Watch the Race for Air Supremacy.

Saturday, July 14, 1923. ONE PENNY.

Workers' Dreadnought

IF YOU HAVE ANY MONEY, SEND SOME TO THE DOCKERS.

VOL. X. No. 17. SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1923. WEEKLY.

To the Miners of Great Britain.

Labour Leader: " Stop that kicking, won't yo u? He was just beginning to listen to me! "

You have been stalled and banked again by that growing voice of labour, so vociferously and speciously proclaimed by the Parliamentary careerists within your ranks.

The Labour Party's Miners' Minimum Wage Bill is doomed. Two years ago you held your hand, raised with hope at the promise of your Parliamentarians, and disheartened and subdued in spirit by this ever-recurring, interminable struggle of wage standards.

In the very nature of things, the policy of no policy, the continual seeking of some alternative measure to solve the problem that confronts you, undermines your morals and rends your ranks with hopeless helplessness, when seemingly the gospel with which your traducers spell you is in verity the gospel of hope. But it was ever so. A madman once proclaimed with sardonic contempt: " Hope! that curse of Pandora, that fetters the hand of man to act." And is it not so? Is not the logic of a madman insurmountable to the lilliputian understanding and method of those in whose mouths you entrust your struggle, who bid you wait and hope? Have you no sense of proportion, that thousands of your kind men, women and children suffer the inevitable consequences of privation? Yes; for two years and back to the dawn of your history the few elect eat, sleep and leisure regularly, the outcome of your comradely acquiescence to their speciously flatulent vapourings.

Down with the Parliamentary " sounding-board " which dissolves and dissipates the aim, the will and the initiative of the workers in their struggle. Let fools, place-hunters, and the incompetent proclaim the virtues of this great illusion. Heed you not.

In your arm, in your brain, with others of kindred callings, is your strength to wield for weal or woe.

Parrots as men, seemingly proclaiming the slogans of revolutionary unity beset you. Heed not you. Their ill-digested theses they are quite incompetent and incapable of applying themselves to your problem.

They will but give you the words and slogans for another round of the wage struggle. You know, fellow-worker, they're "Realists!" Some of them will tell you what it means if you don't know. I don't think!

Your capitalist masters have resumed tranquility from the affected indignation and hostility they assumed at the election. Their supposed " bete noir " was the Capital Levy. They raised the masked shadows of their indignation in their Press. The Parliamentary Communist and Labour politician said: " Here is where our enemy winces; on with the United Front, and, as a beaver gnawing at big timber, further undermining is effected to the tottering edifice of Capitalism." In their incompetence they believed it, promulgated it, and made you believe it. All in the name of " Realism." Now the cat's out of the bag. They, the capitalists, raised the dummy for political motives for fools and incompetents verbally to spear at.

The " Telegraph," " Times," and " Financial Times," leadering Sir Joshua's stamp lecture at London University on Economics and the Capital Levy, makes it plain that you, fellow-workers, would have benefited none, even though it was a measure of any party. We knew all along. The economic and financial fabric of modern Capitalism is so elastic that nothing short of its abolition can in any measure benefit you as a class You should severely censure your tutors for not informing you on these matters, but probably they cannot; they don't know any better themselves. " Realism," you know, is the vogue of thought with them to-day.

Among themselves they believe you could not understand. Probably you cannot, at least, not their explanations. But like weeds, if they are such slovenly or incompetent gardeners as to allow weeds to further propagate in the field of revolutionary thought, either fire them or stuff their mouths with hunger.

In the immediate or near future you will be forced to a resumption of the struggle of wage schedules.

The A.W.R.C. (All Workers' Revolutionary Union of Workshop Committees) is considering an intensive propaganda for organising the factory, mine, field, marine and fisheries' workers of Ireland and Great Britain into a federated whole, to seize and operate industry and distribute the products of labour, field, mine, factory and sea, to the common needs and requirements of the workers. If you think this is a flash in the pan, the duplicating of existing organisation, stay your judgment. A copy of the draft constitution will be forwarded to anyone who will enclose one penny stamp for postage.

There are no funds; we are not organising for funds. We are few. The revolutionary truth has few spokesmen. Will you who believe some effort must be made to counteract the swamp of compromise, who have capability of tongue and sense to give hearing, associate and school to the furtherance of its propaganda? Communism cannot be brought in by the back door, nor by feats of intellectual legerdemain. The worker from one end of the country to the other must understand what Communism means, what it implies in their relation and functioning within it, the structure of the organisation by which it is effected, and the minimal ideological and psychological change to be effected in the workers for its attainment. This sounds a very tall order. Actually it is very easy. The policy of these realists and otherwise, if it can be called such, is far more complex, although they don't state it, from incapacity to do so. They have a naive or

FOOD FOR STRIKERS. Give your help to Women's Committee. Organiser, Clara Cole, 152 Fleet Street, E.C.

mystic faith in crises by which they are going to grasp and cure all ills. Perhaps

The possibilities are always greater in any other country for revolutionary activity than here, here. To them in their debating futility, Germany will go first, possibly it may be Italy, Hungary, France, or Hell, but anyway not England; and yet to a student of capitalist development and the forces, and elements and antagonisms arising therefrom, Great Britain is pre-eminently the country in which the forces have latently matured for the abolition of Capitalism.

It, and it alone, is the key to world Capitalism's collapse. The travelled intellectuals of your masters know it, if it has not dawned into the head of Parliamentary Communists.

What does this programme mean, in other words?

It means that we must be competent to show the worker that he is frittering away his energies in pursuing the shadows and forms promulgated by those who to-day hold the field of propaganda.

It means that, world revolution or no world revolution, the survival, success, economic and cultural progress of any such effort is coincident with the Communist intelligence of the workers and the degree of organisation that they have brought into existence to conserve the production and distribution of products within their national confines.

Revolutions are not world spontaneous: they have their centres, and therefrom radiate. National revolutions, from the viewpoint of Communist production, are not the antithesis of international effort, they are its very fecundation. The object of the A.W.R.U. is the necessary groundwork in thought and organisation for such an aim. It attempts to develop the essential fabric of Communism, and all things grow and develop from the essentials of the seeds that gave them birth. In this case it is the pressure of working-class needs, reacted on by the conscious efforts of the workers to reorganise the existing economic fabric and its technique, to satisfy their class needs.

Comrade, are your services to the revolutionary movement more than the singing of:

"Or labouring live,
Or fighting die."

Are you willing to proclaim hostility alike to Capitalism and those within your ranks who profess allegiance to revolutionary aims? Are you willing to equip yourself with the means of confuting and combatting this epidemic aftermath of vacillation?

If so, send for this draft constitution of the A.W.R.U. Send in your suggestions of modification or elaboration, or come in person to the end of effecting an efficient organisation industrially and for the propaganda of Communism. Therein lies your only hope for liberation from the gall and insecurity of wage slavery and Capital.

A. O. S. D. M.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

The total male population of the Province of Madras is 20,121,866. The boys of elementary school age number 3,018,298. Only 1,253,428 boys ,however, were under instruction in March 1922. The minimum pay of a teacher is only £1 a month, and only 39 per cent. of the teachers are qualified. The total annual cost of a pupil is 8/- per annum; 195 villages in the Province, with a population of more than 2,000 each, have no school.

Madras is considered a model one for educational facilities. What about the benefits the Empire confers on subject peoples?

WANTED.—Small second-hand mill for grinding oyster shells for poultry.—Address "Oyster," c/o "Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

LETTERS OF KARL LIEBKNECHT.

October 9th, 19155.

Dearest,—

We are not working to-night, so I have time to write you a few lines. Last night we had a frightful night, and it is a miracle that I am alive. When we set out at twilight through the fir woods the stars were twinkling among the branches like Christmas-tree candles. We got to our work in the cemetery. The stars had disappeared; it was quite dark. Phosphorescent sparks flew up like fireflies at every blow of pick or spade. Sometimes the pick strikes in a hollow; another grave opened, and a horrible odour of putrefaction. No sound is heard of the earth as it falls back into the hole. Bursts of fire and the hissing of the bullets resound from the other side of the Duna, and from the near Russian trenches the report of the gunfire reaches our ears before the noise of the explosion. The Russians use a great many explosive bullets of American manufacture, which make very nasty wounds.

I climbed to the top of a small hill overlooking the Duna, and saw for the first time the beautiful broad sheet of silvery water. The Russian bullets whistled in our ears.

About five or six miles from our quarters, which are high and visible from a considerable distance, the Russians have a floating war-balloon, which has done them good service. To-day again it was swooping about in the breeze. The rifle fire had almost ceased. They were busy putting up wire defences opposite us, and were pretty quiet.

Just now I am sitting in a warm hut with some machine-gunners, members of our party. They are chattering and playing cards. One of them has the little book, published by Langewiesche, on the German printers of the first half of the nineteenth century, "The Quiet Garden," reproductions from the "Nineteenth Century Exhibition," naturally "taken" from some place or other. I read it, and immediately felt myself near you. Have you this little book? If not, I advise you to get it.

One of our men, Lohse, was struck by a bullet and wounded in the lungs and in the stomach. He is finished, poor fellow, but is not yet dead. There were several losses in the place where we are working. I am still without news of you. Kisses to you and the children. Write soon to your

KARL.

October 25th, 1915.

Dearest,—

By this time you must be at home, and have seen how often I have written to you. I have received nothing from you for a long time—something must have happened to prevent it. We receive hardly any post now—it is a real torment. I cannot write much now; I am too impatient and too much upset by your long silence. We changed quarters some time ago. We are now in the trenches dug out by the Russians, more to the north-west, near the Duna. It is very cold. To-day it is snowy, so that this morning I washed myself in the snow, with great delight. We are driven mad with insects. How are you all? I cannot write you if I have no news from you. Now I do not even receive parcels, nor a few short letters from Alice enclosing a little tobacco. No light, no firewood, no cigars, and very little tobacco, and that after seven weeks' absence from home. It is maddening. Do not send any more winter clothes; I have received everything. Please, please write. This horrible company torments me in a way that is quite sickening. Kisses to you and the children.

Your KARL.

Note.

On October 25th I was called out of the battalion barrack-room to receive the following communication: "I have been informed that you are in the habit of preaching to your comrades of the battalion, advocating them to leave the Church. This cannot be allowed. A military barracks is neutral ground. You are requested to desist." (So far perfectly constitutional language.) "Your invitation to leave the Church is probably founded on the following argument: That by this means you may bring pressure to bear for the termination of the war. This may be considered as an act of revolt." (Here I answer nothing.) "I address these words to you with the best intention. The fact that I, personally, am against breaking from the Church is of no importance. I differ very little from you in my judgment of the war, and I admire and respect your pacifist tendencies." (Here a few words of sharp criticism from me.) "Reflect that you are surrounded by spies who report everything; therefore, be prudent. For the rest, I know that the general staff officer of the Service Corps has no great love for you. I heard him myself say, the last time you went off on leave, that if you went about there in civlian clothes he would have you arrested. So be on your guard."

On October 26th the battalion commander arrives and calls me out. He has heard of my propaganda for breaking away from the Church. That will not do. He wishes to keep on good terms with me, and to be able to report that my conduct is irreproachable. He will give no further importance to the affair; he prefers to consider it as a matter which has come to his knowledge privately. He adds that I must not forget that a great many of my comrades show a great friendship for me to my face, but that behind my back they denounce me and set my superiors against me. He advises me to keep to the company of those whose opinions I am sure of; to do nothing which may give rise to observations or remark. It is for that reason that he has taken the opportunity to speak to me, and if the occasion presents itself he will interrogate me again on my return from the Reichstag. Only, no "agitating." He says further, I must not forget that letters may be opened; authorisation has been granted to prevent any rebellious movement. He did not know whether that had happened yet, but I must be prepared for any eventuality. It had been spoken of once at headquarters that my wife was abroad, and that I corresponded with her through another address.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

Edgar A. Poe. A psychopathic study by W. H. Thomson, M.D. (Putnams, 10/-.) After many ineffectual attempts to render the memory of an American poet respectable, this book has been written to explain that his poverty and intemperance were due to disease. American patriotism is sentimental: it likes its poets to be saintly. An Edgar Allen Poe shrine has been erected by his admirers. Poe is specially adapted for worship by sentimental Americans, since his verses are sentimental, easy of comprehension, with a strong and obvious rythm.

Poe was a victim of the social system. Born in most abject poverty, he and his brother in early childhood lay beside a father dying of consumption and pneumonia, and a mother in the last stages of consumption. Their cries were hushed by their grandmother, who administered to them bread soaked in gin.

At the death of his parents Poe was taken charge of by the wealthy Allens. Brought up in luxurious surroundings, the boy soon displayed exceptional brilliance, and Allen, very proud of his protégé, would make him stand on a chair to toast his guests with a glass of wine.

With the approach of maturity, dypsomania developed. Poe was subject to occasional outbreaks of drinking and depression, accompanied by delusions. Poe declared that his drinking was due to these fits of insanity; his enemies said that his insanity was due to drink.

As a result of some such attack at the University, Allen removed young Poe and set him to toil for long hours at distasteful routine in his warehouse.

Thereafter Poe's life was one of obscure poverty for some years. At one time he was in the Army, it is said. He was befriended at times by literary persons, and gradually attained for himself an assured position as a writer. He seems to have been well-to-do for a period. Then he sank into destitution as his capacity for writing waned with the advance of his disease. He had married his cousin, who died of tuberculosis in great poverty. His aunt and mother-in-law, Mrs. Clemm, was deeply attached to him. He was at last found unconscious in the street, and died in hospital. Mrs. Clemm, in her poverty, was unable to find the railway fare to reach his deathbed

"What about the reward of genius under Communism." asks doubting Thomas.

Unemployment and Our Revenue Problem. By John Sturgis Cadman, B.W. (Huebsch, Inc., New York, 25 cents.) The author suggests an appropriate paraphrase, "Robinson Crusoe Up-to-date." He says:

"If Daniel Defoe were to re-write in these times his history of Robinson Crusoe, he would doubtless be aware of the necessity of altering it greatly. In the light of present-day industrial conditions, Crusoe's first thought after the shipwreck would have been to get a job, and his despair in finding himself entirely alone with no hope of an employer would be vividly portrayed by the author of his history.

"After he had 'walked the streets' in vain, however, it would undoubtedly have at last occurred to Crusoe, since he was a man of unusual ingenuity, that he might just as well be his own employer. He would then have hastened back to the wreck, and, as he did in the original version of the story, he would have landed what stores and tools he found there, and with these as his stock in trade would have started to do business.

"Very soon, however, another question would begin to trouble him—namely, how to do business without a landlord; but having already overcome one difficulty, his resourceful mind would easily surmount this second one, and finding that no one interfered with him, and not seeing any 'no trespass' signs about, he would promptly decide to be his own landlord and would hand himself a title to the island by right of discovery or conquest. Then at last his modern mind would be at rest, and in his own person would be represented all those who share in the products of industry under the institutions of civilisation. He would be, first, the landowner, secondly the tenant and employer of labour, and thirdly, the employee or wage-earner.

"When this new version of the story reached the discovery of the footprint in the sand, there would be great rejoicing on Crusoe's part, not because he would anticipate the arrival of an employer or a landlord (all that idea would have been forgotten), but because now he would see visions of many tenants from whom he would receive rent, some acting as employers and some as wage-earners, and upon whose shoulders he would be able to throw the burden of organising and carrying on production.

"Since the savages encountered by Crusoe could hardly be expected to recognise his title to the island, the story might well continue as in the original version, ending with the defeat of the cannibals and the release of their prisoner, Man Friday. Then another change in the story would be necessary, since, with his modern views, Crusoe could not hold Friday as a slave. He would therefore free Friday and would offer to rent to him for, let us say, so many cocoanuts, a small portion of the island, so that Friday might have at least a place to rest his head at night, while during the day he could work on Crusoe's estates and thus earn enough cocoanuts to pay the rent, and to buy from Crusoe a few of the other things which he (Friday) might need and had himself produced.

. . . Supposing that another shipwreck had thrown a group of men, women and children upon the island. These new arrivals, being assumed to be thoroughly civilised, would, of course, recognise Crusoe's prior title to the island, and their first thought therefore would be to secure jobs in his service, or to rent from him (or even to buy if they had anything to offer) some portion of the island. It may be assumed that some, at least, of the newcomers would secure leases of the land, if not freeholds, and that some of the others, but perhaps not all, would secure jobs either from Crusoe or his tenants. Thus very soon the society of the island would be capable of some such classification as the following:

"1. Robinson Crusoe himself, owning the island through right of discovery or conquest and living comfortably, without need of labour, on the rents received from his tenants.

"2. Crusoe's tenants, striving to utilise their opportunities in production, often organising and directing the labour of others, but squeezed between Crusoe's demand for all the rent he can get and the demands of employees for all the wages they can get.

"3. Those neither owning nor renting land, and therefore without opportunity to produce except as employees. These hire themselves out, when they can, to Crusoe's producing tenants, helping the latter to pay Crusoe's rents and receiving their portion of what is left to the producers after paying Crusoe.

"Now in such a society as this, Crusoe would be in a position to dictate to what extent others should use the island for productive purposes, and he would expect tribute to be paid to him whenever his permission was granted for the use of any part of it. When his demands were not too exacting and he was willing to rent even the best locations at reasonable prices, his tenants would have the hope of some profit from production and would employ many others to assist them. At times, however, observing the prosperity of his tenants, Crusoe would be tempted to try for a larger share of the product of industry, and by demanding higher rents would check business, force it perhaps to be carried forward on inferior locations, thus diminishing his tenants' ability to employ the labour of others. In such a society opportunity to produce would be restricted, unemployment would be chronic, and at times acute, and the cause of this condition would obviously be Crusoe's ownership of the island.

"Let us take one step further in the story of Robinson Crusoe. Let us suppose that he has died, that the island is no longer owned by one individual, but has, through successive division of estates and through sales from time to time, passed into the hands of a considerable number of persons who, however, still aggregate but a small minority of the whole people. Let us suppose that most of these new owners of the island have obtained their holdings by actual purchase, and that many even have paid too high a price for the privilege, and are therefore 'land poor,' that is, are unable to sell what they hold for as much as they paid for it. Is there any reason to suppose that the economic conditions in the island will be to any material extent changed by this division of land-ownership? Not at all; for the power to control the use of the island and to exact tribute from the producers without rendering any service in return will remain as before. Those who own no land will still be dependent on others for the opportunity to produce, and the competition of these landless persons among themselves will force them to pay high rents or prices for land, or to accept the position of employees at low wages, while unemployment of a greater or less number will still be a feature of the system. In other words, to summarise briefly, those who own the island will determine, just as Crusoe did, to what extent its productive capacity shall be utilised and how many of the inhabitants shall have the opportunity to earn a living."

The author now discusses what would be the best thing to do should the people decide to end this unsatisfactory state of affairs:

"Would it be to dispossess the landlords and abolish the system of private property in land?"

The argument has certainly led to that conclusion, but the author is a reformist politician; therefore, he shirks the issue and answers:

"By no means. Such a proceeding would ... unnecessary, and therefore unwise."

THE WESTMINSTER WINDMILL.

By Clara Cole.

(Continued from June 30th.)

To obey constitutional laws to-day is to do the wrong thing. Surely when you are dying of hunger in a land filled with good things it is wrong to die. Surely when it becomes law to exclude a proper bathroom from a working-man's home it is right either to refuse to build such houses, or, better still, for the workers to take the laws into their own hands. What would Neville Chamberlain think if his bathroom were taken away and he had to wait until the work was done in the kitchen and the household in bed, then strip and wash down in a few quarts of lukewarm water in a draughty kitchen, probably without a fire, and someone wishing he would hurry up because they had to sleep in the kitchen? Until Neville Chamberlain understands what it means to go without a bath or to live in slumland, he is unfit to speak on the matter, let alone govern.

In a true Parliament, only working men and women would speak. Can Labour govern? It is time Capitalists stopped. Labour is able to manage to make all things that profiteers juggle with; it is time Labour used them. Labour is infinitely more worthy and fitted to manage and organise affairs, for Labour refused to put up the slum dwellings Government decreed. In 1920 the National Federation of Building Trades spoke strongly about the working-class housing schemes they had received from the Ministry of Health. They compained that ceilings were too low, houses practically jerry-built, and complete absence of decoration. England is a land of plenty, silk-lined houses for dogs to live in, and mutton chops to eat, mahogany stables with electric light for horses. Why, then, are there thousands of people starving, committing suicide, rummaging dustbins for food, sleeping in pigstyes, hencoops, barns, in 'buses, under a sheet of tarpaulin, or on seats on the Embankment, if lucky enough not to be moved on?

England has plenty of good houses empty, and plenty more with rooms that are never slept in, never lived in, one family in a house of twenty large rooms, and in the other case twenty people in two tiny rooms.

Parliament denies a working man a parlour, and it is denied by men who have breakfast-rooms,, dining-rooms, with drawing-rooms, bedrooms, and a club or hotel.

In this land of plenty one woman has more rich dresses than she can wear in a month.,Her sister clad in tatters that would only bring the price of soiled rags; nay, she care not even sell them, for she has nothing else to wear. The rich sister has servants to wait upon her; the poor one is unable to be even her own servant, as she must go out clean for others.

Gardens and deer parks for people who can go to Switzerland, but never a back yard or a blade of grass for mothers and children who may only leave the densely packed depressing slums in order to shop in the noisy High Street. There all day noisily play unwanted, unwashed, ill-clad, half-fed children, children born with wonderful gifts that can never be developed to benefit themselves or others. Look at the motors that line our

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

✣ ✣ ✣

All Matter for Publication— To THE EDITOR:
Business Communications — To THE MANAGER.
WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,
152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Three Months (13 weeks) ... Post Free 1/7½
Six Months (26 weeks) 3/3
One Year (52 weeks) 6/6

Vol. X. No. 17. Saturday, July 14, 1923.

Our issue last week was late owing to a serious breakdown in the machinery, which accounts also for some delay this week.

OUR VIEW.

The Workers' Standard of Life.

MR. HARRY GOSLING, interviewed by the "Daily Herald," declared that though he would like to see a higher standard of living for the workers, that could not result from the present strike, but as the result of discussion and research. The statement shows that Mr. Gosling completely accepts the employers' standpoint and is satisfied with the system of Capitalism and wagery. To what end could discussion and research be used in determining the working-class standard of life? They could only be used to ascertain whether what are considered legitimate profits could be paid on the capital invested in the employers' business if a higher rate of wages were paid, and to discover what is the actual subsistence level of the wage-workers. The subsistence of those who have invested money in the industry is not in question; let them be never so wealthy the idea of pruning their luxuries and bringing them down to the average standard of comfort is never a subject for discussion. The worker is in another category: he is regarded, not as an entirely free man, but as one upon whom "the industry" (which primarily means the persons with money invested and only secondarily the users of the commodity he produces) have a moral claim to demand service on a basis sufficiently low priced to be profitable to the employer.

* * *

The Herd.

THE WORKERS have drifted into the position of a herd, legislated for and manipulated by the employing classes and by the Trade Union officials. The fact is sharply illuminated by the refusal of the dockers' executive to pay strike benefit from the funds subscribed by the members who, by an undoubted majority, have decided to strike.

Efforts are being made to pretend that the dock strike is a dispute between the dockers and the Union. As a fact, it is a strike between the dockers and their employers, in which the Union officials have taken the employers' side.

* * *

J. H. Thomas Advises Blacklegging.

THE SPIRIT of working-class solidarity deters railway men from replacing the dockers on strike or handling goods unloaded by strike-breakers. Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., the railwaymen's political secretary, has appealed against such solidarity. This, he says, is "not our business." The dockers, he says, are having a dispute with their executive, and he has appealed to the railway men's conference to show solidarity, not with the dockers, but with the dockers' executive, and to assist the dockers to vanquish their members by placing no obstacle in the way of the employers defeating the dock strike. Modern Trade Union leadership is indeed a remarkable thing!

Mr. Thomas would hardly get a pleasant reception if he went amongst the dockers, we imagine. We find it difficult to understand why the railway men tolerate him.

"Daily Herald" Attacks Strike.

A SAD AND CURIOUS PATHOS marks the appeal of the dock strike orators to their fellow-strikers and the workers they hope may support them to take the "Daily Herald"; for the "Daily Herald," the organ of the Union officials, is the most dangerous opponent of the strike. It attacks it from a vantage point not possessed by the Capitalist Press.

The "Herald" article against the strike on July 6th was disingenuous. It said:

"It is all very fine to shout, as a sheet does: 'To Hell with agreements!' But what does this really mean? It really means . . . 'To hell with the Co-operative Commonwealth that is so nearly within our reach.'"

The editor and proprietors of the "Daily Herald" do not regard the Co-operative Commonwealth as nearly within our reach.

To them it is not only remote but utterly impossible of realisation.

That is why, instead of working for the Co-operative Commonwealth they advocate ameliorations of the Capitalist system.

How absurd to imagine the Co-operative Commonwealth nearly within reach if agreements between employers and Trade Unions to reduce already low wages are to be held too sacred to be broken. As the Co-operative Commonwealth approaches private property agreements must go down like the corn before the reaper.

* * *

Index Number Nonsense.

MR. ARTHUR HENDERSON is reported by the "Daily Herald" as making a very curious answer to the Southport Trades Council's request that the Labour Party should challenge the Government's figures relating to the cost of living. The Southport Trades Council was actuated by the fact that a large number of agreements between employers and Trade Unions admit of wages being reduced in accordance with the fall in the cost of living. Government figures are taken as the barometer according to which wages may be reduced. It is obvious that if the Government figures exaggerate the fall in the cost of living the workers suffer. Thus the motive of the Southport Trades Council is perfectly clear. Mr. Henderson answered amazingly that the Labour Party does not accept the Government's figures as accurate.

Nevertheless, according to the "Daily Herald":

"He urged that the present time was not opportune for an inquiry into those figures, as such an inquiry would be based on the present household budgets of working-class people who were now living at a very low level, and the result would indicate a very low standard of life.

"Such results would be used further to lower the wages level."

The "Daily Herald" in the same issue publishes an article by another Labour M.P., Mr. Arthur Greenwood, urging that a new basis for the Government cost of living figures should not be sought until normal times return.

Such statements are really amazing. The Southport Trades Council, like the Hull dock strikers, who also voted against the Government figures, are not asking an inquiry into working-class budgets; they know that the workers are living at a low ebb. They are complaining that the Government figures allege a greater fall in prices than has actually taken place, and that their wages are falling in accordance with the Government's exaggerated figures.

It is strange indeed to find Mr. Henderson and the "Daily Herald," professed champions of the workers, telling the workers that they must make no effort to resist the crushing down of their standard of living; for that is what their injunctions to the workers amount to. They insist that the workers make no attempt to break the agreements to reduce their wages in accordance with the fall in the cost of living expressed in Government figures, though these figures show a fall in prices which, according to the Labour Party, has not actually taken place.

One is almost tempted to ask whether the patriotism which induced Mr. Henderson to enter the War Cabinet and so many of his colleagues to join the recruiting campaigns, is now inducing the Labour leaders to assist the cause of British Capitalist enterprise by helping to reduce the wages of British workers in order to cheapen the cost of production. The Labour leaders seem to be working in defence of British Capitalist trade at the expense of the workers.

Incidentally, of course, the officials of the Unions of better-paid workers are inclined to protect their members against having their standard of living put into the melting-pot with that of the lower-paid workers and the unemployed.

The foregoing remarks must not, however, be taken to mean that we approve the acceptance of reductions in wages in accordance with the cost of living, provided that fall be estimated correctly. By no means; we give no countenance to the surrender to Capitalism of anything that the workers have gained. We altogether repudiate the notion that the workers' standard of living is either to be maintained at a stationary level or that it must be subject to the so-called legitimate profits of capital. We are out, be it remembered, for the abolition of the wage system, and we give no quarter to Capitalism in the struggle.

* * *

The Lausanne Agreement.

THE LAUSANNE AGREEMENT is hardly an agreement, since the Western Allies reserve to themselves the right to disagree again if the Western bondholders are not satisfied with the terms they can ring from the Turkish Government.

* * *

The Italian Eight-Hour Day.

AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR the eight-hour day was secured by Italian workers. The General Confederation at that time put forward the eight-hour day as the first of its demands, and by the strength of its organisation and the forward temper of the workers, secured from the employers' General Confederation of Industry the acceptance of the eight-hour day principle, separate agreements in regard to detail being made in each industry. A maximum of six hours a week overtime was allowed in case of necessity, with payment of from 25 per cent. to 100 per cent. additional rates.

The Italian Federation of Building Workers has an agreement limiting overtime to five hours a week, with 30 per cent. above the ordinary rates.

A Bill was introduced to give legal sanction to the eight-hour day, but it passed from committee to committee without coming before Parliament. This Bill was less satisfactory than the agreements actually in operation. It would have permitted ten hours a week overtime, and payment at 25 per cent. above the ordinary rates.

The Fascist Government recently introduced a Decree greatly worsening the existing position in regard to the eight-hour day. It permits of twelve hours a week overtime being worked, thereby endangering the Saturday half-holiday, and allows only 10 per cent. increased payment.

* * *

The Diggle Accident.

WHEN BIG ISSUES affecting the railways come up for decision, the signalman, the shunter, and the driver are not consulted. When the railway makes big profits, these railway men must remain content with their weekly wage, and when the railway cuts down staffs in order to economise, they must accept dismissal and go their way on the dole, without any question of compensation. They have no permanent stake in the railway, no voice in its management. When, however, something goes wrong, when an accident occurs, then the signalman, the shunter, and the driver are called to face the responsibility; it is they who, when life is lost, must stand their trial for manslaughter.

* * *

The Whitehaven Riots.

THE WHITEHAVEN RIOTS are a reminder that the most oppressed people will revolt at last. The Whitehaven miners on strike are employed in one of the most dangerous mines in the country. There have been two terrible explosions there in recent years, resulting in the loss of many lives. At a time like this the attendance of the Labour Party leader at the Prince of Wales's party is a peculiarly gross flouting of the workers whose interests the Labour Party professes to represent.

* * *

The Stambulisky Murder.

SUCH HIDEOUS DISCLOSURES as the facts concerning the Stambulisky murder, like the accounts of the present Irish atrocities, should spur us on to work with redoubled vigour to overthrow the private-property system which keeps alive the beast in mankind. According to the ex-Minister, Mr. Oboff, Stambulisky went to a friendly priest who, with his wife, hid Stambulisky in a wood under branches and leaves. The reactionary troops came to the priest's house, tortured him till he revealed the hiding place of Stambulisky, then they strangled the priest and raped his wife. Then they beat Stambulisky to death with the butts of their rifles, cut his body to pieces and threw the remains in the River Maritza. All this in the cause of reaction.

* * *

Back to War.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, on July 10th, wrote an article on Franco-British relations and the peril of war with France. In that long article all that he said was that the British Government should make a statement on the Ruhr policy, but what should be in that statement he did not say. That was cowardly. Why does he sit on the fence whilst pretending to lead the people? He indicated that if he were Prime Minister and called on to make that statement he would have nothing to say that would differ essentially from the policy of the Capitalist parties. He explained that the statement should say:

"How far it (the Ruhr occupation) is a legal act, what its economic effect is, how far we can agree to be responsible for the occupation of the Cologne sector when cut off from the rest of Germany."

Evidently the principle: "No annexations, no indemnities," is merely a Utopian phrase to Mr. Macdonald, and the slogan "Workers of the world unite," has no appeal for him.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION NOTES.

All communications for this organisation should be sent to the Secretary, Poplar Town Hall.

The response to our manifesto of last week has been good throughout the country. It has been made clear to us that others have been thinking as we have for some time past, and are glad that we have made the first move.

Comrades should observe that our organisation is out to build up a sound movement on Workers' Committee lines, that our object is to keep the unemployed workers in close touch with the best elements in the workshops.

We do not favour affiliation to the Labour Party or the Trade Unions, but a genuine rank-and-file workshop organisation working to replace the Capitalist system by workers' industrial republic.

Westminster Windmill.—Cont. from page 3.

streets ready to answer the nod of the rich, see the luxurious private cars half empty, then watch the exhausted worker as he savagely fights in order merely to stand and hang on to a strap in a crowded 'bus or tram. If Parliament were a friend of the people, land, houses, food and clothes would be rationed, and luxuries made only after necessities had been secured by all.

Various false arguments are trotted out in order to get votes for Boards of Guardians. One is that if you get a preponderance of Labour members, then Labour can rule; but what really happens when Labour comes into power the following report will show:

"The Communist and Labour majority in the Council, Bonhill (Vale of Leven), again defied the Board of Health for an additional loan of £12,000, and the bank refused to pay out the money to the Parish Council . . . unless the Parish Council alters its decision there will be no dole for some time."

At a South Wales coal mine it was estimated lately that it would cost 3/- or 4/- to test the links of a chain which lowers thousands of brave men to their horrible life in the bowels of the earth. This trifling sum was refused by the rich men who own the mines but who never risk their lives in cutting a lump of coal. The woodwork to which the chain was attached proved also to be rotten. As a consequence, forty men were injured and ten lost their lives.

Parliament is composed of callous men, blind to all interests save their own. It is useless to beg big things from them when they will not grant trifles; and why should the workers be obligated to beg for what should justly be their own? They will deny miners safeguards that are on every public lift, but they would not so cheapen the lives of their racehorses, for it would mean buying fresh ones. Workers are a glut on the market to-day, and they can so easily be replaced without the initial outlay.

Think; these men, deemed "fit to govern," would not have trusted their favourite racehorse to the machine that was carrying nearly 100 precious miners.

Commission means a pooling and rationing of commodities, not a taking away from anyone. "Compensate us," say the fat robbers. If we are going to compensate, let us at least compensate the robbed; but can we? The robbed lie dead in millions—maimed hands, maimed feet, old before they were young. Most of the workers I meet can show a scar, or have lost a precious finger and thumb, and hold up instead a shapeless stump as a souvenir of the industrial war that never ceases. How are you going to compensate? How can you bring to life and return the years that the tiny tots of seven and eight were robbed of when they expired in a mine or factory without a sob being heeded by Parliament? Outsiders brought the sound of their groans to the men who caused them. We cannot, alas! undo the cruel past, but we can prevent it happening again. This talk of compensation is in order to keep the capitalist system going. The dictionary says to compensate is "to give an equivalent"; if we give the rich an equivalent for their wealth it can only be rendered by labour, so the poor will be in exactly the same position as before. The choice to-day lies between Parliament or Socialism, Workers' Councils or Parliament, the earth for all, not for the few. You cannot serve the worker in Parliament, you cannot serve the worker and Parliament; or to put it in another way, you cannot serve the worker by administering the capitalist system. All Parliament does is to keep a set of slaves fit to serve their masters. A Minister of Health is paid nearly £100 a week to reduce air space in the smallest houses; he does it, too. He is paid £5,000 a year to practise economy on the poor. If Parliament was carried out in the interests of all the people, the Minister would first of all reduce air space in large houses. It is proved that much illness comes through slum dwellings. Here is a Minister of Health manufacturing disease.

To the oft-repeated fallacy that a Labour Government will bring Socialism, I point to Queensland, Australia, where there is a Labour Government. Would anyone dare say that Queensland has Socialism? No; in Queensland there is unemployment, and there are rich and poor.

Boycott Parliament as the wary fly should boycott the glass trap; don't go inside, you are as powerless to get justice for the worker inside the Gas House as the fly is powerless to achieve its escape by smashing the glasshouse; you can buzz round for a time, but in the end you get asphyxiated.

In a land of plenty, if Parliament intended to give, you would only have to prove things were necessary in norder to get them. No, Parliament is for keeping things away from the workers. Philip Kurinsky says: "The working class can gain nothing through the Parliamentary route. The policy of the working class must be to hold itself aloof from politics. Its interests drive it into the economic struggle, the real workers' struggle.

Parliamentarism, like the State, was always an instrument of oppression—and to assert that it can be transformed into an instrument of emancipation, means to fool oneself and others. Parliamentarism misleads the workers, turns them from their true path, deadens the spirit of revolt, lowers their pride, and leaves them patiently waiting for the bones the capitalists throw to them. Through direct action, through courageous struggle have the workers gained reforms."

There ought to be no such thing as indirect action with honest people; if an act is right you do it, if it is wrong you refrain from doing it.

Job Harriman, in the "Llano Colonist," May 19th, 1923, says: "It will require more than votes to put Socialism into operation. Voting is important, but industrial action serves to protect the institutions out or in, but an industrial system can neither be voted out nor in. Political action is essentially Conservative. By industrial action institutions are developed, while political action serves to protect the institutions as they are."

Mr. Townsend, in "Wm. Morris and the Communist Ideal," says: "William Morris had a profound distrust of salvation by means of the vote."

I go further and maintain Parliament to be not only useless, but the people's enemy. Parliament is the head office of the bosses of the Capitalist System.

WANTED.—Second-hand copies of Ancient Society and Spiller's Mind of Man.—Box 25.

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Twenty-six American political prisoners have been set free. More than twenty are still serving sentences varying up to twenty years. These prisoners are mostly members of the I.W.W. They were tried in three groups: in Chicago, Wichita, and Sacramento. The men set free include those who were tried at Sacramento and could make no appeal because they finally attempted no defence. Their refusal was due to the fact that the police impounded their records and seized their defence funds, whilst their lawyer was driven out of the district.

* * *

The great ship "Leviathan," which was seized by U.S.A. from Germany, has made a successful trial trip. The U.S. Shipping Board declares this to be a triumph of American skill and enterprise. The New York "World" declares that "everything about the 'Leviathan,' save, of course, the ship itself, is American. The American eagle adorns everything on the liner from the mast-head to the china and silverware."

BORING FROM WITHIN.

By Blanket-Stiff.

We hear such a lot about the dock strike and the Communist Party's support of same. As a matter of fact, whilst listening the other night to one or two of their prominent orators, I heard nothing but the solidarity the Communist Party was showing towards the strikers. Even a collection was taken for the strikers.

After the speaker had finished, I ventured to ask a question relative to the strike and the attitude of the C.P.G.B. I wanted to know the exact position of the C.P.G.B. towards the strikers. The speaker informed me that the C.P.G.B. wanted to give its whole-hearted support to the strikers during the dispute. This, of course, was applauded. I then asked whether it was not a fact that two prominent officials of the T. and G.W.U. were members of the C.P.G.B. This was denied.

As a matter of fact, fellow-workers, two of the officials of the dock group of the T. and G.W.U. are members of the Communist Party. When I telephoned two of these officials re the strike last week, they informed me that they could not see their way clear to support the men on strike, seeing that the men concerned were striking against the holy consent of the Union executive.

Now these two officials, being members of the C.P., actually attended a meeting at Canning Town Public Hall the other night to advise the members to go back to work. Yes, fellow-workers, they asked the men to go back pending negotiation, putting up the argument " that the agreement must be adhered to." Just think of it, fellow-workers, the agreement with the boss was more important to these officials than the decision of 60,000 striking workers. Do not forget that these two officials are members of that most revolutionary (?) C.P.G.B.

Now one would have expected these two men, at least, to support the strikers, seeing that both are members of the C.P.G.B. which writes and talks so much about the rank and file taking action when their leaders are funking the issue.

Why do they not support the strikers? I will tell you. You see, fellow-workers, the C.P.G.B. believes in a policy of boring from within the old Trade Unions. Now sooner or later the borers find themselves up against the brick wall, or in other words, they find themselves in such a position that they have got to take one side or the other. They have bored themselves in from one side, and have kept on boring and boring until they find they have bored themselves out on the other side. This is just what happened in this case. Should these officials take the side of the men, they would, no doubt, get the sack one way or the other. Consequently, if they want to "bore" again when the strike is over, the only thing they can do is to take the side of their superior officials and the boss. Now this is where the boring will get you to.

Oh, what a game! Why not come out in the open? Or shall we really believe that your position in the office, and the subsequent " pie card," is dearer to you than the cause of 60,000 of your paying members? Why not come out and be a man? Why not admit that the policy of boring from within is a failure? Do you not realise that these 60,000 men will perhaps rumble you one of these days? Then my advice is either act a man or get out of it.

FLAG WAGGING.

Three hundred and twenty-five persons have been imprisoned in Nagpur for carrying an Indian national flag. They volunteered for this act of civil disobedience.

Contributors should endeavour to restrict their MS. to one column in length.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

Very many years ago, nearly three score of them, a travelling tinker was walking over the hill from Toward to Inverary. It so happened as he came near Inverary Castle his cutty pipe was very stiff and would not draw, and so he was leaning against the fence endeavouring to get it started, when someone coughed. He never looked up. The cough became louder. Still the tinker heeded not. The Duke—the great-grandfather of the present Duke—was nettled, and no wonder. If the tinker had been a joiner, a mason, a painter, or a plumber, or even a Labour leader, he would have looked up. But, my dear fellow-worker, a tinker is not a wage-slave: a tinker is a man. That may seem curious to you if you are working, but that is the fact, as our story will prove. The Duke was nettled at the man, and so he spoke and said: " Do you know, my man, that you are on my land? " The tinker seemed quite unconcerned. Now, supposing that had been you, fellow wage-slave, you would have been in a h—— of a state, and you would have taken off your cap and paid obeisance to the great man. But the tinker simply looked at the Duke and said: "Would I be asking too much, sir, to ask you how you got the land? " The Duke was amused; he had never met a man before. All his life had been spent among servile slaves. And so to humour the man, he answered: " Ah, no. I got it from my father."

" A very good father," answered the tinker; " but would it be any offence if I asked you who gave it to your father? "

" None at all," said the Duke. " He got it from my grandfather."

The tinker smiled. " Good father, good grandfather. You are a very lucky man, sir." And so he took the Duke back to the period in Scottish history in which we had no fathers. You may not have heard of that time, fellow wage-slave, but it is so.

Once upon a time the early Britons had no clothes, no marriage, no laws; they were just like the other animals running about wild. And when he brought the Duke to that period the Duke got angry and said: " If you want to know who gave it to us, then, we fought for it."

The tinker laughed, and laughed so heartily that the Duke got flaming mad and said: " What the h—— are you laughing at? "

" I am laughing," said the tinker, at your last answer; it is very funny; and so might I ask you, sir, would there be any harm in having another go for it? "

The moral of this story is, Dukes should never argue with men; they should only do so with Labour politicians.

THE WEALTH OF MALAY.

Malay furnishes two-thirds of the world production of tin, and more than half the rubber production. Much wealth is made from these products.

The average wage of the toilers who produce this great wealth is 40 [illegible] day. Between 1911 and 1921 nine [illegible] Indians went to work in Malay, and be[illegible] five and six millions returned. A Labour Commission advised that wages be raised to 40 cents for women workers and 50 for men, as otherwise the immigration of labourers is expected to fall off. It is estimated by the authorities that it takes 36 cents a day to provide the ordinary bare existence for an unmarried labourer and 64 cents for a married labourer. Only the great poverty of the worker in India induces him to go to the odious conditions of Malay.

According to the 1921 census, only 50 per cent. of the Malay population are of Malayan race, and only 54 per cent. of the population was born there.

IRISH NEWS.

The Disputed Counties.

Father Isadore B. Mooney alleges that Dr. MacNeill, Free State Minister for Education, has told him that the Free State Government intend to hand over to the North-East Ulster Government the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, South Armagh, and South and East Down without setting up a boundary commission.

Whitewash.

A delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross is supposed to have whitewashed the conditions of Irish political prisoners. The prisoners declare they have not seen the delegation.

How Seventeen Were Blown Up.

In Kerry seventeen Republican prisoners were taken from the cells and tied to mines which were exploded. These men were blown to atoms.

Dying of Fear.

Miss Chrissie Kelly has been taken to the Mater Hospital in what is believed to be a dying condition, due to terror at rats running over her as she lay on her plank bed in the North Dublin Workhouse.

Alderman Charles Murphy fought in Easter week under Commandant Eamon de Valera, sat in the second Dail as member for Dublin City South, was business manager of Mr. Arthur Griffith's papers from 1916 to 1922, became Financial Secretary of the Irish Republican Party, acted as locum tenens for Alderman O'Neil, Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1922. He states that on Monday, April 23rd, about midnight, a tunnel was discovered in Hare Park Camp. On the following day, at 12 noon, nine prisoners were taken from their huts handcuffed in pairs and marched under armed escort from the camp to the military prison, Curragh, known as the Glass House. Each was confined in a separate cell. None of them received dinner that day. Later tea and dry bread was served. There was no furniture in the cells. Blankets were served out at six o'clock. Prisoners had to lie on the bare floor.

About 10 p.m. military policemen entered the cells and handcuffed each man. The handcuffs were left on all night. Next morning, Wednesday, April 25th, the irons were removed for breakfast, consisting of dry bread and tea. After breakfast the blankets were removed from the cells and the prisoners were allowed to the lavatory to wash. They were then ordered to scrub the floors of the cells. They refused, and shortly after an officer named Leonard, who is either governor or Deputy-Governor of the Glass House, accompanied by two or three others, approached the men and had them all handcuffed with their hands behind their backs. When dinner was served [illegible] hands were brought from back to front and they had to eat with the irons [illegible] on their wrists. Neither knife, [illegible] spoon was supplied. Tea and dry bread were served about 4 p.m., and had [illegible] with the irons still on. About [illegible] blankets were again supplied, [illegible] accompanied in some cases by three planks [illegible] two trestles.

" Irons were again left on all that night next morning, Thursday, April 26th, breakfast as on Wednesday morning, and blankets taken out. The prisoners were not allowed to wash. Immediately after breakfast they were again ordered to scrub out their cells; and, on refusing, eight of them were handcuffed to racks which projected from the wall in each cell at a height of about 6 ft. 6 ins. This meant that their arms were stretched upwards at full length, and at either side of an iron bar, and the handcuffs affixed to their wrists over the bar. Some of the prisoners' toes were barely resting on the ground, and they were left in that position for about 4½ hours.

The prisoners were in irons night and day from 10 p.m. on Tuesday night until 10 a.m. on the following Saturday. From the time the prisoners rose in the morning till they lay down at night, a space of about fourteen hours, they had to keep on their feet, not being allowed to sit down, even though the only seating accommodation was the floor.

Eamon Enright, the O.C. of Tintown No. 2 Camp, in addition to receiving the treatment detailed above, was taken out of his cell to the corridor, threatened with shooting with a gun against his chest, and then badly beaten by Free State officers, Leonard being present. They threw pails of water over him, and then threw him handcuffed into his cell, his clothes being saturated with water.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL.

The following report has been received from the German comrades:

REPORT ON THE SITUATION IN THE RUHR DISTRICT.

Thousands and ten thousands of waggons are standing on the rusted rails; large coal provisions are remaining in the mines. It has never happened before in the history of the world that Capitalism has kept about five million workers doing nothing, whilst paying them their wages. Certainly the means are not raised by the great industrialists, but, of course, by the State; and we proletarians of Germany give these means for the State in the form of direct and indirect taxes.

In the Ruhr district, where the German and French Capitalist Press describes the situation as exciting and confused, nothing unusual is to be seen except the enormous stoppage of the production. The thousands of trains carrying coal, iron, foodstuffs and passengers run no more. Only a few trains are rolling daily through the district. The French railway administration does its best, but with the large demands of such an industrial district their attempts to revive traffic stick fast in the beginnings. Those black diamonds under the earth may have wondered that all of a sudden the decade-long work of the hewer and miner has come to an end and only very few tons are daily favoured by being taken up. The miners are busy with other affairs, which indeed, are of rather an unproductive character. The railway men, the majority of whom are still in the occupied district, are mostly idle, except those who are going with or working on the few foodstuff and passenger trains. Besides that, nothing changes the usual course of life in this district, which is surrounded by two large Chinese walls, one consisting of the decrees and prohibitions of the German Government, and the other of the hundred thousands of glittering bayonets held by the proletarians!

This fight would have been decided long ago, at least for the inhabitants of the district, had the " passive resistance " not been supported and led by forces which employ all possible means to carry it out, even though the German economic life may be destroyed by it. What does the worker care whether he is doing productive or unproductive, or no work at all, so long as he receives his wages? So that the unemployed, starving and miserable, might not give their services to the French, the unemployment subsidy in the occupied district has been given to maintain the " passive resistance." An example will clearly prove this:

In Essen, at the end of April, an unmarried unemployed worker received 42,000 marks per week out of the benevolent fund; in Berlin an unmarried unemployed worker received only 9,000 marks; that means only about one-fifth in Berlin when the cost of commodities is taken into account. The Thyssen factory in Mulheim has reduced the working time per week by half. That the workers are only working 24 hours a week, but they are getting 85 per cent. of the total wages. So German Capitalism organises passive resistance, using the German Government to aid it, and declaring that the passive resistance springs up spontaneously amongst the population. In every respect nationalist elements are preferred, and provocations supported.

On the other side stands the French Army armed to the teeth, and consisting of about a quarter of a million men, provided with a well-organised apparatus of spies and political policemen. The military forces are rather reserved towards the population in general, but often even the proletarians in armour try to come in contact with the inhabitants. The difficulty of understanding each other is a great hindrance to fraternising, but at least as handicapping are the decrees of the two Governments engaged in war. The German proletarians who fraternise with the French comrades are denounced by fanatical employees and German Nationalists. They are always in danger of being charged with "treasong against their country."

The French high officers and command authorities have strictly prohibited their troops from reading German newspapers and contact with the population. The troops from Alsace-Lorraine, who to a large extent speak German, are replaced by others to avoid a possibility of mutual understanding. Besides that, the soldiers are often moved from place to place in order that they may not become too familiar with the proletarians. Thus both parties are trying their best to prevent an understanding between French and German proletarians.

In those moments when the proletariat of Mulheim, Dortmund, Bochum and Gelsenkirchen was reduced to straits, and driven by hunger and unbearable conditions to revolt, then French capitalists supplied arms to the German capitalists; it was French arms that served to mow down the rebellious workers.

Therefore, the German proletariat must recognise—and it has done so to a great extent already—that the capitalists, in spite of all disputes between each other, stand nationally and internationally united against the working class.

Proletarian comrades of all countries, do not be misled by Capitalist newspaper reports. The cruelties in the Ruhr are, as every sort of militarism, incidental. Force, corruption and bribery are carried on both by German and French Governments.

The Ruhr proletariat has to fight against two fronts—against German Capitalism, with its extensive State aid, and also against French Capitalism, with its bayonets and cannons. The German proletariat outside the occupied district has to bear the cost and burden which arises out of the Ruhr conflict fought in the interests of German Capitalism.

The best of the German proletariat urges, therefore, that the fellow-workers abroad work mutually with us for the last decisive fight, to attain the emancipation of the world proletariat. We German proletarians know that everywhere where there are proletarians, misery is at home; everywhere where Capitalism reigns, workers are exploited and oppressed. Therefore, let us make the task of deliverance the common work of the international working class.

A STAKE IN WORLD POLITICS.

Baldwins have received from the Polish Government an order to build locomotives valued at a quarter of a million pounds.

Send for the Catalogue of the "Dreadnought" Publishers and Bookshop. It will be supplied free on application to 152 Fleet Street, E.C.4.

TWO FUNDS.

Two funds that deserve your support are the fund of the " Workers' Dreadnought," which supports the workers every time, and the fund of the dockers on strike, who are denied the support of their Union.

A COMMUNIST READS HIS LOCAL NEWSPAPER.

A certain gallant Colonel has done an almost unpardonable thing; and he realises it. He may, he says, " incur disapproval from some for whose opinions he has the highest respect. But he believes something ought to be said—and he says it without mincing in the course of a letter in the columns of my local paper. Who will follow his example and say some of the other things that need to be said? It appears there is a proposal to raise the salaries of certain Bishops. One is to get £2,000 per annum, plus £1,250; another £1,500, plus £750; and a third £1,500, plus £1,000.

The Colonel states that the additional sums include, among other things, income tax, rates and insurances of residences, and grants for expenses of hospitality, and he thinks it would have been more straight to have stated the stipends with these items included in the gross amounts. Showing these items as extras " savours of eyewash to make the stipends appear less," he writes, and adds that we all (that, of course, is a pardonable slip) pay our income tax, and asks why this should be shown as a special charge on bishops.

He proceeds to say that of twenty-one Colonial bishops in 1912, thirteen received under £1,000, and four between £400 and £500, and he cannot think of a sufficient reason why some bishops should receive more. " It may be urged that they have a social position to maintain; but is it likely to increase their spiritual influence? The same may be asked with reference to their expenses for hospitality."

We are told that a certain noble lord of some considerable standing in the Church suggests that a bishop could not be expected to remain long in a certain diocese if a wider sphere and better emoluments were offered him. The Colonel adds:

" It is natural for men to wish to better themselves financially, but surely we may expect a higher outlook from bishops."

Certainly, one can well expect that! We wish the Colonel well in his attempt to put a slightly higher perspective before his " spiritual superiors," but why didn't he go further and remind these high dignitaries of the lowliness of their " Master," and the fact that the early Christians held everything in common?

It is customary for workmen's wages to be discussed publicly, and for local authorities to urge their decrease on the ground of " economy," but those people who receive " salaries " or " stipends " are rarely treated in this way, unless, of course, by some nasty Socialists or Communists.

So here's luck to the gallant Colonel; but will he tell us next time if on the ground of his " spiritual influence " he will advocate a pension for all retired workers, such as he himself receives? Perhaps some working-class reader will send some such proposal for the next issue of the paper.

I seem to remember there are " high dignitaries " in the Labour movement also—Trade Union and Labour Party leaders with from £500 to £1,000 a year (and perhaps extras?). And there are C.W.S. directors too! And the " Daily Herald " tells us of a Co-op. girl striker " who receives 27/6 a week (and has to pay 25/- a week for " digs "), and ungratefully suggests that when she remembers that the directors receive over £700 a year each, she fails to find the real point of Co-operation.

Perhaps someone will perform for the Labour Movement a similar function the Colonel is trying to perform for the Church.

BEE.

Prince Cuetani, the Fascist Ambassador to U.S.A., has been granted honorary degrees by the Universities of Columbia and Yale. He has addressed the students of Yale, telling them how Fascism extinguished Bolshevism in Italy.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

The words Socialism and Communism have the same meaning. They indicate a condition of society in which the wealth of the community: the land and the means of production, distribution and transport are held in common, production being for use and not for profit.

Socialism being an ideal towards which we are working, it is natural that there should be some differences of opinion as to how things will be organised in that future society. Since we are living under Capitalism it is natural that many people's ideas of Socialism should be coloured by their experience of life under the present system. We must not be surprised that some who recognise the present system is bad should yet lack the imagination to realise the possibility of altogether abolishing all the institutions of Capitalist society. Nevertheless, there can be no real advantage in setting up a half-way house to Socialism. A combination of Socialism and Capitalism would produce all sorts of injustice, difficulty and waste. Those who happened to suffer under the anomalies would continually struggle for a return to the old system.

Full and compiete Socialism entails the total abolition of money, buying and selling, and the wages system.

It means that the community must set itself the task of providing rather more than the people can use of all the things that the people need and desire, and of supplying these when and as the people require them.

Any compromise by which the buying and selling system is retained means the employment of vast sections of the population in unproductive work. It leaves the productive work to be done by one portion of the people whilst the other portion is spending its energies in keeping shop, banking, making advertisements, and all the various developments of commerce which, in fact, employ more than two-thirds of the people to-day.

Given the money system, the wage system is inevitable. If things needed and desired are obtainable only by payment, those who work must be paid in order that they may obtain the means of life. The wage system entails also such institutions as the old-age pension, sick and unemployment insurance and widows' pensions, or the Poor Law, and probably plus the Poor Law. These involve large numbers of people being drawn from productive work to do purely administrative work. Thus useless toil is manufactured, and the burden of non-producers maintained by the productive workers is increased.

Moreover, social conditions are preserved which are quite out of harmony with Communist fraternity. The wage system makes the worker's life precarious. The payment of wages entails the power to dismiss the worker from paid employment by an official or officials.

So long as the money system remains, each productive enterprise must be run on a paying basis. Therefore it will tend to aim at employing as few workers as possible, in order to spend less on wages. It will also tend to dismiss the less efficient worker who, becoming unemployed, grows less efficient. Thus an unemployable class tends to grow up.

The existence of a wage system almost inevitably leads to unequal wages; overtime, bonuses, higher pay for work requiring special qualifications. Unequal wages at once establish class distinctions. Class distinctions are

Buying and selling by the Government purely differences of education, material comfort and environment.

Buying and selling by private persons inevitably leads to riches on the one hand, and poverty on the other.

Buying an dselling by the Government opens the door to official corruption. To check that, high-salaried positions are created in order that those occupying them will consider they have too much to lose to make pilfering and jobbery worth while.

Mr. Bevin Couldn't.

The meat market pitchers have been teaching other people a lesson, fellow-worker. By coming out in support of the dockers, they have hown an understang of brotherly solidarity and the needs of the working-class struggle, which the Trade Union Bigwigs do not possess. As we write, the Covent Garden porters are expected to follow the meat market example.

Messrs. Bevin, Gosling, andJ. H. Thomas have been greatly praised by the employers' Press because they have stood by the employers in this fight with the working dockers. These Trade Union officials have not been so well spoken of since the day Mr Henderson deported the Clyde shop stewards

The Trade Union leaders are anxious to teach us that we must keep our agreemnts, fellow-worker. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald explains that the Labour Party in Parliament always keeps its agreement with the Government because it is a gentlemanly party. You may have noticed that he does not mention that agreement not to victimise the Norfolk agricultural labourers, in regard to which he has some responsibility.

The strikers were respectful to the delicate honour of Mr. Bevin, who cannot bear the idea of breaking an agreement even with a sweating employer who causes misery amongst the dockers' children. They were anxious to spare Mr. Bevin any pangs of conscience, either on account of breaking an agreement with the employer or for breaking faith with the members of his Union.

Therefore, fellow-worker, they approached Mr. Bevin and asked him respectfully whether he would not go to the employers and appeal to them to alter the agreement.

Mr. Bevin replied that he could not ask the employers to alter the agreement.

No doubt he has been listening to the sane business men, both inside and outside the Labour Party, who have explained to him that if British wages do not come down in all industries, British manufacturers will lose the race for world markets.

No doubt he has got his eye on "the free flow of international trade" to which the Transport Union turned its attention when it had passed a vote of censure on the dockers

Mr. Bevin and the Bigwigs have got their eyes on the world markets; they feel the same patriotic fervour as the boss. They are standing by him in this strike, determined to help him win, as they did in the war.

Your wife, fellow-worker, has her eye on the home markets. She does not care a fig for the Government statistics, and she can inform the Government that its price figures are absolutely nullified by the fact that on Friday and Saturday, when the workers do their shopping, prices are raised far above the prices on other days.

As your Trade Union leaders are so busylooking after the employers and their agreements, do you not think it is time you should build up an industrial rank-and-file movement of your own, fellow-worker?

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Owing to a serious breakdown of the printer's machinery, the issue of this publication is delayed.

CONTENTS
OF GERMINAL No. 1.

COMPLETE STORIES.

Comrades.—An hitherto unpublished story by Maxim Gorky.

Mbonga Jim.—By L. A. Motler.

The Glutton.—By Marius Lyle.

Utopian Conversations. — By Richard Marsden.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Poetry.—By James Waldo Fawcett, Wilfred Wilson Gibson, Clara Cole, H. D. Harben, E. Verney, Alexander Blok, L. A. Motler, Lionel Grant, Anna Akmatova, Sylvia Pankhurst.

Portrait.—G. Bernard Shaw, by Ludovic Rodo.

Drawings and Cuts.—By M. C. Haythorne, Herbert Cole, B. Stevens, Joseph Southall, Maurice Becker, Gross, A. Swift, Marcel Vertes, etc.

Coloured Cover, Ludovic Rodo.

Price 6d.

Ready next week.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Friday, July 13th.—Piggott Street, E., 8 p.m.: Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

Sunday, July 15th.—Victoria Park, 11.30 a.m.: J. Bellamy, N. Smyth.

OTHER MEETINGS.

Sunday, July 15th.—Gladstone Hall, New Cross Road (near "Marquis"), 8 p.m. Debate: "Capitalism v. Communism." Speakers: J. Murray, M.P., Sylvia Pankhurst.

SUMMER FAIR.

In aid of the "Dreadnought" Fund."

Saturday, July 28th, 4 till 11 p.m.

BUILDERS' LABOURERS' HALL,
84 Blackfriars Road, S.E.

Admission 6d.

Come and bring your friends.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward: £30 5s. 10d.

I. A. Cahill, 10/- (monthly; Irene Smith, 1/- (weekly); Collections: Victoria Park, 1/-; Finsbury Park, 5d.; **Hammersmith,** 2/6; Plymouth, £2 19s. 6d.; Prize Draw, £1 15s.; F. Houghton, £1 10s. (10/- monthly). Total for week, £6 19s. 5d. Total: £37 5s. 3d.

Correspondents should as a rule endeavour to compress their manuscripts into the space of 600 words.

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