

# God the Known and Unknown by Samuel Butler.

# Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST.

VOL. IX. No. 34.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1922.

Weekly—PRICE ONE PENNY.

## The Truth about the Fascisti.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Socialist Party's Resolution.

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

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

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

### Resolution of Socialist Members of Parliament.

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

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

### How the Workers were Betrayed.

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

(Continued on p. 4.)

### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

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







## The Election.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

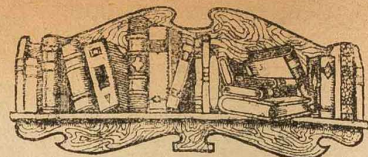
The election will soon be over; and then, whether it be Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Asquith, or Mr. Henderson, who is vegetating in respectable opulence on the ex-Cabinet Minister's dole, your virtues, fellow-worker, will cease to be conspicuous and will return to their accustomed obscurity.

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

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

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

THE SEARCHLIGHT.



Syllabus Series No. 1, 2, 3, 4, published by the Labour Research Department, 6d. each. These booklets are intended for study classes. No. 1, by G. D. H. Cole, is entitled "The British Labour Movement," but attempts to give information covering the international movement, and also gives lists of recommended books on Communism and Socialism. The lists have evidently been compiled on the cliché principle. The notorious omissions include Marx, Engels, De Leon, Lafargue, Kropotkin, Godwin, Bucharin, Bebel, Kautsky, and Gorter, to name only a few whose works are obtainable in English; while amongst the recommended are to be found, of course, G. D. H. Cole, Page Arnot, L. S. Woolf, Tawney, J. A. Hobson, C. M. Lloyd, etc., etc., etc. It is rather surprising, also, that many histories of co-operation being recommended, the exhaustive history by Professor Gide, recently published by the Co-operative Movement itself, should have been omitted; but that, of course, is less amazing than some other omissions. In No. 2 of the series, Mr. Maurice Dobb deals with the development of Capitalism. This "authority" recommends the reading of pp. 786-800 of Marx's "Capital," but otherwise ignores the principal standard works, and recommends such writers as W. McLaine, Mark Starr, Alfred Marshall, Leonard Woolf, and so on. No. 3, on finance, by Emile Burns, gives a simple outline of such matters of common knowledge as banking, cheques, exchanges, share capital, and so on. Mr. Burns, unfortunately, postulates that "it is probable money, in the form of currency, would be retained under a system of public ownership, for wages (or allowances) and retail purposes. . . ."

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

### HAVE YOU READ?

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

### COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

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

### COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT MEETINGS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS.—1d. a Word.

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

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, and printed by S. Corio (T.U.) at 10 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London.