

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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LABOUR'S ETERNAL RESOLUTIONS. By JIMACK-WARWICK.

The Unemployed Conference.

J. H. Thomas's "Remedies."

Clynes opposes Industrial Action.

Tom Shaw's Apprehension.

Edmonton's Delegate strikes Right Note.

The very latest conference, called to discuss the problem of unemployment, has been staged, the correct gaseous atmosphere for the creation of somnolent mentality has been arranged, the usual vaporous revolutionary result has been attained, and Capital breathes freely.

To give the "confab." its official title: "The Adjourned Conference of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party," let us report.

February 28rd was the day, Kingsway Hall the unfortunate building, and Mr. A. L. Poulton, the venerable Chairman. The latter, very appreciative, gave unto the prelude saintly whitewash for that august personality, J. R. Clynes, who has taken upon himself the responsible task of leader to the Labour Lambs who "baa" at Capital's Executive in the Gas House. The Chairman, dealing with suggestions for the solving of the problem of unemployment, said Direct Action would never do; it would certainly have the effect of rousing the Government, but it would also stop those wheels of industry still running, aggravate conditions, and the suffering arising from them. His suggestion was:—

"Now is the time for sending an ever-increasing number of Members to the House of Parliament. Let us have solidarity; close up our ranks; let us . . . and let us bring about such a revulsion of feeling that will make the Government take notice."

J. R. Clynes then got up and said, at any rate, he thanked the Chairman. If any one contended, as the Ministers of State had made the King remark in his speech, that the unemployed problem could not be dealt with by legislation, the matter is thrown open to the argument for other methods. Logic! He proceeded to say that he had always opposed the use of "industrial action," for the same reasons espoused by the Chairman; it would bring greater suffering. "The only way is to strengthen the Labour Party in Parliament," (and help Capital in its "Produce More" stunt!). Nothing wild and extremist about J. R. Clynes!

One wise man follows another. J. H. Thomas rose from the dead—I mean the front bench—and moved the momentous resolution which, in essence, calls upon the Government "to restore international trade," grant "national schemes of work," "maintenance for the unemployed," "immediate action," and that steps should be taken "to promote a Labour candidate for every constituency in which this has not been done," and so on. Quite a nice resolution in favour of patches for the System, crutches for lame capitalists, until Labour fakism buys them out. J. H. Thomas, on rising, said:—

"The statement that Parliament could not deal with the unemployed problem is untrue; indeed, *Parliament is the only institution in this country that can deal with this problem.*"

He was quite wild about it, look you. Some one at the back (base fellow!) shouted something about Thomas's salary (as a divine influence for evil), but, of course, the venerable Chairman wouldn't allow "personalities."

Yes, "constitutional methods were the only methods by which we could control the foreign policy of the Government which is the basic cause of unemployment." When the Communist urges that the cause of all our wrongs lies in the inherent policy of the Capitalist system which produces for private profit, not for social need, always remember the Thomasonian wisdom, the fruity thought that blames only Capital's foreign policy. He afterwards asked the assembly: "Is there any Trade Union Official, or any member of the rank and file who believes that the General



The deciding factor in overthrowing the Capitalist State.

Strike would help the problem? (Comrade Tanner and others, please note that there was no reply to this weighty question!). "The present day by-elections will be the real test of the worker's feeling," he said, and—oh! listen to this—"No man or woman will strike if they haven't the courage to vote." (That should stun any Bolshevik!).

Then up spake Antonio—in this case, Morrison of the Labour Party; one of the same kidney. The thought of the terrible suffering direct action would entail, hurt him most, and as he was an official, who would not suffer (only the thought of it, only the thought!) he would not tell others to so act that . . . and for this, next day's editions of the yellow press, most naturally, called him "a calm, reasoning man."

We must have a Labour Government; meanwhile "we must educate the workers as to the need for politics and political action."

There's a good time coming, sure; all you will have to do will be to "have the courage to vote" for fat job-hunters to administer your lives away; and so, if any bad Bolshevik, any atrocity-mongering Anarchist, appeals to your self-respect, your class-wisdom, urging class-solidarity wherever production and distribution operate, go for him, and hold him till one of the uniformed unemployed "cops" come along!

Entered Great Ramsay, the MacDonald, the political chameleon, the hoary, sentimental, pacifistic Labour diddler. Cheers were given him, in three explosions.

"The people's flag is ——" (Shut up, this is serious!).

When the resolution was put, the amendments following proved just as lifeless. A fellow came all the way from Wellingborough to urge "a one day's strike, or less—even as much as two minutes, as on November 11th," he said; "if we can have a one day strike when King George is crowned, why can't we have one for ourselves?" Hear, hear; why not? Why not let us conspire to hold our breath for 30 seconds, or shout our loudest at a given moment, or go without champagne for a whole week, or any other daft thing—just by way of protest—'twould be quite as Gilbertian!

A communication from the organised unemployed was received by the Standing Orders,

which Henderson turned down, on the ground that the present delegates were workers' delegates who had come to speak on the unemployed question. An unemployed delegate urged that such as he were better able to speak on the matter, being in constant touch with realities. Bob Williams and Machin (Blackburn) supported this; but, in spite of strenuous attempts on the part of no less than three delegates from the workless, Labour fakism wouldn't allow a word to be uttered. The delegates from the workless, it is to be hoped, have returned to their starving comrades, with a new vision and will urge that they no more depend upon high-salaried, smug-faced, parasitic officials, but take the message and methods of Communism to heart, rank and file action from rank and file experience.

Several amendments were in the hands of Standing Orders; their character I do not know, but they were suppressed: the resolution was rushed into acceptance in the face of vigorous protests.

The second resolution before the Conference evoked even less discussion than the first. Tom Shaw, in spite of his avoirdupois, managed to get up and move:—

"That this National Labour Conference views with apprehension the apparently inspired statements in the press concerning the proposed legislation on Key Industries and Dumping, and instructs the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress:

- To consider the Government's Bill as early as possible in order to define the attitude of the British Labour Movement towards the measure;
- To request the affiliated organisations to be on their guard against committing themselves to support the Bill until they secure the report of their National Committees; and
- To consult with the Parliamentary Labour Party with a view to the necessary action being taken in the House of Commons."

It was asked: What had all this got to do with unemployment? Sydney Webb, seconding, said it was to get the Labour movement prepared to oppose the re-introduction of the system of Protection. Hawkins, delegate from Edmonton, in our opinion, hit the right nail on the head when he opposed, saying that "the Conference had shown itself quite out of touch with realities when dealing with both resolutions. In face of the terrible sufferings of the unemployed, we are only passing nice resolutions. The mover and the seconder were only selling the workers as they had sold them in the Second International."

A delegate from the lead and zinc miners, stated that every zinc miner was on the streets, and 85 per cent. of the lead miners were out, because the industry is controlled by a syndicate, and the Government has allowed the Colonies to dump zinc into this country. But the Government is only a tool of international capitalism, and it is useless trying to pass legislation to force them to grant easier conditions; the system is, in its modern developments, incurably diseased; it is on its last legs; we must aid the collapse, not bolster, patch and compromise because of transitory comforts. Anyone who, knowingly or unknowingly, still holds out to the slaves the hope of emancipation through the

(Continued on page six, last column.)

"WANGLING" THE WAGES. By C. B. J.-W.

Big Business in Tears—Building "Bosses" Attempt to Reduce Wages—Capitalist System's Respite in Cornwall—Railway Companies' Profits—Why Not Smaller Dividends and Increased Wages?

Big Business is in tears, but the tears are crocodile tears, so it is necessary for you and I, and all of us, to be on our guard so that the blubbers shall not blunder us more deeply into the slummy mire. They do say that "pity is akin to love"; but, as the god Capital possesses neither, we, too, must be adamant, or brazen-faced, whatever the wailers wail; for if we become blind through our pity o'er their wailing, we shall bleed and sweat in slavery the longer.

We are often mighty hungry, you and I, but the "bosses" are quite devoid of any spiritual consideration; in fact, they haven't a spark of religion left, and what lingers amongst us only serves to make us mentally blind and prevents our sensible appreciation of the legal robbery and the wangling going on around us! Religion indeed! God, like the laws of the Capitalist State, is ever on the side of the fat-bellied Commercialism. Over that great gambling den, the Royal Exchange, is the inscription: "The Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof"; (of course it is, and the religion of the Lord's is summed up in the phrase: "the survival of the fittest").

I was a slave once in a place where they had a semi-humorous card of potted proverbs hanging on the wall. One improvised saying went: "The Lord helps him who helps himself—but the Devil help anyone helping himself here!" That I considered rather symbolic, for if one attempted to carry out the Christian precept (if one were a Henry Dubb, of course!), one might find oneself in one of those haunts of silence, like Dartmoor, for instance, the portal of which is emblazoned with the words: "Parcere Subjectis" (Latin for "Have Pity on the Subjected").

But we are being side-tracked, Henry dear, and it won't do. We must stick to our subject: "Wangling the Wages."

Perhaps you've forgotten what wages are. Never mind, you run a risk, a rare risk, of getting some when we get a Labour Government in, and at any rate, the "wangle" affects all of us as a class. When we are boss-owned, we receive wages; when we are workless we receive—well, that's all that's in it, so let us untangle a few splintery facts from out the "wangle," and observe them closely, to glimpse well their import.

Ye ken well that the Builders' Union has been asking for an increase in the maximum rates of pay for skilled building trade operatives, with corresponding increases for all building workers, and a guaranteed working week of 44 hours. Yet, in spite of the terrible need for housing accommodation, one Boss-Union, the Eastern Counties Building Trades Employers, refuses to give any guarantee, and is also submitting a counter-demand for a reduction in the wages of the men, at the rate of 4d. per hour for painters, 3d. for labourers, and 2d. for tradesmen. Will the rank and file in the Slave Unions stand this sort of thing? We shall see (is it really true that we need houses?); let us hope they will, at any rate, force their Executive to act with more gumption than the Union Executive representing the Cornish tin-miners.

In the ancient tin industry down in Cornwall, the Capitalist System's illness is being felt rather critically. The "bosses" are afraid of losing their profits altogether; they convened a joint meeting of their own representatives and Trade Union representatives of the workers, and said things.

"They discussed (to quote *Engineering*, Feb. 4), the best means of tiding industry over the present crisis." The "bosses" proposed an all-round decrease of 10 p.c. on wages. The Union put forward as an alternative, 24 per cent. decrease for earners of £3 a week, 5 per cent. off the wages of £4 a week slaves, and 10 per cent. off £5-ers. The "bosses" "expressed agreement with the principle" of this proposal, so the system in Cornwall is therefore saved; brotherly love hath found a way out. Tin means wealth; it means slavery; if a compromise is necessary, all right, so long as this system of capital remains intact, it pays!

Come along to Swansea, and so to the Welsh tin-plate industry.

On the 14th, a special meeting of the Joint Industrial Council of this industry was held to consider the question of cutting away the 25 p.c. war bonus, and a revision of wage rates; and it is evident that these moves are but the prelude to a bigger move on the part of Allied Metal Trades' "bosses" against the workers' wages. So keep your lids open!

A clash is going on in South Wales (Glamorgan-shire and Monmouthshire), between the farmers and the farm labourers.

The present rate for the latter in these counties is 30/- per week (do you think £3 a week too much for the labour most primarily necessary to the people?). The reply of the farmers is a demand 3/6 a week decrease. The landlords are responsible for raising farm rents 25 to 100 per cent., but the farmers have not protested against such imposition; and yet, when their own slaves ask for a greater recompense for hard toil in the fields, they prepare to fight them, tooth and nail. "It is a funny world!" The Revolution will force farmers and farm labourers to realise that they are essentially of one class, with one class enemy: the land monopolists, linked with the Capitalist State.

On January 19th the Standing Committee of Railway Managers met; they decided that there could be no decrease in railwaymen's wages before April the First. And after "All Fools' Day"—what then? The railwaymen want to stick to what they get, and demand—prepare to take all, and not be fooled into allowing any sort of reduction in wages.

If they had been glancing o'er the pages of the financial papers this past few weeks, they would have found that the railway companies have made quite nice profits last year, and know that the conspiracy to reduce wages was actuated by an avaricious desire for more, more, more! In the past two years the Great Northern Railway Co. made £289,644; last half-year (to February, 1921), the Great Eastern pulled off £112,245, the Great Western £277,000, London and South-Western £65,555, and Great Southern and Western Railway £782,200. Oh! DO take less wages!

The National Association of Vehicle Builders have made a demand, which affects 30,000 workers, to the National Union of Vehicle Builders for a decrease of 3d. per hour on all wages as from March 1st. The Association and the Union, organised bosses and workers—who will win? The bosses, with their big profits from the manufacture of motors, motor wagons, carriages, etc., WILL WIN, because the workers lack the understanding necessary for the power to win themselves.

The Leadhills Company (Hamilton) is talking about reducing the wages of their slaves in the lead mines 25 per cent., which will make the average wage but £2 15s. weekly. The directors, in this case, have even refused to arbitrate ("stuffergiven") after protracted negotiations (or time-wasting twaddling), and the miners intend to resist. Have YOU ever worked in a lead mine, or read of the hellish conditions in such? What a life!—and on £2 15s.—a living death! Stand firm, lead slaves; away with negotiations; away with arbitrations; hit when the moment's opportune, and don't say when—JUST HIT, and "be audacious," ay! Prepare for Greater Battles.

Generally speaking, Big Business attempts to justify its present attacks on wages on the ground that, as they rose through the inflation of prices during the war, and, as prices are falling, wages can very well be decreased, so that we can kill the trade slump and solve the unemployment question. What says The Voice of the Press? Let us quote from "The Star," of January 2nd: "Where wages have been admittedly and avowedly raised in consequence of the increased cost of living, it will be impossible to maintain that they must not fall when the cost of living falls." The "cost of living" is falling. What! you tell me that! You tell that to the millions who are starving. Well, what of it? Everywhere, because shopkeepers cannot get rid of the goods overstocking their premises, after the mass-production that is also a wedge to the unemployment push, we are notified of "sales" and "super-sales," and yet there are crowds of us who cannot even purchase "sales" goods. When the exploiters and the parasite-press talk about "the cost of living" (referring to US, Henry, dear), always remember they really mean "the cost of existence," because they do not want us to live; they are not interested in us beyond the commercial consideration as to how much profit-making blood courses through our veins!

Some sentimental labourites urge their puny plea that even if prices drop to pre-war level, wages should remain where they are so that the workers may have the chance of the comfort they have a right to. It is very kind of them! A boss-interested rag known as "The Builder," in a leading article on "Unemployment: the Only Way" (Feb. 4th) goes even further. Cast these eyes o'er this:

There is only one way to decrease unemployment, and set trade on its feet again, and that is TO TAKE LESS PROFITS, and this is all right, through the scale, from the professional magnate to the casual labourer—we must ask less and work more. Surely it is better to work full time on a reduced wage than part time on a full wage. . . . what the building trade wants is firm contracts, carried out by workers who are prepared to take their coats off. . . . (For example, two "builders," recently, after having doffed their coats often and much, joined the Great Majority. Mr. Holland, of Salford, and Mr. Pullan, of Leeds, left behind them £14,265 and £17,529 respectively. They never sabotaged . . . except . . . but let us draw the veil!)

To continue our quote from "The Only Way" injunction: "Will the unions voluntarily come in to the open and say 'we will now accept a less wage than all may work'?" . . . it would be possible for everyone financially interested in the building trade to agree to a reduced percentage of profit for a time?" The Only Way—and the answer to the whole of the caboodle is in the negative. The Class War is too serious at this juncture for any one to play the Good Samaritan. Fancy asking the bosses to take less profits! Didn't you hear the great sighs of relief from them when E.P.D. was removed? Why, then, bother about accepting less wages? What's the blooming game, anyhow? What's all this mighty preachment for self-denial? It's a utilisation of the "economy" stunt used during the late bloody shambles to gull the toilers. We were almost economised off the face of the earth then; so we are now. One stunt was to help the State to wage the war successfully in Capital's interest; the present stunt is to aid the State to wage the CLASS-WAR successfully in Capital's interests. . . . and, well, isn't it a rotten State to be in?

This week the Salvation Army is out with the boxes for "self-denial" lucre, so give everything

you haven't got. Then starve like Sacco; wait till that important period running between the 21st and the 26th. What's that? Well, that's the time allotted for the Territorial Recruiting Scheme. This should have come off last November, but, owing to the wicked coal strike, we didn't get the chance to "see the world for nothing." Anyhow, now's the time; walk up, walk up! there's no waiting—there's plenty of room for class-traitors! But if you are a wakeful slave, boss-owned, or on the bum, don't let the torrential dope filling the electric atmosphere of these interesting starvation times damn your wisdom, your self-respect, your class-sagacity. Be alert, be prepared for Communism, free and sun-kissed, beautiful and sweet, with a glorious companionship; it needs your mightiness and your thoughtfulness, and, if you are found wanting, the wages now of unpreparedness may be less wages, but on the morrow greater things will dawn to being, and you will have helped to make Capital secure—reincarnate in your precious blood!

AN APPEAL.

The London District Council of Unemployed Organisations is desirous of linking up the whole forces of the unemployed right throughout Great Britain, with a view to bringing enough pressure to bear upon the Government, to grant the two following demands:—

- (1) Work or maintenance for the unemployed at Trade Union rate of wages;
- (2) With the object of absorbing the unemployed in useful industry, the immediate establishment of trade between Great Britain and Russia; and the full and complete recognition of the Soviet Government.

This Council has been persistently agitating the Labour Party, National Council of Action, and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, to use their industrial power on behalf of the unemployed for these demands; but, up to the present, we have only received words, etc.

We realise that a powerful unemployed organisation, representing the whole of the country, would be a potent factor in compelling the Government to alleviate the widespread suffering in a practical way.

Therefore, we call upon all Secretaries of unemployed organisations to immediately forward on their name and address, also name of organisation, to the Secretary at the address mentioned below, so that it will be possible for us to call a National Conference at the earliest possible moment.

Fraternally yours,

P. HAYE,

28, East Road, City Road, London, N.1.

OUR LITERATURE COMPETITION.

1. The *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish and circulate at the lowest possible price, a pamphlet explaining in an easy and convincing style, the meaning of Communism and affiliation to the Third International.
2. No money prize will be given, but the author of the accepted MS. will receive free 200 copies of the pamphlet.
3. The MS. should reach the *Workers' Dreadnought* offices—in a registered letter (please note this point)—not later than March 25th, 1921.
4. The pamphlet should be of not less than 6,000 words and not more than 10,000. The MS. should be written, or typed, on one side of the paper only.
5. The MS. should reach us unsigned, and consequently the name of the author should not appear on any of the pages of the MS., nor on any part of the registered packet that contains it.
6. On the other hand, a *nom de plume* or a set of figures, should appear on the first and last page of the MS.
7. When sending the registered letter to us, the counterfoil must be kept, to be produced at a later date. The possession of the Certificate of Registration will be deemed the proof of authorship, both in the case of the successful competitor and of the others, to whom their MS. will be returned.
8. In an issue in April, the *Workers' Dreadnought* will publish at the number of the registered letter that contained the accepted manuscript and will then invite the successful competitor to send in his or her name. Should the author desire to remain anonymous the *Workers' Dreadnought* will proceed without further delay to publish the pamphlet.
9. The *Workers' Dreadnought* reserves the right to publish at a subsequent date, either in full, or partially, in the paper itself, or in pamphlet form, the next best two MSS., and will announce the names of these competitors at the same time as that of the successful one.
10. The decision of the *Workers' Dreadnought* will be final.

Received this week an MS., foolscap size, of 26 pages, by Registered Letter No. 896, posted in London at District S.W., signed by five initials,

SOCIALISM IN DANGER. By DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

(First appeared in LA SOCIÉTÉ NOUVELLE REVUE INTERNATIONALE, June, 1894).

Nobody is simple enough to think that the exploiting class will surrender its property, or that the realisation of Socialism can be effected by Act of Parliament. At first we take up political action as a means of agitation, but once on the slope we glide to the bottom. As Liebknecht said at the St. Gall Congress of the Party:—

"Let there be no mistake, once we take part in elections, we not only engage in agitation, but we expose the weakness and inefficiency of Parliamentary action."

By all means let us proceed to assimilate that lesson.

Vollmar, on this subject, was the most logical of the German Social Democrats, and his proposals mark the course of conduct that his fellow-countrymen ought to follow in the future. (See "Les Divers Courants de la Démocratie Socialiste Allemande," *Souete nouvelle*, 8e année, t.I.p. 295).

Tactics of Parliamentarism.

Parliamentarism, as a method of tactics, is found wanting; even if we could improve it, it would be labour lost. Leverday's work, "Les Assemblées Parlantes," is in this connection very instructive, and it deals thoroughly with the question. Why do not the apologists of Parliament try to refute that book? Legislative chambers or Parliaments are as nearly as possible, word-mills, or as Leverday says, "a Government of public chatters." An honest Member confining himself to his own convictions, would be at least as capable as any ordinary Minister, assisted by the specialists of his own department. But he must know something of everything, for the most divergent subjects come before Parliament. He would be a living encyclopædia. What a punishment for the poor representative who attempts the task—his simple duty—to listen to all the speeches!

At La Haye, when you visit the prison, the gaoler tells you that in olden times, criminals were laid upon their backs, and upon their bare heads, water fell, drop by drop, from the roof. And the honest man always adds that it was the most severe of punishments. Well, that cruel penalty has been transferred to the Chamber of Deputies, and a conscientious Member must daily undergo the martyrdom and torment of feeling that incessant drop, not upon his head, but into his ear, in the form of speeches, by Honourable Members.

Such punishment is past endurance, so they have devised all sorts of recreation, in order to make life endurable. There is the dining-room, the smoking-room, tea on the Terrace, the library, the system of pairing, frequent and prolonged holidays, etc. Let us add also that it is indispensable that a man should be a partisan, for if he were to try to work in isolation, he would be absolutely without influence.

Parliaments never do anything.

On the subject of Parliaments, we may quote the remark of Mirabeau on a certain occasion: "They are always willing, but they never do anything." The words of Leverday also merit repeating: "Modern Hollanders, if menaced by the invader, would not break down their dykes as in the time of Louis XIV, and political Hollanders of to-day would not open the dyke to the revolution in order to drown the enemy. Save the country, if it be possible, but at all hazards, preserve order! In this way they would betray the masses, to lead them to the slaughter-house. As a rule, if the defence of a nation rests in the hands of exploiters only, you may feel sure it will be sold."

There is an intimate connection between economic and political freedom, inasmuch as to each fresh economic development, there is a corresponding political transformation. Kropotkin has made this clear. Absolute monarchy in the political world is mated with personal slavery and vassalage in economics. Representative Government in politics, goes along with the economic system of commercialism. Sometimes they are two forms of the principle. A new mode of production is not found consistent with a worn out fashion of consumption, and does not exist contemporaneously with antique methods of political organisation. In a society where capitalist and

workman would be merged in the same individual, there would be no necessity for a Government; it would be an anachronism, an impediment. Free workers need a free organisation, which is compatible with the existence of the statesman. The destruction of Capitalism implies the destruction of Government.

The roads taken by Parliamentary and revolutionary Socialism do not lead to the same destruction; no, they may run parallel but they will never meet.

State Socialism.

Parliamentary Socialism must end in State Socialism, although the Social Democratic leaders do not yet recognise the fact, and declared in Berlin, that Social Democracy and State Socialism are in irreconcilable opposition. But they commence with State railways, State apothecary halls and State education. State or Parliamentary Socialists do not want the abolition of the State, but the centralisation of production in the hands of Government, that is to say, that the State should be the supreme regulator of industry. Do they not name Glasgow and its Municipal undertakings as an example of practical Socialism? Emile Vandervelde, in his pamphlet "Le Collectivisme," makes the same city serve as a model. Well, if that is the best instance they can cite, the hopes of practical Socialism do not rise very high. The number of unemployed there is appalling, the population herds together in overcrowded tenements. The same author lauds the co-operative movement in Belgium, as it exists in Brussels, Gand, and Jolimont, and says we might call it voluntary collectivism. All these cases are specimens more repulsive than attractive to him who is not dazzled by superficial appearances, and who wishes to discover the true inwardness of things. Wherever the co-operative movement prospers, it is at the expense of Socialism; unless as some do at Gand and elsewhere, we give the name of Socialists to co-operators. There, the proletariat are apparently at the top, although it is their exploiters who rule, and freedom is undiscoverable, just as in State factories.

Capitalists and State Socialism.

Liebknecht, perceiving the danger, said at Berlin:—

"Do you suppose that it would be disagreeable to the English cotton manufacturers that their business should be transferred to the State? Moreover, in a very short time, the State will find itself forced to take over and work the mines of the country. Every day the number of capitalists willing to resist such a proposal, becomes fewer. Not only trade, but even agriculture will, in course of time, pass into the hands of the State; that is one of the certainties of the future. If, in Germany, we were to take the soil away from the great landlords, paying them suitable compensation and engaging them as Government officials, to be territorial captains of rural industry, in a position equivalent to that of the Satraps of the ancient kingdom of Persia, would it not be a big bit of luck for the nobles; and don't you think some of the shrewdest among them have already discounted the proposal? Ah! yes, they would jump at it; for it would increase both their influence and their income. But that is one of the inevitable results of State

Socialism and must not be dismissed as an idle dream. (*Protokoll*, Berlin, p. 179).

Rest assured that when the doomed class of exploiters and landlords perceive that collectivism is a first-rate thing for them, and that the State is willing to buy out their bankrupt concerns, they will tumble over each other in their haste to avail themselves of the splendid market afforded by practical Socialism.

We see that Emile Vandervelde proclaims already that "la grande industrie is to be the field of collectivism, and that is why the workers' party demands and limits itself to demanding the Socialisation of the mines, quarries, and land of the country, along with the principal means of production and of transport." So the small traders and mechanics may rest in peace; for their little world is to be the home of free association: even the big men have nothing to fear, for they will be well rid of a bad business in return for a good indemnity. (Cf., "De Collectivisme," p. 7).

Bless you, they all have votes, and bearing this in mind, Kautsky assures the small shopkeepers that: "The transition to Socialism does not involve the expropriation of the small trader or the peasant. On the contrary, the change will not only take nothing from, but it will increase their profits." (*Das Erste Programm in seinem grundsätzlichen Teil erläutert von K. Kautsky*, p. 150). Liebknecht sees the danger clearly, and we have not heard the last of the struggle for supremacy between Social Democracy and State Socialism; but he does not see that it is impossible that Parliamentary Socialism should be contented with mere agitation as the end of its Parliamentary action; it must have a positive object (Liebknecht proved it at the meeting of the Party at St. Gall), and it is obliged to mess about with State Socialism. At the Berlin Congress of the Party Bebel had enough of it, and said that "he was not at all in agreement with the theories of Liebknecht as to the meaning of State Socialism."

What confusion there is in the definition of the State.

Liebknecht describes State Socialism at one time as calculated to develop the State (*staats bildend*); at another time he calls it a revolutionary force (*staatsstürzende Kraft*). Sometimes they tell us:—

"We, the Socialists, desire to preserve the State by changing and improving it, while you others wish to maintain the present Anarchist society, you ruin the existing State by the tactics you employ."

Again, they say:—

"The modern State can only be invigorated and brought up to date by bringing Socialism along the highway of legislation; Social Democracy is just the Party to which the State should look for support, if there really were statesmen at the head of affairs."

How different from the independent spirit of these words:—

"Socialism is not an academic discussion, but a burning question that Parliaments will never be able to solve, but that must be finally settled in the street and on the battlefield!"

Sometimes Bebel holds "Social reform through the State to be very important"; at other times he considers it to be of trifling value. Now he speaks of the fall of bourgeois society as being very near and strongly advises the discussion of principles; and again, he advocates practical reforms, because bourgeois society is still strong, and "the discussion of principles might give the impression that the social revolution is quite near at hand." On the one hand they criticise those who, in their impatience, think we are near the revolution, and yet Bebel and Engels have named a year, 1898 to wit, as the year of salvation, the year of victory, of Parliamentary methods, by means of the polling-booth. Can that be the great "Kladderadatsch" that is believed to be near?

(To be continued.)

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—9.

"IT IS HARDLY POSSIBLE TO CONCEIVE A WORSE MORAL SCHOOL THAN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. LIKE THE LORDS, IT CAN ONLY BE CURED BY BEING WIPED CLEAN OFF THE SLATE."

—MORRISON DAVIDSON.

Workers' Dreadnought

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COMMUNISTS AND THE UNEMPLOYED QUESTION.

The public is alarmed at the growth of unemployment. Hidden in the sub-conscious mind of the people is a dread of the consequences of the ever-mounting figures of those out-of-work.

Experience teaches local opinion, that days of industrial depression do not pay; they bring scarcity of available commodities and higher prices, and also further increases in local rates.

As with the locality, so with the nation; unemployment swells the expenditure of the State and decreases the opportunities for an anticipation of the necessary revenue.

Unemployment is a weapon of the masters, to beat the back of Labour; but an unemployed situation beyond the grip of the masters, who check its increases and decreases to suit trade purposes and reduce wages, is regarded as a source of fear and horror by the rulers.

Let them grasp the reins of events and all is well; but let them lose control of a situation and then disaster and ruin stares them in the face.

To such an end Capitalism is approaching, and each day brings nearer the extremity of the commercial system.

A slump in main industries brings a slump in minor industries; the decreased demand for necessary supplies to main staple industries by the specialist and dependent industries leads to greater unemployment and thus to further financial liability by the Government in the form of doles to the unemployed, and more important, a slump in trade bringing reduced production for export, means the purchase by the State of wheat supplies to the corresponding percentage of fall in ability to barter goods for grain.

The swelling of the out-of-work figures is not regarded as a desired development by the masters. Socialist opinion has expressed itself in favour of the theory that unemployment is the outcome of an organised slump, designed to force down wages; this theory is not correct.

Unemployment owes its origin to slumps which are brought about by natural causes inherent in the present social order. Its expansion and decrease is responsive to the normal conduct of business life, and the commercialists, by the normal operation of markets, are in turn responsive to decreased demand resulting from inability to buy or glut and overstock.

Normal times witness production more heavy when costs are cheap, consumption more heavy when buying prices are cheap.

Given a period of small adversity the Capitalists can steer clear of revolutions, despite unemployment, because cheap costs leading to cheap prices make a public less economical in purchasing exact quantities, and lead to greater consumption and demand. Thus the tendency of the period is against the extension of unemployment, and economic conditions are against economic revolutionary changes.

The freedom of British trade and purchases of outside foreign goods, therefore, was the Liberal cry echoing on all sides. Purchase at low cost and expansion of industries at barter trade leading to more employment.

"The prosperity of the people!" is the political watchword—perhaps! Stop the growth of desperate minds, that was the subtle motive underlying the move.

Thus we get a hurried glance of the inner workings of politics, and smile when we perceive

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

March 5, 1921.

that we are living in abnormal times. Now, all the tendencies are in favour of a real, fundamental change in society, as unemployment leaps to enormity and towers threateningly above the very structure of Commercialism.

Two factors alone save Capitalism from an ignominious end: (1) the lack of foresight and knowledge of the workers; (2) the weakness of Labour and the Communists.

Labour is damned by rogues, and the Communist movement by incompetents.

The Communist movement in Britain is the real basis of hope, but at present it has many unfortunate features. In the furnace of future experience these, no doubt, will be remedied, and bogus Communists dealt with; but we must needs sort ourselves out, and look at the revolution going on in our midst. Whilst some Reds pull wires and talk scandal, others, the unknown local workers, with tools in hand, risk their living in these dire times of industrial distress.

They are above scheming for place and pelf; they are the "unknown warriors," fighting the battle for their class. To them there is no party, they are above it; to them, there is no need for "iron and harsh discipline," over the mass by themselves, they never think so stupidly; they are just a part of the great mass, and their simple purpose is the spreading of ideas.

It is this mass of Communist workers, actually working with the workers, who are the great hope of the age.

Propaganda could explain to the worker that Communism is a remedy for short time; to the out-of-work, the same remedy; to the housewife, Communism is the only thing to smash the profiteers, and to the would-be wed, Communism is the road to more houses.

Thus, away from the offices and committee rooms of the movement, they could work at the coalface of Capitalism, all the time undermining its support by talking to others, changing their views, and smashing their belief in Capitalism.

"The extremity of tyrants is the opportunity of peoples," said Carlyle, and during this period of depression and sheer inability to return to the normal, the most vital and necessary thing to do is talk, talk, and more talk, and thus by altering the public mind bring economic revolutionary changes.

FRED TYLER.

PROPERTY OWNERS AND THEIR RATES.

Just step inside here with me, Henry Dubb, and have a look at the Master Class. They have often been having meetings in this place, you know, lately. They generally have something to say about you, when they get there:—

"Ratepayers' Fight.—1,500 Candidates for March Elections.—The following resolution was carried at a meeting of the Property Owners' Protection Association, Limited, at Cannon Street Hotel yesterday: "That this meeting of 2,000 property owners and ratepayers enters an emphatic protest against the present ruinously high level of rates and taxes, and declares that the limit of the burden cast upon the people has long since been exceeded. They urge the Government, county councils, and local authorities to call a halt in the extravagant expenditure on public services of every description. They also demand that schemes already commenced shall be postponed until it is definitely ascertained that the cost of them can be met without paralysing the industries of the country and depleting capital values, which constitute the basis of national credit."

Surely, Henry, you can give up something for the Master Class! Perhaps you can do without any lighting in your part of the town. You always have done with less than half-supply, and it would not be much more difficult to do without altogether. On moonlight nights, when a few more of your houses fall in, you will have quite a nice natural light over your quarter of the borough. The refuse from your houses need not be taken away so often as it is—your children love playing with the dirt boxes. What can be better for them than nice English dirt? Wash-houses, clinics, schools: what a lot of expense you are to the Master Class, Henry; you ought to be ashamed of yourself! See how poor they are:

Mr. Edwin Evans, the president, said that the association had a membership of 6,000 in London. The capital value represented by members was estimated at £100,000,000. They were associated with the National Federation of Property Owners, and something like 170 associations all over the country, meaning about £800,000,000 in capital value.

Think it over, Henry! If we divide the sum equally, each of these poor capitalists has only £16,666 13s. 4d. That sum, at the rate of 5 per cent. interest, brings in only £833 a year, which is

only a little over £2 a day. And then you have the neck, Henry, to live on £1 a week, and do no work for it, while these poor capitalists have all the worry of thinking how to evade the income-tax and death dues, when any of them dies. You have no trouble of that kind, have you? See what a lot of them there are, too, in this sorry plight; 170 associations all over the country.

"The failure of the State and rate-aided schemes was due to official interference with the economic laws of supply and demand. People were promised houses at uneconomic rents, and houses were being erected at an annual loss to the taxpayers of from £50 to £100 per annum, or a capital loss of from £700 to £1,000 a house." The very idea, Henry, that you are wanting houses instead of bug-hatches! Why can't you dig yourselves in? You did during the war, you know, and liked it. Don't you look back to your old days in the trenches with enjoyment? Now why can't you have a trench summer. You and Mrs. H. and the kiddies. The little boggars would enjoy running about in the underground passages, and the missus, on washing days, would get on a treat.

Mr. E. G. Pretzman, M.P., said he believed the mass of the people of all classes, including the working classes, were absolutely sound. At heart, and he did not think that the extravagant doctrines preached by Labour extremists would be accepted. Even the unemployed did not really believe their troubles were due to the capitalist class.

Whatever can Mr. E. G. Pretzman, M.P., be thinking of to speak of such a thing! You dissatisfied, Henry? Of course not! And I am sure the missus isn't, not even when she lost her last kiddie because she had not got enough to feed it on. As if such a thing as Labour unrest, and dissatisfaction amongst the unemployed, could ever be in such a country as old England, with such beautiful well-dressed ladies and gentlemen to look at. He must have found a mare's nest.

Mr. J. W. Lorden, M.P., expressed the opinion that if the Government scrapped its building programmes and gave private enterprise a fair chance, even at this late hour the necessary houses would be provided.

Sir Reginald Blair, M.P., hon. secretary of the London Municipal Society, said that organization had secured 1,500 candidates to fight for seats on councils in March next.

Yes, yes, it will all come right in the end. Draw in your belt, Henry, and let us really think it out. Don't you think this a good plan?

"RATIONED SPENDING.

"(From our Special Correspondent.)

"Manchester, February 24.

"Both in civic and in commercial circles in Manchester sympathy exists with the recommendation made by the Birmingham Corporation Finance Committee that the rates should be established by the rationing of spending committees.

"At present Manchester rates amount to 16s. 10d. in the pound, of which sum 2s. 7d. is represented by bonuses. The financial year ends in March, and at present the various spending committees are preparing their estimates. Those who presume to prophesy state that the increase will not be more than 2s. in the pound.

"Commercial men in Manchester have made representations through the Chamber of Commerce to the authorities that they should out their coat according to the cloth. The Lord Mayor said he thought it ought to be possible to ration the spending departments. 'It is very desirable,' he said, 'that the rates should be stabilised so that business men should know the extent of their responsibilities. I think they ought to be fixed for a period of at least three years. This question of heavy local expenditure has led to steps being taken to revive the Manchester Ratepayers' Association. I do not say it is possible to fix an actual figure for the rate, but it is practicable to fix a reasonable limit and to keep the council within that figure by strong pressure.'

You see, Henry, we must economise. We have a war on with Russia—I mean, we have to keep order there—because there is a set of people springing up there who say that "if a man does not work, neither shall he eat"—so we must get them under somehow. Then we have a war in Ireland, because the Irish say that they want their country for themselves, so we have to pay a set of thugs to murder them, and we have to pay them highly, too, because they have to shoot civilians, and people always want to be paid more for killing unarmed men, women and children than they do other armed men. And then we have a war coming on with America, so we have to make a very big navy. Altogether, Henry, you are a very lucky man to have these nice gentlemen to rule over you. They are adjourning now to have a little champagne to build them up, so you can go on home now and talk it over with the wife when she comes back from the factory. So long.

A MEETING

WILL BE HELD

Outside Holloway Gaol,

EVERY SUNDAY AT 4 p.m.

Followed by a meeting outside

Pentonville Prison.

Come and show our Comrades Pankhurst and Malone.

March 5, 1921.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

THE "NORFOLK IDEA" NO SOLUTION.

Apparent Success Ends in Dismal Failure.

Workers Return to Money-Credit System.

Labour Leaders' "Red Herring."



[From Stormkoeken.

Now they have started to save the children of the unemployed, yet they take jolly good care we cannot save them ourselves!

With the word "Revolution" in everybody's mouth, Socialists would do well to pause at times and think out what they really mean by a proletarian revolution. It seems to us to be the transition from the standpoint of the money-credit system to the standpoint of production; from the idea that people live on the banking money-credit system, to the idea that life depends on the products of the earth, assisted by human labour.

When people realise—and many are doing so—that it is their work, both of hand and brain, which creates wealth, and their work only, then they will understand that the people whom they formerly revered as capitalists are relics of a by-gone age, of an age which is keeping back the progress of the world. They will then understand that the world can only enter upon its new era, when those who are producing her wealth unite in one common cause to discard for evermore this money-lending banking system, which is now paralysing advancement in every way. They will then understand that they must have no flirtation with the old love, for the new will have none of her.

The old system is crafty. She is setting traps for us at every turn. An article which appeared in the "Daily Herald," by Charles R. Hargrove, on the Norfolk Idea, shows us one of these traps. We produce it here:—

"The Norfolk Idea.—How Labour fought Capital with capital in one city in the United States and why it should not do so in all cities of the United States—this is the theme which has set people here thinking in the last few weeks. It is called the 'Norfolk Idea,' because it originated in Norfolk, Virginia. What happened there was this: On July 2nd every machine shop in Norfolk contained a notice to the effect that the employers were determined to enforce the Open Shop. Thereupon 627 machinists walked out. The machinists were well organised, and they had behind them the International Machinists' Union with two million dollars available for strike pay, at eight dollars a week. A long struggle seemed to be in prospect."

These few lines give us the usual stuff—Capitalists against Trade Unionists. We have that in this country also. It behoves us to see how we will meet it here. Do we wish for the new system, or do we wish to perpetuate the old? Let us see what the Machinists of Norfolk did:—

"After a few days, however, it came to the ears of the men's leaders that one of the workshops, the Crescent Company, had been mortgaged to the extent of \$40,000 to a Norfolk bank, and that the mortgage was overdue. E. C. Davidson, secretary of the machinists, went to the bank with \$1,000 bills and offered to buy it. The bank refused. Inquiry disclosed that many of the depositors were members of the union, and very soon there was a sudden decrease in these same deposits. When the union leaders returned to the bank, the managers had changed their minds.

"The leaders then went to the Crescent Company and presented to its officers a statement of the terms on which they were prepared to resume work. The company said that if they accepted it, an overdue mortgage against them would be foreclosed. The men produced the mortgage and said it would certainly be foreclosed unless the agreement was signed. It was signed, and the forty machinists who had been employed before, working overtime, went back to work with twenty more on an eight-hour basis. By changing the personnel so as to permit each employee to get in three days a week, the plant was soon giving work to 360 men, all but 40 of whom would have been idle under the old system. The majority of the Norfolk shops followed the example of the Crescent."

At first sight this appears excellent. The bank was scored off, the Crescent Company clawed up, and a fine victory for the men was obtained! Not so quick. The moral victory is with the other side, for now these men have fallen back to the old credit system. They will, in their turn, tread on the bottom dog; under this system there will always be a bottom dog. We think Jack London must be looking out of one of those corners where people go when they have left this earth, and that he must be saying, "Didn't I tell you so?" In the

HOW INDUSTRY IS MANAGED IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

Supreme Council of Public Economy.

Divisional Management on a Democratic Basis.

The Management of Industry at the present time in Soviet Russia is as follows:—

The Supreme Council of Public Economy is the central organ, preparing the programme for the production in each separate branch of industry. In the Provinces there are local Councils. In its turn each branch of industry is controlled by a head department at the centre, and by corresponding sections in the Provincial Economic Councils of the localities. Finally several industrial enterprises of special character are managed by Shop Committees.

All organs managing industry have as their basis the industrial unions.

The Supreme Economic Council consists of a Board of thirteen persons, agreed upon by the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. The Boards of the Provisional Economic Councils (of three to seven persons) are elected by the Provincial Trade Unions. The members of the Chief Industrial Department are appointed by the Supreme Economic Council in agreement with the Central Committees of the corresponding Trade Unions.

In this manner the management of industry is based upon the Industrial Trade Unions, which also take part in the organisation of the National Economy.

The participation of large masses of workers in these important social functions has proved both business-like and creative.

In the above-mentioned bodies we find, by recent statistics that the workers form 62 per cent.; the experts 30 per cent. (the remainder being formed by clerical assistants).

It is not possible to do away with the experts—formerly members of the bourgeois class—especially now, when great openings for peaceful reconstruction are before the Supreme Economic Council.

The labour management changed its character as the work went on. At first, there were large Boards at the head of affairs in each department, at the

Centre, and in the Districts. It was necessary to have representatives of all the various departments to decide in a co-ordinate manner all the important questions.

The large Board eventually became mistrusted by the workers, on account of their administrative and technical persons.

As the workers grew in experience, they were able to take a larger share in the working of these Boards, and the former distrust gave way. At the same time a tendency grew to pass from large directive boards to the one-man management. At the present moment many of the factories are so conducted. Out of 2,483 factories, 2,183 are under one-man management. The other 300 are managed by a Board.

These persons are responsible before the corresponding Central Committee of the Trade Unions, by whom they are appointed.

The Supreme Economic Council is divided into three Departments, which again are thus subdivided:

1st Department: Budgeting for the industrial needs of the current year and assuming, as it were, the general leadership of industry. (1) The commission for production, receiving separate production programmes for separate branches of industry, which are examined and submitted to the Board for confirmation. (2) The Financial, Economic and Accounting Sections, which examine the balance-sheets of both central and local economic organs, and which finance industry. (3) The Utilisation Commission, which establishes the plan of distribution of the products of industry (its personnel also comprises representatives of the Food Commissariat). (4) The Council of Supply and Distribution (in process of information), which confirms the programme of the distribution of semi-manufactured products and conducts all the technical work of distribution and supply. (5) The Factory Statistical Section. (6) Section for Provincial Coun-

"Iron Heel" there are some marvellous chapters about how Capitalism entrenched itself in its last home—America. In that country, after Europe had become a Federation of Socialist States, the capitalists, the Lords of the Iron Heel, bribed the big unions. They built fine quarters in the towns for the aristocrats of labour, who in return helped them to tread on the bottom dogs. Is not this Norfolk idea an example of how a big union may become a property owner? Would these people be class-conscious? Would they be anxious for a change from the credit system to the productive system? I don't think. Hear what they say:—

"A Short Way with Bankers.—Soon, however, Norfolk bankers told the employers that their balances were not large enough to warrant a continuance of credit. Jobbers also refused to sell equipment. The union thereupon promptly deposited with the banks the necessary sums, informing them that if they did not care for this line of credit the union would use it with the Machinists' Union Bank at Washington. Bankers and jobbers fell into line. The works did well, for it secured orders by co-operation with the Pilots' Association and the unionised crews of many foreign ships. The union even extended operations by assisting two small shops in financial difficulties. It went further, and having purchased accounts which were due for work on vessels for the United States Shipping Board, it negotiated their settlement direct with the Board. All negotiations carried the condition that the works should remain true to the Closed Shop."

"Had there been a strike of twelve weeks, the union would have spent 60,000 dollars. Instead, it invested 40,000 dollars in an industry valued at 118,000 dollars, and won its claims without striking. That is the pith of the 'Norfolk Idea.' It has set Labour thinking deeply."

Yes, indeed. It behoves Labour to think deeply. Workers, we implore you to think of these things. This union APPEARS to have done a useful thing but it has lost morally. It has failed to stand for the true Marxian idea. That labour applied to the land is the source of all wealth. It has fallen back into the money credit system. This is one of the many red herrings which will be drawn across your path by your subtle Labour leaders—those scabs of the Second International. Beware lest your leaders trick you into anything of this kind. There is no devilry to which they will not stoop to keep this system going. They are part of the old age—the age which is passing away. Money: it is but that commodity which functions as the universal equivalent—and even that is made by you. Credit! High Finance! It is a bubble—ready to burst at any moment; but if you are not freed from the money idea when that day comes, then will this country sink into decadence.

Think deeply.

tact, which keeps communications with the local Councils of Public Economy.

2nd Department, comprising 15 production sections, one for each main branch of industry. They directly manage and regulate the corresponding branches of industry, in respect to which they oversee the execution of the production programmes and orders. They distribute the raw material, take account of manufactured products, subsidise enterprises that are of special State importance.

3rd Department, having purely auxiliary functions: (1) Industrial administration; (2) Inspectorate; (3) Juridical Section; (4) Editing and Publications, etc.

In each province the local economic council is the organ directly managing industry; i.e. the Provincial Council of Public Economy, organised on the same lines as the Supreme Council.

The local councils are divided into corresponding industrial sections: Metal, Textile, Chemical, Electro-Technical, etc., which are directed by the Boards of Economic Council on one hand, and on the other hand are likewise subordinated to the corresponding production sections, where they receive their balance-sheets and whence they receive instructions and orders as to the management of the industry under their auspices and on their territory.

Enterprises of the 2nd and 3rd groups are under the management of the local councils. Thus the local councils subsidise the enterprises under their management, according to budget, and substitute and appoint directors, etc.

At the head of the sections of the local councils are men confirmed by the Board of the Local Economic Council in agreement with the corresponding Trade Unions. In order to keep pace with the growth of work caused by the Federation of other Soviet Republics, many local councils for public economy have been created. These now number 81.

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By **WARD NEWTON.**

Political Capital. Adrift on a Stormy Sea. Trade Union Impotency. What Politics Produce. That Stern Fight. Those Inexorable economic Laws.

Those optimists who looked forward to February 23rd as the "great day" when something really would be done to solve the problem of unemployment—I refer to the Joint Labour Conference in Kingsway Hall—were sadly disappointed. The net result was nil—unless the political capital expected of the following resolution materialises:—

"Every wage-earning elector in East Woolwich, Dudley, Penistone, and Kirkecaldy Boroughs is called upon to mark his or her cross of the cautions refusal of the Government to deal adequately with unemployment by voting for the Labour candidates."

Undoubtedly some of the Labour enthusiasts will claim that the increased unemployment dole from 15s. to 41s. which the Government has agreed upon, was the result of the previous Labour Conference's demand for 40s. per week for each household, and 25s. a week for each single man or woman, with additional allowance for dependents. But these short-sighted gentlemen should remember that the Government is also interested in the said elections. Funny enough, the Liberals, too, have claimed the credit for the enhanced dole, and they also have their eye on the elections!

Mr. Clynes spoke strongly of what he described as "the falsehood which the Government has dared to put in the mouth of the King in the King's Speech," when it was declared the unemployment problem could not be solved by legislation. If that were so, Mr. Clynes argues, there would be nothing to do but to fall back on the other methods which the industrial forces of the country could devise.

If we wait a hundred years or so, Mr. Clynes' legislative methods may have a chance of application—but the workers are not going to wait all that time. Gradually they are learning that they possess a much better remedy in their own hands. And it won't be long before they use it.

The income of the Shop Assistants' Union last year was £104,889, an increase of £35,586 on the previous year. The Union claims to have secured £3,304,625 in wage increases for its members. I wonder if the members are going to nullify that good work by doing what some Gorton (Manchester) workers have done—ask their masters to reduce their wages, just because they have been told by the Press that nothing but reduced wages will help trade to recover! Whether they do or not, next year's annual report will record wage decreases, for mere Trade Unionism has ceased to function. It is a mere life-belt which keeps some of the workers afloat on a stormy sea—but it will not carry them to the dry land of economic freedom.

The seventy-third annual report of the London Society of Compositors states that during the year two increases, amounting to 15s., have been gained during the year; eighty-six more firms have been induced to recognise society conditions; and the membership is 15,500 (an increase of 700). In commenting on the problem of unemployment, P. E. Naylor, Secretary, writes: "No doubt in course of time trade will revive and employment will improve, but meanwhile much avoidable suffering is endured under a social and industrial system that fails in the elementary duty of providing regular work for all. It is impossible for any single Union to find a permanent solution of the problem in its own ranks. Whatever palliatives may be applied to-day, the evil would re-assert itself to-morrow, and, in all probability, in an intensified form. The major problem must be left to the Labour movement. Only through Parliamentary action can we hope to bring about a permanent change for the better." I am afraid we shall have to wait a long time, then. The King's speech admitted that unemployment could not be cured by legislative action. If the workers had waited for Parliamentary action they would be still waiting for the vote—and it doesn't seem much good now they've got it. Parliamentary action is not to be depended upon any longer. Direct action, properly applied, will prove much more effective.

"Mr. George R. Roberts, M.P., was subjected to such a storm of hostile opposition while addressing a meeting of Norwich unemployed last week that he could not continue his speech. Some Socialists taunted him with being a renegade, and with having deserted his old friends on whose backs he had climbed to his present position." "This is what politics produce," said one man, pointing at Mr. Roberts. It was recalled that in 1918 Mr. Roberts, as Minister of Labour, declared that all necessary arrangements to absorb ex-Service men into employment within 2 months had been made and that there would "scarcely be a man out of work." This was received with shouts of derision.

And I don't wonder. Another proof of the bankruptcy of legislation—even with a Labour man as Minister of Labour.

"Mr. C. T. Cramp, industrial secretary of the N.U.R., speaking at Lewisham recently, said railwaymen were being dismissed in considerable numbers."

bers. The speeches of a number of railway chairmen denoted that a determined attempt was to be made to lower the standard of wages, which was settled at the beginning of 1920. This attempt would be met with an equally determined opposition. They would never consent to revert to the old standard of living without putting up a hard fight. He did not believe in direct action industrially, but they must fight the matter sternly in the House of Commons.

And supposing that they get beaten in the House of Commons, what then? Resort to the strike, presumably. That will be quite constitutional, of course. Will someone tell me the moral difference between striking for higher wages and striking for something really worth having—say, the communal ownership of railways and our land?

The following railway figures have just been published:—

"The gross earnings of the railways in the United Kingdom during 1919, plus estimated value of services rendered to the Government, totalled £199,879,000, against an expenditure of about £137,058,000, leaving net receipts amounting to £12,821,000.

"To this last total is to be added miscellaneous receipts amounting to £4,513,000, and net Government compensation totalling £35,736,000, giving a total net income of £53,070,000."

THAT LABOUR VOTE.

Supposing all the workers voted solid for Labour; that would be a fine thing, wouldn't it?

And supposing all the Members of Parliament were Labour, that would be a grand sight, wouldn't it?

Then, of course, we'd soon have Communism, wouldn't we?

Would we?

But if the workers could vote themselves into Communism like that, they could easily have Communism all the same, couldn't they?

Then why fuss about the solid Labour vote?

We can have Communism to-morrow—if we like.

Why vote?

Fancy the nation having to compensate a set of people already wealthy for the use of the nation's railways when the enemy was at the gates! But the lives of the workers were conscripted, without compunction, and the nature of their compensation was seen proclaimed on a banner in a recent unemployed procession:—

"1914—National assets.

"1921—On the scrapheap."

Here is another instance of "compensation":—

"Close to the bathing ponds on Hampstead Heath there was found yesterday the body of a man about forty years of age. A bottle and a glass containing an acid were beside him. The only money in his possession was a halfpenny. Letters found showed that the body was that of Philip Grant, of River Street, Clerkenwell. The man's wife told a newspaper representative last night that she knew nothing of his death until she read it in the paper. I saw him the last time on Saturday night, she said, when he came and

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—10.

"I WAS ONE OF THOSE PEOPLE WHO WERE FOOLED INTO FIGHTING TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY; I NOW SEE THAT IT WAS TO MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR THE IMPERIALISTS, OIL KINGS AND STOCKJOBBER." —LIEUT.-COL. MALONE, M.P.

told me the same heartrending story he had told me almost every day for months. He joined up as a volunteer on August 10th, 1914, and was all the time in France till he came home in 1919. It was heart-breaking to hear him relate the same story of disappointment week after week. The poor woman could say no more through her blinding tears. There are three children left."

"It is evident from this month's *Labour Gazette* that the downward trend in wages has already begun. In the month of January wage movements affected 2,100,000 workpeople. Of these some 700,000 got a small rise amounting to £54,000 a week, and 1,450,000 sustained a net decrease of £168,000 a week. It is long since any decrease at all had to be recorded in the *Gazette*. In the long run the wages are paid that the industry can afford to pay, and it has been evident for a long time past that the day of high wages was beginning to decline. No doubt reductions will be resisted, but economic laws are inexorable, and the ultimate choice will be between lower wages and no wages at all. Some of the Labour leaders see this quite well."—*Christian World*.

How charmingly frank to say the Labour leaders see this quite well. That is all they want to see. But these inexorable economic laws only seem to hit one class—the workers. The laws mentioned seem rather one-sided in the following reports:—

"The net profits of Sir Elkannah Armitage and Sons, of Pendleton, cotton spinners and manufacturers, for 1919 were £111,587, compared with £38,837 in the previous year. The Company is paying a dividend of 20 per cent., which absorbs £40,000, and the rest is being placed to reserve and carried forward."

But the workers who made those profits carry forward—the work!

LIST OF LITERATURE.

"The Revolution To-morrow," by L. A. Motler, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," by N. Lenin, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "The Chief Task of Our Times," by N. Lenin, 2d. each, 2s. 3d. per doz.; "Soviets or Parliaments," by Bukharin, 1d. each, 9d. per doz.; "The Red Funeral of Vladivostok," by A. Rhys Williams, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "Questions and Answers About Russia," by A. Rhys Williams, 4d. each, 3s. per doz.; "The Truth About Russia," by Arthur Ransome, 4d. each, 3s. per doz.; "Red Russia" (Book I), (by permission of the "Liberator"), by John Reed, 6d. each, 6d. per doz.; "Red Russia" (Book II), by John Reed, 4d. each, 3s. per doz.; "Life in Russia To-day," by Wilfred R. Humphries, 1d. each, 9d. per doz.; "Hands Off Russia," by Israel Zangwill, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism," by G. Zinoviev, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "Programme of the Russian Communist Party," 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "The Finest Revolution," by O. V. Kunnsen, 3d. each, 2s. 3d. per doz.; "The Hungarian Revolution," by Charles Henry Schmidt (an eye-witness), 9d. each, 6s. 6d. per doz.; "Facts About Communism Hungary," by Alice Riggs Hunt, 4d. each, 3s. per doz.; "Self-Education of the Workers," by A. Lunatcharsky, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "Rebel Ireland," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, P. Lynch, and M. O'Callaghan, 3d. each, 2s. 3d. per doz.; "The Schooling of the Future," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 1d. each, 9d. per doz.; "Independent Working-Class Education," by Cedar and Eden Paul, 3d. each, 2s. 3d. per doz.; "The Birth Rate," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 1d. each, 9d. per doz.; "The Soviets of the Street: An Appeal to Working Women," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, half-penny each, 4d. per doz.; "Housing and the Workers' Revolution," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 3d. each, 2s. 3d. per doz.; "Lord George Takes the Mask Off," by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, three-halfpenny each, 1s. 1d. per doz.; "To British Workers: Leaflets on the Soviets in Britain," half-penny each, 2d. per doz.; "Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution," by J. Walton Newbould, M.A., 3d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "An Appeal to the Young," by James Stewart, 2d. each, 1s. 6d. per doz.; "Ireland: the Achilles' Heel of England," by Herman Gorter, 1d. each, 9d. per doz.; "The Communist Song Book," 4d. each, 3d. per doz.; "The Logic of the Machine," by W. F. Hay, 4d. each, 3s. per doz.

Terms, cash with order, from the Literature Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

LABOUR'S ETERNAL RESOLUTIONS—Cont. p. 1.

Executive Chambers of National, or the League of International Capitalism, is guilty of treachery, is a traitor to the working-class movement, which can only achieve slavelessness through its own class-understanding, organisation, rebellion and defence, wherever the forces of production and distribution operate. And this means preparation for the climax to the unceasing class-conflict—Revolution. It means preparation for the defence of Revolution; but the Labour Party and the Trade Union Bureaucracy are afraid of Revolution, hence even the name is taboo at their wind-bag conferences. The capitalist is happy, because resolutions do not hurt!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.**Counter Revolutionary Preparations against Soviet Russia.**

German jingo papers announce that Germany will not be able to disarm by June 30th on account of a Bolshevik invasion. This means, of course, that the "Little Entente" are anxious for Germany to join them in the predatory expedition they are planning for the spring, and that the Big Entente will grant them their blessing and material aid made by Henry Dubbs and his like.

From Riga comes news that a strong agitation is being carried on by Wrangel's agents in the Baltic Provinces, to stir up these places against the Workers' Republic of Russia.

As for Poland she is arming feverishly. Savinkov's committee has been revived again under another name—"The Russian Evacuation Committee." It received twenty million roubles from the Polish Government, ostensibly to support the interned persons, but in reality for political agitation. Savinkov is in close touch with the different monarchist groups of Germany, who are sending their envoys to Warsaw with the connivance of the Polish Government.

The Lithuanian telegraph agency announces that Leliovsk's army is being re-mobilised, and that more troops are being brought forward. Two regiments of Hussars, 35 wagons with soldiers and horses, 6 wagons of ammunition, 22 sanitary wagons, have been dispatched to Vilna. From Vilna eight new machine guns, two cannon, and twenty military wagons have been sent on to the front.

French War Material for Poland.

Three French merchant vessels with war material for Poland have left Le Havre for Danzig.

Roumanian's "Peace Wish."

Take Joneescu has declared to the Entente delegates that Roumania is ready to support the Entente with an army of 100,000 men against Soviet Russia. (Put not your trust in trade agreements signed by capitalist governments!)

Bulgarian Reactionaries Arming against Russia.

The founder of the Green International, Stamboliski, has entered Sofia with much pomp, and is trying to stir up that country against Russia. So our Councils of Action will have to get ready to act or not to act—that is the question.

The Social-Democrats in Austria.

[For Social-Democrat read Labour Party, and you have got it.]

We print the translation of a resolution passed at a crowded demonstration outside the Rathaus in Vienna, and at similar meetings in the provinces, to protest against an income tax levied by the Austrian Government on the wages of the workers.

The resolution speaks for itself. The Social-Democrats voted for it, making as their excuse that to do otherwise would cause Horthy's thugs to be turned loose in Austria, and held rival meetings to say that the income tax was too large, etc. Can't we hear our lot talking about throwing things into the hands of the extremists? "Bloodshed," and then going back to their cushy jobs, and their nice homes, provided by their dupes in the unions.

The Resolution passed by the Austrian Workers.

"The standard of life for the Proletariat has sunk to an incredible depth, the workers are starving painfully. Wages have certainly risen, but not in comparison with prices—wages are 150 per cent. behind prices.

"While in the hard struggle for wages, the workers are striving to keep some correspondence between wages and prices, the Capitalist State, by attempting to levy this income tax, stabs the Proletariat in the back.

"The employer's income tax is collected by the officials who are of easy virtue, but the worker's income tax is to be collected by the employer, who is thus put in a position to stab his employees in the neck.

"For each worker a record book and a warrant is thus placed in the employer's hand. The workers' record book is thus again resurrected. They practice of 'democracy' of 'equal rights,' in truth they place the workers under a law of exception, and indeed consciously so. On the 23rd July, 1920, the report of the Income Tax Law, the Social-Democratic Deputy, Allina, said 'the fact that here the workmen and employees are placed under an exceptional law made it a duty for the committee to examine the details of this law most carefully.'

Now they have examined it; now they have passed this exceptional law' against the workers. On the other hand they are very democratic in the matter of income. They speak of simple income; they make no difference between workers' income and property income, between income hardly earned through one's own work, and income got without effort, by exploiting the labour of others. That was always so! In the year 1909 the Social-Democrat, Dr. Renner, in his book 'Working People and Taxes,' part 1, page 37, wrote: 'The sum of the wage of a

working population goes in the purchase of the needful means of life, in the renewal of the collective and socially necessary labour power. Taxes on wages injure this renewal in all cases, even if they are paid directly. A general income-tax can never be justified. The income tax must make an exception of income from wages. . . . there is no statistical fixed agreement as to a minimum; income on wages is by all means to be cut out. No taxes on work but taxes on property, big taxes on big property! Not taxes on the socially necessary housekeeping expenses, but on luxurious expenditure.' That was the united opinion of Social-Democracy for long decades. Come to power, in the name of the glorious idea of the Third Coalition they betray their own principles, and have hung round the neck of the Proletariat this millstone of the income tax.

From the Christian Socialists and German Nationalists the workers have never expected anything different. Every worker knows that the Christian and German National blackleg politicians would defend the interests of big capital. But now the workers recognise with indignation that the very party which, according to the great mathematician Frederick Adler, had behind it 92.58 of the total working class of German-Austria, that the Social-Democratic Party has also resolved on this shameful exceptional law against the working class.

"The Social-Democratic leaders justify their tax policy because of the need of the State finances. The State and Financial Interest also claims sacrifice from the Proletariat! Against that we protest with all our might, our standpoint being that of the old Social-Democracy. Before all State, financial, and other such interests, stands the interest of the Proletariat. Out of its starvation wages, the Proletariat cannot pay a farthing in taxes. The Proletariat would be ready to make sacrifices for the Proletariat, the Socialist State, but it will not give a farthing towards the Capitalist State. The capitalists are those who enjoy this State, let them help it, they have the necessary small change, and one only needs to dip into their bulging money-bags, and cancel, without injury, their war and State loans. The property tax is a drop on a hot stone. The property tax must be discharged by the rich out of their superfluity, without the workers being obliged to be taxed out of their starvation wages.

"We Communists, have already, a long time ago, warned the Proletariat of the danger of this income tax. Social-Democracy was at first deaf to it. Now that the Proletariat is moving, they wish by small improvements to make the law palatable, and thus make possible the capitalist robbery. To these we oppose with all our force the slogan: 'Away with the exceptional law against the Proletariat! Freedom from taxes on workers' incomes. Refuse taxes to the bourgeois State.'

This resolution was passed in the middle of last month. We make no apology for producing it late, for our social traitors in this country have not yet run away. We like to know what our comrades are doing. The class-war has a long line of battle.

Mass Murder in Spain.

Persecution of the working classes still continues in Spain, and has now taken on the character of the Hungarian White Terror. In Barcelona within 36 hours no less than 21 Syndicalists and Anarchists were murdered by the police. The proceedings are as follows: The workmen are arrested, and while being escorted to the prison they are shot. The police allege that in all these cases the prisoners "attempted to escape, and were shot during flight." (Now we know what to expect when the Black-and-Tan thugs return from Ireland. What they are doing in Ireland at the present time is, of course, not the concern of the yellow-blooded Trade Union leaders.) From another source we learn 22 other comrades have been imprisoned in a fortress of Montjuich—amongst them the Syndicalist leader, Pestagua, editor of the paper, "Solidaridad Obrera," in Barcelona.

Pestagua took part in the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. On the journey home he was imprisoned in Italy and delivered over to the Spanish authorities.

Agitation of the Japanese Socialists.

News reaches us that our Japanese comrades, who, as announced by us recently have been driven underground by the military caste and government, have been printing Socialist propaganda on the paper money. We did not think paper money could serve such a good purpose. One to the Japanese.

Japan moving towards Revolution.

"Investia" says: "The imperialist policy of the Japanese Government lays heavier and heavier burdens on the working masses, and discontent grows daily. The paper 'Jamante' reports that the growth of the Socialist movement increases to an alarming extent. There is often collision between workers and police; the miners, especially, express

their discontent in this way. Even the students are striking, so that the Universities are obliged to be closed.

This growing discontent has its cause first, in the terrible economic pressure, and second, in the great sacrifices which the imperialist policy demands of the country.

The military circle is trying by means of seizing the Chinese territory, Chun Tschun, to raise the patriotism of the people and to give them a fresh prestige to their expansionist policy. But it needs no prophet to foretell that such a means is not capable of satisfying the discontent of the population.

The Japanese Government is dancing on a volcano, and one cannot know at what moment there will be an eruption!

We learn from another source that the Japanese Government is preparing to attack Soviet Russia, so the eruption may be near at hand. Communist pamphlets and Soviets in Japan will shortly render the Far East.

The General Economic Situation in Soviet Russia.

The results on the economic field are enormous. Free trade has been restored by a provisioning apparatus which functions better every year. In five months they have collected 210 million poods of corn, a quantity which was only collected in the course of the whole of the preceding year. The progress is in every department, with the exception, perhaps, of fuel. All efforts of the Communist Party must now be concentrated on the economic front.—"Pravda," 26th January.

All-Russian Miners' Congress.

On 23rd January, in Moscow, the Second All-Russian Miners' Congress was opened, in which 400 delegates took part, representing one-third of a million miners. The Congress will occupy itself chiefly with the question of the furthering of production.

The State Care for the Workers.

The Council of the People's Commissaries determines that the State care of the workers shall also be extended to members of their families in case of temporary loss of their labour power. Thus a woman who devotes herself to the care of her child, has claim to State help until the child is two years old, in addition to which, a mother at the birth of a child is entitled to a sum of money equal to her monthly wage. Nursing mothers receive special support.

Dantzig for the Third International.

The Congress of the Independent Social-Democratic Party in Dantzig has by 73 votes against 9 decided for the Third International, at the same time linking up with the United Communist Party of Germany.

The French Government pursues the Teachers' Union.

From Angers it is reported, "The Court of Angers takes legal proceedings against the committee of the Teachers' Union; hitherto 34 sections of the Teachers' Union have been persecuted by legal proceedings. The former secretary of the Seine section, Paul Briand, was sentenced to fifty days imprisonment and the loss of his post for selling a pamphlet by Sadoul, "Long Live the Soviet Republic." Resurrected clericalism shirks no means of having its opponents persecuted by nominally "independent courts."

Bloody Battle between Wrangle's Troops and the French.

As announced at Constantinople, the Cossacks of Wrangle's army, who were encamped in Yechatalscha have mutined. They disarmed their officers, whereupon a French negro troop attacked them. A fight ensued, in the course of which ten Senegalese were killed and twenty others wounded. Two French officers also were wounded. Not until a larger military force of French appeared on the scene with machine guns, was it possible to reduce the Cossacks to capitulation. Thus even Wrangle's soldiers are gradually seeing in what a shameful way they are being misled by their white guard officers. Instead of the alluring things which had been promised them, they received only misery in exile, and when they rebel against their lot, they are shot down by the machine guns of Entente capitalism. Thus for every Proletarian who falls into the net of the White Guards and betrays his class there comes a rude awakening.

Constantinople in a Ferment.

An intensive Communist propaganda is being carried on amongst the troops of Wrangle's army, quartered in Constantinople. A Communist daily paper appeared in French and Russian some days ago. The French and Wrangle's officers tried to stop the circulation of this paper, but without success.

On the shores of the Bosphorus there are roaming about 10,000 Russian soldiers and Greek deserters; the French gendarmes imprisoned several hundreds of these on account of the Communist leanings. Thereupon the Russians raised a great uproar to enforce the release of the prisoners. Another body of the Russian fugitives tried to cross the Bosphorus in order to join the army of Mustapha Kemal. A group of Russian soldiers attacked the French sailors and marines and wanted to seize a ship by force. The French received them with volleys. A wild fight ensued, in which there were many dead and wounded. The insurgents eventually withdrew.

The French gendarmes seized the Communist printing press and imprisoned the personnel. (Ah, but they could not imprison the idea.)

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

There was a loud clatter in the Plate Room. But it was idle to imagine that it meant work. Of course I am the last to believe in the laziness of the working class. As a fact, they work too hard. But sometimes—only sometimes, mind you—they do make a lot of smoke with thundering little fire, as Casey remarked in a voice that reached Jack over the banging.

"Now, look here, Casey," remarked Jack, looking up. "Wharrer mean by it?"

"I wasn't alluding to your blessed banging, if you ask me," flipped back Casey. "But let them wear the cap as it fits, as the saying is."

"If you mean me," said Jack, letting the bench have another bang—for luck, perhaps, "then you are looking up the shortest road for a thick ear. You see this mallet?"

But before Casey could put in any sarcasm the lights most inappropriately went out.

The fact was that the electric lights had been distinctly wobbly for the last half hour, which meant that the engineer was trying to put the lid on a discontented dynamo. So of course this sudden blowing out of the lights was not unexpected.

Our capitalists, let it be admitted, are sometimes brainy. In this instance the factory was equipped with gas as well as electricity, so there was a general striking of matches and several collisions between people anxious to be the ones to light up the gas. And as the gas taps hadn't been turned for untold ages, many matches—and fingers—were burnt before the tap had been jabbed round with pliers, or, failing that useful tool, a hammer.

"Blow these engineers," said Jack. "What they think they are, I don't know." Sarcasm is always like that; there is a great deal of "I don't know" about it from the knowing ones, which is enough to stop a dynamo.

"I see old Howard this morning sitting down by the generating plant, reading the *Express*, as if he didn't care if the whole show blew to heck," remarked Casey.

"And him a Trade Unionist, too. Oughter know better. Sitting down by the engines reading like young Bert with his Deadwood Dick," said Jack.

"All he does," added Casey, helping to pile up all the sins of the engineer ready for the Day of Judgment, "is to fuss round with an oil can and a rag, and his day's work is done."

"Gets seven quid, I'm told," said Jack. "And has a nice snug millinery business, what his wife manages for him."

"I say, go easy," put in Mac. "You might at least admit that the engineer earns his pay. Why the whole show stops if the engine does?"

"More fool him then for letting it stop," remarked Jack, with base malice.

"But consider how rarely it does stop," said Mac. "Doesn't that prove old Howard knows his business? Now, if a man knows his job like that, then he is a far sight more valuable to the firm than the shareholders who sometimes come in here, with spats complete, to see nobody has pinched their factory overnight. Their factory, mark you."

Jack picked up his mallet and let Mac go on. It isn't human nature to admit there's something sensible in what you say for once.

"Now, of course," Mac went on, "you're as valuable to the firm as the engineer is, and if you don't get seven quid a week, then that's because you are out of the union. However, that is none of my business. What I mean is that it isn't playing the game to blame your fellow-workers like that. The employers do enough of that dirty work."

"Well, I won't say as you ain't right," remarked Casey. "Only this morning old Creeps come round and asked me what I had been waiting for, and me all in a sweat since 8 a.m. about a urgent job."

"I see old Creeps speak to you pretty sharp," put in Jack. "I wonder what you done."

"Why, I ain't done nothing," said Casey. "But you'd think by the way they jaw you over these blessed urgent tram tickets that there was a crowd hollering outside the tram offices and that the trams couldn't run without."

"Ha, ha, ha!" laughed Jack. "That's Creeps all over."

"Proves what I said," Mac remarked. "Remember how they got it in the neck at Albermule. The signalmen, I mean. Just because a railway accident happens after twelve years, they want to know why they don't attend to their duty properly. Why, every day railwaymen are carrying millions of people, and if a blame duke took charge of the engine, how many employers would trust themselves on that train?"

"Hear, hear," said Casey.

"But you can't change it," Jack put in. "So long as there's a working class, we have to put up with it, and that means till my missus gets my club money."

"But why should there be a working class?" asked Mac.



OUR BOOKSHELF.

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF KARL MARX.

(By Max Beer. National Labour Press. 3s. 6d.) Any book that brings Marx and his teachings nearer to the hearts of his followers, should be welcomed by the revolutionary movement in this country. This is just what this book does. It is written in a fresh, lucid and most interesting style; and both old and new students of Marxian doctrine cannot fail to derive satisfaction from reading it. At present, when there is so much Marxism in the air, it is certainly a most timely contribution to the literature of Socialism.

The German Socialist movement is in a much more fortunate position to get at the whole of Marx's writings than the British movement. In this book Mr. Beer quotes from numerous letters that passed between Marx and Engels, with which we in this country never had the opportunity to become acquainted. It is certainly unfortunate that in this country, where Marxism is having such a profound effect on the Labour movement, there is no complete edition of the writings of Marx. To those of us unable to read German, some of the quotations in this book are most interesting and instructive; and will undoubtedly help to make clear many aspects of Marxism that were previously ambiguous. The perusal of this book tempts one to suggest to the Governors of the Labour College—an institution based on the teachings of Marx—that they should immediately set about to devise ways and means to have the whole of the writings of Marx translated into English. That there is need for this no one will deny. On page 64, Mr. Beer talks about Marx's three volumes on the historical study of the theories of value and surplus value. To the student of Marxism, the paucity of literature on the history of economic theories has long made itself evident. And there is no doubt that if these historical studies of Marx were translated into English they would make a valuable addition to the text-books of the Labour College, and a most important addition to the library of every Marxian Socialist.

These are some of the thoughts that occur to one's mind in reading this book. The plan of the book is quite original; the first half of it deals with the life of Marx; in the second section we have a concise and simple summing-up of the main theories of Marx. In the Introduction there is a very interesting chapter on the dialectics of Hegel; and, as Mr. Beer says, to understand the Marxian method one must have some idea of the Hegelian dialectic. This aspect of the method formulated by Hegel is admirably summed up in a few pages.

The ordinary working-class student in this country has never had many opportunities to acquaint himself with the Hegelian method, which influenced so profoundly the theories of Marx. In this book he will find a most concise statement of those principles and how they affected Marx when he was working on his epoch-making theories.

Mr. Beer is not a Marxian; but he does not let this fact stare one in the face on every page. On the contrary, he keeps it in the background and attempts to put forward what, in his opinion, is the essence of the Marxian theories. And one must say that he succeeds very well. There are 132 pages in the book; and not until we come to page 130 can we disagree with him. Here, in a few sentences, he tries to show that Marx never took into sufficient consideration the part played by inventors, organisers, etc., in the creation of value. This is the old skilled and unskilled labour stunt trotted out by Boehm-Bawerk. On the whole, however, one cannot but be grateful to Mr. Beer for his most useful contribution towards illuminating the life and teachings of a personality that is having such profound effects to-day on international and national politics.

To the student approaching the study of Marx for the first time this book will be most valuable. It will clearly reveal to him who Marx was, what he taught, and his effect on the modern Labour movement. The writer has no hesitation in recommending it to all Socialists. It is really well worth the money.—D. J. Williams (Labour College, Kew Road, London, W.).

WISDOM FOR THE WORKERS.—11.

"WHAT RESOLUTION, PURELY SOCIALIST, HAS BEEN BROUGHT FORWARD BY THE SOCIALIST MEMBERS

IN PARLIAMENT? NOT ONE."

—F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

WILLING'S PRESS GUIDE.

(James Willing, Ltd., 125, Strand, London. 52 pp. 2s.)

The importance of the Press, not only as a medium of information but as a means of subtle propaganda, was proved during the war, when all the ablest journalists were either bought, induced, cajoled to present the case for each of the belligerent countries. To have, therefore, in a handy and classified form, the list of the Press of the Kingdom on one's table, within arm's reach, for the moderate sum of two shillings is pleasant and useful at the same time. Willing's Guide records only twelve papers under the classification of "Socialistic," and amongst them the compilers did not think it fit to include the "Daily Herald."

The weakest part of the Guide is the foreign section, where several political papers have not been recorded, and a few others left in which are now defunct.

Looking over the pages of this useful publication one realises the immense strides the Workers' Press has still to make in order to have but a fraction of the importance it deserves.

LE PHARE.

(Official organ of the Third International in the Romand, Switzerland. Editor: J. Humbert-Droz Rue P. H. Matthey, 27, Chaux-de-Fonds. Monthly. 10 francs.)

Comrades desirous of keeping fresh what French they acquired campaigning in France and at the same time gain useful knowledge should get this publication. The January issue has interesting reproductions from photographs taken at the Red House for the Petrograd workers.

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