

# What will the Miners' Fight Bring Forth?

# Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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## ART IN THE SLOUGH OF DESPOND.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Now that the crush is over, one can see the pictures at the Royal Academy Show in comfort.

Somehow we overlooked Room I, so we are left to wonder and hope that perhaps some of those good things we missed in all the other galleries, may have been hidden there. Perhaps that barn interior of George Clausen, catalogued in Room I, glows with the warm, soft light and tender, subtle feeling his pictures used to hold, the colour and light we so sorely missed in the pale pastiness of those daubs called his, which we saw in the other rooms to-day. It seems but the other day we heard enthusiasts rejoicing that Clausen, an artist indeed, had been made an Academician. It seems but the other day, yet more than a decade has passed over us, and now Clausen's pictures we saw in to-day's exhibition look old, feeble, lifeless; the spirit and heart, all that was Clausen, has disappeared. But perhaps that first room conserves, as of yore, the earlier Clausen.

Perhaps, too, the Orpens in Room I. have not the theatrical glare that mars his really splendid work in the other galleries this year; perhaps in that room, Lavery, Shannon, Jack, and the rest have shed their besetting sins.

Room I, let us imagine it, may redeem the seventeen others; but on the strength of seventeen rooms, we must pronounce the Academy a terribly poor show.

It is a poor show, because Art in modern capitalist society is a starving beggar. There is practically no market for pictures, because only very few people of any kind can afford to buy them, far too few to support the artists.

Only a minority of people possess artistic perception, and, naturally, but a small proportion of these belong to the tiny handful of persons who can afford to buy pictures.

So Art, under modern capitalism, is a poor beggar, starved of vitality. Her growth is stunted, she cannot develop herself, she cannot develop artistic perception amongst the people. Artists are painting seascapes who cannot afford to stay by the sea, and figure subjects who cannot afford sufficiently to study the model. To paint a picture is so great an economic effort and sacrifice, that many artists can only do it occasionally, and the economic struggle to do it robs them of the energy necessary to produce important work.

There is not a large number of war pictures. Our national art, as represented by the Academy exhibition (or the market for which our art strives to cater), is rigidly conservative, stereotyped and far removed from life. Its welcome to historical pictures extends but coldly to those dealing with contemporary events. It likes a picture that tells a story, but only if the time of the story be long ago. So the rage for war pictures is already past and they are scarcely represented, except in the few great canvasses intended for public institutions. Amongst these are two horrible, gigantic paintings of Frank O. Salisbury, of the burial of "the unknown soldier," woefully unpleasant, devoid of all interest, and without a single streak even of feeble beauty. Another: "Some Sea Officers of the War," by Sir Arthur S. Cope, R.A., is commissioned for presentation to the National Portrait Gallery by Sir Abe Bailey, Bt. It is really a scandal that this hideous abomination should be permitted to occupy space—and so much space—in the National Portrait Gallery. Merely because Sir Abe Bailey is a rich man who desires the glory



THE BLEEDERS: WO! NOT YET, THIS ONE IS KICKING AGAIN.

of presenting a national war memorial, he ought not to be allowed to desecrate with ugliness a National Exhibition. Sir Arthur S. Cope and John O. Salisbury are products of this barren time. They produce the work demanded by inartistic, but wealthy, patrons.

The war created a market for sculptured war memorials: therefore War subjects bulk largely amongst the statuary and great parts of provincial war memorials tower dominant and aggressive. Charles S. Jagger's "Soldier on Defence" (part of the Hoylake War Memorial), with its brutal, pugilistic face and heavy ungainly form, is one of the most aggressively dominant and, in a crude way, the most effective of all these. Anything seems to be tolerated and admitted to the Exhibition if it be a War Memorial; witness the absurd naked "Victory," made by Henry Pegram for the Cunard War Memorial, of which the most active and striking feature is its fig-leaf.

Some charming, spontaneous works are dwarfed, almost hidden by the war memorial monstrosities, which provide an altogether unsuitable environment in which to see such things as Leonard Jennings' bust of Mrs. Richard Davies; Derwent Wood's "Miss Anne Dinnage" and "Frank Moran—Pugilist"; Frederick Gardner's statuette "Shy"; Phoebe Stabler's "Memory," and a host of others.

Dwarfed, too, are the piteous attempts of struggling people who cannot afford the model, cannot afford the time or the material to study and to bring forth serious works.

It is not only in its war subjects that the War has laid its impress on the Academy Exhibition, as on all else in life; it has destroyed or fatigued into ineptitude a crowd of young aspirants who should be jostling the aged Academicians off "the line."

### THE PICTURE OF THE YEAR.

One picture alone gives a sincere view of the war; a sincere, fresh, vivid and feeling view of contemporary life. That picture, the picture of the year, is one of deep despondency and heavy sorrow. It is Henry Lamb's \* "R.A.M.C. Men with Wounded and Sick at a Dressing-Station on the Struina, 1916."

The figures are wooden, the colour is crude, almost ugly; but a poignant truth is seized and told us with a cruel fidelity, a strong, sure calm, and the quiet masses of the composition, the repose of the figures, allows the incident its weight.

In the mud of the foreground, deeply imprinted by heavy boots, a drunken soldier stoops forward, offering drink to one who is lying dead. Behind stands a crowd, for the most part all indifferent. One tears at his bread like a hungry beast, one drinks eagerly voracious, one yawns, pale and sleepy; one youngster with early morning face, gazes with looks of mild curiosity upon the dead. One simpers, red-faced, drunkenly idiotic, and one sits down in the mud with head sunk in his hands, a figure of despair. This is the war as it was, indeed, sordidly, sordidly degrading.

For the rest, what does the Exhibition hold? Fine paint, fine drawing by Sir William Orpen. He dominates every gallery where his canvasses appear. Of these, the most generally popular is his "Le Chef de L'Hotel Chatham, Paris." It is a vigorous, masterly work, quick, lively and full of action. The handsome cook with his ruddy face, bright chestnut beard and hair, white cap and blouse, standing with arms akimbo lit up against a night-dark background, the drawing so true, the paint so slick and sure, fresh and crisp, without retouching. Glancing from Orpen's portraits to those of the others around them, it seems that theirs are of pasty paint, and his of living colour and form that glows and almost moves. His paint seems still wet; no, rather it seems not like paint at all, but life and movement. And yet there is something, oh, just a shade theatrical, that detracts from effect. The Chef, fine as he is, is marred, because the folds of the sleeves are too strongly brought out, too much in evidence for the face, which therefore sinks back and loses its force.

Orpen's "Mrs. Melvill," in her pale blue dress with scarlet trimming, and his "Jenny Simson," in brilliant yellow, both, like the cook, with arms akimbo, are alive and vivid; wonderful work indeed, but they, too, are a little too challenging, a little too vulgar, a little too hurried; products of an age in which one is, unheard, unnoticed, unrecognised, unless, in the hurry of life, one ring a loud and very importunate bell.

Maurice Greiffenhagen, though his "Rider Faggard" has a map-like patch of wrinkles on the left side of the face, which is out of harmony with the whole, and his colour is rather hot and burnt-looking, is reposeful and dignified.

Julius Olsson's seascapes glow with light and fine pure colour. They are raised in lofty strength above the host of neighbouring canvasses, even though their waves may be solid and lumpy.

Two quiet works, aglow with subdued light: "Drying the Sails" and "The Mystery Ship at Shoreham" by Bertram Nichols, are small in size, but broad and strong, and recall the school that immediately preceded Turner. They show

\* No. 461, Room X.

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out strangely on these walls covered, for the most part with clamorous canvases, only suited to the advertisement boardings.

What a jumble, indeed: R.A.'s like David Murray, whose works seem fading to a faint old age, and Leader, whose soft atmosphere is more and more sacrificed to painfully-worked detail; Anning Bell, with his feeble, out-of-date piety: weak echoes of the pre-Raphaelites, weak echoes of all the comparatively modern period; vulgar, garish canvases recalling the most slap-dash magazine illustrations, the cheapest and gaudiest children's toy books, recalling even the muzzy chalks of the pavement artist. There is that most ugly, most impudent in its utter lack of fitness, imitation of tapestry by Walter Bayes, called "The Water Lane," and the almost as impudent rattling cheapness of Moutat Loudan, with his flashy red signature. There are vulgar portraits of rich men and over-dressed women, and feeble, tentative daubs, some of which recall the local school of art, whilst others, apparently done by quite untaught young ladies, sometimes turn out to be the work of an R.A.

Looking round, one begins to ask oneself whether the number of works that are sent in nowadays has so fallen, that every one is accepted in order to fill the walls.

One of the most blatant, carelessly bad paintings in the Exhibition is "Ferretting," by Gerald Moira, who was, and for aught we know, may still be the head of the painting school at the Royal College of Art, South Kensington. This man, who doubtless enjoyed a very comfortable salary, had a splendid studio placed at his disposal in the College, and certainly was by no means overburdened by the amount of time given to the students. He has had opportunities, denied to the mass of struggling artists, yet he sends to "the Academy" but one hideous daub, upon which there has been a lavishly extravagant waste of paint, piled on, ostensibly to give a vivid effect, but lamentable failing; when one steps back from the feeble, blotchy muddle, one can see practically nothing at all.

The saddest feature of the show is that a host of promising young artists, who for many years have struggled to maintain themselves and to achieve progress in their art, unaided by wealth and influence in this merchants' world, where money rules, are either unrepresented, or have failed to fulfil their early promise. Some are broken by the struggle, tired out by teaching or the production of cheap commercial work, advertisements and so on, by which they have been obliged to gain their bread, many have laid down their lives in the capitalist war.

THE LAND OF EXISTENCE.

The Land of Existence!—where is it? It is right here, Mr. Duke of Northumberland. We cannot, all of us, run away from rotten reality like timorous Thomas (true, it's as bad amongst the Dollar grabbers as amidst the British Jungle of ravenous Dole-seekers, but...)

Where Capital cripples proletarian passion for liberty, love and life; where plutocratic parasites batten on the blood efforts of poverty's brood in the slumland of rigid, diabolical existence, all that is pure and vital in humans is well-nigh suppressed. The love of life lives, but not life! The craving for beauty is with us, but little of the real essence we see?

We wage-slave millions make and mould the beauty of the city buildings (as well as our murky slum), we fabricate the fiery adorning the dainty females of the bourgeoisie, and we, we toil and moil, amble round, and sleep in shoddy weas. We scheme and delve, and it is all for the benefit of our Capitalist masters. Oh! there's a wonderful system. But we are responsible for keeping that system alive. In our ignorance we insist that this slave system should live.

True, the system is on its last legs; gangrene has set in. But, unless we, the toilers, realise the true portents of the situation, understand the essence of capitalist production, and the meaning of profit in the terms of our robbery, our slavery, the Capitalist statesmen who hold the reins of power now will (through our ignorance again) be masters of the situation when their system smashes, and a more complex, parasitical, servile-statist system will arise, and Slave-Class Existence will endure!

On May 11th (as reported in "The Star") a timid little woman, with a baby in her arms, applied to a West London Court against an ejection order. She explained that she was in arrears with the rent

because her husband was out of work, and she had to do what she could to keep the home going." The magistrate said to her: "That is your misfortune not the landlord's. We must bear our own misfortunes, not put them on others. You owe rent and there will be an order of ejection." The poor slave-woman sought justice at a Capitalist court of law; she found the law impartial: "we must bear our own misfortunes"—but it was a landlord's law! And the slave-woman is probably now, with her baby, and her bossless man, enduring the workhouse existence, or worse—Or Worse! A millwright, of Dudley town, recently drowned himself in a canal; he had ostensibly gone to the Labour Exchange to sign rent. A Bethnal Green man did the same on May 16th (asking his wife, in a note, for forgiveness). And at the Labour Exchange, I stand with fellow-unfortunates inwardly hating the system that is starving them. On May the 16th, a London paper reported ten men as having collapsed at Shoreditch through starvation; one had fallen dead, after being told by the clerk that there was no money for him.

Many swear hotly at the system, but they do not understand nought beyond their empty bellies. But, as the system crumbles, and hurts more, the slaves are thinking harder, and that is why, incidentally, Capital imprisons Communists, because they preach Life and Liberty for the Toilers.

THE PEER'S PLANS.

The Lords have found "a way out." Understanding industrial conditions as they do; having slaved day in, day out, all their lives in the "fields, factories, and workshops" of Merrie England, the Proletarian Peers sally forth with sumptuous schemes.

Musing about mines and miners and mine-owners, Lord Weir says they, the miners (not the owners, should produce more (seem to have heard of that before, somewhere). The mine slaves can do that by going back to the 8 hour shift. There must be a shift on the wages, Weir declares, just 2s. per shift; that will enable the owners to economise, and coal will be cheaper. Do you believe it? Surplus profits must be used for improving equipment. What are surplus profits, anyway? Reminds me of the cry against Profitting; the bosses who cried profiteered just the same. There was an Excess Profits Tax once, yet mountains of profits remained! Weir's plan is for the Government to arrange a compromise between owners and pit slaves that shall mean coal peace for two years, during which time wages shall be constantly revised by a Conciliation Board, but the salient points reveal nothing new: the miners must have their wages reduced, work longer in the shift, and Produce More.

Next on the list is another well-known coal-bewer: Lord Gainsford.

Sorry, he's a great coalmine-owner, not a pit slave; there's a slight difference. Now, Gainsford agrees with us in so far as he thinks it "doubtful if the men would agree to an extension of working hours," especially in Northumberland, where his lordship is chiefly interested in coal concerns. He is rather a dear old soul; we have only to get rid of the Pool, and then—as he says—"the miners and ourselves . . . are going to work together." I wonder if he means by "ourselves," that the mine-owners are going to turn workers, and really help to run the pits, socially for social needs, along with the miners. They could do worse. But, if asked, they would most probably say, "We are not in business from any philanthropic motive."

Lord-God, the delicious Duke of Northumberland is very critical, and hardly helpful at all. His quota towards the Peer's Peerless Plans is summed up in the sentence: "Call for a spirit of 1914," he wants us all to join the hally Army. He accuses the miners of the "blackest treachery," and their "strike" is a "deliberate systematic betrayal of the country." He owns a good piece of the said country, and, we must suppose is a little irritated by the "goings on." The public really know nothing about the miners' strike," he says; quite so, they understand that it is a "lock-out." He told all this to 200 fellow Peers in the House the other day. He ran down the miners who were being led into bloody revolution by revolutionaries, who even "debauch" the minds of little children (shudders!) with the criminal Communistic creed (how callous!). O, spirit of 1914—help the Bosses out of the mess; another little war won't do them any harm. I suppose the Grand Dukes of Russia—used to rant in this way. They are doing socially useful work now! Our own Peers should be made to work; they will be!

COMMUNISM.

Communism!—the word that is the seed of the great revolution in Russia to-day.

Now, if I were to say to a person that the Bolsheviks are not murderers, but simply party fighting for their cause, and the faith they believe in, namely Communism, some people would look at me and most likely propose me as an inmate to Colney Hatch!

But that is because of their ignorance. They are like children who act as they are taught. So it is with these people, they believe just what the Government has knocked into their heads, namely, that the Bolsheviks are murderers and plunderers. They do not realise that Communism will be the foundation of the working man's contentment. They are blind to the fact that the Government is swindling them right and left.

The one great fault of the British public is that

soft words are like music to their ears. They believe all that is said to them.

Dr. Addison said, "We will soon have long ears, as we see, hundreds are being built, of our imaginary ones."

Take, for instance, the words of Mr. Lloyd George: "England will be a home fit for heroes when we return from the war."

Now, let us see how his words have been fulfilled. Thousands of ex-service men are out of work, starving and homeless; rents, taxes, fares, and what have gone up. The Capitalist has made thousands out of the war, and is now reducing wages, and only those I know of who are hero lives, he has a self-appointed hero, is No. 10, Downing Street, the home of England's Mr. Lloyd George.

If Communism is carried out there will be such thing as quarrels between the working man and the Capitalist, because there will be no Capitalist to quarrel with.

Everybody will be on a par. There will be no rich man and no poor man, everyone will be the same, in fact, no one will be able to get rich because there will be no money to get rich with. The money circulation will be done away with, everything will be free, but each man must work. There will be no such thing as enclosed ground belonging to such a gentleman with all the letters of the alphabet after his name. The earth belongs to no particular person, it belongs to everybody.

By N. Wexler (aged 13), of the International Modern School (London).

CORRESPONDENCE.

Equality amongst the Workers. Dear Editor, The grading system is always a grading system, and, as a matter of fact, the organised, as that term is generally understood, the worst sufferers in that respect.

Everyone knows that an enormous percentage of the miners are in the Unions, and everyone knows the many local and national strikes to obtain wage agreements for various grades. Few people understand the grading system, however, are aware of the difficulty of determining to what particular grade a miner belongs. Men are often given a particular kind of work without getting the pay that is supposed to go with the work.

Nottinghamshire miners remember the "butty" system. Under it the management nominated one or two men to take over a section of the face, and those men employed twenty to thirty work, and in some cases up to forty, fully paid coal getters were paid a miserable wage, while intermediaries pocketed the surplus. The butty system was abolished in spite of the Union Officers. To-day all men who have worked at the coalface are stipulated period share equally.

The same rule should take effect throughout coalfields. This must be done to create the right spirit amongst the workers. A step in that direction would be the abolishing of payment by results. The contract system makes unity amongst the workers organisations impossible. Not only amongst miners, but amongst all workers must such system be abolished? Something must be done to raise rank and file to action. Such bad systems as dealt with before the Revolution. All the experiments must not be left until after the revolution.

The Trade Union Officials form the strongest element against progress, and they would fight against the abolition of the contract system, though altogether openly; just as they fought against abolition of the "butty" system. They fought to maintain that system, though at conferences they voted for resolutions against payment by results. They justified their attitude by such false arguments: "Men, we are with you, but other districts not ready." As a matter of fact, the rank and file of all districts were demanding the abolition of the officials were giving them all the same dope. The most common saying amongst the miners: "Official positions, good stalls."

124, Margaret Street, Coalville, Leicestershire.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Freedom Willersden Group.—Thanks for enclosing your letter. Your expression of esteem and wishes to "The Dreadnought." "May it suspend publication till Communism is here" is greatly appreciated. K.M. (Stockwell).—Your suggestion is good, and quite agree with you in all you say. We will write fully to you.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Will Contributors note the following:— To write on one side of the paper only, with sufficient space between the lines, for correction. Editorial corrections required to bring the contribution up-to-date.

To write name and address on the top of the page, to enable the Editor to communicate with you, with the contributor, without reference to files.

In all cases to enclose with contributions, addressed and stamped envelope.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Boycott of English Goods.

The Dail Eireann appears to be possessed of real power. It certainly gives the impression of being able to organise its functions, for we gather by a question of Sir F. Butcher (Coalition, York) that the Irish Parliament has a trade department under the presidency of Eamán De Blaghd (in English Ernest Blyth), which issued on May 16th, 1921, a Prohibition Order (No. 2), making it an act of treachery to import in Ireland certain specified goods of English origin.

The Rt. Hon. Henry (Attorney-General for Ireland; Coalition, Londonderry) says he would "certainly prosecute" the persons who are responsible for issuing these impudent orders, and purporting to exercise the function of the government, "if he can find" them, to use the phraseology of Sir John Butcher. Mr. Eamán De Blaghd has been under notice of seditious behaviour since 1914, and has been several times imprisoned. He was elected to represent North Monaghan in 1918. He was arrested in September, 1919, and sentenced by court-martial to one year hard labour. A few weeks later he was released under the Prisoner (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act—the "Cat-and-Mouse" Act—and was due to return to custody in December, but failed to do so, and has since evaded arrest.

Holloway Prison.

Lieut-Commander Kenworthy (Lib., Hull, Central) asked the Home Secretary if he is aware of the bad condition of the food frequently served to the prisoners in Holloway Prison and, in particular, the bad fish and sour milk offered to prisoners; that complaints have been made frequently to the governor, but without apparent result; whether it is proposed to abolish the hospital at the prison, and to otherwise increase the severity of the régime; how many girls under 17 years of age have been imprisoned at Holloway during the last 12 months; and whether any girls under 17 are there now?

Mr. Shortt (Home Secretary). The allegations which the hon. and gallant Member repeats are without foundation; no complaints of the food have been made to the visiting committee. Members of the visiting committee constantly test the quality of the food, and are satisfied with it. Individual prisoners sometimes complain of the food, and on one occasion the fish supplied to a prisoner was found to be insufficiently cooked, and she was given something else, but otherwise the complaints have proved to be groundless. No complaints appear to have been made of the milk being sour.

The number of girls under 17 years of age are as follows:—

In custody during the past twelve months:

Convicted ... .. 6

Remanded ... .. 27

In custody at present time:

Convicted ... .. 1

Remanded ... .. 3

It is not proposed to abolish the hospital or to increase the severity of the régime.

Lieut-Commander Kenworthy: Has the right hon. Gentleman consulted any prisoner with regard to the quality of the food? Is he aware that prisoners who have been there make those statements?

The Speaker: The hon. Member must put some specific question.

Mr. Lunn (Lab., Rothwell): Have any of the visiting justices any personal pocket interest in the catering for this establishment?

Mr. Lyle (Coalition, Stratford): Is it not true that the catering is shockingly bad, and the coffee and liqueurs are not of proper quality?

The question of Lieut-Commander Kenworthy were based, we presume, on the statements contained in the two articles, "Prison Life," by Com. Pankhurst, which appeared in our issues (June 4th and June 11th).

In another issue Com. Pankhurst will reply to Mr. Shortt.

Mr. Mills asks the Home Secretary the average number of prisoners in Holloway: the diet supplied; whether food is supplied by contract, and if so by whom?

Mr. Shortt: The average Holloway population for last year was 413. He will send to Mr. Mills particulars of the meals supplied to prisoners. Some of the material for the meals are obtained by contract and other from the Admiralty.

The Lore of Comrade Curson.

Mr. Curzon (Coalition, Battersea, S.), who bears the courtesy title of Viscount, has a mind and knowledge that is peculiar and extensive. No sooner had Lieut-Com. Kenworthy asked a question full of human interest than he interrogated the Home Secretary on a question of Imperial interest. "Whether action is being taken by the Metropolitan Police against those individuals who play the game of poker; whether such action is being taken all over the country universally; why the game of poker is singled out; why is similar action not taken against those individuals who play other card games, such as old maid, beggar my neighbours, nap, biggame, bridge, etc." Mr. Shortt, always a courteous person, replied, Yes, my Noble Lord. We of the "W. D." not wishing to give eventual gamblers the assistance of the legal wisdom of the Home Secretary, do not reproduce his reply.

Cost of Printing.

Mr. Hannon (Coalition, Moseley) desires to know

out of the £1,187,000 which represents the estimated Government expenditure in printing and stationery, how much is due to increased printing rates and how much to increased volume of printing now being carried out.

Mr. Young (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) circulates an Official Report. The figures therein are interesting.

The ratio of the present prices are, taking the 1913-14 prices at 100: Printing 262 or more than 2½ times, paper 400 or four times, binding 267 or over 2½ times the pre-war prices.

Comrades should remember these figures when they read pressing appeals for assistance, for they signify that the cost of production of a paper is now 6½ times higher than it was in the easy-going pre-war days. We were then at a penny, the price has been doubled, and consequently there is still an increase of 4½ higher than the pre-war one. On the pre-war basis the quantity of printing done by the Government would cost £913,000, whereas it will spend this year £2,308,000. In other words, the Government does more than three times as much printing than it did in 1913-14. The paper used by the Government to-day would cost at pre-war prices £364,000—but the expenditure on this heading, for 1921-22, at £1,455,000, it means that the Government uses to-day nearly five times more paper than 1913-14.

How much of this increase is due to the Administrative needs, and how much to political purposes the Official Report does not disclose.

Krassin gets a Letter returned to him.

The British Government has received a note from the Soviet Government, says Mr. Harmsworth (Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) replying to Mr. Lunn (Lab., Rothwell) in protest against the invasion by Japan of the Far-Eastern Republic (the Chita Republic in many of the Russian news), but in view of the "baseless allegations" it contained against His Majesty's Government it has been returned to Mr. Krassin as "unacceptable."

So far as the Government is aware the Japanese have no intention of invading Siberia; the fact that there is a large body of troops at Vladivostok, as stated by Kenworthy, and that there is also troops at Nikolaievsk, and in the Ussuri Valley, does not mean, in Mr. Harmsworth's opinion, "that it is an invasion."

Ireland.

At question time Mr. J. Devlin (Nat., Falls Division of Belfast), who is the President of the Ancient Order of the Hibernians, and who has been elected in two constituencies in the Northern Parliament of Ireland, moved the adjournment of the House on a matter of urgent public importance, viz.: "the murder of peaceful Belfast citizens during curfew hours." More than 40 Members having risen, the Motion stood over till quarter past eight the same evening.

At that time Mr. Devlin rose to move the Adjournment of the House. In his speech he gave the facts in his possession concerning the murders that took place the night of 26th December last. The first case was that of Mr. McBride, a well-known merchant of 28 years of age. The second that of W. Kerr, an hairdresser. The third that of Malachy Halfpenny, who had joined the Army when he was 16½, and who served 3½ years in the R.F.A. All three were taken away from their homes in a motor lorry, to some distance away and shot, after curfew hours.

Curfew hours means, says Mr. Devlin, "always anxious to enlighten Englishmen about Ireland," that after 10.30 no civilian can walk the streets of Belfast, and no motor-car allowed, and the city is like a city of the dead. "Who was it, if it was not the forces of the Crown, who were able to rampage over the whole city at 1 o'clock in the morning . . . and take three men out of their houses . . . and assassinate them?"

Mr. W. Lane-Mitchell (Coalition, Streatham): What about the Sinn Féiners?

Mr. Devlin: When I have done, if you have any intelligence, you will get up and answer, but I have never known the hon. Gentleman yet to rise up and speak intelligently.

General Sir Charles Townshend (Ind., The Wrekin) feels "tremendously the state of things going on in Ireland," but the first thing he would do is "to proclaim martial law all over Ireland, and give General Maccready another 20,000, because 60,000 is not enough." He would "have four military commands" worked by wire from Dublin.

Mr. Lawson (Lab., Chester-le-Street) interjects: You would never get a British Army to do it.

Mr. Mosley (Coalition, Harrow) has a punning tongue. He thinks the "iniquities of the Chief Secretary for Ireland for TRANSEND—for surpass—that of others."

Lieut-Col. Allen (Coalition, Armagh, N.) hopes that the two Irish Parliaments will eventually work together hand-in-hand for the good of the country. "There are in Ireland unbounded sources of wealth and progress."

Sir Hamer Greenwood, who rises to reply, wants to know from Mr. Devlin "which arm of the armed force he held responsible" for those murders. Devlin's "accusations" are couched in language against which I must protest.

Mr. Devlin: "I will repeat it."

Sir Hamar says Mr. Devlin "knows nothing of the facts." Mr. J. Jones (Lab., Silverton) asks the hon. Member all Sir Hamar says.

It is a serious thing to make charges against these for again to-night. Mr. J. Jones: "Three cheers for the Chief Assassin. (Hon. Member: "Withdraw." Mr. J. Jones: "I will not withdraw." The Speaker: "I will go out, calling him the Assassin." Mr. Speaker, having warned the Member twice, "I must call upon him to withdraw." Mr. J. Jones: "Good night, all of you assassins. You are trying to murder my country. You are not but a gang of assassins, all of you."

Mr. J. Jones having left the House, Sir Hamar proceeds with his speech.

Sir W. Barton (Coalition, Oldham) is also, with Sir Hamar, and asks him to keep his remarks within the rules of decency.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor (Nat., Liverpool, Scotland) who confesses he has not yet "grasped the mean of the Einstein theory of relativity," yet begins to wonder whenever he hears a speech of the right hon. Member and other Members on opposite sides "whether their mind is insane or muddled." The mollifying speech of "Tay-Pay" does not, assume, modify the voting, for the House divided for the Government 192, against 64.

Consequently the time when "there will be no treatment for both parties in Ireland" is still postponed, as Captain Redmond (Nat., Waterford) says, "on Tibb's Eve."

Asked by Capt. W. Benn (Lab., Leith), Sir Greenwood says 31 Members of Parliament have been interned under Regulation 148 of the Order of the Government.

Trade Delegation to Russia.

Sir P. Lloyd-Greame (Secretary, Overseas Department) states that in accordance with 5 of the Trade Agreement with Russia an official delegation will shortly be sent to that country which, all those selected, have "a full knowledge of Russia," as Mr. Bryant (Lab., Lambeth) says, and "have full knowledge of Russian from their experiences in Russia."

Houses Destroyed in Ireland.

Since last Jan., a question by Mr. Lunn 191 houses have been destroyed in the main of which number 22 belonged to women cases the furniture only was destroyed, and these the property was owned by women, there any good in destroying old furniture?" asks Lord Cavendish-Bentinck (Coalition, Tighnam).

What the Coal Lock-out Costs.

The cost of running the Reserves, the Defence and other emergency measures is £692,900, that of Defence Force alone being £37,000, Mr. Young, replying to Mr. Bryant, says, "They are exclusive of the initial and terminal expenditure estimated at about £2,550,000. The total to date of other measures taken by Civil Departments is £260,000, exclusive of Government charges of coal for essential services."

Eastern Siberia.

Col. Wedgwood, who, by his travels, which may be styled the "Foreign Affairs" of the Labour Party," asks "whether Jill Kenyon on the Far Eastern Republic was discovered in the recent visit of the Crown Prince?" Mr. Chamberlain (Leader of the House) replies: "so far as His Majesty's Government are no grounds for the implication contained in question," and he also states that, "contrary to statements made in the Continental Press," had no responsibility whatever for what has happened in Vladivostok?"

Open Air Meetings.

Mr. Myers asks how long the regulation has been in force which requires the chairman and secretary at open air meetings to give their names and addresses to the police. Mr. Shortt does not say which regulation Mr. Myers refers to. Are we to do this or not?

WORKERS AND SOLDIERS RECEIVE FURNITURE.

The Presidium of the Moscow Soviet has a special commission for the distribution of furniture and similar articles to the soldiers and workers.

Something to Remember.

The workers in four areas are locked out of employment. They have time to read, but not to buy. Write to us for back numbers "Workers' Dreadnought" for free distribution. Buy the current issue and give it away.

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 6d. 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen. Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 15, Street, E.C. 4.



Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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VIII. No. 15. Saturday, June 25, 1921.

THE MINERS FIGHT.

The Lock-out of 1921 will begin a new Epoch. The miners' vote is splendid. Their bravery and endurance arouses the admiration of the awakened workers all over the world.

Support from the other sections of the struggle of the Italian engineers, as in the case of our own miners, the same thing was done.

need and the duty of the hour is to be met.

This is the fight of the entire working class of the country; the miners are bearing the brunt of the attack, for the rest.

Large numbers of engineers, transport dockers, shipyard workers, farm labourers, cotton, wool, and other workers have been out of work by the lock-out of the miners.

Every worker should line up in this great fight, in the railway and transport workers the call to action.

The Labour Party Conference is meeting. It is a failure, as it always has failed to act on behalf of the workers it is supposed to represent.

The Brighton Conference of the Labour Party is at a moment of tremendous crisis; a crisis of the ineptitude of the old sectional trade Unionism is being clearly shown.

The officials of the Trade Unions in the key industries realise that it is imperative to bring these to the support of the miners, in order that they may not be beaten in this lock-out?

H. Thomas, W. J. Abraham, C. T. Cramp, Bevin, Robert Williams, Arthur Henderson are the rest are in the dock. Will they, by their indecisive action, make an effort to the consequences of their past neglect of the workers' with whose interests they are supposed to be concerned?

Such a verdict of guilty, pronounced by every intelligent worker? Such a verdict of guilty will mean, in a not far distant future, dismissal and retreat into obscurity for those who have failed to do their duty.

The Communist Party has missed an opportunity. It ought to have met in conference with the Labour Party Conference, to pose the bankrupt policy of the Labour Party, to lay before the workers their position in this great class fight.

Let us demonstrate publicly and powerfully. Let us hasten the shepherding of the masses into the Communist fold.

Let every Communist be active and assist in increasing the activity of the movement as a whole.

Let us see to it that the sacrifice of imprisoned comrades shall bear the fullest possible measure of fruit for Communism, in whose cause they suffered.

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Unions, this lock-out will begin a new epoch in the working-class movement in this country. We may add, in the world movement of the workers, because of the important position of British Capitalism in world affairs.

Since the Engineers' Lock-out of 1904, the workers of this country have not been beaten in any trade dispute of first class importance.

The defeat of the engineers in the 1904 Lock-out began a new period. That defeat created the Labour Party. It also helped to weld the scattered Unions into industrial Federations.

The advance guard of the Labour Movement in those days told the workers that they must enter politics as a class-conscious force, that they must no longer vote for their Liberal and Tory masters, but create a political Party of their own. Even during the great lock-out, when this view was preached, the Trade Unionist masses cried: "No politics!"

But defeat in the great Lock-out developed a new class-consciousness, a new reaction against the policy of the old leaders who had led the workers to defeat, and a rally to those who had raised the standard of revolt against the old policy.

Comrades.—This month is a critical month for the "Workers' Dreadnought." If you wish to preserve the paper, give what you can, and give quickly.

The Miners' Lock-out of 1921 will effect even greater changes; it will teach the workers the need for solidarity, which the advance-guard has hitherto preached without securing action. This lock-out will usher the General Strike into the life of this country as a concrete, living reality. Once it arrives, it will remain a perpetual menace to Capitalism.

A General Strike may be called in time to win the lock-out. If it does not, if the lock-out is lost, it is certain that no other great dispute will occur without the workers making use of the General Strike weapon. They will not again lose a great struggle through failure to combine and to act together.

This lock-out will certainly begin a new period and bring us nearer to the Revolution, because it is proving that the workers in a single industry, however powerfully organised, cannot win against a determined capitalism by the old weapon: a strike of the workers in one industry used in the old way. When the general strike comes, as come it will, its limitations also will be learnt by experience.

Necessity is the mother of invention; when human beings are driven into an intolerable position, they invent a way out. That is how progress comes; through the experience of intolerable suffering.

It is terrible that the mining population should be slowly starved into exhaustion, in order that they and their fellow-workers may learn the lesson of combination.

But the lesson will be learnt, and this present hardship will be abundantly fruitful. The workers of the coalfields are making history. Many more hard lessons will have to be endured before the final emancipation comes.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

INDIGNATION WANTED:

To the Communist Party. There lived for long in our midst, the honourable custom of holding demonstrations of indignation whenever the Government of the day took coercive action against any of the pioneers bearing the flag of freedom.

The object of such demonstrations is to rally the masses to the support of those whom the Government had attacked, and to the Cause of which they are the standard bearers. Such demonstrations, whether they have or have not been powerful enough to force the hand of the Government, have always proved a valuable means of advancing the Cause involved, of attracting new adherents, of quickening the spirit in the movement.

The experience of generations has shown that when the Government victimises a fighter for progress, the minds of the masses are disposed

to the defence of the fighter, though hitherto they had ignored him, and to the realisation of the value of his teaching, although their settled indifference to it had hitherto almost approached to hostility.

Everyone is aware of this. One might almost declare it to be so well known that it is an unwarrantable sacrifice of paper to take space to repeat it. But though all we Communists, of course, know this, we are not at present energetically acting upon the knowledge.

For the last six months, every week has brought its crop of Communist imprisonments, and latterly, almost every day has added to its quota. Yet we have not had since March 20th, when a Trafalgar Square meeting was held, any central rally of the Communist Party.

Comrade after comrade has gone to prison, with scarce a protest, and even the raidings of the Communist Party office and the imprisonment of its Secretary have produced no demonstration.

To the great masses unattached to our movement we must appear a tame, almost callous, body of people, to let our comrades go in and out of prison without an outcry. A quiet acceptance of these blows on our part is an invitation to the masses to regard them with indifference, an incitement to the Government to increased persecution.

The Government has struck and struck again with vindictive spite. We have not yet the force to overthrow the capitalist power which attacks us, but we can use its blows as a means of increasing our propaganda against it.

We must raise a storm of popular feeling against the Government, against the capitalist power. The Government has put into our hands the opportunity to raise this storm. We must not neglect the opportunity.

If the work of the central office were at any time unhinged by the Government attack upon it, the branches of the Party should be ready to spring into the breach, to carry on the agitation, just as a new set of comrades should always strive to replace those whom the Government may remove from any sphere of Communist work.

At all times the branches of the Communist Party should keep a vigilant and watchful eye upon the developing situation and be ready to stimulate and reinforce the Executive in the work of the movement.

The situation calls for a great series of public demonstrations, for a most energetic and persistent whirlwind campaign. The movement needs such a campaign; the Government has prepared the ground for it. Our standing and self-respect as a fighting movement demand it.

Let there be a Red Week of intensive propaganda, of meetings, of canvassing of literature distribution, which will culminate in London in a great procession and demonstration in Hyde Park or Trafalgar Square, and in the provinces let there be similar demonstrations.

Let our comrades in prison for Communism be the rallying centre of this effort.

And when our comrades are released, let us welcome them fitly and with due honour. Let us greet them in crowds, bring them home in procession, and organise great public greetings of welcome, at which they may give to the masses the result of their long, enforced period of meditation within the prison cell.

Let us see to it that the sacrifice of imprisoned comrades shall bear the fullest possible measure of fruit for Communism, in whose cause they suffered.

Let us demonstrate publicly and powerfully. Let us hasten the shepherding of the masses into the Communist fold.

Let every Communist be active and assist in increasing the activity of the movement as a whole.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Mr. Sella 6s., E. E. Stannard £1 1s., Dr. Bhat £2, H. J. Smith 10s., N.U.R. (per J. S. Scharrif) £2, Mr. Dunning 10s., Mr. Fred Tyler £2 2s. 6d., Mrs. Hulley Rawlins £8, W. W. 2s. 6d., E. M. Brett 10s., Mr. Katuski £1, M. E. Marsh 1s., J. G. C. 10s. Total £14 12s.

RHONDDA VALLEY STRIKE NOTES.

One notes with satisfaction the atmosphere created by the strike among the Rhondda Valley miners. The splendid solidarity shown by the men has been unique in many respects. When one takes into consideration the condition of the people at the commencement of the conflict, with thousands unemployed and the major portion working half-time since December last, one can readily realise the amount of suffering and privation entailed consequent upon these facts.

Votes for the Acceptance were Votes of Surrender to Starvation.

A bitter, hostile feeling is expressed by the most moderate-thinking men, against the employers, and it would be well for them to realise that the votes of acceptance in the recent ballot, have not been votes of "confidence," but of surrender, due to sheer force of circumstances.

The Shrieking Statements of the Press.

The shrieking statements of the Press are extremely comical, but for the treacheries and perversities of truth exhibited, which only prove how low they sink to divide the workers. When the ballot result was known, the cry went up that it was unfair owing to the number of abstentions. The following is a "gem" taken from the South Wales Evening Express, June 18th:—

"It is clear that the abstentions were on the part of men who really wanted to return to work, but were afraid of having to disclose their ballot papers to those in charge of the voting at the pit-head. The Federation ballots are not conducted under conditions of secrecy."

Any member of the Miners' Union could and would deny this at any time.

Stimulus to Revolutionary Movement.

This state of affairs has been a stimulus to the revolutionary movement here, as manifested by a great influx into the Communist Party branches, while three or four branches of the Party have

been formed quite recently, and others are in the process of formation.

Thousands Attend Sunday Meetings.

A great feature of Communist activities is the propaganda meetings held on Sunday evenings and occasionally on week-days, on the mountainsides and attended by a few thousand people. This affords them the opportunity of obtaining the latest information in connection with the crisis and delivered from the revolutionary standpoint.

Communists Awaiting Trial.

Many comrades have been prosecuted for their activities during the struggle, and are now out on bail, awaiting trial at the next Glamorgan Assizes.

Communal Kitchens.

The Communal kitchen has played a very important part in the strike, and its success has afforded experience that will not be lost sight of at any time in the future when the necessity arises. There are about nine of these kitchens in the mid-Rhondda area alone, and they meet the needs of between eight and nine thousand adults. Every child, apart from this, is supplied with two meals per day. The Communists have been in the forefront of this movement, and their services have been greatly appreciated by their fellow-workers.

Organising the Unemployed.

A definite start has been made by the mid-Rhondda comrades towards the organisation of the unemployed, who have now placed themselves unreservedly in the hands of the Communist Party. It is expected that a general campaign of this nature will be carried out, throughout the whole of the Valley and probably throughout South Wales. This will mean some reserve to the coal-bosses, owing to a great degree of restriction placed upon that law of competition among workmen, which reflects itself in low wages.

MISERY OF THE CHILDREN.

By a German Communist Woman.

The wretched condition of our working-class children has wrung many crocodile's tears from the sympathetic souls of the bourgeoisie, and has caused the same good people to write long newspaper articles and to make eloquent speeches about saving children.

But the same bourgeoisie does not tend to forego its right to grind down the poor, these starving little ones; to exploit them to the utmost and then to condemn them to unemployment and gaol. It is one thing to make collections for the "children of the poor," and quite another to get off their backs. We Communist women, ever, maintain that our children, i.e., the children of the producing class, have a right to State maintenance until the seventeenth year. By State maintenance we mean: food, clothing, education and training. Soviet Russia has already made a start in this direction and we must follow her lead.

Let us look at a few towns in this country and the conditions in which our future citizens are reared.

In Solingen, as many as 175 children were exempt from school by the doctor on account of an nourishment.

Out of 4,407 children in Kempen (Allgäu), there are 137 tuberculous, 244 with rickets, 1,080 more less underfed, 105 have only one shirt each, 198 have two shirts each, 354 are obliged to work on the land at bird-scaring or minding cattle (to supplement their parents' money), 25 children have no proper three children have no bed at all, 471 have no handkerchief.

In the nine schools of the town of Braunschweig five children were kept away from school on account of physical weakness, the outcome of malnutrition; the teacher gave the parents some fine phrases, a proper kind of food to give the children: good milk and that sort of thing. As if the class mothers would not have done that a year ago if they could have got the wherewithal to buy the price of the milk. What working-class mothers ever give her children good, body-building food?

The working women must help themselves. They must organise for the revolutionary class struggle about the exploited and the possessing classes. The dictatorship of the proletariat, we will help to break the chains of Capitalism, and will free ourselves from the slavery of house and field until we have done this shall we or occasional free people.

We can see the inconsistency of the present society in the following: The Minister of Education has issued instructions to say that children under thirteen years of age must not be employed and that children from thirteen to fourteen years may only be employed six hours, with a even an hour's break. The Labour Bureau of statistics notices to employers of children as newspaper vendors, bakers' and dairymen's errand boys, as well as hawking, etc.; but in Nietleben, near Halle, the school children are carried every day by motor into fields to pull turnips. The Rector (Mayor) of Nietleben takes a good deal of trouble to get schoolchildren for this work. In the summer heat and in the rainy season, the proletarian children work for the rich for pay of 3d. an hour, pulling turnips for the rich landowners, so that these people may continue to live in luxury. Meanwhile the fathers of these children have been unemployed for months. Who will help out of this misery? No one. We must help ourselves. What must we do? We must rouse our sisters and encourage them to organise themselves to throw this rotten capitalist system from its backs. —From the "Hamburger Volksstimme".

THE WHITE TERROR IN ITALY.

The White Guardism in Italy, according to statistics compiled by a Conservative paper, "Fascisti" (White Guards), have, in five months from 1st January to 31st May—

Table with 2 columns: Action and Count. Killed (Soc. or Communist) 202, Wounded 1,144, The "Guardie Regie" (a recently formed Police Force) 414, Killed (Soc. or Communist) 258, Wounded 258, Jointly, these two reactionary armed forces burned or otherwise destroyed:— Trade Union Offices 363, As the result of these disorders the Police arrested:— Soc. or Communist 2,260, Arditi (assault troops only partially disarmed) and Fascisti 102.

The Italian Communist Press, in spite of its difficulties, has grown considerably during the few months. It consists at present of the organ, "The Communist" (out on Thursdays and Sundays) of two dailies: the "New Order" at Trieste and the "Workers" at Trieste, which has offices destroyed by the Fascisti, but which will reappear. In addition to these are 27 weekly inclusive of four that had temporarily suspended publication, their offices having also been destroyed by the "Fascisti."

The Executive has just decided to prepare for publication of two more weeklies, one at Bari and other at Palermo. Three weeklies, not included in this list, have ceased publication, having merged with others in order to facilitate distribution.

ISADORA DUNCAN GOES TO RUSSIA.

Isadora Duncan goes to Russia. Her going is symbolic and significant. She has felt the call of the forces of growth, the generating potentialities over here in the New Republic. She is one of the early members of an important host, for the artists, the thinkers, they who possess the creative spark, will be drawn there as by a magnet. As in ancient Alexandria under the Ptolemies, so in Soviet Russia, the supreme power and wealth of the nation is placed at the service of creative study in science, in art, in all that which extends the boundaries of human knowledge and power: the real civilisation.

Isadora has delved into the past to gain inspiration from the civilisation that seemed to her noblest. She has studied the art of the ancient Greeks as one who would create from it a new renaissance, using it as a kiln in which to generate the flame of her own artistry, as a discipline and a standard through which to train and key her faculties and possibilities to their highest pitch.

Isadora is an artist who is a student, sparing not to live laborious days of toil and preparation that her art may be developed. She is a bold idealist who fears not to step out from the conventions of the day to follow her own conviction in the quest of beauty.

Therefore she has been an innovator, a creator, and she has laid her impress on the art of her time and environment. The stage dancing of Western Europe, of America and the British Dominions has been modified by her influence. An army of imitators has followed her; the physical training of the children in the schools has also been influenced by what she has done.

And now she who searched through the ages for her inspiration, and choose for her model the people amongst whom the art of plastic expression had reached its highest form, is journeying to the land where scope for the artist is greatest: the land where is coming into being the care-free life, in which alone the great art of joy and abundance can come forth from the people as a

IMPORTANT.

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

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

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

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

living and growing force. In the time of the Greeks, the free men lived a life of such beauty that great art developed from them in unstinted and daily bounty; but the free good life of the Greeks was built on the labour of alien slaves.

To-day science makes possible for all the people, a life freer and more secure, more lavish than that of the ancient Greeks. To the gigantic land where the first great effort is carried forward to build the lavish world of freedom, goes Isadora Duncan. All the creative artists will surely yearn to follow, away from the old debris of decaying Capitalism, to the new day.

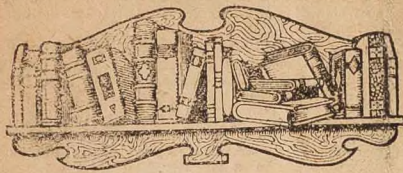
From the highest that she has seen in the past, she goes to the highest that she can see in the future.

On the eve of her going, she has created a mimicry that tells this story of her hope in the journey before her; her faith in the dawn of the new civilisation. So, in the fine Queen's Hall, whose proprietors once shut out a demonstration of our East End mothers, lest they should soil the seats for their usual occupants, Isadora Duncan becomes for our view, a bond slave; shows us the agony of her struggle for enfranchisement, her joy at last in being free.









OUR BOOKSHELF.

(The Communist Press.)

IL COMUNISTA.

(Organ of the Communist Party. Via Paolo Sarpi, 22, Milan.)

Four pages, of the size of the Dreadnought spread open, published every Thursday and Sunday. No. 31 under review, gives the names of the 15 Communist Deputies elected at the last Italian elections. The Italian Socialists fought the elections in 27 constituencies out of 48, polled, in total, 307,500 votes. Signed or unsigned, in every issue of the "Comunista" there are articles by Amadeo Bordiga, who defended the anti-parliamentary position at the II. Communist Congress, and who is one of the most able exponents of Marxism in Western Europe. As a debater Com. Bordiga has very few peers, and his writing is distinguished by the "ginger" he lavishly puts in it. Arrangements are in progress to bring out the "Comunista" as a daily.

EL COMUNISTA.

(Organ of the Spanish Communist Party. Apartado de Correos, 910, Madrid.)

The "Comunista" has appeared twice a week, Thursday and Saturday, for the last two years in four pages of the size of an English daily. It is therefore able to publish in full the wires of the "Rosta", in addition to reprint from other languages and original articles. The issue under consideration contains greetings to Com. Sylvia Pankhurst on her return to freedom. In preparation of the forthcoming Spanish Communist Congress a discussion takes place in the "Comunista" on the parliamentary question, with a predominance of articles against Parliamentary Tactics. A. Cadorna, for instance, says: "We are anti-parliamentarists, not for dogmatic reasons, but because we think failure would attend the well-meant efforts of Communists in that direction; if we were dogmatic we could prove we are working on the same lines and on the same principles as Marx did. Just as Marx—as Com. Enriette Roland has pointed out—did not pre-announce the mass-strikes, nor that form of organisation which is known as the Councils of Workers and Soldiers, in the same manner Marx advocated the use of Parliamentary Tactics. A. Cadorna, for instance, emancipation of the workers. To-day in view of the ruthlessness of Capitalism, which, when convenient to its interests, violates the written law of the State, we believe parliamentary tactics totally useless." The reproduction of a dry-point portrait of Bela-Kun completes a very useful issue.

DE KOMMUNISTISCHE ARBEIDER.

(Organ of the Flemish Federation of the Belgian Communists. Druckerij Reynaert, Peicaanstraat, 120, Antwerp.)

A newly founded weekly, barely a couple of months old, appearing every Saturday, with already a fairly good circulation. The current issue contains a two-column article on the movement of the Young Communists and one devoted to our Comrade Eugene Levine, who was shot in Germany. There is also a discussion on "Tactics" and on "Proletarian Dictatorship." Owing to the fact that Belgium is bilingual, this Flemish organ carries a standing Ad. for the "Ouvrier Communiste" (Rue Steenpoort, 3, Brussel), our brother-organ, as they call it, in order to link up the movement with the purely French-speaking Comrades. The Secretary of Flemish Communist Federation is Com. A. Wackenier, Zilver-smidstraat, 5, Antwerp.

L'EXPOITE.

(Organ of the Belgian Communist Party. Editor, Joseph Jacquemotte. 15 Rue du Marche-aux-Fromages, Brussels.)

The "Exploité" is in its fourth year, but it only recently has become the organ of the Party. It appears twice a week, on Thursdays and Saturdays. It is collecting money for the children of the locked-out English miners. 5,700 odd francs up to date. It is desired to have the "Exploité" appearing daily, and a sum of 22,500 francs has already been collected in small sums, which, in the Continental usage, are periodically acknowledged in the paper. A space of two columns is given over as an open tribune for the ex-service men. The "Exploité" has a good library service and very aptly has printed over the list of its books the slogan: "A glass of beer you drink when you are not actually thirsty, weakens you; reading a pamphlet of the same price would strengthen you."

DIE KOMMUNISTISCHE JUGEND.

(Organ of Young Communists of Austria. Pulversturm-gasse 7, Wien, IX. Twice Monthly.)

The Austrian Young Communist Organisation appears to be of some importance, for this twice-monthly is in its third year of existence, and, we gather from it, there are 16 flourishing groups in Vienna. The drawings in this paper are in two colours, well done both from the articles and the technical point of view. The style of the articles is plain, without being puerile. A creditable production.

MOSCOW.

(Organ of the III. Congress of the Communist International. Moscow. Putinkows 3.)

In the occasion of the present Communist Congress the Executive of the Communist International is issuing in English, French, German and Russian a paper under the common title of Moscow, carrying different matter in each of its different language editions.

The last issue to hand, No. 8, reproduces "Mac-Manus' Call to the British Communist Party," that appeared at advertisement rates—in the "Daily Herald." A list of the companies in which the German Magnate Stinnes is interested occupies a column of some 14 in. in depth. A "leader" article signed by Joseph Pogany says, *inter alia*: "We must candidly confess that opportunism, which wholly dominates in the Social-Democratic Parties, is now rising its head in the Communist Parties." "A good half of the article is unprintable in England, and its publication would inevitably lodge its writer in Pentonville Prison were it only for a brief period."

BULLETIN COMMUNISTE.

(Organ of the Committee for the III. International. Weekly. 123, Rue Montmartre, Paris.)

This useful weekly now in its eighteenth month of existence, was founded by the groups of Communists which had grown inside the French Socialist Party before the recent split in Socialists and Communists. If we are not mistaken Com. Rappoport was one of those most actively concerned in the issuing of this weekly.

As the name of Bulletin implies, this weekly generally reprints in full all the documents of the III. International with occasional delays due to difficulty of Transmission and Translation. The current issue contains a well-thought out article by Karl Radek on the "Crisis of the German Communist Party."

L'AVANT-GARDE.

(Official organ of the National Federation of the French Young Communists. 37, Rue Sainte Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris, IV.)

This publication, generally four pages, slightly larger than those of the "D. H.," appears every fortnight. It has a circulation sufficient to justify being printed on a rotary machine. The issue under review, consisting of six pages, contains the report of the first National Congress of the French Young Communists. It is interesting reading. For instance, the members' monthly contribution has been fixed at 2 fcs., divided thus: National Fund 50 cents., Solidarity Fund, to assist Comrades prosecuted, 15 cents.; Press Fund 50 cents., Special Fund 25 cents., Autonomous Groups Fund 60 cents. Now, as to the rules of the Federation: Members admitted from the age of 14 to 30. Before being candidate to the E.C., in future, a membership of three years is required. (This point was hotly contested because Comrade Fegy said it favours age against courage.) On the question of the Press: only those papers purely political to be under the control of the Federation. Before a National Congress freedom for all Comrades to express on such papers their opinion, even if in opposition to the then existing E.C. Com. Vedal who was editor of the paper for the last month, said: "When I hear the charge that the 'Avant-Garde' has been chiefly educational, I reply that this approach is the best compliment that could be made."

On the front page of the current issue there is an article explaining what the Communist mean by the word "violence." It ends with two lines, in black type, taken from the speech of Comrade Pankhurst at her recent trial: "The more the masses will understand the Revolution, the less violent and bloody it will be."

During the week of the 26th June to 3rd July the International of the Young Communist will organise, all over the world, a "Propaganda-Week" specially devoted to instruct and organise the youth. Many of the French Communist weeklies have given special space for the Young's movement: amongst these, the "Aube Sociale" (the Social Dawn), the "Midi Communiste" (the Communist of the South), the "Communist of the Pas-de-Calais," the "Etoile" (The Spark), etc.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

National Transport Workers' Federation. Executive Council's Report, 1921. Executive Council's Special Report on Mining Crisis.

A DAY IN THE COUNTRY GARDEN PARTY AND SUMMER FAIR,

Will be held at Federation House, George Lane, South Woodford, Sunday, July 10th, 3 to 9 p.m.

This will give Comrades and Friends an opportunity of meeting Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who will be present and speak.

Music and Dancing on the Green, etc., etc.

Tickets (including Tea), 2/-

HOW THE MINERS FARE.

Military stop Ton Pentre Demonstrating.

W. J. Fisher, of Trealau, writes: "I must say conditions are bad, but the spirit of the rank and file is very good. I heard one woman say that 'rather than her husband should return to work on the terms offered she would see him out grazing.'"

"I am rather amazed that things have been so quiet, because they imported police and soldiers into the district without the slightest cause."

"About a fortnight ago the military stopped a demonstration and might easily have caused a disturbance. About 15,000 of our men had turned out en bloc to march to Ton Pentre. At the last moment orders came that we were not to leave our district, and the threat that if we did so the soldiers and police would be turned out against us."

"We decided not to leave our own district, but to march round it headed by the Red Flag and two bands. When we came to the district end we were confronted by about twenty police stationed there to maintain 'law and order,' and prevent the men from leaving the district."

OUR BOOKS.

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

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

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

BOOKLETS TO READ.

- RED RUSSIA (John Reed) ..... 6d.
THE CHIEF TASK OF OUR TIMES (Lenin) 3d.
MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (Marx and Engels) ..... 3d.
THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA (Ransome) 4d.
THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION (Schmitt) 4d.
THE COMMUNIST SONG BOOK ..... 4d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG (Stewart) ... 2d.
Also bundles of leaflets on various subjects: Russia, Industrial, and the War. 1d. bundles of 8 for 1d, post free 2d.

AN APPEAL

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Being the verbatim report of her speech at the Appeal heard at the Guildhall.

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ROOMS TO LET, twenty minutes' bus ride from Liverpool Street. Apply E. S., Box 100, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

FOR SALE STUDIO EASLE and MODELLING Stands. Apply P. LL., Box 101, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

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

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

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

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by S. Corbett at 10, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.