

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 4.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9TH, 1921.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

ON WHOSE SIDE ARE YOU?

Education of Women the Deciding Factor—Compositors Should Refuse to Spread Lies—Solidarity is Needed.

The burning question of the moment is what is going to be the outcome of the class-war which has been brought to a head by the coal-owners' lock-out of the miners, backed by the Government, and their attempt to reduce wages.

The *Times* gives the proposed wages as calculated by the Miners' Federation and by Mr. van Williams, the President of the Mining Association, for the different grades of miners. There is considerable disparity between these two sets of figures, but Mr. Williams' are based on a six-day week and the Miners' Federation's on a five-day week, which the miners usually work. The Miners' Federation gives £4 7s. as the highest wage, and Mr. Williams, £7 4s. 4d. for a Yorkshire miner on piecework for six days a week.

The South Wales miners say the wages of adult miners in South Wales, reckoned in pre-war values will be: Colliers, £1 2s. 2d.; hauliers, 18s. 10d.; Labourers, 16s. 3d.

Supposing, for the sake of argument, we admit Mr. Williams' figure as correct, and deduct the 41 per cent. rise in the cost of living, we find it is only worth £2 19 0½d. pre-war. But the rise in the cost of living is really more than 141 per cent. to the poor, so that the actual value is even less. Which of the coal-owners is prepared to bring up a family on £2 19s 0½d. per week? If the coal industry cannot afford to pay the men a living wage, why do not the employers limit their profits to £2 19s. 0½d. per week or to the highest figure the miners receive in their mines? Even if they did this they would be far better off than the miners; because during the last years of the industry, through the War, the employer drew an amount of profits exceeding the pre-war capital of the industry by £25,000,000. If capitalists who are drawing dividends and profits from the mines gave them for one year, the miners could have an increase instead of a decrease of wages, and the mines would not be run at a loss and still the employers would have plenty to live on. But no solution has never been suggested as a way out.

Oh, no! The capitalists must not sacrifice anything for the good of the community, it is only the greedy, wicked workers who must go without.

The Parting of the Ways.

And what are the other workers going to do? Are they going to come out and support their fellow-workers in their struggle, or are they going to side with the enemies of the workers, those parasites who live upon their labour?

Workers, remember that if you take the part of the capitalists in order to have a little more coal, gas, and other things NOW, it means that your children will have to do with less ALWAYS.

The decisive moment has come when you have to decide on whose side you are. This is not a question for a few months, but a question which will affect the workers' lives for years. You must have the courage to face a short period of privation and want, in order to have an everlasting period of plenty. Is it worth while?

Women's Part.

And what are the women going to do? They are the deciding factor, as, without their support, the men cannot stand out for long. Up till now, the fathers and husbands have neglected to discuss the class-war and economics with their women-folk, with the result that in many cases



COMRADE, DON'T! YOU'LL GET HURT.

the wives and mothers do not understand the importance of the present crisis, and for that reason, may let the men down. We would appeal to the men to lose no time in enlightening their wives and making them understand the need for solidarity among the workers.

History teaches us that in these upheavals it was the women who took a leading part. In the French Revolution we hear of the *tricoteuses*; in the Russian Revolution in March 1917, it was the women who set the match to the tinder, by stopping the trams and looting the shops. In England, in 1921, is it going to be the women who will side with the capitalists?

The Transport Workers are those whose support will most immediately affect the miners in their struggle, and they are meeting this week to decide on whose side they will be. We wonder why they did not meet last week so as to be ready, for they knew the crisis was at hand. But, of course, Mr. Henderson and Mr. J. H. Thomas were away in Amsterdam, and without their restraining influence, they might have decided to do what they know to be right, to stand by their fellow-workers! As it is, 98 per cent. of the railwaymen have voted for a strike to aid the miners. They know that their own wages, like those in every other industry, are in danger, and this time they may refuse to be let down by their bourgeois leader.

Every other section of the workers will be affected by this struggle, and will have to decide for the workers or their masters. Upon the compositors and printers rests the heaviest responsibility of all. They are the workers who send out the lying statements of the ruling classes which influence so many people of all classes. During the railway strike they refused to print

lies about the railwaymen. During the present struggle between masters and men, will they refuse to print all the masters' papers and throw in their lot with their fellow-workers, though they may have to share their privations for a short time?

An enormous amount of courage is needed to carry on a fight of this nature. By standing shoulder to shoulder, all grades of workers together, we shall surely win through.

EMERGENCY POWERS ACT.

An Order in Council under the Emergency Powers Act has been issued. The various Departments of State are enabled to take possession of land, buildings or works, tramways and light railways, food and forage, coal mines, collieries and colliery buildings and property, and "any plant, machinery, vehicles or articles which may be deemed requisite for the purpose of maintaining the supply and distribution of coal."

The Board of Trade may give directions for the management and user of any coal mine, and for "the production, manufacture, treatment, transport, storage, distribution, supply and use of any coal."

The Postmaster-General may "direct that telegraphic messages of such classes or descriptions as he may describe, shall not be accepted for transmission."

Firearms!

A Secretary of State may specify an area in which there shall be a prohibition on the buying and selling of firearms, ammunition and explosives. He may forbid the carrying of the arms. If any person "by the discharge of firearms or otherwise, endangers the safety of any member of any of his Majesty's Forces or any police constable or member of any fire brigade . . . he shall be guilty of an offence. It is equally an offence for any person to take part in any meeting or procession with firearms or explosive substances in his possession.

"It is an offence for any person to do any act calculated to cause mutiny, sedition or disaffection among any of his Majesty's Forces, or the police force or the fire brigade, or to impede the distribution of food, fuel or water.

Public Meetings.

A Secretary of State, a mayor or a magistrate or chief officer of police may make an order prohibiting the holding of meetings when there is "reason to apprehend that the assembly . . ." will "give rise to grave disorder and will thereby cause undue demands to be made upon the police or military forces."

Any police constable may arrest without warrant any person "who so acts as to endanger the public safety, or who is guilty or who is suspected of being guilty of an offence" against the regulations. There are also powers of search when they are authorised by superior officers. Any police constable may search "any person whom he believes to be in possession of . . . any article" the possession of which constitutes an offence against the regulations. The police may also be authorised to stop and search vehicles.

A Justice of the Peace, on information in writing or on oath, may, in certain circumstances, require premises to be closed.

Such are some of the regulations to be put in force against the workers.

Remember that the Labour Party sanctioned the passing of the Emergency Powers Act!

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS—16.

"IT IS ONLY BY MAKING THE RULING FEW UNEASY THAT THE OPPRESSED MANY CAN OBTAIN THE LEAST PARTICLE OF RELIEF."

—BENTHAM.

SUCCESS TO "OUR" WORK.

Letter by Comrade ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAI (People's Commissar for Propaganda) to Comrade DORA B. MONTEFIORE.

Moscow, Jan. 26, 1921.

Dearest Comrade and Friend.—It was quite a treat to hear at last from you, dear Comrade Montefiore. How happy I should be if I could show you all the revolutionary and really constructive work that has been done in these three years.

who are over-burdened with work at home, and with professional work, and use their labour energy more productively for the sake of their own prosperity and the prosperity of their children and all children of the Soviet Republic!

Dear Comrade, I could write for hours about our "fairy tale" land, where the sunny side of creative work is darkened often by many shady sides of our life and tactics.

The biggest obstacle is removed: we have no private property, no capitalists to fight against!

Relations between Men and Women. And many other examples show the same thing. Especially is this taking place in family life and in the relations between men and women.

Nationalisation of Women. We laugh at the stories which the bourgeois papers publish about Russia, especially about the "nationalisation" of women!

Women in the Government. We have women not only as Soviet members, but also as presidents in Local Soviets.

Our Party is doing good work amongst the working women. We have a special women's section in each local party committee.

Methods of Propaganda. A very good method of enlightening the women is by the so-called "non-party" conferences.

Women's Papers. We have seven or four weekly papers for working women (a paper in each Government-Province), a monthly paper, a weekly bulletin.

Mothers and Children. But what I would like you to see is our children's social education! The institutions are not new as regards organisation—but the spirit that prevails there is new and inspiring!

no private property. The decision of the coal-owners declaring a lock-out of miners as from April 1 to enforce a reduction in their standard of living is being seriously considered throughout the length and breadth of the Valley.

The Mines Crisis. The decision of the coal-owners declaring a lock-out of miners as from April 1 to enforce a reduction in their standard of living is being seriously considered throughout the length and breadth of the Valley.

I wish you success in your, or rather OUR work!

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE NOTES.

CENTRAL BRANCH. (International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1.)

The Branch had an enjoyable ramble on Easter Monday, and will have another at an early date.

Mr. Bonar Law stated recently that there is no revolutionary movement in this country.

Would Branch Secretaries make a note that Branch reports are inserted free.

BRANCH REPORTS.

OUR COMMON ENEMY, the Capitalist Class, are busy carrying their lies and mis-statements into the homes of the toilers by leaflets, and door-to-door visits, well knowing the power that there is in printed matter.

WOMEN'S DAY. COMMUNIST PARTY. PUBLIC MEETING, 409, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, Friday, April 8th, At 7.30 p.m.

"What Communism will mean to Women and the Family."

Speakers: Dora Montefiore and Melvina Walker. Chair: Norah Smyth.

Come and hear all about life under Communism!

OGMORE VALLEY NOTES.

By "Communist."

I.L.P. Conference. The recent decision of the Left Wing to secede from this reactionary body and join the Communist Party of Great Britain is a move in the right direction, and its help inside the Party will be of very great assistance.

Amalgamation. Shop assistants throughout the country have at last secured that unity which all have for long been anxiously awaiting, namely the decision at the recent conference of Shop Assistants to a fusion with the National Amalgamated Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, who are at present negotiating with the Chemical Workers, which means an additional 8,000 members to the two unions.

The Mines Crisis. The decision of the coal-owners declaring a lock-out of miners as from April 1 to enforce a reduction in their standard of living is being seriously considered throughout the length and breadth of the Valley.

Failure of Second International. What is the use of the finest principles, of the splendid Theses of the Third International, if we do not exercise this opportunism?

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CONFERENCE OF UNEMPLOYED ORGANISATIONS

The National Conference of Unemployed Organisations will be held on April 12th, 1921, at the International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1.

Will all secretaries of Unemployed Committees who are not already in touch with the London District Council of Unemployed Organisations, communicate with the Secretary, P. Hays, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1, immediately, to enable him to send the necessary credentials, etc., for the conference.

Judging from the replies received up to date, the Conference will be a great success, and a National Organisation of the Unemployed brought into existence, which will have its fundamental basis in the overthrow of the system which causes unemployment.

TO ALL WORKERS IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

OUR COMMON ENEMY, the Capitalist Class, are busy carrying their lies and mis-statements into the homes of the toilers by leaflets, and door-to-door visits, well knowing the power that there is in printed matter.

They particularly attack the WORKERS' Government of Russia and Nationalisation.

THEIR LIES are bound to hurt our Cause if we don't counteract them with the TRUTH.

"TRUTH WILL OUT."

HELP ALONG THE LEAFLET CAMPAIGN by sending for 100 8s. 8d. (post paid) 500, 15s. To L. M. LEIGH ROTHWELL, East Boldre, Hants.

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

By HERMAN GORTER.

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "LEFT WING COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

(Continued from last issue.)

To-day, in the International, your actions differ widely from what they were in the Maximalist party.

It is the curse of the Labour movement that, as soon as it has acquired a certain "power," it seeks to enlarge this power by unprincipled means.

Just as the Social-Democrats acted at that time, you and the Third International are acting now.

Instead of applying the same efficacious tactics to ALL the other countries to the inner strengthening of the Third International, opportunism is again asserted to, as before, in Social-Democracy.

All elements are now to be affiliated: the Trade Unions, the Independents, the French Centre, parts of the Labour Party.

And when these huge masses have thus been added on one average line, they proceed to one common advance under an iron discipline, and with leaders that have been tested in this most extraordinary manner.

Failure of Second International. What is the use of the finest principles, of the splendid Theses of the Third International, if we do not exercise this opportunism?

Western Europe we wish first to build very, very clear, and very strong (though at the moment perhaps quite small) parties, kernels, just as we did in Russia.

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they are masses. Because you believe that if only you have masses obeying you on account of a strict discipline and centralisation, no matter whether they are communistic, half communistic, or not communistic at all, you, the leaders, will win.

Leaders-tactics are not those politics that want leaders and centralisation, for without these one attains nothing (they are as indispensable as the party), but it is those politics that collect masses, without inquiring into their convictions, their heart; politics that assume that the leaders, once they have great masses around them, will be able to win.

Russian Tactics Useless in West Europe. But these politics, which you and the Executive are now following, will lead nowhere in Western Europe.

Here the workers themselves must become strong, and, through them, their leaders. Here the evil, the leadership-policy, must be seized by the root.

Through these your tactics in the Trade Union question you and the Moscow Executive have proved, to my idea, that UNLESS YOU SHOULD ALTER THESE TACTICS, YOU CANNOT CONDUCT THE REVOLUTION IN WESTERN EUROPE.

You say that the Left Wing, in following its tactics, can only talk. Well, Comrade, in the other countries the Left Wing has had next to no opportunities as yet to act.

Next we have to take up the defence of the Left Wing in the question of Parliamentarism.

Subjects of Bourgeois Democracy. In the first place, the workers of Western Europe and the working masses in general are completely subjected, as far as ideas are concerned, to the bourgeois system of representation, to parliamentarism, to the bourgeois democracy.

These relations have been very finely depicted by Comrade Pankovick in the Vienna periodical, "Communismus."

"The experience of Germany places us face to face with the great problem of the revolution in Western Europe. In these countries the old bourgeois method of production, and the corresponding highly developed culture of many centuries have completely put their stamp on the thoughts and feelings of the masses.

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TO BE CONTINUED.

* Originally I considered this a minor point. The attitude of the Spartacus League, however, at the time of the Kapp putsch, and your opportunist brochure, opportunist even in this question, have convinced me that it is of great importance.

** This great influence, this entire ideology of the West of Europe, of the United States and the British colonies, is not understood in Eastern Europe, in Turkey, the Balkans, etc. (to say nothing of Asia, etc.).

Hungary, and the region east of the Elbe, there was no small, strong bourgeois class dominating the spiritual life since days immemorial; the primitive agrarian relations with the landed property on a large scale, with patriarchal feudalism, and village Communism, determined the spiritual life.

Here Comrade Pankovick, in the ideological problem, has hit the nail on the head. Far better than it has ever been done from your side, he has demonstrated the difference between the east and the west of Europe, from an ideological point of view, and has given the cue towards finding the revolutionary tactics for Western Europe.

Workers Win Rights for Possessing Class. However, there is more to be said regarding the ideological problem yet: the civic freedom, the power of the parliament, has been won in Western Europe by means of the wars for liberty, waged by former generations, by the ancestors.

Moreover the workers themselves have fought here, often for years, for universal suffrage, and have thus obtained it, directly or indirectly. This also was a victory, which bore fruit at the time. The thought and the feeling, that it is a progress, that it is a victory, to be represented, and to entrust their own representatives with the care of one's affairs in Parliament, prevails generally.

And, finally, reformism has brought the working-class of Western Europe altogether into the power of the parliamentary members, who have led it into war, and into alliances with capitalism. This influence of reformism is colossal also.

All these causes have made the worker the slave of Parliament, to which he leaves all action. He himself does not act any longer.

Then comes the revolution. Now he has to act for himself. Now the worker, alone with his class, must fight the gigantic enemy, must wage the most terrible fight that ever was. No tactics of the leaders can help him.

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BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 8d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD

Outside Holloway Gaol,

SUNDAY, APRIL 10th, AT 4 p.m.

Speaker: J. STEELE.

Followed by a meeting outside

Pentonville Prison.

Come and cheer our Comrades Pankovick and Malone.

Workers' Dreadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.
Acting Editor: JACK O'SULLIVAN.

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FEED 'EM WELL.

The miners have "downed tools." They are the first section of the British working-class to show they have the spirit to fight in the Wage War. The "bosses" will try to keep this sectional action from spreading; sectionalism is a mighty good means of defeating our own class interests. Everybody is wondering what the other parts of the Triple Alliance will do; will the whole become a Triple Defiance?

Not unless—and this is where we must put our spoke in—the rank and file "get wise" about their Union officials and prevent any "shinanikin" (as the Irish say).

The Star for Friday, April 1st, reports a big Yorkshire mine-owner as saying:—

"The Triple Alliance have four days to consider costly participation, and under the direction of Mr. Thomas, who will be back from Holland to-morrow, they will hesitate uselessly to add to unemployment."

An early edition of the same rag ran—referring to J.H.T.:—

"It is expected that his influence will be used to prevent a stoppage of the railwaymen."

There you have it. Thomas is messing about with the "Yellow" International at Amsterdam, but he's coming back soon. So Capital will be jolly glad to have his aid. Watch him! Remember the railway strike in 1918; remember J.H.T.'s opposition, and remember how well he trampled upon the rights of his fellows in the 1919 strike. Capital should worry! Feed them well and they'll do anything and anybody.

Feed 'em well! 'Tis only a short time ago when the King graciously granted a grand reception at his residence, Buckingham Palace. There was a whole bunch of blue-blooded aristocratic parasites there, and a few well-known Labour Faking Traitors too; amongst whom were J. H. Thomas, Adamson, and—listen, mine bummers—Vernon Hartshorn of the South Wales Miners' Federation; a fine crowd of Dishonourables, with Horatio the Great Bottomley there telling jokes about the workers; all feeding at the workers'—pardon, the King's—expense, and giving hints, no doubt, as to how the workers could be diddled. Some more? Yes. The National Alliance of Employers and Employed (otherwise "bosses" and slaves), recently held their annual "pow-wow." Who do you think "represented" the slaves? One, Arthur Pugh, of the Iron and Steel Trades' Federation, by whom he is paid £1,905 yearly. (Don't ask why).

One feature of the "confab." was a splendid gorge, otherwise "bean-feast," and amongst the gourmandisers were J.H.T. and J.R.C. Yes, old Clynes, the betrayer of last year's Gasworkers' strike and many other sectional attempts on the part of the workers to air and redress grievances. So the Privy Council was well represented and the Workers were misrepresented. What else might we expect when they feed 'em well and we follow them?

No, Sectionalism must give place to industrial solidarity in action; and we workers must lose all faith in officials and act ourselves.

The miners' struggle is our struggle, and if we fight not with them, we are traitors to them and our own class. Solidarity! Solidarity! Solidarity!
C. B. J.-W.

WOMEN'S DAY.

March 8th is celebrated as International Women's Day, to commemorate the women who started the Russian Revolution in 1917.

This year we are celebrating it on April 8th, and a meeting is being held that night at 7.30 at 400, Old Ford Road. Men as well as women are invited to attend, as we believe in the equality of the sexes, and in men and women working together. It is only by unity amongst the workers and amongst the sexes that the proletariat can succeed in throwing off the capitalist yoke.

We feel too, that the men will be glad of this opportunity of showing their appreciation of the part the women played in emancipating the workers of Russia from Czarism.

OUR EDITOR.

Prisoner 9587 was visited at Holloway Prison by three friends. Her health appears to be comparatively improved, but mental idleness, the lack of writing material, the solitude of the cell weighs heavily upon her, with bad effect.

She counts the days, the hours; longing to resume her part in the fight.

It is expected that she will be released on May 30th.

At one time it was hoped that old friends of the Suffrage Movement would rally round and secure her the benefits of Regulation 243A, which had been won in those days, and which would have permitted her to write and study during the term of her imprisonment.

There was, behind that Regulation, the assurance of a Cabinet Minister that it would be granted in all cases when the offence did not imply "moral turpitude."

Both that assurance and the assistance of former friends—with rare exceptions—have failed.

Comrade Pankhurst fully realises why. The agitation for the Vote was one for a reform inside the bourgeois State. Necessary at one time, it is now very much a thing of the past. To prisoners for that agitation, the capitalist State could show signs of leniency.

The agitation for the emancipation of the workers is a class-war one. It is directed against the privileged position of a few. The capitalist State will not show any mercy. Old friends of former days are ranging themselves on the other side of the barricade.

Communism is not "respectable," and the Communist is an "outcast."

An outcast with a glorious ideal, that, through the sufferings of the pioneers, will become a reality.

Therefore Prisoner 9587 bids comrades outside to be active and willing. Solidarity at home and International Solidarity will win.

"PROPERTY" AND THE PONIES.

At the time of writing, although the Transport Workers have decided to support the miners, the situation is not yet clear.

Just as when a ship is lost the chief concern of the ship-owners is the cargo, and thoughts of the "hands" lags behind, so, in this case, the mine-owners and the House are chiefly concerned "to save the lives of the poor dumb animals" (which, by the way, are all on the surface, for the order of the miners' was: "stop working as soon as the ponies are out")—and about "property."

The eventual sufferings of the wives and of the kiddies of the miners do not enter—it seems—into consideration.

The Press that is for "those who can read but cannot think," is columns deep on the question of the "flooding of the mines."

The press that is for "those who cannot either read nor think"—our illustrated daily—shows us Lord Bledisloe stoking the furnaces to keep the mines dry.

We have failed to see a single line denoting anxiety concerning the welfare of miners' children.

Why bother, indeed; they are the Plebs.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Next Congress of the Third International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has decided to convene the Third Congress of the Third International on June 1st, 1921.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted the following provisional Agenda:—

Draft of Agenda for the Third Congress of the Communist International.

1. Report of the Executive of the Communist International.
2. The economic world-crisis and the new tasks of the Communist International.
3. Tactics of the Communist International during the Revolution.
4. Transition period (special requirements, special actions, and final struggle of the Revolution).
5. Fight against the Amsterdam "yellow" Trade Union Federation.
6. The Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.
7. Construction of the Communist Parties, methods of their work.
8. Construction of the Communist International and its relation to the affiliated Parties.
9. The Eastern question.
10. The Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International. (Appeal of the Italian Socialist Party against the resolution of the Executive Committee).
11. The Communist Labour Party of Germany and the Communist International. (Appeal of the Communist Party of Germany against the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International).
12. The Women's Movement.
13. The Young Communist Movement.
14. Election of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Headquarters of the Executive Committee.
15. Other business.

RED YOUTH NOTES.

We hope next week to give a report of the Proletarian School Movement Conference which was held at Glasgow.

Our Maxim No. 2.

"Thou shalt not be a patriot, for a patriot is an international blackleg. Your duty to your party and your class demands that you be a citizen of the world."

The Reason.

The reason that the Communist schools called the Proletarian Schools is as follows:—The word "Socialism" does not mean much to these are so many grades of thought calling themselves Socialists, that one actually feels ashamed to be labelled a Socialist. The State has been used since the Great War, from the point of view of the Proletariat, as a hard task-master, it has been a ground to powder every bit of human freedom working class had. This is State Socialism, it disowns it, and no matter the cost, we will fight and in fighting it, we have to fight our own class for they, like sheep, have been led into the wilderness. The Proletarian School Movement represents the "Fourth Estate." It demands the complete surrender of the capitalist class; it stands for the end of the Political State; it represents the Communist Soviet Republic.

The Wisdom of Youth.

Profit without Labour is like God without Hell.

Y.P.C.I.

The periodical publications of the Young Communist movement are worthy of admiration. Besides two organs of the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, there are no less than twenty Communist periodicals. The movement in Germany and Italy possess their own press and put much propaganda matter.

On the Continent.

The Young Communist movement abroad is posing of great vitality and is spreading daily. Most of the countries of Europe possess bodies, even the nationalities and newly formed nationalities such as Lithuania, Finland, Bohemia, Jugo-Slavia, etc. There are Young Communist bodies even in Turkestan and Siberia.

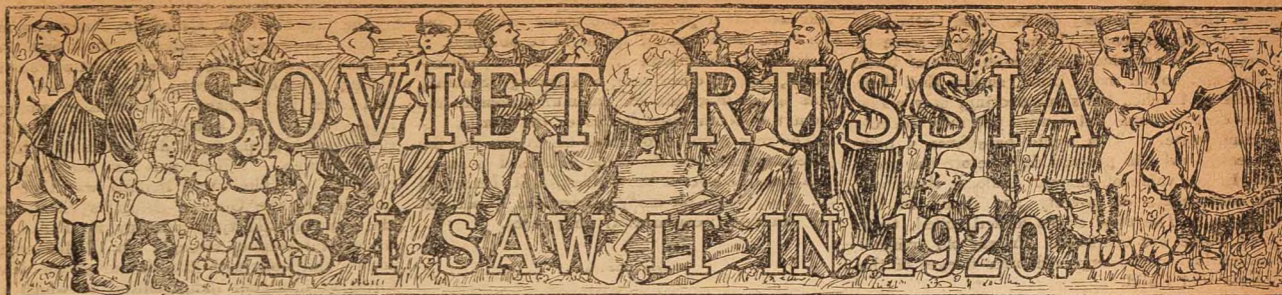
Russian Youth.

Comrade Posner, in the name of the Central Committee of the Instructing Staff, reports that the Party of the Soviets has torn away from the bourgeois main support, namely, the privilege of know-nothing, an army of 70,000 Communist instructors, supported by the increasing numbers of the Communist People. This latter group is not only an inexhaustible reserve for the Red Army, but also a peaceful army of science and technology and of organised labour. The Hope of the World is Youth!

OUR COMPETITION.

By March 25th our Competition closed. We have received several MSS., also a couple of letters pointing out that the time originally allowed for writing was short. We have decided to postpone the date of the closing of the competition till April 30th. Comrades who have not the time to finish their MSS. have, therefore, another month in which to complete them.

Since the subject of the pamphlet we are publishing is one that will remain of actual long time, nothing will be lost by the delay. Received this week, by registered letter, from London, a typescript of 12 pages, marked with three letters.



By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

From smiling meadows women with sickles greet us—Petrograd at last!—The Vanished Glory of Nevsky Prospect—Mashed Potatoes at the Hotel International—The Moscow Crowd—The Tinned Meat of the Italians—John Reed.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

It was warm, the sun shone from a cloudless sky, but the temperature seemed to have no influence on costume. Heavy British and French khaki overcoats, and longer, heavier Russian ones were worn freely, British khaki trousers or riding breeches and puttees, and British sailors' trousers are combined with Russian blouses of all sorts.

Some people wore leather top-boots, a few went bare foot. One young man had a white blouse wadded coat, and another a sheepskin with the wool inside. One woman had a white cotton dress with a short skirt, and her fat legs were bare. Most people were well shod. Dark skirts with light-coloured cotton blouses were most common, and many women wore long scarves, tightly bound about the head, and tied on both sides with big bows or long floating ends.

At a station nearer Petrograd, surrounded by smiling meadows and corn fields, women stood by the train with sickles in their hands. There was a curious blending in these Russian scenes of the very old and very new.

Those old men with fur caps and long beards, the women with gay, bright peasant costumes, and that baby girl with the close-fitting black cap, patterned by big red and yellow flowers, seem to have stepped out of an ancient picture.

Close to them is a youth in a black college gown and a group of girl students with bobbed hair, returning to study in Petrograd. They carry great bunches of blue cornflowers. A beautiful dark girl in white muslin whose shining black hair hangs in a great plait, says good-bye to them. A woman with the dusky, almost purplish bloom of the East on her cheeks, has a flaxen-haired baby boy by the hand.

PETTY TRADING.

"Tabac, tabac," cried a little swarm of women and children, running beside the train, as it stopped at a lonely station.

They hold up jars of wild raspberries and the familiar white- or blackberries; which are growing beside the railway line, just as they do at home in England. I threw down to a wistful-faced little girl, a piece of Norwegian chocolate and at once a woman handed to me a jar of berries. I shook some of them out into a paper and handed back the jar and, as the train moved on, the uncomfortable thought crept into my mind that, by giving the chocolate and accepting the berries, I had perhaps encouraged illegal petty trading in Soviet Russia. Afterwards I discovered that the peasants bring to the train, not merely wild berries, but milk, eggs, potatoes, chickens and other produce, which they exchange with the passengers for tobacco, tea, sugar, sewing-cotton, needles, or anything else they need, which the passengers may have to offer.

For money the peasants care little. I saw, after much bargaining, an old woman part with half a cup of wild raspberries in exchange for 50 roubles of the Kerensky period, which are still in circulation.

This petty trading is tolerated and will continue so long as it meets popular need. The community, as yet, makes no arrangement for supplying food to the railway passengers. Only hot and cold water can be obtained at the stations. The passengers are therefore glad to get food from the peasants and, as the community is not able to provide transport for all the produce, peasants are glad to dispose of it to the passing travellers.

PETROSADVSK.

At Petrosavodsk we left the train and walked through the quiet little town. We stopped to gaze at the blue arm of the sea stretching out below us, and the white church with its gilded domes glistening in the sun.

A little boy and his frollicking clumsy, white collie puppy came up to make friends with us. Some laughing children showed us a tiny kitten. We visited the big wooden building that houses the offices of the Communist Party, which are just like other offices save for three or four rifles standing in a rack in an inner room. A triumphal arch erected in honour of the Third International Congress, was standing at the junction of roads named after Lenin and Engels.

One changes trains at Petrosavodsk, and for the rest of the journey we travelled in one of the carriages of an old international train *de luxe* of pre-war days. A special delegates' compartment had been reserved for a Finnish delegate and myself, and for our companions, Goriçlova and the young Red soldier. An expensively-dressed man and woman, with aggressive manners, demanded admission because they objected to sitting amongst peasants in a precisely similar compartment adjoining. They had a heated controversy with the Red soldier, who refused to let them enter, though when the train filled up he called in some of the peasants.

PETROGRAD AT LAST.

Petrograd at last! From the train emerged a teeming population; weather-worn peasants from remote villages, their luggage wrapped in goatskin, sackcloth or coloured hearthrugs; bourgeois illicit traders with handsome leather bags and smart new clothes; students and factory workers.

On the station walls were big notices:—
"FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!"
"THE SPIRIT OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION BREATHES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD."
"WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE!"

The people were streaming in orderly file past. We followed her sturdy little figure into a once who had attempted to invade our compartment the previous day.

"See how we have them disciplined!" said the young Red soldier.
Goriçlova pulled her cap over her eyes, thrust her hands deep into her pockets and sped away. We followed her sturdy little figure into a once ornate office.

Its walls, scratched and dirty, were defaced by many notices and scarred by an occasional shot. Its floor, once polished parquet, is now but a patchwork of inconvenient little pieces of wood that curl up and chip away, leaving dark holes in which rubbish collects.

"Telephone out of order." We rushed on through a room with walls lined by stacks of rifles, a soldier on guard, though another room crowded with soldiers, rifle in hand, to an office

where clerks were writing. A peasant, bending forward under his heavy load, humbly, respectfully, took up his stand before one of the scribes as though expecting hours to elapse before anyone would notice him. His patient resignation was a habit born of long experience. A slow surprise seemed to dawn on his face when he got prompt attention.

Outside in the Square of the Revolution, as it has been re-named, was concentrated the little traffic and bustle that is in Petrograd. A few motors on official business, a few carriages for hire, some porters and travellers with their luggage, standing or sitting upon the steps. Placards concerning the Revolution that swept its way first through the streets of Petrograd, had been pasted so thickly on certain patches of wall that they stood out several inches thick, their edges broken away, brown and brittle.

FALLEN GLORIES.

The once splendid shops on the Nevsky Prospect were all shut up, bolted and barred and needing a coat of paint. Their glory had vanished long before the Soviets closed them. They had fallen into the hands of the small speculators, whose trumpery and incongruous assorted wares—a few little pieces of glue, some bobbins of silk and fish-bones, an old net and packet of safety pins, were still displayed in all their feeble sparseness. Dead indeed are the bourgeois riches of the Nevsky!

In the Soviet shop windows were large assortments of Communist literature, photographs of the leaders, meetings of the Soviets, demonstrations and incidents of the Revolution. A curious combination of photography and drawing, much used, the faces and hands alone being printed from the negative, the figures lit sketched with brush or pen. Such a picture the British Labour Delegation showed T. C. in the centre, looking like a rubicund Baccus.

The trams were not running; since they are only brought out at times of special need, there was little traffic of any kind. Most of the pedestrians, both men and women, wore simple Russian blouses of light-coloured stuff.

By the bridge over the Neva the wood pav of the roadway was being repaired. Two barges were lying in the river a hundred yards more below the bridge. One of these barges loaded with logs of wood. Men standing planks which sloped up to the bank passed their hand over hand, in unloading them. From the second barge, women hurled wood blocks like those which paved the Nevsky up on to the roadway. Their strong, bare arms rose and in unison, and the blocks went hurtling thro the sunshine.

"They make sport of the work," said young Red soldier beside me.
"DON'T YOU KNOW WHAT WORK IS?"
"Don't you know what work is?" the w cried with mocking laughter, when a couple of men from another country stood to watch the other day.

The gigantic statue of Catherine surrounded by her courtiers, looked down on the change of Nevsky. The great churches, monuments of the dead past, still retained some of their influence, even in proletarian Petrograd. Some women still crossed themselves as they passed shrines, but the congregations were small.

In the vast dimness of the Isaac Cathedral, one Sunday afternoon, I saw barely a score of people at the service, and though some of them knelt and bowed many times, so low that their foreheads touched the stone flooring, only a few one- or two-rouble notes were put into the collecting plate.

and without a probusk one could not pass beyond the office where they might be obtained. Zimoviev, the Secretary of the Third International, has his office here, and through Smolney pass all the literature and communications to and from the Communist Parties of the world.

CHAPTER III. MOSCOW.

And now to Moscow—oh strange city of contradictions—so deeply medieval yet, in spite of the Revolution.

The intense heat weighed one down like a heavy cloak. Great forest fires were burning for miles around Moscow, and 60,000 Red soldiers were engaged in beating them out.

THE HOTEL INTERNATIONAL.

In the entrance hall of the Hotel International, once the Hotel des Anglaises, which accommodated foreign delegates and visitors and some Soviet officials, a little woman was on guard, sitting on a high chair with a rifle in her hand.

The dining-room had been newly decorated in honour of the Second Congress of the Third International; its white panelled walls were shaded by soft sunrise colours.

Breakfast was being served. A smart young Naval officer and a red-haired American journalist sat at the centre table. An American linotype operator was by the window.

For luncheon, later on, the waiters served, with equal aplomb and grace, a small cake of washed potatoes measuring about three inches by four, coated with gravy sauce and followed by weak tea.

Dinner to-day was an exact replica of luncheon. For the rest, the hotel had probably changed little since the old days. The furniture, which was in good condition, was as before.

SMOLNEY.

Soon after my arrival at the hotel came the Kingisepp of the Third International, who said: "Come to Smolney," and away we went in a motor to that headquarters of revolutionary activity which was once a school for noble girls.

Before the main entrance was a most outrageously bad statue of Karl Marx. Young artists of talent who starve unwanted in Europe would find a generous welcome for their work in Soviet Russia.

On the bare white walls of the barrack-like interior of Smolney, hung numbers of red banners. Red guards were stationed everywhere,

The rear windows overlook the Neva, and the green banks where the noble girls used to play. Across the river is the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, where for many generations revolutionary comrades wearied away long years.

One rose from the sleeping-car to a strange scene: a great square, a mass of almost motionless people in loose straight clothing, white, grey, and dust coloured. Old women sat on the pavement, peddling small green apples, wild berries and other trifling wares.

At that church with the blue and gold carved canopy, the people, in a frenzy of faith and fear, once tore a priest to pieces because he refused to hang out the ikon they used to kiss.

The weird Basil Cathedral is like a bundle of footless towers, surrounded by porches and capped by domes that burst into green and yellow spirals, or are covered, porcupine-like, with spikes of green and red.

CHAPTER IV. DELEGATES AT THE DJELAVOI DVOR.

The Djelavoi Dvor Hotel blazed with red banners and the watchwords of proletarian solidarity in many languages. It was thronged with delegates of the Third International, come to take part in making the world revolution; striving through the crowd of their own numbers that veiled the real Russia like a fog, to learn something of this gigantic thing we call the Soviet Republic.

They were greeted in Petrograd by the spontaneous uprising of the proletarian masses, in Moscow by magnificent ordered marching. Children threw flowers in their path; magnificent athletes and wonderfully-wrought pageants were displayed for them.

The delegates thus challenged, thus received with a welcome of awful beauty, seemed a light-hearted, gregarious crowd.

The representatives of each country mostly went together in droves.

The Italians had brought with them, it was said, a special train of tinned and bottled meats and wines. Uprone on the crest of the great popular movement in Italy, they were gay and confident.

The English, Irish, Canadians, Americans and others who speak our language, kept first their national divisions, but showed a distinct affinity amongst the entire group, and a marked division from the Germans. This division sprang a little, though they refused to own it, from the consciousness of the racial differences in a closely allied people.

The representatives of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, the K.A.P.D., left the Conference early, because the majority view was opposed to theirs.

Souchie, a tall fair young man who represented the German workshop movement, and spoke good English, worked amicably with the British Shop Stewards in Committee, but never became one of the English-speaking fraternity.

JOHN REED.

Big John Reed, apparently full of radiant health, clear-eyed and good tempered, modestly ignoring his own brilliant talents as a descriptive writer, was consulted by all, and was always ready to serve.

The delegates were better fed than the mass of Russians; better fed even than the Commissaries and responsible workers, whose rations had been lately increased, but were still below the standard of the Red Army.

To the Russians, the Conference, which sat for a month and met between 8 p.m. and 4 a.m., was an addition to their usual work.

DELEGATES AND THEIR RATIIONS.

The foreign delegates were left with many leisure hours. Soon tired of sight-seeing, many of them occupied themselves by making tea in each other's rooms with provender brought by newcomers from Norway.

They were desirous of securing their own means of life at the expense of other industries—a false suspicion, of course, but one which the Press has not failed to fan with insistent lies.

* Kasha is usually made of buckwheat. When cooked in an earthenware pot in a slow oven for hours it looks dark brown, but when cooked like porridge it is a light greyish brown.

(To be continued in our next issue.)

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INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

Mineworkers and Press Join in Frontal Attack on Miners—Their Great Concern for the Community. The "Printers' Watchword"—Disatisfied Compositors Display Ignorance of Wiles of Capitalism.

Now that another industrial crisis has arrived, those who are ferrest in their opposition to communal enterprise are shrieking the loudest about the "peril of the nation," the necessity of safeguarding the British public, and the "criminal act of the miners' executive in ordering the pumpmen and engine-men to withdraw from the mines, thus leaving the mines to their fate."

Will Government Advocate Short Time?

There is little doubt that the Government will again issue instructions to employers of labour to put more of their men on short time, in order to put more of the public into the hands of the unemployed.

Miners Not to Blame.

No one can blame the miners for refusing to accept conditions which, in the words of one miners' leader, will reduce them to a condition little better than paupers and convicts, especially in the case of those with families.

Workers' Chief Weapon.

Direct Action—by which I mean not merely the strike to secure more wages or better conditions of employment, but the political strike—will inevitably become the chief weapon of the workers, as they realise more and more the futility of political action through the vote.

The L.S.C. Reels.

The appearance of a journal published by the L.S.C. and file of the printing and allied trades is the sign that the present period of depression in that industry has awakened some of the workmen to their unions.

the paper says:—

"We are by no means the only trade union suffering from a domineering officialism, which is possible only because members are apathetic and are kept in ignorance of any but the official view."

So far so good. No one can quarrel with such an aim as that. But when one reads the policy of the Right-to-Work Committee as laid down in the paper, one begins to wonder whether the Right-to-Work Committee is not itself in need of awakening from mental atrophy.

Will "Watchword" favour us with a reply.

One gets the idea from the journal that the officials are going to get it in the neck; that an attempt will be made to remove any species of dictatorship from the union; and that if only the majority of the members will support the Right-to-Work Committee, the millenium will very soon be ushered in.

No NATIONALITY.

"The fact is, as individualism suppresses individuality, so nationalism suppresses all that is worth keeping in the special elements which go to make up a real and not an artificial nation."

everything else; that they have a right to LIVE; and not merely the rights to WORK, receive unemployment doles, and be for even dependent on almshouses and charitable organisations in which to moulder when their masters have cast them on the scrapheap.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN GERMANY.

(Extract from Esperanto letter (18.3.21) from Hermann Theobald, a mechanic in Hamburg. The reader should note that two hours a day for three months spent with Esperanto would enable him to enjoy full and easy intercourse, not only with his fellow-workers in Germany, but in every land.—M.S.)

Politically and economically the German workers are living through an exceedingly sharp crisis. It has been chiefly caused by the result of the London Conference. More so than ever before the German working-class suffers the most grievous misery.

But German industry, if that happens, will be totally destroyed. It is true that German economy will not be able to survive such an experience. The result will be, and already is, mass unemployment, hunger and misery, which will chiefly hit the bottom classes.

No NATIONALITY.

In many meetings and in many ballots one is able to see the ever-growing influence of Communism. In a loud voice is demanded the alliance with Russia. But the German capitalists fear this alliance.

The present situation is such that one must expect grave happenings. The misery of the bottom class is almost unbearable. The crisis cannot find solution. We stand ready for the attack.

No NATIONALITY.

"The fact is, as individualism suppresses individuality, so nationalism suppresses all that is worth keeping in the special elements which go to make up a real and not an artificial nation."



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE CRIMINAL AND THE COMMUNITY.

(By Dr. James Devon. Lane. 6s.)

At first sight this modest, quiet and unassuming little book may seem rather humble and unattractive by the side of the brilliant scientific theories of the Continental criminologists. But when it is digested and its true purport gauged, it will, we hope and believe pave the way to a new departure in our treatment of the criminal. The easy-going rule of thumb brutality of the old penal code was replaced about 1850 by the "Millbank" system of reformed hygiene, severe discipline, solitary confinement, religious teaching, moral reformation, etc., in which the Victorian officials put their trust. This truly wooden and rigidly military pseudo-philanthropic method of slowly dehumanising a man, failed to put together causes and effects, and worse still, it treated every individual on the same cast iron, standardised pattern. And this mitigated form, which, as the institution of "barrack system," is still in vogue in English prisons to-day, is, as Dr. Devon tells us, practically a failure. We do not speak here of the "Police Court" system of dealing with petty offences, but with the system of treating "hardened offenders," and the graver offences in the eyes of the law. "The longer a person is in prison the less fit he is on liberation to take his place in the community," says Dr. Devon. "Imprisonment usually improves a man's health, but impairs his mentality. The failure of institutions is due to the fact that the manner of living in them differs essentially from anything that obtains outside." A great many of the offenders "repeat the offence and return to prison." Why? Because, though they may have improved in obedience, "they have lost the power to act for themselves." "There is no official good enough to be entrusted with the lives of his fellow citizens; and there is no criminal bad enough to be emmured from the public gaze and placed wholly under the control of anyone."

The fact is that big convict prisons, penitentiaries, reformatories, etc., like the monstrous work-houses set up by the Victorian reformers, were large-scale attempts to save people trouble. Paupers, the weak, the infirm, those who go "wrong, and have less power of resistance to temptation than other men," were drafted off into institutions, where they were supposed to be disciplined, reformed, and taken care of, etc., by intelligent officials. Out of sight, out of mind. But Dr. Devon tells us "not only the inmates of the institution acquire peculiarities which mark them off from people living outside," but also that their will-power is still further reduced and that they are, in consequence, rendered still more unfit to fight for existence once they are returned to free life.

Every reformer, every revolutionary should read this book, because in the work of social reconstruction we are aiming at when striving to establish Communism, we need perforce take into account not only the needs and the justice of the case of the healthy worker, but also the existence of the feeble, of what to-day is called the criminal; in other words, of that fraction of Humanity which is, as it were, the by-products in the wastage of human life that goes on under Capitalism.

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JUST OUT!

AN APPEAL

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

PRICE THREEPENCE

From the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

NOT TO ST. STEPHEN'S.

It is not to Parliament that the eyes of the nation are turned to-day. The discussions which are taking place in the House are but a pale reflex of the struggle that is fought outside, in the fierce clash of two contending forces.

It is the Miners' Federation and the organisations representing the masters' interests, that to-day attract the nation's attention.

The industrial power of the workers is greater than Parliamentary palaver. Just as the power of the Commons, centuries ago grew out of the need of the hour as the result of the economic forces then at play, so to-day, under our very eyes and yet almost unperceived, a new power is growing that is stabilising itself, and shaping its weapons and its own rules. The power of the workers associated and federated by industry.

That power gradually—amidst great difficulties, even through errors and set-backs—grows to be the dominating factor of the national life. When the *Workers' Dreadnought*, inside the Communist Party, pointed out that emancipation would not come through Parliament, the discussion around the question tended to become academic.

To-day the rude force of the facts is there to demonstrate the truth of our contention. An ounce of experience is worth a ton of theory. Industrial England rose to greatness by her early exploitation—as compared with other Continental countries—of her coal resources and by her early application of coal-generated steam power to machinery.

Since the main source of mechanical power is still coal, the miner, as coal-getter, plays a primary part in the life of the nation. The miner, having grown to class-consciousness, demands his place under the sun and leads the way in the struggle for the final emancipation of the workers.

Parliament will talk: will finally legislate, or rather give legal sanction to Cabinet decisions. All the while, the moving spirit will be outside. The industrial power of the workers dictates, when expressed in concerted action.

The struggle is great. It will be fought keenly. It will be fought outside Parliament. The greater the class-consciousness, the solidarity of all the wealth-producers, the lessers the sufferings attendant upon every change in the economic structure of society.

The Miners are leading.
Long live the Miners' Federation of Great Britain!

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

My Uncle Fitzarthur is one of those unfortunate people who find time hanging heavily on their hands. He has, as it were, nothing to do and plenty of time to do it in. But you must not jump to conclusions, Henry, and imagine he is one of the unemployed. He doesn't need to go round with a banner and a collecting-box with the words "Curse your Charity. It's work I want."

No. He is in a sort of way a capitalist, and as such he finds work for the working class. He smokes cigars and so keeps cigar-makers employed. If it wasn't for him they would be growing food or doing something useful. But that would only bring prices down and so ruin our trade.

Anyway that accounts for the fact that the other day he sent round to me a few volumes he had no use for. He is a great reader and is always improving his mind. There is nothing like fiction for that.

He is of course against Communism and all that sort of thing, you know. But he doesn't need to read "What Communism Is" in order to squash the Communists. He takes his ideas of Communism from the "Daily Express" and other people recently escaped from Russia. (Nobody ever comes from Russia, they always escape, you know).

One of his collection of mind-food (or mental pabulum as some devilish clever people call it) was a book called the "Last Hope." I thought maybe it would be a book about Joe Beckett or perhaps Kid Basher, or even maybe about Lloyd George. But it wasn't!

It was what I called a Romance—a Historical Romance, to be exact. Romance is another name for a lie, but sometimes it just means a love-story. Anyway, this "Last Hope" was a bit of both wrapped round a historical fact, or rather a historical rumour.

If you know anything of the French Revolution, you will know that the misguided French people, led by agitators of the day—prehistoric Bolsheviks, as the saying is—rose up and did things they really didn't oughter.

Well, one of the things they did was to get hold of the good King Louise Umpteenth and push him into prison as if he was a Communist agitator. They also sent his beautiful queen (queens are always beautiful, if you get me) to keep him from brooding over the dry bread and margarine, to cheer him up, and to tell him that ere long General Wrangle would put the kybosh on the local Lenin and Trotsky, or words to that effect.

And what is worse they also sent his little boy, who rejoiced in the name of Dauphin (or in English, the Prince of Wales) to the same place. They might have sent him on a tour to Australia, but ships were rather at a standstill in those days, and the cinema wasn't invented, so what was the use?

Any old how, the King was disappointed in his hopes and made an intimate acquaintance with the guillotine. So did the Queen. And this in spite of the fact that she had felt so sorry for the dear peepul, donchaknow. When she heard they had no bread, she asked why they didn't go and buy cake. Perhaps the morning paper said "cake" instead of bread. Anyway she too went to Heaven.

About the Dauphin. He was supposed to have contracted fever in prison and died, like little Jim, to slow music please. But the historians knew bet-

ter. He escaped and married someone and had a little boy.

This boy, in the book "The Last Hope," is the Dauphin's heir, and therefore the throne of France was his by rights. But the author doesn't tell you all this at once. For all he knew, you might have a weak heart. Also he had to spin out the thing to make it a proper eight-shilling novel. So he breaks the news gently to the reader.

One would think that a boy, living in a fishing village on the East Coast like this boy does, would have enough to worry about. But no. Lots of mysterious people must come over from France mysteriously and talk in hushed whispers of the Great Day that is to come. And so they persuade the boy to become the Last Hope of the Royalist Party in France.

He goes over there, mysteriously of course, prepared to unfurl the banner of his fathers, and bring back the good old days. The plot is extremely simple. It is the usual plot that any old White Guard or General Denikin might think of, so there is no infringing of the copyright act.

The nobility and gentry, who are in hiding or trying to look like honest workmen, sweeping the streets and selling matches, are to have something good. They are to have soft jobs in the New Day that is to be, when the King of France steps on the Throne that is his and unfurls the banner of his fathers, and the rest of it.

But in order to qualify for a post where you can dip your hand deep in the nation's pocket while the king looks the other way, you have to raise a few corps to fight for the banner of his father, as I have explained. These corps or corpses are, of course, to be the working-class. They are to do the fighting and win the throne for the Last Hope so he can unfurl— Yes, I see you get me. What the workers get after fighting isn't quite clear, but they will have the satisfaction of paying no more taxes to a Republic One and Indivisible. Instead they will pay them to the nobility and gentry who will, perhaps, hand them over intact to the king as he unfurls the banner of his fathers.

There is only one thing about the "Last Hope" that is good reading. The Per-rot doesn't come off. You see the Royalists had sort of overlooked the fact that the Republic One and Indivisible was run by the capitalists. And as you cannot raise money or even buy the banner of your fathers without being on good terms with a banker, they sort of struck a snag. And so the sad sea waves cast up the Last Hope. Price 8s., cloth bound, obtainable of all bookstalls.

And what's all this about. Well, the holidays are now over and you will be interested in a piece of light fiction that doesn't make you think.

Literature Secretaries of each Branch of the Y.W.L. should place a weekly order for a definite number of *Dreadnoughts* with their newsagent. If they have any difficulty in obtaining them, they should apply to 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

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