

God the Known and Unknown by Samuel Butler.

Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Weekly—PRICE ONE PENNY.

The Truth about the Fascisti.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

The "Daily Herald," the Labour Party organ, with unexampled treachery to the cause of the workers, and to all that makes for progress, has attempted to whitewash the White Terror of the Fascisti, which holds Italy in its grip to-day.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, the editor of the "Daily Herald," who ought to be sent to the right about for his gross errors, literary as well as political, observes: "Whether the Italian Fascisti are enemies to the point of view of the workers in this country is not very clear." He further declares: "It is impossible not to feel a certain amount of admiration for this man who has organised what he calls a bloodless revolution." Then he proceeds to argue that the Fascisti came into being to oppose the violence of the Communists.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe is not alone in his suggestion that though the Fascisti have made use of violence they are rather splendid people, and that their final triumph has been a bloodless one. Bloodless it has been, in so far as its victims have succumbed to superior force, as an unarmed man obeys the order of "Hands up!" when he finds himself covered with several powerful revolvers.

What is the truth concerning the Fascisti and the Italian Proletarian movement which they were created to fight? At the close of the War the Socialist Party was the dominant force amongst these Italian workers. The movement was strong and virile. In each town it had its People's House, combining lecture halls, library, theatre, dance halls, cafe, restaurant and hotel. The co-operative societies were powerful and closely linked with the Socialist Party, as were the Trade Unions which also provided technical instruction in a large variety of trades. The extensive character of the movement, with its fine buildings and splendid equipment, was far beyond comparison with anything we have in this country. The widely-read Socialist Party organ, "Avanti," had a fine printing plant in Milan and in Turin, where several weekly and monthly organs and first-class colour printing were produced.

The "Avanti" had a much larger circulation than the "Daily Herald," without any such aids as betting tips and sensational news uncoloured by Socialist bias; it was a definite Socialist paper and a power in the land. It had the confidence of the average man in the workshop, and as the multitudes streamed forth from the factory it was the "Avanti" that one saw them snatch from the waiting newsboy and open to read as they hurried along the street.

The Italian workers were profoundly impressed by the Russian Revolution. The "Avanti" gave an enthusiastic support to the Russian Revolution and the Soviets, and to the Bolsheviks in the early days of their power, and the "Avanti" was moulding the opinion of the workers who read it so widely. On the walls of the industrial cities, Turin and Milan, one saw chalked up the slogans of the proletarian revolution, with "viva" the revolution and Lenin, who was regarded as its leader.

The Trade Union leaders, whatever their private opinions might be, were obliged by the sentiments of the rank and file to do lip service, at least, to the international prole-

tarian revolution, and the coming revolution in Italy. D'Aragona, when he came to address the Southport Labour Conference in the summer of 1919, declared that the only question at issue was not whether, but when the revolution would come.

At the annual Conference of the Italian Socialist Party, in Red Bologna, in the autumn of 1919, the old Reformist leaders, Turati, Treves, and Modigliani, were left with only a handful of followers, and the centre party of Serrati and the "Avanti" received an enormous majority over the Right, whilst the anti-Parliamentarians had a substantial following.

The Serrati faction declared for revolution on Russian lines, for the Soviets, and for the abolition of Parliament; but this faction was determined to use Parliament in the meantime, and they refused to split the Party, by excluding the Reformists, who were opposed to making preparations for the clash of actual force with Capitalism, which the revolutionaries declared inevitable, and which, as events proved, was soon to come to pass.

The question of whether the moment had come for direct preparation for the coming struggle, and the setting up of the Soviets, was hotly argued; but, at this juncture, Lenin, on behalf of the Russian Communists, wrote urging the Italians to go, not to the Soviets, but to the elections, and declared that the Italian revolution should be delayed on the score of the unreadiness of the proletarian revolution in France and Britain.

Shortly afterwards Lenin proceeded to attack the Serrati faction for not expelling the Reformists; but the Serrati faction desired to retain the Reformists just because they feared to split the votes of their supporters and to jeopardise their Parliamentary success by expelling these popular Parliamentary figures.

The followers of Lenin's policy presently obtained the upper hand, and Serrati was placed in a minority; but the Parliamentary policy remained dominant, and, as events have proved, the movement did not develop the capacity to meet the forces of Capitalist violence which were soon to face them.

In 1920 the employers in the metal industries attempted to lock out their workers; the workers, organised in their shop committee movement, proclaimed the Soviets in the workshops and occupied the factories.

The employing classes believed that the proletarian revolution had come, and that resistance was unavailing. There is abundant evidence of that to-day. Many and many a business man has since confessed that he then saw no other alternative, and not a small number were even willing to try the experiment as an escape from the post-war anxieties that have befallen the trading community in the trade depression holding Europe in its grip.

At every stage the Soviet movement had been obstructed by the opposition of the leaders of the Trade Union Movement and by the older Socialist leaders.

The metal workers had arisen spontaneously; they had placed barbed wire round the factories, and machine-guns on the roofs, and other workers were rising to join them. Engineers, seamen, and others were giving proof of their solidarity; rural workers were

rising in squads of 20, 50, or 100,000, to seize the landed properties.

The Anarchists approved and supported the movement; but the Anarchists, with their newly started daily, the "Umanita Nova," were without the organisation to cope with the situation; it was not they, but the Socialists, who had the ear and the confidence of the great masses. And what did the Socialist Party, in which there were still the Reformists, Turati, Modigliani and Treves, as well as Serrati and Bombacci, the Marximalists and Bordiga, who had been given a seat on the executive as representing the Parliamentary abstentionists?

The great Socialist Party held aloof from the struggle and turned it over to the Trade Union leaders of the Italian Confederation of Labour.

The Socialist Party's Resolution.

This was the resolution issued by the Party in order that its policy might be known in this hour of crisis:

"Between the Party and the General Confederation of Labour there exists a pact of alliance which neither body desires to break. The executive of the Party, in view of the necessity of the struggle, accepts the decision of the National Council of the General Confederation of Labour, and proposes to assist the movement without intervening, reserving to itself the right eventually, should the occasion arise, owing to a change in the political situation, to take control of the movement."

The occasion of which the resolution spoke had arisen, but the Socialist Party had failed to realise it, and proved itself incapable of dealing with it.

Resolution of Socialist Members of Parliament.

And what did the Parliamentary representatives of the Socialist Party do? They asked for Parliament to be summoned. This is the resolution they adopted:

"Believing that this struggle which arrests the national life cannot be fully settled without the assistance of Parliament, which must be seized with the profound meaning of this movement, which is the clear condemnation of a system which, even by the merciless exploitation of the workers, cannot increase production, demands the immediate convocation of Parliament, to study the situation, and to take prompt and radical measures, which, through the requisitioning of the factories, and their control by the workers, would prepare for their direct administration in the interest of the community."

How the Workers were Betrayed.

And what did the Trade Union leaders to whom the Socialist Party had left the revolution? They led the workers into an absurd bargain, by which a Commission (on the Sankey plan, which was used here to sidetrack the miners) was formed of twelve members nominated by the General Confederation of Labour and twelve members of

(Continued on p. 4.)

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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The high cost of production of the paper necessitates prompt payment.

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

Frank Penman's life at the College was over. He must earn his living in the competitive world now.

He was finding a precarious struggle, and now he had gotten into it and lost his spectacles. Truly a serious combination of the two. He would need to get a new pair of spectacles. Truly a serious combination of the two. He would need to get a new pair of spectacles. Truly a serious combination of the two. He would need to get a new pair of spectacles.

She would himself back with Mrs. Rose—she was a good sport, with all her faults, and she would stand him in good stead now. She would have made him feel comfortable and she would have waited for him to pay the bill till Spotters' money came.

He had left Mrs. Rose some time ago—to get a better light and more room for his work, but only been slow to effect his studio at the expense of everything in the way of comfort, and he had the greater part of his own studio to the protesters who quadrupled the rent of the room where they put in a studio window. Mrs. Mercer came in to do a little sharing two a week; and for the rest, he either attended to his own tools or neglected them; kindly, unpretentious and preoccupied as he was.

He was lying there on his shadow. The dimmed black curtains were pulled down partly because the light hurt his eyes, partly because he felt too weak and despondent to raise them.

He had wanted a north light for his work, but he wanted a north light for his work, but he wanted a north light for his work, but he wanted a north light for his work, but he wanted a north light for his work.

There was only a long blank wall and a cotbedstead to be seen from the window; unless one climbed on the sill one could see the tops of trees, then, with their delicate, bare branches silhouetted against the sky, a few lovely yellow-green leaves still clinging to them. What treacherous beauty in the lines of those branches! He thought of them with a dim pleasure; but he was not to be deceived by eyes were hot; he felt as though there were sand in his eyelids.

What a queer time! I suppose, quite new or something; but how can I pay for such things? It's all through your hitting me first, ever, landed him a plate of bacon and eggs.

"I have a very nice," he protested, "and that might be interesting, so please pay here under your hand please preference."

He was not so clever. When he had eaten, the younger woman wearing the wreath of flowers asked: "What is it?"

He said: "I want to decorate the wall of red buildings."

It was of course you understand painting. "He said: Will you be kind the please to give me a concert hall to inform?"

She must rest to-day.

In sorry, he answered: "I don't understand it, but you may be able to do that and sort of your."

I should have thought you would have known all about painting. "He said: Will you be kind the please to give me a concert hall to inform?"

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Was he drifting? What end could there be of his undivided capacities? He thought and tossed his excited weakness.

Then he wondered whether it was not unattractive that he was ill and lost his spectacles; whether he would not feel just as unattractive as the workers. He would need to get a new pair of spectacles. Truly a serious combination of the two. He would need to get a new pair of spectacles.

Two months for sleeping out. . . .
Bright lights in a crowded, terrible plight of a sleeping ship. . . .
Explosive forty-mile tramp. Long walk to a sleeping ship. . . .

He thought he was taking up with a cough country. He was a little deep to sleep that he hardly seemed to move in spite of his cough. He was a little deep to sleep that he hardly seemed to move in spite of his cough.

He saw a big white house with red roof and shining walls. He would have entered, but he was falling. A smiling woman wearing a gay flowered apron appeared in the doorway and held out her hand to him.

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Their smiling faces melted from his gaze. He woke with a start at the postman's whirr. He was a little deep to sleep that he hardly seemed to move in spite of his cough.

Was it Spotters' money? He thought. He was a little deep to sleep that he hardly seemed to move in spite of his cough.

Notice that the gas would be cut off if it not paid in three days. He was a little deep to sleep that he hardly seemed to move in spite of his cough.

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ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS FROM PRISON.

Translated by M. Campbell.

(Continued.)

Wronke, May 19th, 1917. How lovely it is here now! Everything is becoming green and bursting into flower. The chestnut trees are clothed in green, the birch trees are in full leaf, and already in blossom too, and the ornamental trees are in full leaf, and the grass is as a parting present a bunch of forget-me-nots, and I have planted them out myself. Two little round cherters and a straight row in between, planted already with forget-me-nots and pansies—everything is looking up well; I can scarcely believe my eyes, for it is the first time in my life that I have done any planting, and I've met with an immediate success. Just at Whitson I shall have such a lot of flowers before my window!

There are now a number of new birds about here; each day I get to know one that I had never before. Ah, do you remember that time we were in the Hortic Garden, sitting in the morning with Karl, when we heard the nightingale? Well, I have now heard a big tree that was still without foliage but covered with red berries, and I have seen a fruit tree, and the blossoms were rather nice. Now I know: it is the white plum, and it is now in full leaf, and the diminutive yellow ones. The full-grown red of the white poplar is, as a matter of fact, white only underneath, on top it is dark green; the young leaves are covered on both sides with white down, and scintillate in the sunshine like white flowers. One of those big poplars stands here in my little garden, and all the singing birds prefer to perch upon it. On the day in question you both came to see me in the evening; do you recall it? We had such a wonderful time we passed the time in reading something out to each other. We had such a wonderful time we passed the time in reading something out to each other.

Believe me, Sotchi, a little bird which I had seen in the garden, and I have seen a fruit tree, and the blossoms were rather nice. Now I know: it is the white plum, and it is now in full leaf, and the diminutive yellow ones. The full-grown red of the white poplar is, as a matter of fact, white only underneath, on top it is dark green; the young leaves are covered on both sides with white down, and scintillate in the sunshine like white flowers.

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with roses in our hands like the three noble women of Havana. . . .
It is now over a month already; it came out today. It is so hot that I have had to put on the lightest of dresses. . . .
I have been gradually getting up singing and boisterous in my little room, and I have been gradually getting up singing and boisterous in my little room.

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anyone can attempt to master his mind on some other subject. My dear child, the whole history of human civilization, when, according to a certain estimate, it has been going on for something like twenty thousand years, is based on the fact that man has kind upon mankind—a matter that is deeply rooted in the nature of things that make life possible. Suffice it to say that these things are changed. . . .

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For money. . . .

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THE OUTLOOK.

The Labour Party has chosen its election programme. It is not a Socialist programme, such as the old Hudsons might have proposed.

1. **Fixation of Real Values,** which a Liberal Government had made a beginning with before the War.

2. **Nationalisation of mines,** as recommended by the Stanley Commission and proposed by the Lloyd George Government, though the promise was broken.

3. **Nationalisation of the railways,** which members of the Lloyd George Government also promised.

4. **A capital levy on fortunes over £5,000.** This will not make much difference. The capitalist need not be particularly worried.

5. **Increase in Death Duties** on large estates, and increase in super-tax on large incomes. Reduction of tax on incomes under £100 and abolition of the death duties. The Liberals might easily agree to introduce these small reforms.

6. **Free Trade,** and an unwatered breakwater. The Liberals advocate this.

7. **Restoration of the Agricultural Wages Board.** No innovation.

8. **Representative Agricultural Councils** to promote all-round improvement in the use of the land, the reduction of transport charges, development of co-operative methods, and fostering of rural industries.

This is a vague proposition, which will probably amount to little or nothing in practice. The Labour Party, if it were to be even a good reformer, Party, ought to have attempted the nationalisation of the land. Many a good thing is done for that!

The Labour Party, however, ventures nothing like this.

9. **A National Scheme of Housing.** We know the difficulties that will face the Labour Party when it attempts this, since it has not the courage to attack private interests.

10. **Mr. Hobson's Remedy,** which in practice is unlikely to mean anything better than the present "Door Law."

11. **Revision of the Peace Treaties and German reparations to be brought within Germany's capacity to pay.**

The Labour Party has not yet summoned up the courage to accept the treaties and to drop the reparations payments. One of the Capitalist Parties—perhaps The Free Press, or perhaps the Times—has already done this.

12. **The Irish Treaty to stand.** Here again the Labour Party has utterly failed, even though the Government is in a deplorable position.

13. **Self-government for India.** Observe that independence is not advocated, and the Labour Party is Imperialist and timid in its view of the proposal.

14. **Real Independence for Egypt.** In view of the Labour attitude on Ireland, we do not take this proposal seriously. It is merely window dressing.

Finally, the Labour Manifesto declares the Party to be against Communism and revolution. That, of course, is what one would expect.

The Labour Party declares it is not a

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... class Party" which means that it is not a working-class Party. Unfortunately, this means that the Labour Party is not a Party representing the working class, which is the only way to put an end to the social class.

(Continued from p. 84)

... the Employers' Federation, and with two experts on either side, to formulate proposals for their consideration by the employers and the Trade Unions. Some slight wage increase and a sliding scale to raise and fall with the cost of living.

The control boards afterwards established as a result of this Commission proved worse than slaves. The workers soon refused to work under them, the movement, which could not be crushed, was entirely null and defunct.

When the crisis was over, when the workers had thus been led to surrender their conquests for a relief and determined to no take. The organisation of the Fascist, the brigand, White Guards with the black shirts, organ Mussolini, the renegade ex-Socialist who deserted the Party to join the Engobs in the war, was supplied with funds by the great employers of Italy. These funds were used to organise a force of the most ignorant and reckless of the destitute ex-soldiers and reactionaries, who were to weather classes to destroy the Socialist movement.

The Socialist, Co-operative, and Trade Union movements were invaded and wrecked, and meetings of the working-class organisations were broken up by the Fascists with armed force. Socialists, Communists, Trade Unionists and Co-operators were killed and injured. Municipalities with Socialist majorities were attacked, the council chambers closed, the members wounded or killed, and forced to resign. Newspapers of all shades of opinion opposed to Fascism were systematically suppressed and their printing machinery was destroyed.

Capitalism provided the funds for the Fascists. Gozzini, the Prime Minister, encouraged its growth. Bonomi, who succeeded Gozzini, went further; he even permitted officers and soldiers of the Regular Army to join the Fascists.

Then the Fascist began to run candidates for Parliament, and on a small number of these fronts elected by the voters. They then entered the chamber to terrorise the assembly. The Fascists had 29 seats in the Italian Parliament; in numbers a negligible minority; but as Mussolini says, they are determined that Fascism shall be the Government. They do not mind if they have to kill.

Therefore, they nobility, they will have it. Therefore, they nobility, they will have it. Therefore, they nobility, they will have it. Therefore, they nobility, they will have it.

Government took steps to resist the Fascists although it had the power. It closed the railway traffic, plotted to organise a military strike.

It then came forward to aid the Fascist. Was it not terror that he might be deposed, like the numerous officials of all sorts who have been violently ejected, who have been displaced the Black Shirts? Or was it not sympathy for the forces of reaction, the reason what it was, the King refused to sign although it had the power.

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It is reported in the Press that the Italian Communist Party has been dissolved. The censor of the Fascist, who has been reported to have dissolved the Communist Party, has been reported to have dissolved the Communist Party, has been reported to have dissolved the Communist Party.

Mr. Hamilton Frye, in the "Daily Herald," writes of the Fascist: "It is possible that they may show themselves more open-minded and forward-looking than they are being treated here." Mr. Frye is expecting a visit of the Black Shirts to the Daily Herald.

The foreign policy of the Fascist is that of international imperialism, and their great object is to make the Mediterranean, which of course, is bordered by many countries, an Italian sea. The home policy of the Fascist is revealed by their acts.

As to the Fascist Cabinet, Mussolini holds the position of Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of the Interior. The reality of important offices, however, reveals that the Mussolini Government is a dictatorship of the thirteen or so Ministers, all are Fascists or Nationalists, save two, one of whom is called a Democrat; the others are of the Popular Party. Their secretaries are also mainly given to Fascist.

Now the Socialists and Labourists in the soldiers and reactionaries, who were to weather classes to destroy the Socialist movement. The Socialist, Co-operative, and Trade Union movements were invaded and wrecked, and meetings of the working-class organisations were broken up by the Fascists with armed force.

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TO LENIN, AS REPRESENTING THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE

We address you as representative of the Russian Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party. With deep regret we have observed your leading down the flag of Communism and the Russian Revolution. We have watched the development of your policy of making peace with Capitalism and reaction.

It seems that you have lost faith in the possibility of securing the emancipation of the workers and the establishment of world Communism in our time. You have proffered to the workers and the masses of Capitalism that you will make peace with it, if it does not.

Yet if a great, a high call, and a disinterested call to Communism might go out to the workers and the masses of Capitalism, it would mean the end of the present system, the terrible circumstances of the present hour, it must bear tremendous fruit. A period of great misery has fallen upon the peoples; it is a period of great misery has fallen upon the peoples; it is a period of great misery has fallen upon the peoples.

The financial manipulators rule the world; they are the real Governments; and these puppet Governments, which take the stage for a time, must do their bidding or disappear from the scene.

In Italy we see once more the collapse of the old politics; but it is an evil and vicious thing, in the shape of Fascism, has taken advantage of the general disgust with the old politics and the futile tinkering and marking time of the Capitalist politicians. The Fascist has become a walking corpse, a walking corpse, a walking corpse.

The Fascist has provided a means of existence, even though it is gained by the murder of the workers and the masses of Capitalism. The Fascist has provided a means of existence, even though it is gained by the murder of the workers and the masses of Capitalism.

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E. B.

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E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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It will never be possible for the masses of the people to see for a few minutes—a vision presents the viewpoint of a society which is not the property of the masses. The editor of a certain Parish Church magazine and women in natural simple settings, and the masses of the people are not the property of the masses.

Competitive society continues to be possible, and the masses of the people are not the property of the masses. The editor of a certain Parish Church magazine and women in natural simple settings, and the masses of the people are not the property of the masses.

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PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. THE NATIONAL ANTHEM AND THE ORPHUS CHOR.

By Tom Anderson. The Council of Socialist Associations in London have decided to recommend the Socialist Societies in London not to give patronage to the Orphus Choir the next time they visit London.

The reason that the Council came to this decision was that the Choir, when it was in London last April, did not close the concert by singing the National Anthem, and they consider that a distinct omission. "The lion speaks," says the Council, "our position is absolutely clear. Sing the National Anthem. If not, don't come to London. We are loyal in London. It is unjust in London to sing the National Anthem. Everywhere else it is wrong to sing it, etc."

The Secretary of the Orphus Choir says: "He knows it is unsafe to conclude theatre, music-hall, circus, and brass band performances by the playing of the first few bars of the National Anthem. We have never heard of an orchestral failure, or choir concert being concluded in that manner, and we are much surprised that it should be suggested that we should follow the example of the music-hall and a brass band."

Possibly the Orphus Choir does not know the King says in London. Possibly, also, they do not know that the Council of the Socialist Societies in London, are all members of the petty bourgeoisie, and as such, they must keep in line with the "indicators" of respectability. It is not that the words or music of the National Anthem are above the gutter level or not; that does not matter. It is the National Anthem. And do you know what that stands for? It stands for our side; and our side is the Constitution.

All all his functions where "Fat" is in all his glory, they give the toast "The King"; and they all stand up like great big dummy soldiers, glass in hand, and their bellies in front, like a regiment of wastrels standing at their backs to supply their wants. They sing—or rather howl, and very loudly, then kneel the words, but they manage to finish together with the words "God save the King"; and they are very pleased because it stands for "our side." See?

Happen to know the conductor of the Orphus Choir. He is a man with advanced ideas and a little bit of a Hullo, Christian and Liberal about him. He is a humorous sort of fellow. We call him Hugh, and I am of opinion he is only concerned with the Press, although the Press does not say so. But for the members of the Choir, loud or soft, they are not advanced men and women in the least. I am writing so as to inform the readers of the "Dreadnought" as they may think the Choir was Socialist. They would they alone think if you called them that. The Press and the Socialist Council in London are only making the noise to let the world know that the conductor is. I believe if I have no doubt they will manage their way in this matter. The truth of the matter is, no one in Scotland thinks anything about the National Anthem; if it were not for the halls and brass bands playing it, we would not know it. There is not a cultured Scotsman, I believe, would sing it; he might be proud to stand with the bug and fife. "Fat" were howling it, but he would have his tongue in his cheek all the time.

As for the average proletarian, he generally stands and lights his pipe or cigarette, and is as far made as both for the day and the night. I remember during the War, when in all the halls they got the audience to stand up to reverence and sing it, and at the same time had a picture of His Royal Highness on the screen, and they impressed you, or tried to impress you of the solidarity of the nation, the picture of His Royal Highness were all on the "one side," one nation, one people, whose interests were one. My wife and I still go on our knees, and I thank

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

few of the boys round about saying: "There's a pair of links for you, you should be on a honky rony, rony, it is just possible that the conductor of the Choir feels the same way. If I raise my sap to him."

Will you have another choir in Glasgow? The William Morris Choir? I would like to see a good Communist who is died nearly forty years ago. Of course the choir is not to-day, the Choir would have had a different name, and I did Robert Blunden was passing away they might call it "The Newburn Choir." They were singing in a common model lodge-house to the workers of Glasgow, the proprietor of it being the Lord Provost. It was a choir of the workers of Glasgow. The conductor said it would be better to get rid of some of the members of the Choir might object.

Why did it object? The Choir will not be allowed to sing to the "model dwellers." I might tell you the Choir does not sing any Socialist songs at these concerts; they give them the same "diet" as the usual church choir. I understood they have the music of the "International" and the "Red Flag," but they only sing them on big days, say, when Bainsie or Philip, or even better, they sing "The Internationale." I heard them once try to sing the "International" in St. Andrew's Hall, and it reminded me of a class of school children being kept in for talking. After it was finished it seemed as if the Choir were a choir of the workers of Glasgow. The Socialist songs and the National Anthem are not in it, but the Choir—what is the Orphus Choir, it is assumed, is cultured. So they are not to sing the "International" with respectability, do not mention Communism, and they are not to sing the "International" with respectability. Do you know what that stands for? It stands for our side; and our side is the Constitution.

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RAND STRIKER'S DEATH SENTENCE

The Hon. Straker, a prominent worker in the grave protest, or he would not have been in the middle of the strike. He was a right when the whole of the workers of the world were in the same position. He has been in the condemned cell for thousands of days.

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THE KNOWN AND GOD THE UNKNOWN.

By the Editors and God the Unknown. (Did the Editors and God the Unknown appear in "The Examiner" in May, and in July, 1917?)

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The Election.

You are fine fellows in these days, fellow-workers! You are "sturdy sons of toil" and "masters of the country": great fellows indeed, you are, fellow-workers—just for a few days!

Just now you are more praiseworthy and estimable even than you were in the heyday of the voluntary recruiting. Your virtues will only last about a fortnight this time, but they are still greater and more desirable while they last even than they were in war-time.

We are going through that perennial farce, the General Election, fellow-workers; that is why your virtues and intelligence have suddenly grown conspicuous. Your suffrages are being more hotly contested than they were in the coupon election: the old game must be played with more vim than it was last time, or it may cease to divert you at all. Your masters are determined that you shall be diverted, fellow-workers; otherwise you might start thinking for yourselves; and that would be most inconvenient for those who have hitherto done their thinking for you.

You are not supposed to think; that is not your province, fellow-worker; even Mr. Henderson, and the Labour Party, and the Labour Research Department, and the Trade Union Committee, make a distinction between "workers by hand and brain."

You are workers by hand, and by muscle and brawn, or anything else you like, **except brain.** Leave brains alone; they are not for you.

Come, come, fellow-workers; you are Trade Unionists, and not blacklegs. You are not supposed to go about scabbing on the intellectuals. There must be no amateur spare-time thinking: it is against the Trade Union rules. Mr. Clynes has taken particular trouble in the matter of delimiting the demarcation rules between the functions of "the workmen" and "their leaders." Pay attention to Mr. Clynes: then you will make no mistakes.

Remember, once for all, fellow-workers, that according to the united dictum of your leaders the practice of thinking, and anything connected with brain work, is no spare-time job. Keep up the elbow-grease, and do not spare it, fellow-workers, and your leaders will do the rest.

You have a great many leaders at election times, fellow-workers: all the classes are eager to represent the masses then, fellow-workers. They all handsomely promise to be Labour members; and they sacrifice their voices in the most generous fashion.

Mr. Lloyd George, "the most outstanding political figure of our time," has promised to stand by you. You can judge precisely the value of that promise, fellow-workers, because Mr. Lloyd George himself tells you that he has been standing by you for thirty years; so you know by long experience exactly what his support means. Mr. Lloyd George and his friend Mr. Chamberlain want to save you from yourselves: they have explained that there ought to be a Coalition against the menace of Labour. Make no mistake, fellow-worker; you are the menace. No one could suspect such moderate men as Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson of being a menace, and of course Mr. Thomas is not, because he has declared upon oath that he is not a Socialist and that he means to stand by the King in all cases of dispute.

Mr. Churchill has generously hinted that he will serve whoever comes into power, if he is asked; so you may count on him as the friend of all parties. Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain have spoken in the same sense; so you need not be anxious about them: they are willing to lead you at any moment; they need not be chosen at the election, but can be summoned at any time.

Mr. Bonar Law is at once the most frankly truthful of all the statesmen who are standing as candidates to lead you, and also the most polished and subtle in his compliments to you. He is aware that imitation is the sincerest flattery. Therefore he declares that he does

not quite know where he is, and adds that he has an instinct for understanding the common man. Not knowing quite where you are, fellow-worker, you are exalted by the flattering fancy that, in spite of your dullness, you are no worse than the Prime Minister. At the same time, he tells you frankly that you must not expect any improvement from him if he gets into power. You cannot help having a sneaking respect for one who tells the truth so plainly, can you? You certainly know by long experience that the elections make no change in your conditions.

Your old election hobby-horse, Mr. Asquith, seems like an echo of a distant past; doesn't he, fellow-worker? One has to scratch one's head a bit to remember him. He claims that he ought to win the race to lead you, because he declared a year before the Treaty that there would be trouble in Ireland if the Irish were not given something or other to satisfy them. You and I could have told him that when he shot Connolly and Pearse in 1916.

We certainly cannot award him the prophet's laurels, at any rate, and that is the only distinction he is claiming for himself and his Party in this election.

Mr. McKenna has thrown over poor old Asquith and Liberalism at last. He stoutly refused to do it for Lloyd George; but Sir Frederick Banbury is getting old now, and the bankers of the City of London are particularly anxious that Mr. McKenna should succeed him. It would be a grievous breach of traditional etiquette for the City to be represented by any other than a Conservative, and it would scarcely be seemly for Mr. McKenna to represent the moneybags as a mere freshman. So Mr. McKenna felt it his duty to join Bonar Law.

Finally we come to the Labour Party, which is as anxious as Lloyd George to stand by you, fellow-worker. You must clearly understand, however, that the Labour Party is not responsible to you. Mr. Clynes, the chairman of the Labour Party, has made it quite plain that the Labour Party policy is not to be influenced by your Conference decisions. Moreover, fellow-worker, you must know that the Labour Party is not a class Party: indeed the "Daily Herald" has stated that most emphatically. The Labour Party is not manned and controlled by the mere workers by hand. It has brains to control it: colonels, lawyers, and all sorts of gentlemen: its candidates present quite a respectable array of those "who sow not, neither do they spin."

When you read the Labour Party programme you will realise the influence that the black-coated gentlemen have had upon it, and how carefully they have safeguarded it from any tendency towards revolution. As Mr. Asquith said, even his Wee Frees could agree to most of us—and the rest is only window dressing.

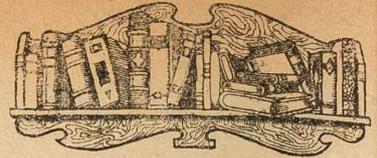
The election will soon be over; and then, whether it be Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Asquith, or Mr. Henderson, who is vegetating in respectable opulence on the ex-Cabinet Minister's dole, your virtues, fellow-worker, will cease to be conspicuous and will return to their accustomed obscurity.

Having placed your cross on the ballot-paper, you will at once be invited to leave the decision of your fate and the control of your lives to your employers, as usual, and also to your Parliamentary representatives and the interests of those who control them.

If you obey instructions, the employer, the landlord, the shopkeeper, and the Government officials will continue to direct your way of life, whilst the larger Capitalists decide who shall be our noble Allies in the next war.

Meanwhile, fellow-worker, your real business is to build those job committees, and weld them into a union of all class-conscious workers, in order to smash this bad old system altogether, and to build a genuine fraternity of mutual service and mutual happiness in this sorely-tried human world.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.



Syllabus Series No. 1, 2, 3, 4, published by the Labour Research Department, *6d.* each. These booklets are intended for study classes. No. 1, by G. D. H. Cole, is entitled "The British Labour Movement," but attempts to give information covering the international movement, and also gives lists of recommended books on Communism and Socialism. The lists have evidently been compiled on the chique principle. The notorious omissions include Marx, Engels, De Leon, Lafargue, Kropotkin, Godwin, Bucharin, Bebel, Kautsky, and Gorter, to name only a few whose works are obtainable in English; while amongst the recommended are to be found, of course, G. D. H. Cole, Page Arnot, L. S. Woolf, Tawney, J. A. Hobson, C. M. Lloyd, etc., etc. It is rather surprising, also, that many histories of co-operation being recommended, the exhaustive history by Professor Gide, recently published by the Co-operative Movement itself, should have been omitted; but that, of course, is less amazing than some other omissions. In No. 2 of the series, Mr. Maurice Dobb deals with the development of Capitalism. This "authority" recommends the reading of pp. 736-800 of Marx's "Capital," but otherwise ignores the principal standard works, and recommends such writers as W. McLaine, Mark Starr, Alfred Marshall, Leonard Woolf, and so on. No. 3, on finance, by Emile Burns, gives a simple outline of such matters of common knowledge as banking, cheques, exchanges, share capital, and so on. Mr. Burns, unfortunately, postulates that "it is probable money, in the form of currency, would be retained under a system of public ownership, for wages (or allowances) and retail purposes. . . ."

Evidently the ideals and imaginings of Mr. Burns fail to soar above the wage system, which he appears to take as a matter of course, we regret to observe. On the whole, we cannot recommend the syllabus to our readers.

HAVE YOU READ?

The Rights of the Masses, G. D. Brewer	1/-
No Compromise, W. Liebknecht	1/-
The Right to be Lazy, Paul Lafargue	8d.
Shop Talks on Economics, Mary Marcy	8d.
The Iron Heel, Jack London	2/-
War of the Classes, Jack London	2/-
Strength of the Strong, Jack London	1/6
Ancient Society, by Lewis H. Morgan	7/6
Batavia, by René Maran	7/6
Capital To-day, by Herman Cahn	10/-
The Iron Heel, by Jack London	2/-
The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard, by Anatole France	2/-
The Spy, by Upton Sinclair	3/6

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Central London Branch (Hon. Secretary, S. Cahill) meets **Thursday** evenings, at 152 Fleet Street, 7.30 p.m. Volunteers for meetings, clerical work, etc., should write to the Secretary at 152 Fleet Street.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT MEETINGS.

Friday, November 3rd.—8 p.m., Prince's Head, Battersea, C. J. Delahunty and C. T. West.

Saturday, November 4th.—6 p.m., Garrolds Corner, Edgware Road, C. J. Delahunty and C. T. West.

Sunday, November 5th.—11 a.m., Finsbury Park, A. Jarvis and C. T. West. 7.30 p.m., Stepney Green, J. Welsh, C. T. West, and J. Grant.

Monday, November 6th.—7.30 p.m., Liverpool Street, Walworth Road, J. Welsh and C. T. West.

Tuesday, November 7th.—7 p.m., Wren Road, Camberwell, Clara Cole and C. T. West.

Wednesday, November 8th.—9 p.m., Philpott Street, Commercial Road, Whitechapel, C. T. West, J. Welsh, and J. Grant.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

REMINGTON (latest No. 10) Typewriter, coded, self-starter model, unused, as new. Sacrifice, £14. Approval willingly.—White, Arcade Chambers, Northampton.

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