggle. On the contrary, we find that in the early struggles of the seamen, in answer to an article in the *Communist* calling for such an organisation, a bitter and useless tirade against the I.W.W., finishing up with the startling proposal "that the N.S. & F.U. should be captured and Havelock Wilson should be pensioned off, this being the best investment the seamen could make."

One can understand anæmic I.L.P.-ers buying the capitalists out, but the organ of the C.P. buying the most treacherous Labour fakir of today out, is certainly "going some." But officially, the C.P. definitely allied itself to the "boring from within" policy and changing the Union by constitutional means.

With a benign smile and a playful pat on the shoulder, it encouraged the "Vigies" to go ahead. In Liverpool especially, the C.P. gave its aid to the seamen in an endeavour to overthrow the power of Havelock and the Liverpool district officials, but not by any intriguing or by a swift and sudden blow. The policy of the Communist Party was faithfully carried out: to rally the mass of the seamen to vote at branch meetings, to elect "Vigies" to the annual conference, to bring forward resolutions for the agenda of the annual conference. In short, to be honest according to Trade Union morals.

On the other hand, the Trade Union officials used every mean and treacherous device against the C.P. and the "Vigies"; lies spread broadcast, spies and traitors introduced into the ranks, hired thugs to batter the revolting seamen, and still the policy of the "Vigies" remained like "little Eric"—open and honest. But underneath, something was occuring, despite the warnings in the columns of the *Communist* of the unholy Trinity of Wilson, Shinwell, and M'Gee, the Communists went steadily forward, blind to ripples in the Trade Union waters.

Suddenly, so suddenly, that the Communists were nonplussed, one of the most inveterate enemies of Communism came forward—Shifty Shinwell—with a One Big Union, and moving behind the scenes, "Order-of-the-Red-Banner Williams"; the very thing that the Communists were opposed to, and, willy-nilly, the Communists had to join hand in hand with their deadly enemy, an enemy more deadly than Havelock, who openly declares his adherence to the capitalist system. Here we see clearly the duty of the Communists: that is, to have worked day and night, watching all attempts of the unholy Trinity to bamboozle the workers, and to have come out definitely with a revolutionary industrial Union for seafarers.

Obviously, if Shinwell and Co. can do it, the revolutionaries should have been in the position to spring into the field before them and to show the workers the real fighting organisation. The slaves who were intelligent enough to grasp the idea of the O.B.U., but not intelligent enough to realise that it was useless going ahead, when the most intelligent had been forced to go hand in hand with Shinwell—owing to the vagaries of the C.P.—still went blundering on with the medley collection of all sorts of marine workers, and eventually those seamen will be so sickened with the Cubist One Big Union policy that they will throw up in disgust and go back to Havelock. Only when the industrialists refuse to be gulled by this, that, or any professional revolutionist, will they be able to act in a "realist" manner and plank down before the workers a straightforward fighting policy, unadulterated by theoretical tactics. Despite the wavering and theorising of the politician, the workers will one day wake up.

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

ERRATUM.

In Lesson V, read "dudeko," instead of "kvardeko," *a score.*

Lesson VI.

We have seen that the suffix IN marks the feminine.

Viro, *man*, Virino, *woman*, amiko, *friend*, amikino, *woman friend*, ŝafo, *sheep*, ŝafino, *ewe*.

We have also seen that OBL and ON added to the names of numbers, make multiples and fractions of them: duobla, *double*; duona, *half*. Here are a few more suffixes; AD denotes repetition or continuance: Pafo, *a shot*; pafado, *a fusilade*; rigardo, *a look*; rigardado, *a stare*; montri, *to show*; montradi, *to display*.

AN denotes a member, citizen, or partisan: klubo, *club*, klubano, *member of club*; Londono, *London*, Londonano, *Londoner*; ideo, *idea*, samideano, *one with same idea* (*comrade*).

AR denotes quantity, or crowd: Arbo, *tree*, arbaro, *forest*; ŝafo, *sheep*, ŝafaro, *flock of sheep*, knabo, *boy*, knabaro, *crowd of boys*.

EBL denotes possibility: Legi, *to read*, legebla, *legible*; vidi, *to see*, videbla, *visible*; rumpi, *to break*, rompebla, *breakable*.

EC denotes quality: bona, *good*, boneco, *goodness*; granda, *great*; grandeco, *greatness*; matura, *ripe*, matureco, *ripeness*.

EJ denotes a place: preĝi, *to pray*; preĝejo, *a church*; lerni, *to learn*, lernejo, *a school*; kuiri, *to cook*, kuirejo, *a kitchen*.

EM denotes a tendency, a propensity: lerni, *to learn*, lernema, *inclined to learn*; muziko, *music*, muzikema, *musical* (*person*); ŝercema, *a joke*, ŝercema, *jocular*.

ESTR denotes chief or master: ŝipo, *ship*, ŝipestro, *ship-captain*; lernejo, *school*, lernejestro, *headmaster*; hotelo, *hotel*, hotelestro, *hotel-keeper*.

IG denotes causing, or forcing: morti, *to die*, mortigi, *to kill*; dormi, *to sleep*, dormigi, *to put to sleep*; manĝi, *to eat*, manĝigi, *to feed*.

IĜ denotes to become: kolero, *anger*, koleriĝi, *to become angry*; malgranda, *small*, malgrandiĝi, *to become smaller*; laca, *tired*, laciĝi, *to become tired*. Note here that koleri and lacigi, without accents, would mean *to make angry*, and *weary*.

IST denotes a profession: dento, *a tooth*, dentisto, *a dentist*; kuiri, *to cook*, kuiristo, *cook*, or *chef* (kuiristino, would be *a woman cook*).

EXERCISE.

Mi vidis du virojn kaj tri virinojn kun ŝafaro, ili kolere mortigis unu ŝafon, kaj mi malĝoje ĝin vidis.

Kvar samideanoj iris kun amikinoj al arbaron,* ili kuiris kokinon kaj ĝin manĝis kun pano en la arbaro.*

* *The place to which one goes is in the accusative, but the place wherein one rests or acts, remains in the nominative.*

La lernejestrino kaj la knabinoj de la granda lernejo legis du malgrandajn librojn dum la vojaĝo (*during the voyage*).

La patrino laciĝas sed la muziko lin ĝojos eble. (Eble *means possibly, the suffixes can often be used alone*, ANO *can mean a companion, and* ADO, *a crowd*).

La preĝejo estis pli granda ol la hotelo.

La ŝipestro dormis en la hotelo sed la dentisto legis la ĵurnalon.

La bona varma vetero maturigos la fruktojn (*fruits*) la pomojn (*apples*) kaj la pirojn (*pears*).

Parolu ĝentile kaj gaje, Samideano, sed ne rigardadu kaj ne tro ŝercu.

La boneco kaj la grandeco estas fratinoj.

(*To be continued.*)

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GALLACHER'S REVOLUTION.

Right About Face.

There has been a revolution in the views of Comrade William Gallacher since he went to Moscow last year. When he arrived in the Russian capital, he was greeted by Lenin's booklet, "The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism," in which appeared the following quotation from Gallacher's own writings:—

"This Council (Scottish Workers' Committee) is definitely anti-Parliamentarian and has behind it the Left Wing of the various political bodies.

"We represent the revolutionary movement in Scotland, striving continually to build up a revolutionary organisation within the industries, and a Communist Party based on Social Committees, throughout the country. For a considerable time we have been sparring with the official Parliamentarians. We have not considered it necessary to declare open warfare on them, and they are afraid to open an attack upon us.

"But this state of affairs cannot continue long. We are winning all along the line. The rank and file of the I.L.P. in Scotland is becoming more and more disgusted with the thought of Parliament, and the Soviets, or Workers' Councils, are being supported by almost every branch.

"This is very serious, of course, for the gentlemen who look to politics for a profession, and they are using any and every means to persuade their members to come back into the Parliamentary fold. Revolutionary comrades must not give any support to this gang. Our fight here is going to be a difficult one. One of the worst features of it will be the treachery of those whose personal ambition is a more compelling force than their regard for the Revolution.

"Any support given to Parliamentarism is simply assisting to put power into the hands of our Scheidemanns and Noskes. Henderson, Clynes & Co. are hopelessly reactionary. The official I.L.P. is coming more and more under the control of middle-class Liberals, who, since the rout of the Liberal Party, have found their spiritual homes in the camp of Messrs. MacDonald, Snowden & Co. The official I.L.P. is bitterly hostile to the Third International, the rank and file is for it. Any support to the Parliamentary opportunists is simply playing into the hands of the former.

"What is wanted here is a sound, revolutionary, industrial organisation, and a Communist Party working along clear, well-defined scientific lines. If our comrades can assist us in building these, we will take their help gladly; if they cannot, for God's sake let them keep out of it altogether, lest they betray the Revolution by lending their support to the reactionaries, who are so eagerly clamouring for Parliamentary 'honours'" (the query belongs to the author of the letter), and who are so anxious to prove that they can rule as effectively as the 'boss' class politicians themselves."

Gallacher was undaunted by Lenin's criticism of his policy and in the final debate of the Second Congress of the Third International, he and Sylvia Pankhurst were chosen by the Conference as the two "Left Wing" speakers to oppose Lenin and the majority who supported the "Right Wing" standpoint.

Gallacher was then opposed to the Labour Party affiliation and to Parliamentary action. It is notorious that he scouted orthodox Trade Unionism and was an upholder of the Workers' Committee Movement.

He was, however, honestly impressed with Lenin's appeal for Communist unity, with the Russian Communist Party, and with things in Soviet Russia generally. He came back, having promised that he would do his best to secure Communist unity.

Participation in the united Party, with its pro-Parliamentary-pro-Labour-Party-pro-Trade-Union majority appears completely to have changed William Gallacher: a revolution has taken place in his mind, and the result is that, in the *Communist* of December 24th, an altogether new Gallacher emerges under the ill-omened heading "Are We Realists?" Gallacher and J. R. Campbell write:—

"To us, the Labour Party is neither the Parliamentary group, nor the Union bureaucrats who dominate the Party for the time being, but all the workers in the affiliated Unions, except the Liberal working men and Tory working men, and mean working men who refuse to pay the political levy. The class content of the Labour Party is proletarian. . . . To unconditionally repudiate affiliation to the Labour Party because of its defects, leads to the most pitifully barren sectarianism. It brings one close to the position of the bewildered theoreticians of the "Three and a Half International," whose immaculate Communist Parties and theoretically beautiful, but politically impotent, industrial unions are no more a menace to Capitalism than is the Primrose League."

By the "Three and a Half International" the writers, of course, mean the Fourth.

W. Gallacher and J. R. Campbell have, indeed, receded from their attitude of 1920, as some pages of *The Worker* can testify.

We prefer the Gallacher of 1920, who said he did not like the Parliamentary-Labour Party-Trade Union policy of Moscow, but would bow to it for the sake of unity as long as it remained a majority policy, and in the meantime would strive to change it for the "Left Wing" policy he now decries.

Lenin advised us to form a Left Block with the Gallacher of 1920. Where is that Gallacher now?

(Oh, Comrade Lenin, with your tortuous Eastern tactics, you are corrupting these simple Westerners, who do not understand you, and whose metal is softer than yours!)

"The all-important and immediate question [say these converts to Parliamentarism] is, what is to be the attitude of the Communist Party to the Labour Party in the event of a General Election being sprung upon the country? The Party must give a decision on this. . . . Now the lead that is given must depend on the political situation at the time."

The last sentence seems very much like hedging, or waiting for the majority cat to jump. Apparently, though the Party "must give a decision," W. Gallacher and J. R. Campbell have not made up their minds to take up a definite position, from which they will not be able to creep out, if the Party (beg pardon), the political situation should turn out to be determinedly hostile to it. Nevertheless, they have really fallen into line with William Paul and the others, who mean to support the Labour Party. They say:—

"Are we going to look on the Labour Party as a working class organisation with many defects . . . or are we to treat it as a bourgeoisie, or semi-bourgeoisie political organisation, and, as such, come out into the open and fight against it? . . . We take our stand by the proposition that the Labour Party is a part of the working class movement and a part that the Communist Party will have to influence and sooner or later . . . lead and direct if ever it hopes to carry through the Revolution."

This, of course, is precisely the opposite to what Gallacher and Campbell were preaching recently. The question is whether their change of attitude is a progression or a retrogression. We are convinced that it is a retrogression.

The writers go on to ask "how Communists may best support the Labour Party and at the same time keep their identity clear before the masses." Our answer is: it cannot be done. Their answer is that, firstly, they must "call upon the workers to support the Labour Party at the General Election as a working class party *struggling against Capitalism*." The Labour Party, however, is not struggling *against* Capitalism. It is struggling to *reconcile* Labour and Capital.

The next thing, according to Gallacher and Campbell, is to analyse and try to improve the Labour Party programme and to draw attention to such proposals as work or maintenance for the unemployed.

It seems that Gallacher and Campbell would have the Party continue to immerse itself in the old struggle for palliatives, in which the energy of the earlier Socialists was dissipated. The improvements which the last generation of Socialists secured, at the cost of sinking direct propaganda for Socialism, have largely been lost during the war and its aftermath.

Gallacher and Campbell recommend that the Communist Party Executive should review the Labour Party candidates and direct that the Party give special support to Labour Party candidates "who, though they weren't Communists, could be depended on to take a true proletarian stand on most questions."

Where are such candidates to be found? Colonel Will Thorne, ex-B.S.P., was one of the plebs; where is he now? Clynes, Barnes, Henderson, Roberts, J. H. Thomas were all of the proletariat, but they were not Communists. Where are they now?

The writers continue:—

"One thing is imperative. The Executive Committee must definitely decide for or against general support being given to the Labour Party. It will then be the duty of the E.C. to issue instructions in accordance with such a decision. . . . It will equally be the duty of every Communist to see that these instructions are carefully carried out."

Not much democracy about the ideas of Gallacher and Campbell as to the running of a Communist Party! If the Executive has not been instructed by the Party as to whether the Party is to give "general support to the Labour Party," surely a Party conference should be called to decide the point.

But the fact is, it is a sham battle that is being fought in the columns of the *Communist*. The Communist Party has received orders from Russia to support the Labour Party, and the Executive means to obey those orders.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has no policy of its own; it is wandering about in a quagmire, trying to apply a policy made in Russia to a set of conditions to which Russian policy is inapplicable.

The Third International has made appalling blunders in Western Europe: blunders which it could not have made if the West European Communists had possessed a courageous and definite and well-conceived revolutionary policy.

In France it has made a Communist leader of Cachin, who supported the capitalist war and even went as a French Government propagandist to drag Italy into the war.

In Britain it drives the Communists into co-operation with the Social Pacifists of the *Daily Herald*, and orders it to subordinate itself to the Social Patriotic Labour Party.

If other forces were not at work, we should have to say good-bye to the proletarian revolution.

COMRADE NORAH SMYTH will speak on her experiences in Russia. Organisations should apply by letter to 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

The Editorial "at home" in the *Dreadnought* Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, will not take place this month.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

South African Communists Join Fourth.

The Communist Party (non-Parliamentary) has decided to join the Fourth International. The Party is doing well and holding regular weekly meetings, unlike the Parliamentary Communist Party, which had not met for six weeks. A successful gathering to celebrate the Russian Revolution was held on the anniversary by the Fourth Internationalists.

South African Labour Party.

Things are going badly with the Labour Party and Trade Unions of South Africa. Comrade A. B. Dunbar writes:—

"We are seeing a complete breakdown of the labour organisations. The Industrial Federation is finished. The South African Labour Party Club furniture was sold by the sheriff to-day. These things, to my mind, all point to the decay of the system. They were its bulwark and had to go before its shell collapsed. We have one or two minor strikes in progress, and the possibility of a big upheaval presently."

GERMANY.

By Our K.A.P.D. Correspondent.

Conference of Communist Workers' Youth.

From November 19th to 21st the Young Communist Workers held their second General Conference. The agenda included the following items:—

Political world situation.

Relations between Young Communist Workers and Communist Workers' Party.

Report on the second Congress of the Young Communist International and the attitude of the Young Communist Workers' thereto.

Communist Youth and the A.A.U. (General Workers' Union).

Organisation.

Program.

Political World Situation.

The discussion on the political world situation may be summarised as follows: Two great classes in human society struggle for supremacy: capital and labour. Belonging to the latter class we regard the world naturally from our domain of interest. The world-war, which arose from the struggle between various capitalist groups for new markets of consumption, may be regarded as the death-struggle —the execution of capital. But capital wants to save its profits. The needs of human beings are of no consequence to the capitalists. Production is being reduced in order to make more profit out of less commodities.

Capital re-constructs itself in new forms which before the war were regarded as phantastic, viz., anti-national and considerably concentrated. Examples of that are capitalist "patronising" of countries with a low currency and international trusts.

The State through the war become unreliable and expensive, is gradually being abolished by the institution of independent political-military organs of power. Capital falls back on itself and secures its strongholds.

The proletariat watches these events silently. It is spell-bound by bourgeois legality. It lacks class-consciousness. As long as we have not succeeded in convincing the workers in considerable numbers, we cannot think of the final struggle, although we must continue to take advantage of useful situations.

In any case, the "theory of the revolutionary offensive" laid to our door by the K.P.D. does not comply with the demands of the fight.

Lenin's "new departure" proves to us only too distinctly the bourgeois character of the Russian Revolution, which in consequence of the failure of the world revolution, had to set in. We cannot stand by and see proletarians performing slave-labour for Soviet Russia. Thus the three Moscow International have met their doom, although they are still to-day holy images to those who submissively perform some work of re-construction.

Relation of the Y.C.W. to the Communist Workers' Party.

The Conference adopted the following theses:—

In the epoch of the acute struggle for power and during the first period after having taken over the same the creation of the greatest possible fighting force among the revolutionary part of the proletariat is the first preliminary condition for its victory.

From this arises the necessity of the revolutionary workers uniting without distinction of occupation, sex or age, into one class organisation. This has found its organisational expression in the General Workers' Union.

The by far greater part of the proletarians united in the Union (A.A.U.) has certainly the desire for revolution, but, owing to its class position, no clear Communist conception of the nature of development of the class-struggle, which, however, is necessary for expounding the precise aims and objects for the time being of the proletarians.

This circumstance demands the gathering of the clearest and furthest advanced in the Union in order to point out, as occasion arises, the need for the class-struggle demonstration for the time being in order to give expression thereto in the Union, that is to say, to carry its numbers to a practical issue. This gathering of the forces of the advance guard has taken place in the K.A.P. (Communist Workers' Party); it is the political organisation of the entire proletariat.

The psychological peculiarities of the growing generation demand special methods of enlightenment, and for that purpose the uniting of the most progressive and active part of the Young Communist Workers.

This uniting finds its organisational expression in the Young Communist Workers, it is the political organisation of the young proletariat, as the K.A.P. is that of the entire proletariat.

The struggle for the interests of the young workers can only be the struggle for the power of the working class.

The political organisation of the proletarian youth, the Young Communist Workers, must therefore not confine itself to their narrow questions alone, but must participate in the problems of the entire proletariat, that means, in those of the K.A.P.D., because they are at the same time those of the Communist youth.

The participation of the Young Communist Workers in fixing the principles and activities of the class-struggle takes place through the consideration of all questions of the K.A.P.D., through taking part in their meetings, through active assistance and the right of joint decision in all questions outside organisational matters in proportion to the members of the Y.C.W. present.

If in this way the fundamental principles and tactics of the Communist Workers' élite are fixed on the basis of the fullest equality of rights maintained by the parts embracing it, the self-understood centralisation of the fight demands equal duties; the unanimous carrying through of the resolutions for both organisations.

This central discipline lasts so long as equal principles unite the K.A.P.D. and Young Communist Workers. If in the course of time such differences of principles between the majority of the K.A.P. arise, it can only have a split in the two organisations as a consequence, and the grouping resulting therefrom would be the same as to-day, namely, equal principles demand common action.

Community of effort between Y.C.W. and K.A.P. ceases at the point where for the Y.C.W. the special objects of Communist Youth—for the sake of which its exists at all—commence. Though these objects can, of course, only be solved within the bounds of the united struggle of the workers, that is to say, within the bounds of the principles and tactics of the Communist Workers' élite, they nevertheless are dependent upon the circumstances within the young proletariat itself.

The organisational independence of the A.A.U., in so far as it is not dependent upon the principles and tactics of the Communist Workers' élite, is necessary for the purpose of methodical propaganda among the young.

The maintenance of these relations between Party and Y.C.W. without friction is an evolutionary process in which the most advanced elements in the Y.C.W. push aside the ideology of "independence" still existing owing to tradition, and in the course of which the most advanced of the K.A.P. will eradicate the conservatism still existing in their ranks toward the young.

Ideally it would be correct, if the Y.C.W. members were such of the K.A.P., in order—as in the A.A.U. —to be loosely drafted together for the purpose of methodical work of enlightenment among the young. But just for the sake of this the independent organisation of the young is still necessary. Only for this one reason! As in the question of centralisation one branch of the Party can only be "autonomous" in matters concerning the branch, and everything else beyond the bound of the branch is subject to the control of all branches, just so the Y.C.W. are only in respect of "Work of Youth" independent, and all beyond that are matters for the whole K.A.P., which embraces groups of every age. It is, of course, necessary, after the necessity of the united struggle has been complied with by subjecting the members of the Y.C.W. to the organisational discipline of the K.A.P., to give expression to this fact in an organisationally formal way, thus: to maintain, on the part of the Y.C.W. members, the right of participation in deciding all questions of the K.A.P. outside those appertaining to organisation.

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

Dear Comrade,—Although I see in the present Communist movement many unhealthy signs, I believe they are purely temporary, and simply due to the transitory stage in which we are.

I am confident of final success. Yet, in order that success should not be postponed for too long I am of the opinion that frank and honest criticism is now more than ever necessary.

It is for that reason that I support your exceedingly good paper; that I recommend it wherever I go.

Will you allow me to put before Comrades, through the columns of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, one or two remarks in the hope that branches of the "C.P." will engage in a discussion upon them?

In a recent issue of the *Communist* I find it stated that £1,000 have already been spent for the defence of Comrade Albert Inkpin. More money, evidently, will have to be spent when his appeal comes to be heard.

The same issue of the *Communist* also states that some £3,000 odd has been collected for the Russian famine.

Seeing that in political cases the sentence inevitably follows the prosecution, as any class-conscious comrade will know, and also seeing that, under the charge, Comrade Inkpin could not get more than six months, one is forcibly struck that the money of the Party was not too wisely spent, in view also of the fact that for the Russian famine only a comparatively small sum could be raised.

Comrades will easily see that the Executive of the Party has, however, unwillingly and unconsciously played into the hands of the reaction.

If you are going to spend £1,000 in legal fees for the defence of one person—important as he may be in his official capacity—then you render yours if too much exposed to the attacks of the reaction, which will try in that manner to impoverish your funds.

Also please note that when you engage a lawyer the propaganda value of the trial is lost. He will not put your case from the Communist, rebel, point of view, but will try to attenuate not only the offence, but the visibility of your principle. He will get your money for doing that!

The recent libel case brought by J. H. Thomas is another instance.

Sergeant Sullivan may well have earned his money from the purely technical legal point of view; but he indicted neither the Black-Fridays nor society, as Communists ought to have desired.

With the exception of Comrade MacManus, the other Communist defendants did not grasp the opportunity of proclaiming their faith, and, therefore, lost the only advantage the trial—which was bound to be well reported—could give.

Since, in England, there is a talk of following strictly in the footsteps of the Russians, as regards discipline and organisation, it is probably not out of place to point out that our comrades of Russia, when facing the tribunals, took a far more energetic, visible and defiant attitude.

Casting away legal quibbles and facing the issue squarely, as class-conscious persons, they were thus able to build up a strong fighting party. Also to command respect and impose discipline.

Money paid so lavishly to lawyers in a comparatively small case—no Siberia attending—produces the opposite effect.

I am dear Comrade,
Truly yours,
A. SHORT.

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STARVING IN A LAND OF PLENTY.

The New Year is opening, Fellow Worker, and we are wishing happiness to each other, whilst some of us are existing on the dole and others are not even getting the dole, and the rest are wondering when they will get the sack and have to fall back on the dole.

The newspapers are trying to make you feel lively by telling you that Mr. Lloyd George has gone abroad again to settle your affairs. The Allied Supreme Council is meeting, at Cannes this time. Have you noticed what charming spots they choose for these important conferences where the affairs of the world are settled? Neither Paris, nor London is good enough to meet in at Christmas time, so Mr. Lloyd George and the rest are off to Cannes.

The *Petit Parisien* thoughtfully tells its readers (who, even though, like some of our own comrades, they have been evicted for non-payment of rent, are doubtless anxious for Mr. Lloyd George's comfort) that he will stay at the Villa Valetta, "Lady Orr's place" at Cannes. The villa is situated on the Montagne de la Californie, and commands a splendid view

"Until the outbreak of war," says *The Times*, "most of the beautiful residences of this aristocratic quarter were owned by members of the Russian Imperial Family. They are buried among masses of pines, cactus, mimosa, and eucalyptus. On the summit is an observatory, from which a wonderful panorama may be viewed. On clear days the coast of Corsica can be descried."

So now you will be content, Fellow Worker, knowing that your "Great Prime Minister" is properly housed, although you may be living in the slums of Hoxton, or the one-roomed "houses" of Glasgow. Lloyd George is following in the footsteps of the Czars.

The newspapers are also endeavouring to divert you in this festive season by assuring you that the Prince of Wales is having a splendid time in India: it is pathetic to notice how eagerly the newspaper correspondents insist that some Indians came out to stare at the lad: as *The Times* puts it: "When the son of the King-Emperor rides in procession through their streets, they want to see him, just as we all should do."

Nevertheless, *The Times* special correspondent tells of the "serious misgivings" lest there should be no crowds of brown people to welcome the Prince in Calcutta, and admits that "at Allahabad we had heard that masses of people had turned out the preceding night, only to make the emptiness of the succeeding day when the Prince arrived, more marked."

Really, those poor brown natives become quite precious when wanted for display purposes and likely not to appear; although 64 of the Mophahs were packed into that death van, which, as Surgeon Gifford has testified at the official inquiry, was "not fit for even one person to travel in," and though their dying screams for air were so callously denied.

Lord Northcliffe has been telling the Siamese that he has found the British Consuls in the Far East "usually badly housed."

You are asked to feel indignant, Fellow Worker, though do not be so foolish as to imagine that the Consular residences are anything to compare with your little hovels in Poplar. You are expected to remember that the Consuls are gentlemen whose duty it is to protect the interests of the merchant princes and capitalists of your Empire, and that they are expected to manifest the dignity of that office by living in regal style.

It is all a question of perspective, Fellow Worker. There will come a day when things are produced for use instead of profit; when buying and selling and wages will be no more, and when so much will be produced that we shall be supplied with more than we can consume of everything.

Some of us were without food, or fire, or shelter, even without a home, on Christmas day, whilst other people, after eating as much as they could of what the butler and footmen laid before them on their own groaning tables, drove off in their motors to one of the big hotels to dance and feast with their friends till the getting-up-time for the rest of the world had come round.

Meanwhile, you are asked to be enthusiastic about the attacks of "Eric with the Axe" on the old age pension—which is to be reduced in amount and postponed to 70 years of age—and on the children's education. You are also asked to applaud Sir Alfred Mond, the unhealthy Minister of Health, when he cuts down the babies' milk and stops the local clinic giving treatment to the mother and child.

You are asked to admire Lloyd George, as the picture papers showed him, cutting his big Christmas cake, whilst your cupboard is bare.

Presently you will be asked to send him back again as Prime Minister for another term, as a reward for having made peace with Ireland, though the workers of Ireland will hang black flags from their windows on the day that their representatives swear fealty to the British Crown.

You are walking the streets in your thousands, Fellow Workers, sadly and hopelesly starving in a land of plenty.

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