News from Germany SEE PAGE THREE ONE PENNY.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Vol. X. No. 24. September 8, 1923. WEEKLY.

Starvation in South Africa

DECREASED WAGES: INCREASED ACCIDENTS.

Big Business in this country has become much more active since the strike. The figures in the capitalist press show a considerable amount of additional profit.

The Chamber of Mines reports that £300,000 per week has been saved in white wages since the strike. On the other hand, it is published in "The Reef" that 156 men have lost their lives in this year by falls of rock—148 natives and 8 whites. Five hundred and six natives were incapacitated and fifteen white men have been seriously injured from this cause. Five hundred and fifty-two separate accidents were due to falls of ground, 85 being fatal. The year is not at an end, yet the workers are told that an ample supply of cheap labour, imported if necessary, is the best thing in the white workers' interest.

NATIVES, ROBBED OF LAND, DRIFT TO CAPE TOWN.

The native people are being robbed of their native land, and driven to wander from place to place seeking work. The white worker is brought to the same level, and, in some respects, is even worse off than the native.

Colonel Trew, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, discovers, in a report to the press, that:

> "Cape Town is faced with a position which it has never had to face before. Hundreds, if not thousands, of natives are drifting into the peninsula, and they have nowhere to go. Consequently crime is undoubtedly on the increase."

A remedy for crime is also given by this "gallant Colonel," namely, a stronger police force on cycle, horseback, etc. He says:

> "The position in Cape Town is very abnormal. During the past three years we have had a very large influx of Kaffir labourers. The reason I don't know, but these natives are ousting other coloured labourers and adding to the army of unemployment.
>
> "But the worst feature of this invasion of natives is that there is no accommodation provided for them—and there is not room for them in the location. The position is really scandalous.
>
> "When the police find a native wandering about at night, and stop him to give an account of himself, the native will reply: 'Well, boss, if you can tell me where I can go, I will go there, but there is no place for me.'"

This is the life of the native worker who is creating wealth for the few in this golden paradise. Can we expect of a policeman more than a police report? The report is here, but the remedy remains for the worker himself to find.

Another "experienced official" gives his views of the causes of the abnormal influx of natives into the city.

> "They [the natives] have heard there is a good deal of work at the docks, and rumours about elevators have reached them, but the men I am now talking about come unorganised, and they mostly find it difficult to obtain employment.
>
> "They are warned in their own country, but they come down all the same."

HOW THEY "DEAL WITH" THE NATIVE.

This "experienced official" does not say "I do not know," like the Deputy Commissioner. He continues:

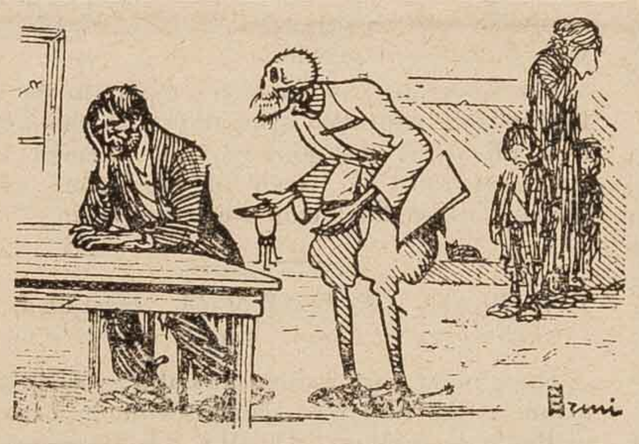
> "They [the natives] are the Trans-Keians. Many boys from the Territories could not find re-employment in the Rand mines after the strike, and think they can do better at Cape Town."

He added:

> "I imagine there is no cause for alarm. Most of the people here are not accustomed to having to deal with native problems on anything like a serious scale; now the pressure is becoming a little more than normal they get alarmed. A little firmness is all that is required in dealing with the situation, but, of course, if things are allowed to drift, it may become serious."

Certainly, only a little firmness! Nothing to be alarmed at.

The magnates here and overseas may rest assured that the speculative schemes of their obedient servants, with Smuts as head, will bring them fair dividends. There are plenty of Kaffirs, whose sweat and blood can be provided for the purpose of creating wealth for the pillars of Mammon. Bulhoek and Bondelzwart were examples, proving that the methods hitherto applied for the purpose of dealing with natives is the effective one. "After all," say our rulers, "it is only Kaffirs: why worry about them? The white men were treated in the same way!"



Another swell said:

> "If Cape Town does not wake up very quickly it will find itself faced with a very serious situation. The location is too small, but, apart from that, there are other factors contributing to present conditions. Natives are getting a taste of town life and they like it. Several of them, especially the educated ones, live more or less by their wits. You see them going about beautifully dressed, wearing spats and eye-glasses. . . .
>
> "Some natives rent houses near the centre of the town, and sub-let them to compatriots. The white man is being driven out, in many cases, by the coloured man outbidding him with the landlord and making one house do for two families. Now natives outbid the coloured man, and make rookeries of these same houses. You can see a dozen sleeping in one room sometimes."

Well, fellow-worker, that is how the capitalist servant-officials explain matters of mass-immigration of poor homeless folk, "eye-glasses and spats," "the attraction of the city," etc. Hunger and cold are not mentioned at all. What is said about the poor whites? Do they not share one house between two families? Many cannot afford even so much.

"POOR WHITES."

What about the poor whites on the Rand? Are they not in many districts, such as Ferrery, Turffontain and Fordsburg, living worse than the natives; six, eight, and more in one house? Are not grown up boys and girls in this district sleeping in one room? Are not dozens of families of the miners sharing one house amongst two families?

Is not the misery and degradation amongst poor whites and natives on one level in this "golden paradise"? Ye hypocrites! To-day the native is blamed, to-morrow the "lazy poor whites."

Production for profit and not for use, speculation and money-grabbing: these are the causes of unemployment of the natives and whites alike, and this is the cause of the "wandering about" of the natives driven from their soil.

PROFESSOR SUGGESTS SEGREGATION.

Some "professor" (that is not a joke, fellow worker!) suggested "the segregation of the poor whites as a remedy for unemployment."

The press reports:

> "The mechanics in the mines made a demand for 30 per cent. increase in wages. This matter came to the hands of the Department of Mines."

The cessation of overtime and the re-employment of white drill-sharpeners was also demanded.

A conciliation Board was appointed to consider these demands, and a mass of evidence was heard. This Board has now sent in two reports, both of which ignore the demand for cessation of overtime and re-employment of white drill-sharpeners.

The majority report, signed by the magistrate of Pietersburg and Professor Lawn, does not recommend any increase in the present scale of wages.

THE CONCILIATION BOARD.

The Conciliation Board was the creation of the Bosses, and was very much criticised by the more advanced workers. The workers, in their weakness, now cling to it: but the bosses find the scheme now too beneficial for their slaves and try to get rid of it.

The South African Mineworkers' Union applied to the Minister of Mines for a Conciliation Board to arbitrate on the question of the reduction in contractors' prices in the new State areas. The S.A.M.W.U. was advised by the Minister to arrange a meeting with the directors of the company instead. Wages are continually being reduced, and the directors have curtly notified the union that the workers on the Modder East are to get a reduction of 19s. per shift. This is one of the many instances.

The worker and his children are driven to sleep in the streets and to live on prickly pears—for what?

To sacrifice his life in the deadly mines in order to create wealth for a few magnates.

One big revolutionary union, fellow worker, black and white, employed and unemployed alike, and the whole world, including this golden land, is yours.

B. KREEL.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

THE SAAR QUESTION, a Disease Spot in Europe, by Sidney Osborne. George Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.

The author of this work has marshalled some useful facts. He shows that before the war the United States produced 60,000,000 tons of iron ore, and the whole of Western Europe no more than 73,600,000 tons. Of this Germany produced 28,600,000 tons, France 21,700,000, Britain 16,000,000 and Luxemburg 7,300,000.

Since iron is the basic metal of modern civilisation, and its removal would take us back to barbarism in the matter of production. The fact is important that the use of iron ore at the pre-war rate, with an increase of 5 per cent., would exhaust the supply in 130 years. The amount of iron and steel that goes out of use each year because of corrosion is 30,000,000 tons.

The human race would, therefore, display more wisdom if, instead of striving to dominate and make profit out of each other, it were to devote attention to such problems as the search for iron sources, iron substitutes, and iron preservation.

Since the war iron ore production has sunk to less than 50 per cent. of its pre-war total.

Iron is, of course, of vast importance in case of war. Therefore the iron resources which France has secured through the war give her an enormous increase of military power.

France now holds sixty per cent. of the iron reserves of Western Europe and thirty-six per cent. of the iron ore of all Europe.

Production being taken as normal, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine reduces Germany's output of iron from 16,000,000 tons to 7,500,000 tons, whereas France could get 42,800,000 tons from her European fields and 2,000,000 tons from North Africa.

Germany's steel production in 1913 was 18,900,000 metric tons, in 1920 it was 7,700,000 and in 1921 8,750,000. The reduction was, of course, due to Germany's loss of territory.

France is now in a position to surpass the German pre-war pre-eminence, and to become the world's leading iron and steel producer outside the United States. Such a tremendous shifting in the world's industrial balance must have far-reaching effects.

This book was written before the Ruhr invasion; its argument was that the Saar was of no great value to France, and that what France needed was an arrangement by which the iron of Lorraine could be smelted in the Ruhr, because it takes about three tons of coal to smelt one of iron; and, therefore, it is better to transport the iron to the coal than the coal to the iron.

The 13,000,000 tons produced in the Saar basin beyond the present French frontier is said to be unsuitable for smelting, having no value as coking coal, except when mixed with Westphalian coal.

Mr. Osborne insists that what France needs is "an economic, financial, and industrial arrangement with the great metallurgical industry whereby the iron ores of France could find their way to the coal of the Ruhr district, which is at the same time the centre of the metallurgical industry of Germany."

France, however, has chosen another method—that of seizing the German metallurgical industry and all the coking coal of the Ruhr.

"Coal," says Mr. Osborne, "and nothing but coal lies at the bottom of the Treaty of Versailles." The statement is sweeping, for oil and other things have also their place in the Treaty. Nevertheless, the French quest for coal was thoroughly carried out, as Mr. Osborne observes. France got Germany's coal in the Saar, Poland (France's ally) got Germany's coal in Upper Silesia, and now France has her grip on Germany's Westphalian coal in the valley of the Ruhr, the largest and most important coalfields in Europe.

Mr. Osborne points out that the industries of the Saar are suffering from lack of coal. Germany, when he wrote, was not sending there the amount she sent before the war, having need of all her own coal: France had been given possession of the Saar coal mines and would not furnish the Saar industries with the quantity of coal they required. Moreover, the French overcharged the Saar industries so much that their products became more expensive even than those of France, to say nothing of Germany, their old market. Export is, therefore, closed to them on both sides. The industries of the Saar are thus being ruined, and the people reduced to abject misery. In the sixth General Report of the Governing Commission, January 25th, 1921, the question of introducing French currency into the Saar was discussed. It was coolly observed that, "after a more or less painful and protracted crisis," the wage-earners who would receive their wages in francs would return to their normal conditions of existence. People living on fixed incomes based on marks would be in "a difficult position," and the greater part of them would be unable to leave the territory. They would receive, however, the "kindly interest" of the Governing Commission which would see "how far assistance can be given them."

Charity is always bitter and meagre, especially so under such conditions. So governments play with the lives of peoples.

The Governing Commission's report in the following July expressed sympathy with the miserable plight of the workers, but observed that "account must be taken of the serious crisis through which their employers are passing."

Between Ourselves

We do not complain: other papers have died and other papers are like to die. Nevertheless we put it before our readers that an increase of circulation is an urgent question to the "Workers' Dreadnought."

We also point out to our readers that a regular weekly or monthly donation to the funds would render the position of the paper more secure in these precarious times and would enable us to devote more energy to maintaining the standard of the paper, as well as to enlarging its circulation.

A regular weekly or monthly donation from our readers may not mean very much to them, but a number of such contributions from various readers means very much to the paper.

If you are an occasional reader of the paper, we urge you to become a regular reader and to place an order for it with us or with your newsagent.

The "Workers' Dreadnought" is essentially a paper which provokes thought and discussion, and that is what we are aiming at.

We ask you, one and all, to assist us in the great task of developing the inquiring mind.

THE PLAYS OF ROSWITHA, translated by Christopher St. John. Chatto and Windus.

These plays were written in Latin by Roswitha, a nun at the Abbey of Gandersheim, in Saxony, in the tenth century. The MS. was discovered in the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmerau, at Ratisbon, in the fifteenth century. It was printed in the year 1501. The manuscript consists of eight poems, the six plays translated by Miss St. John, and a long unfinished poem called "Panygeric of the Othos."

Roswitha wrote prefaces to her plays, and these appear in the present edition. These prefaces show Roswitha's confidence in her own talents. She calls herself "the strong voice of Gandersheim." In using the term she was making play with the ancient meaning of her own name; but she gives other evidence that she regarded her work as important, though she affects to write of it with humility. She says that she was influenced by the style of Terence and speaks of his "charm of manner" and the "wickedness" of his "matter."

Roswitha wrote like a nun, with all the defects one might expect to find in a woman of the convent. Her plays harp perpetually upon sexual intercourse, which she represents as sinful; and upon allegiance to the God of her religion, who, as she represents him, is a jealous miracle worker.

In the first play Gallicanus, the commander-in-chief of that name, is about to set forth for a campaign against the Scythians at the bidding of the Emperor Constantine. Constance, the daughter of the Emperor, is a Christian and a consecrated virgin. Gallicanus asks the Emperor for his daughter's hand in marriage. Constantine promises to ascertain the wishes of his daughter. Afraid to refuse Gallicanus, he consults Constance, who declares that she would rather die than break her vow, but counsels her father to pretend to accept the proposal on condition that Gallicanus shall win the war. In the meantime she insists that her almoners, John and Paul, shall accompany Gallicanus, and that his daughters shall come to live with her.

Gallicanus is defeated and is being urged by his Tribunes to surrender, when John says: "Promise you will become a Christian and you will conquer."

Gallicanus at once assents and the fortunes of battle are immediately turned.

Bradan, the Scythian commander, surrenders to him, and Gallicanus says:

"Have no fear; there is no need to tremble. Give me hostages, acknowledge yourselves tributaries of the Emperor, and you shall live happily under a Roman peace."

Bradan replied:

"You have only to name the number and rank of the hostages, and the tribute to be exacted."

Roswitha evidently did not think that her God would disapprove the imposition of tribute as the price of victory. She had no general criticism of the habits of her time in spite of her sanctity; but perhaps that is more than we should expect from a nun who wrote under the approval of her ecclesiastical superiors.

When Gallicanus returns he announces that he will go to Ostia to join the brotherhood of Hilarion, and that he will leave Constance in peace to keep her vows. His daughters also become consecrated virgins.

The theme of the consecrated virgin, whom the unbeliever would marry or give in marriage, is that which also runs through all the plays: in Callimachus, the third play, the heroine, Drusiana, wife of Prince Andronicus, refuses even her husband's bed on becoming a follower of St. John the Apostle.

Evidently these plays were intended for the admonishing of the young virgins of the convent.

Miss St. John says that these plays may be made effective on the stage. They seem to us too far from reality and too much the product of conventions that have passed away to appeal to the peoples of to-day except as curious historic documents. A touch of humanity out'lives all ages; the conventions happily perish.

DISCOVERIES.

The "Daily Herald" has discovered that British unemployment is due to French occupation of the Ruhr. It has also unearthed a "remarkable premonition of death," by an octogenarian doctor who left written instructions that "if anything happened to him a relative was to be informed by telegram."

FOR SALE.—Engineer's taper guage, £1; radius guage, 7s. 6d.; both Starrett's.—Proceeds to "Dreadnought" Fund.

FROM BERLIN

The following Manifesto has been issued by the International Working Man's Association from Berlin headquarters:

Workers of Germany!

The tragic events succeed one another at a great speed.

The sharks of the Banks and of the big German industries drive the German working class and the entire German people to the edge of the abyss. Famine approaches with great strides. Strikes take place everywhere spontaneously, extend over the whole country and are the inevitable results of the flagrant incapacity of Capitalism and of the State to organise the normal life of the working people.

And the workman folds his arms and waits!

The revolution is coming, and with its advent liberty and well-being for all.

But take care that this Revolution—arising out of the depths of the working class that produces all the social riches, does not suddenly turn out against your will into a simple political coup d'etat.

All the political parties of Germany are fighting each other at the present moment and are greedily striving towards political power.

You know already, by your sad experience of these last four years, that the Social-Democrats, with the reformist Trade Unions which hang on their coat-tails, have been incapable of giving you, the working class, well-being and liberty. From the very day of the proclamation of the German Republic, they have proved their incapacity for all constructive action. More than that, they have turned traitors to the working class by giving all their support to the reactionary German bourgeoisie, appealing to Cuno yesterday, to Stresemann to-day, to help them out of the mess.

And to-day it is the Communist Party which wants to play the same part; they want to replace the Social-Democrats and take over the political direction of the affairs.

The Communists have their mouths full of the *rights* of the working class, and are busy pasting upon all the walls their announcement of the coming mastery of the working class over all the riches.

Workers of Germany! That is what they are telling you, and what the politicians of all shades and colours will always tell you, and then deceive you and mislead you at the very first occasion.

Be on your guard! Let the great disaster of the Russian Revolution serve you as a lesson on the day of the German Revolution, which is approaching with giant strides. In Russia also, the workers and peasants have been told that they are the masters of their destinies. But a handful of clever and cunning politicians, who foam of the *rights* of the working class, have systematically destroyed their liberties, and have given nothing but bullets when they protested and asked for the exercise of their rights as producers.

On the day of the Revolution, it is not merely the destruction of political power which should occupy your attention, but your primary duty should be particularly to prevent any clique whatever—be it arch-red—to capture this power for its own purposes. The more you will be effective in preventing this, the more will the revolution be victorious, and the more will you have liberty and well-being!

Don't forget, workers of Germany, that already now, on the eve of your Revolution, the Communists are extending their hands to the German national Fascism and offer an alliance with them—an alliance which will fatally turn against you.

To-day, they talk about your rights, they praise you to the skies; to-morrow you will have no more than duties to perform!

Working people of Germany! Drive away from you your secular exploiters, whether they call themselves Cuno, Stresemann, Stinnes or Krupp. But keep also at a respectable distance all those who want to become your masters to-morrow. State Communism does not mean requisition of footstuffs by the workers; it means appropriation of them by a political party, it means its distribution by a government, i.e., by the political oppressor.

State Communism does not mean the factory for the working class, but the factory for the Government and the control of industry by the Government.

All governments are alike, whatever their labels; they all agree upon one point: the workmen exist for serving the objects and aims of these governments.

It is up to you workers in the cities, who have passed through the hard school of misery and suffering, to take possession, *yourselves*, without the intermediary of any one, and to reconstruct your life on the basis of well-being for all. It is you, yourselves, who should confiscate the foodstuffs and distribute by means of your revolutionary unions, through your economic organisations. It is you, yourselves, who should run the factories, the workshops, the bakeries for the good of the entire community. Don't allow any of the politicians ever to take possession of the means of production and distribution. Let them play, if they want, their little game of governments and parliaments, but you will soon see that their play cannot last unless they take hold of the economic life of the country, of the workers' unions and of the co-operatives. Be strong enough to prevent them from doing so, and they will die of inanition.

The German Revolution for the well-being and liberty of the workers and peasants of Germany and against all open or disguised Fascisms—whether Nationalist, Social-Democratic, or Communist—this is the salvation of the Russian Revolution suffocated by the asphyxiating State Communism. It is the solution of the international social problem, it is the era of the true social revolution which will open and will only close with the victory of the world proletariat over the united forces of international reaction, over all capitalisms and all politicians.

Workers of Germany! You are the creators of the social riches of your country. See that you remain the sole masters of them, and there be written, in words of gold, upon the banner which will float one of these days over liberated Germany, the only watchword that should really be yours: "The Emancipation of the Working Class must be the Work of the Workers Themselves?"—The Administrative Bureau of the International Working Men's Association.

LABOUR STRUGGLES IN URUGUAY.

May Day in Uruguay has for some time past been merely a festive day, but this year the manifestations of the proletariat of Uruguay did not finish without serious collisions with the police. One workman fell victim to the police bullets. Though it had not taken part in the May Day demonstrations, the Regional Federation of Workers of Uruguay (F.R.O.U.) immediately declared a general strike of protest against the brutality of the police. The strike was a great success, and gave the measure of sympathy which the F.O.R.U. possesses among the people.

On a second occasion, during the same month, the F.O.R.U., as a protest against the extradition of Comrade Ramon Sylveira to the Argentine authorities, again declared the general strike, and the answer of the proletariat was as enthusiastic and unanimous as on the occasion of the First of May. Sylveira, who had escaped from the prisons of Argentine, where he had to undergo a sentence of 20 years' imprisonment for a crime which until now has not been proved against him, was, in spite of everything, handed over by the Uruguayan Government to the Argentine police. He is now condemned to finish his life in the inhospitable "Tierra del Fuego."

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

The new American President has stopped the bi-weekly Cabinet meetings. He will only permit the Cabinet to meet when he judges it necessary. Meanwhile he will order the affairs of the U.S. nation as seems advisable to him.

Shade of Walt Witman: "Is this democracy? Are the Americans a free people?"

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

The U.W.O. is getting strong, and already the powers-that-be are beginning to recognise the possibilities which can be achieved by this class-conscious organisation.

We were warned by the "Workers' Dreadnought" a week or so ago against the introduction of the use of the Vagrancy Act against unemployed speakers. This Act, if allowed to be put into operation against us, will be of great use to the capitalist class in their efforts to crush the revolutionary movements. We have already one case of an unemployed speaker being awarded a month's imprisonment under the Act.

It is strange and sad to record that the "extreme Red Labour Councillors" of Poplar are endeavouring to bring this Act into operation, through one of their confederates, Mr. Partridge, J.P.

The case, briefly, is this: Comrade J. Johns, a prominent speaker and active worker in the U.W.O., has been asked to give a signed statement to the effect that he does not receive money from the U.W.O. for acting as local secretary. As it is quite obvious that he does not receive any money, Comrade Johns refused to consent. Consequently he has been summoned to appear at a Committee of Guardians on Tuesday, Sept. 4th. Mr. Partridge, J.P. (Freemason, etc.), says that Comrade Johns is not genuinely seeking employment while he is engaged in the U.W.O. and, consequently, should not be entitled to relief (10s. weekly).

Comrade George Lansbury, a few months ago, said at a Poplar meeting that he was disgusted with the Unemployed because they had gone to sleep. Now the Unemployed Workers' Organisation has awakened them, we seem to be too much awake for some of the slow-going comfortable Labourites.

We refuse to affiliate to the Labour Party, R.I.L.U., or any easy-going-palliative-policy party. We, of the U.W.O., are out for an Industrial Workers' Republic, a society wherein all will receive the full necessities of life. We are endeavouring to point out the fallacy and the impossibility of the workers being emancipated by local or national governments. Perhaps our policy is not pleasing to some of the Labour Party, so they have decided to take action, an action which would never have occurred under the N.U.W.C.M. The U.W.O. will not take this attack lying down. By the time this report is printed the U.W.O. will have taken effective action.

Since the inception of the U.W.O. the three branches (Poplar, Bow, and Millwall) have been working splendidly together. We are united and solid in our activity, a thing which never was known when we were in the N.U.W.C.M. It would do those who charge us with splitting the Unemployed movement good to come to Poplar and regain their lost happiness. The members and committees have done, and are doing, their best for the organisation, and everything is going on splendidly.

We had a cheerful letter from Comrade Lew Davis from Leeds, asking us for our rules. He was a very hard worker for the N.U.W.C.M., and we are pleased to know that this Comrade is interested in the U.W.O.

The attacks made and interest shown in the Unemployed Workers' Organisation, prove beyond doubt, the power, strength, and respect this organisation has acquired.

J. T. BELLAMY,
Area Organiser.

KU-KLUX-KLAN.

The people of Pertnamboy, New Jersey, U.S.A., have determined to put down that mischievous reactionary organisation, Ku-Klux-Klan. When the people attempted to storm a Ku-Klux-Klan meeting on August 30th the police intervened on behalf of the Ku-Klux-Klan and used tear-gas bombs against the people, besides firing over their heads. Nevertheless the people prevailed, and the Ku-Klux-Klan meeting was broken up.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

The "Daily Telegraph" says: "It is impossible to ignore the fact, brought to light by the elections, that the Republican cause is far from being a dead letter."

The Irish Elections

The "Telegraph" correspondent adds:

"The majority of their best men are interned and their organisation is to that extent hampered. What the position would have been had the Republicans been at their full fighting strength it is unpleasant to contemplate."

The "Telegraph" has summed up the situation accurately: what becomes now of the story that the Republicans have been acting in defiance of the popular will? The fact is there is an all but unanimous desire in Ireland to be out of the British empire, though a large proportion of the people shrink from the weight of the British big stick. Those British people who pretend they support the Treaty because Ireland wants it are merely cloaking their own imperialist sentiments.

The Irish Labour Party has cut a poor figure in the elections: it regards itself as a side issue in politics, and so does everybody else.

The position would have been very different if the Irish workers' movement had called the Soviets into being and had acted as an independent body constructed on a basis of industrial power.

* * * *

That elderly hysterical gentleman, the Bishop of London, who during the war donned khaki and made recruiting speeches from the footboards of trains bound for the Channel ports, has now raised an outcry that there is immorality in the public parks. Various "uplift" societies have joined the Bishop in his clamour. Amongst them is the women's auxiliary police service, a member of whose staff has told the press that "a friend of hers who was taking an Australian visitor over Kensington Gardens on a Sunday morning had to come away because of the manner in which people were conducting themselves."

The Hysteria of the Bishop

The absurdity of such a statement must be evident to any sane person who will visit either Kensington Gardens, or any other open space, on any morning in the year.

But what are the facts behind all this bother which is periodically raised on this subject?

Firstly, the newspapers are out for circulation, and find the subject one which attracts some ignorant and unbalanced readers who can be interested in no other.

Secondly, a number of persons make a living by acting as morality mongers.

Thirdly, the present system warps and fetters the sex instinct of masses of people to-day.

Uncounted numbers of men and women who are economically debarred from setting up a home have only the parks to meet in.

Prudish persons, like the Bishop of London, who can obtain their pleasures in leisured and expensive seclusion, are merely playing the part of ill-natured hypocrites, when they attempt to debar such persons from giving vent to their natural instincts in the only manner possible to them. The "burning shame" which the Bishop says he feels should be felt on account of the housing shortage and other evil conditions under which people live and are crushed.

Fourthly, there is prostitution: the buying and selling of sexual intercourse which will never end whilst the private property system continues. The "social evil" will remain a subject of interest and profit for the "uplifters" until Communism is established.

* * * *

The losses on State Shipping in Australia, Canada, and the United States in the post-war period are used by capitalist press as an argument against Socialism. It cannot too often be insisted that such experiments are not Socialism, but State Capitalism.

State Shipping Losses

The Australian venture shows the following balance-sheet for the final stage of its existence:

	£
Gross loss year ended June 1922 ...	1,171,000
Estimated gross loss for year ended June, 1923	1,626,150
Total	2,797,150
Gross capital cost of fleet	14,156,938
To-day's estimated market value ...	4,718,150

When the profits made by the State ships during the boom period are compared with the losses, there is a net loss of £6,000,000.

The shipping, together with the Cockatoo Dockyard, another State venture which cost £2,275,000 and is now worth £400,000, is to be handed over to a new Board of Directors to be appointed by the Government, provided with more capital by the State and "left free from political interferences."

The Canadian State shipping losses are as follows:

	£
Gross loss year ended Dec. 31, 1921	1,800,000
Gross loss year ended Dec. 31, 1922	2,000,000
Interest	1,000,000
Total	4,800,000
Gross capital cost of fleet	14,000,000
To-day's estimated market value ...	3,600,000

The United States shipping losses are:

Two years' estimated loss (up to March 17th, 1923, and excluding interest and depreciation)	20,000,000
Gross capital cost of fleet	614,000,000
To-day's estimated market value ...	60,000,000

Why did State shipping in the three countries prove less sound as a commercial speculation than ventures run by private Capitalism? Probably there was a good deal of corruption, or, as the Americans would say, "graft," at the expense of the Government; probably the free masonry of the civil service dictated that higher official salaries should be paid and larger staffs employed than is the case with private firms; possibly higher wages were paid to the crews under pressure of the Trade Unions.

The point, however, is that such State Capitalism is not Socialism. No arguments to the detriment of Socialism can be drawn from them.

Nevertheless, the Labour Party, which looks no further than such schemes, should consider their meagre results in Canada, Australia, and the United States, as a measure of what they may expect from similar ventures in Britain.

Such State Capitalism does not realise our ideal of production for use and the abolition of the wages system.

* * * *

Wide publicity has been given to the story of the five-year-old boy who was rushed over from South Africa to the London hospital, and, arriving in a dying condition, was cured of diabetes by insulin. The insulin treatment costs £3 a week: therefore the number of cases treated by it is "severely restricted" by the hospital authorities. Moreover, but few parents can afford to take their children overseas, even when life is at stake. The child of the well-to-do can be saved by many measures, when the child of the poor is left to perish.

The Boy who was Cured

* * * *

For two months the great shipyards of the Clyde have produced no merchant shipping. Production has been confined to dredging vessels, barges and small motor-craft, the combined tonnage reaching less than 2,000 tons, nearly the lowest level recorded for forty years. In the corresponding period of last year the output reached 50,000 tons.

No Ship Building on Clyde

Slack trade has been reinforced in pulling down the output by the boilermakers' dispute, which drags on, hardly noticed by other sections of the Trade Union world. The dock strike roused the Generals of the Trade Union army to fury against the disturbers of dockland peace, but the lonely battle of the boilermakers does not appear to interest them. The fight has been authorised by the Union officials, therefore the Labour officials' do not officially condemn it; but they offer it no support. Trade being slack, the employers wait patiently till the workers concerned are brought to the point of destitution, and confidently expect an abject surrender.

* * * *

We do not think war will result from the quarrel between the Italian and Greek Governments. Nevertheless we should be alive to the necessity of refusal to participate in such a war. Every effort, in this and in every country, should be made to secure a general strike against war.

Italy's Seizure of Corfu

As to the squabble itself, it has arisen from the acute imperialist madness which is animating the rulers of both France and Italy. Greco-Turkish fighting is too recent for anyone to regard Greece as a pacific nation.

As for the Italian imperialists, they are openly trying to secure control in the Mediterranean. D'Anunzio was their instrument when he seized Fiumé in the attempt to control the Adriatic, and now Mr. Mussolini, who has combined a blatant imperialism with his anti-Labour manifestations, has taken advantage of the boundary commission murders to seize Corfu.

As to that seizure Mr. Mussolini has taken Mr. Poincaré's version of the French Ruhr adventure as his text, in explaining his own aggression. He has taken Corfu, as a "pledge," he says, to enforce upon Greece the payment of compensation for the murders, just as Mr. Poincaré has taken the Ruhr as a pledge for German indemnities.

Mr. Mussolini quotes also a number of other international precedents. He recalls that in 1884 France bombarded Fucui for the same purpose and Britain, so recently as 1895, occupied the Nicaragua harbour for the same reason. The "Manchester Guardian," the most internationally tolerant of British dailies, wrote at the time:

> "Perhaps our descent on Nicaragua was inevitable, the code of international behaviour in such matters being what it is. If so, it is only a melancholy illustration of the nature of the code."

Those words make apt reading to-day.

* * * *

It is protested, however, that the League of Nations is now in being, and that, whatever may have happened hitherto, Italy has, therefore, now no right to attempt the judgment of her own quarrels or to enforce what she may consider justice. This, it is argued, must now be left to the League. Mr. Mussolini, however, again quotes the French precedent. Mr. Poincaré has refused to submit his affair of the Ruhr occupation to the League of Nations, whilst the British Government, and all the British Parliamentary parties, have concurred in agreeing, with mild regrets, that France must not be annoyed by any attempt to force the intervention of the League upon her.

Italy and League of Nations

Lord Robert Cecil, at the Council of the League of Nations, expressed indignation when the Italian delegate, Mr. Salandra, protested that Italy, being a *great Power*, could not possibly submit to having the power of the League of Nations enforced against her. Lord Robert Cecil protested that great and small Powers must be treated alike, yet he himself has repeatedly stated that League of Nations intervention must not be thrust upon France.

Lord Robert Cecil was the Minister of blockade during the late war: the olives he has lately worn become him ill, and his gloomy nature would certainly revel in a holy war of the League of Nations against any Power, not too inconveniently large, which should dare to question British naval supremacy in all seas.

That, in short, is the offence committed by Italy in the minds of British imperialists by the seizure of Corfu and other little islands. The neutrality of Corfu, which was guaranteed by Britain, France, and Russia, in 1864, is regarded as important to British naval interests.

A glance at the map should, nevertheless, serve to show that the countries whose shores are washed by the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Ægean, could settle affairs in that part of the world amongst themselves without any assistance from the warships of this little island.

If the affair should come to war, which we do not anticipate, there will be France to fight as well as Italy; and though we are moving towards war we do not think the governments are ready for it yet. Nevertheless it behoves us to be watchful and wary and to take a firm stand against participation of any kind.

"Herald" and Italian Boycott

The following letter has been sent to the Editor of the "Daily Herald":—

September 3, 1923.

Dear Sir,

I read with horror in to-day's "Daily Herald" your article "Boycott Italy," in which you advocate that we should boycott Italian restaurant keepers, ice-cream dealers, and all Italians in London. Such incitements spell that hideous word "pogrom": nay, more, they would add to pogroms a calculated boycott which would mean actual starvation for defenceless innocent people here in our midst.

You say: "The Italians would deserve this, and more, if they approve of Signor Mussolini's murders and treaty creating."

What power have Italians living in London to control Mussolini? The poorer sort are exiles here because they were unable to gain a living in the land of their birth, or have come here as political refugees, fleeing from the tyranny of a capitalist government. They have had no hand in putting Mussolini into power.

You, who acclaimed Mussolini, when, by an insurgent military coup, he seized power in Italy over the wreckage of the Italian Labour, Socialist and Co-operative movement, are the more to blame, in connection with Mussolini, than the defenceless Italian community of London.

Are we to take your article, appearing in the official Labour organ, as a statement of Labour Party policy?

Are we again to see the workers' movement dragged at the heels of capitalist diplomacy and imperialism as we saw it in the last war?

Is the teaching of Keir Hardie, the creator of the Labour Party, altogether forgotten?

His teaching was the fraternising of the workers of the world—the General Strike in case of war—not the doctrine that the workers are to take up the quarrels of their capitalist governments and hold each other responsible for what their exploiters have done.

Keir Hardie struggled through many International Conferences to establish amongst the workers the General Strike against war.

The Labour movement of this country has fallen far since the day when his great voice was thus raised in a great cause.

You say that the Italian workers should show their disapproval by turning Mussolini out.

How is that to be done?

Do you advocate a revolution?

Hitherto that has been contrary to "Herald" policy and to Labour Party policy.

You are aware that only by revolution can the Italian workers turn out Mussolini. You are aware that the Italian elections have just taken place. In those elections violence was largely used by the Fascisti to secure their majority. Moreover, Mussolini's electoral law enabled him to confirm his majority by co-opting two-thirds of the Members of Parliament.

The "Daily Herald" itself reports that Mussolini enforces the acceptance of his measures by armed forces within the Parliament itself.

Mussolini's Government has seized Corfu by the same methods employed by the British Government when it seized Egypt and most of its other dependencies. This is no workers' quarrel.

Let the General Strike of the workers stop all wars.—Yours, etc.,

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

WHAT SHALL WE DO THIS WINTER?

Dear Editor,

At the meeting in Victoria Park a young woman told me that the Mile End Guardians are going to take 4s. in the £ off the relief. A man, wife and child will then have to live and pay rent on £1 8s. a week.

This winter will be a bitter one; the worst we have ever had. I hope to see every working man and woman join up in the new U.W.O. in every district and put up a good fight.

Do not let those who never worked and never intend to work have all their own way with us. There is plenty of land to cultivate, plenty of houses need to be built. Let us get to work instead of walking the streets.

In the back courts of Poplar and Bromley people live in bug-hutches. As you sit down there the vermin drop on to you. Bromley needs a swimming bath!

The people who live there ought to be waked up to their position.

I think the best thing to do would be to call a demonstration of women and march up to the West End carrying sandwich boards with the words "Houses wanted."

Then we should take possession of all the empty houses.

The workers build the houses: the other class uses them.

Let the women lead on: then the men will follow.

If the workers would give up the *Star* and the *Evening News*, and read the *Workers' Dreadnought*, they would wake up.

We have Labour men in Parliament drawing their £400 a year, and on the Boards of Guardians, but we shall have to band ourselves together to work out our own salvation.

M. PARKER.

Walworth, S.E.17,
August 30, 1923.

Dear Comrade,

Otherwise an interested reader of Comrade Motler's articles, his correspondence in this week's issue more than surprised me. If he is experienced in union activities, past and present, does he really believe in this claptrap of manliness, about the "man who is a man staying and fighting it out"? Has he any experience and is he not the man he so aptly derides "who loses touch with a grease rag and forgets how a spanner feels in his fist," who is sure to forget lots more.

The article did, however, cause the writer to review his opinions of seventeen years' association with the Trade Union and Socialist movement.

Comrade Motler or any others can have the details of these opinions and experience if he so wishes to hear them. They are too long to narrate here; be it but said that the writer emigrated to Canada in 1906 and returned last September. He has been associated in that time with the Socialist Party of Canada, the O.B.U., the I.W.W. (1908 and 1911), and was a member of the I.A.M. (International Association of Machinists). Since returning he has become acquainted by contact with the C.P. of G.B. and other Parties, and has come in touch with the members of the A.E.U. and N.U.R., through travelling this country in attempting to boost the sale of the "Dreadnought." He is also acquainted with the atmosphere of the National Union of Unemployed in most of the cities of the Midlands and North. Besides, he hasn't lost the touch of the grease rag and spanner, and has experienced the method of quite a few strikes. The writer can therefore consider himself competent to comment.

And what do I find in this potentially revolutionary England I dreamed of? The Trade Union leaders are far more insidiously treacherous than their swash-buckling American prototype. In the A.E.U. the conceit of skill is far more prevalent than in more competent men of the unions of Western Canada and the American Pacific, and the general political educational level of the workers in general and their leaders is far below that prevailing in Canada, and which is far more uniformly distributed. This is due to no traditional bias of the workers, however Communist and Labour fakirs may proclaim such. And what are my conclusions, and why? My conclusions are that the only organisations that show virility to-day and can develop for the future are the group that break from the vacillating policies of parent bodies, and, in as far as their aim is clearly defined, can promulgate it. I would give witness to Comrade Motler of the O.B.U. in its inception in Canada, and the immense propaganda it conducted. Does Comrade Motler believe that this would have been conducted with separate organisation and affiliation and dictation from the American Internationals? I am perfectly aware why it waned, but those who furthered its wane, perhaps quite conscientiously under the prestige of Russian thought, the decline of the labour market and other causes, now see themselves wane. It could have been otherwise, but the tacticians and theoreticians, throttled the very germ of revolutionary thought in the larger interests of official positions, by boring within the Internationals.*

They themselves to-day are dead or spent in the boring process. IT WON'T WORK.

Talking of revolutionary vicissitudes, does Motler consider the I.W.W. in the States would have held the esteem and opinion they hold with the youth of the Pacific Coast if they had bored within the Internationals, or, as members, had gone cap in hand begging the A.F.L. to organise the mill, harvest, and lumber worker? If the Trades Unionist hates an I.W.W., at least he respects him, and any industrial policy of the Trades Unions is only prompted by the fear that their members will listen to the siren propaganda on the outside. In 1908 travelling the freights of the U.S. meant pay up, get off, or be clubbed by the brakey or conductor. To-day the red card of the I.W.W. is the passport recognised by the trainsmens' brotherhoods. The I.W.W. didn't bore from within. Their struggle, sacrifice and fights have brought them recognition, and so on "ad infinitum." And what does the I.W.W. attempt to do? What did the O.B.U. attempt to do? Just this. Develop a self-reliant rank and file. This has to be done in this country, and the sooner it is done the better. It may be hard to wean a child from a breast that has no suck, but it has to be done. The break from old officialism has to be made. The rank and file must be given to understand that all power resides in them and them alone. Really it is plagiarism to have to repeat it, but they must not in so doing be jibed to indecision for lack of "manfulness," and such other slosh.

A.O.S.O.M.

[* These are Trade Unions with headquarters in U.S.A., called International because they cover Canada also.]

Town Hall,
Poplar, E.14.

Dear Editor,

In reply to Comrade L. A. Motler's letter of last week, on the split in the Unemployed movement, I am extremely sorry to learn that his heart is sad, and that the thermometer has fallen so low (I have not been to Iceland's icy mountains, and do not know the temperature there). But cheer up, do, Comrade; don't be so sad. the split you refer to has not occurred at all. All that has happened is that Poplar, Bow and Millwall are working in conjunction, a thing which never happened, or could happen, when the branches were in the N.U.W.C.M. Furthermore, the membership of these branches has in-

creased enormously, so cheer up; our temperature is as high as yours is low.

"More foolishness" our comrade says. If better organisation and doing what he suggests is foolishness, well, our Comrade's head must be sad also. He tells us to do what we have done: "sack the lot of the officials." Then he goes on to say something about emigrating to Mesopotamia, and concludes by giving us a motto: "Mind your own business." Well, we have been minding our own business, locally; and very shortly something will be heard from Poplar as the result of minding our business. Our Comrade says it is cowardly to leave an organisation which is corrupted and of which the officials refuse to be sacked. He must know that the minority cannot get heard. We wish to move, and are not going to see the movement retarded by a few dominating dictating leaders. So, Comrade Motler, we have done what you wished: we have "sacked the lot" and are "minding our own business."

Yours fraternally,
J. PEARSON,
Area Secretary.

Where is the A.W.R.U.?

Seemingly its half-developed, swaddled form is nurtured in the minds of hundreds, aye thousands of comrades.

From replies to the recent article "To the Miners of Great Britain," it is obvious that revolutionary sentiment, and the will to propagate and accomplish its end, is not dead. We can get our men, rest assured of that. The type, character, and temperament is there.

Great Britain and Ireland can be propaganded and organised to the end of Communist production. Yet we stay our hand, not because the time is not yet ripe, not because the "psychological moment" has not arrived; but because we are wholly unprepared for the magnitude of the task, and, being few, have let the matter drag, awaiting its own inevitable solution.

"Why not continue to wait?" you ask, since ultimately all things will be solved. Because life decays, youth's bloom is shattered, the abyss of want confronts us to-day, and its grasping paws await our future. Life's instinct is our urge.

Besides, comrade, we have misjudged the tenor and spirit of the workers. We knew that some sort of committee movement, disregarding agreements and the advice of leaders, must arise out of the very struggle of the workers to maintain their meagre wages and working conditions; but we thought they were more under the thrall of the wisdom of their leaders, than this evidence of their activities shows them to be.

The crest of enthusiasm for the Parliamentary method, and fidelity to the omnipotent wisdom of their leaders, has reached its zenith, and its decline has begun sooner than we anticipated.

Those, therefore, who sponsor the initial organisation of the All-Workers' Revolutionary Union consider the situation that confronts them.

Continentally we witness the debacle of reformist incompetency, the indecision and irresolution due to lack of a clear understanding, and definition of the revolutionary aim, and the structural fundamentals of organisation and method for its attainment. At home the propaganda of official Communist and Labour Party presages the same confoundedness.

We have therefore to start now to gain ascendancy in the field of propaganda. The walls of Capitalism will not fall to the blasts of resounding maxims, catch-cries, or manifestos.

The working class of to-day, who through acceptance of current notions of economics know no other way of gaining food, clothing and shelter, but through the sale of their power to labour, must be educated to an alternative method, and be brought to realise with some degree of intimacy the meaning of operating the tools of production as a class to satisfy their aggregate needs. In the stress and insecurity of capitalist existence, they must realise that such a method holds the greatest means and hope for their class. They must initiate the break with Capitalism and its institutions, to the end of the abolition of the wage-system, the functioning of purchase in exchange, the end of commodity production in the interest of world trade. They must secure the functioning of the machinery of wealth production, the land, the mines, the factories, the fisheries, and means of transport, to satisfy their common needs. This is Communism. This should be the end of working class propaganda, to bring a realisation to the workers that as a class they have, by their ingenuity and labour, brought into existence all this economic mechanism, which can with such facility produce in abundance all man's requirements. To-day its benefits are expropriated by a class, the capitalist class, which only allows its operation in order to realise values from the sale of its products in a competitive world market, limited by its purchasing power.

For attempting to visualise to the workers the possibilities of communal production, and instituting a zeal for its attainment, the bloc of working-class propagandists who now hold the field, in all their diversity and confusion, will be unanimous in dubbing us visionaries and utopians. Those who so loudly mouth the "historic mission" and "class-consciousness" in vacuity will proclaim against us as unscientific; when we attempt to visualise the "historic mission." But is such a propaganda visionary, utopian, and unscientific? Engels, quite unknowingly perhaps, committed an immeasurable sin to the revolutionary movement when he so categorically distinguished the utopian from the scientific for the intellectually under-aged and inexperienced propagandist to make it a cleavage of derision. But then Engels was of his period, and his worshipful disciples but perpetuate his period.

The writer is not here disputing the intent of Engels, but the authority that has been imposed upon a title and the meaning read thereinto by the latter-day apostles. The writer does not believe that well-meaning people with schemes can eliminate the inequalities of capitalist existence to the working class; that is the mission of the working class, conscious of the methods it will employ to bring about the downfall of capitalism, and operate industry thereafter.

What is science? Has it a method by which it acquires knowledge? How does it apply itself in practice, and does its practice devolve an aim?

Science is the orderly relationing of historically acquired experience. Its method is empirical. That is, that from numerous observations of similar relationships of some phase of phenomena it formulates a "law" of averages of that relationship; or an "average law." There is nothing "absolute" about the "positivism" of these laws; only in so far that it is the "positive" product to date of the observational powers of those who establish the law, limited by the efficiency of the instruments at their disposal to measure the relationship clocks, weights, thermometers, etc. Experimentation is but a method of observation, through which man through his own artifice brings into existence the phenomena of his investigations, rid of interfering influences, that he may better ascertain the magnitude and ratio of the particular forces the object of his study.

Eventually by such methods he clothes his investigations with the expression of mathematical precision. The savants of science, however, are under no delusion as to the mysticism of their derived mathematical formuli. They understand their genesis; to them it comprises no "exact knowledge." They leave it to the popular followers to bow down and so worship it. They leave it to the tyro to become authoritative and proclaim, "This is the dictum of science, all else is false." But even although particularly within the last twenty or thirty years science has steadily weaned itself from the authority it displayed in the precosity of its youth, and although it no longer proclaims itself the new religion of man, still it behoves us in this sobered viewpoint to recognise the scientific method of orderly, studious investigation, the method par excellence for the fruitful acquisition of knowledge.

This then, in brief, is its method in "economising in thought," in "abbreviating in outline," in formulating the historically acquired experience into general laws. Science is a method of economising in thought, the whole of world experience. It is as the oak is to the acorn, and the economised thought-acorn has all the potentialities of developing the oak. We do not to-day know more than the past, because man has increased his neural capacity for thought, but because by economisation of the thought effort, in any particular phase of thought activity, we have enlarged the scope to which our neuro-muscular organism can be applied. The boy and girl of ten years hence, yellow, black, green, or white, given opportunity for general methodical study, would infinitely surpass the Newtons, Faradays and Stevensons of the past in all branches of thought, not because of any mythically-increased brain capacity, but because science has methodically economised the effort in thought, for the general elaboration and understanding of the world at large.

If this then is the method by which it acquires and formulates its knowledge, what is its practice, how does it apply itself?

In this way. The problem of physics or mechanics is posed for its solution. A definite end has to be attained, whether in mechanics or chemistry. A new propelling agent or gas is required for warfare, a new machine to economise the labour effort in production, a means of countering aerial attack, or what not. It approaches the subject by bringing all available experience on to the matter, and then resolves it to the minimal fundamentals for the end in view. For instance, countries such as Germany and Austria, who by virtue of the limits imposed upon them by the Treaty of Versailles in the matter of war aircraft, seek to nullify the supremacy by devising means of bringing hostile craft to earth. Modern wireless opens the sphere of controlling the functioning of electrical mechanism at a distance, secretly and, seemingly, without tangible means being employed. An aeroplane is kept in suspension by the thrust of its propeller in the circumvening air. The power involved in developing this thrust is developed by an i.c. engine, the functioning of which is dependent for its ignition on an electrically generated spark. Most aviation engines, therefore, have magnetos for this purpose. A magneto in thus functioning propagates "waves" of a more or less definite length in the intervening medium. These are computed to be from fifty to sixty yards long. Therefore man devises a sufficiently powerful transmitting mechanism to propagate waves of corresponding length, fifty to sixty yards, and thereby damp out and negative the propagation from the less powerful source, and interfere with the functioning of the magneto, in the generation of the necessary electrical potential to effect ignition, thereby bringing the plane to earth. He therefore first finds out the vulnerable point, and, in the light of his knowledge, proceeds to focus his attack upon it.

In a machine, in the same manner a specialised functioning is required to facilitate production, quantity stampings, threaded plugs in repetition, or other phases of machine-production. In these functionally specialised machines, the surfaces, pressures, and stresses involved are determined from existing data, and their requisite magnitude and ratio calculated to the particular requirements involved. The minimal means of co-ordinating the machine members into the chain of sequence for the functional end is sought, and rigidly is the attempt made to exclude from the operation of the machine all that involves its wear and efficiency: such as the setting up of all unbalanced forces in its motion. In such practice do we ever attempt to approach the "theoretical" limit of efficiency. The reader should substantiate or otherwise the truth of these statements, by a perusal of any scientific literature.

Well, what has this to do with the A.W.R.U. or workers' activity as a whole. In the main this is written to make you wary and cautious of those who, by superiority, would ridicule you as visionary, utopian, and unscientific because you venture to illustrate to those who question you, as to what is Communism or how would things be run under Communism; how things could be run under Communism. The question is quite legitimate; the answer is also. Scientifically it is quite legitimate to hypothocate around the fringe of our existing knowledge. It is quite fruitful in developing new "truths," if we do not indulge in wild or lengthy excursions past the fringe. It is quite "scientific" and of propaganda value to picture and hold to view the possibilities of the existing industrial fabric being remoulded, with the workers alone in ownership, and operating it for their common ends. So be not abashed if our pseudo-scientific friends tell you it is not quite the thing, it is not scientific. Knowledge for knowledge' sake without application is quite barren; it will uproot no mountain or cause no social overthrows.

But there is another reason for digression as to what is science. It is current belief that there is no "short route" to the workers' emancipation. The enthusiasm of youth in its call is but misspent energy. The aged review the past in their wisdom, wholly ignorant that their activities have been the very instrument of acquiescing to the established institutions and bolstering them, to close the "short cut" from human vision.

Well, we have attempted to show that, in science, there is what may be called a "short route" to knowledge. The knowledge of the youth of to-day could be, under proper conditions and methodical education, infinitely superior to the savants of the past. This is due to the fact that science is an historical crystallisation of experience and an economisation of thought. It seeks fundamentals or general average rules, and applies them to the solution of its problems. What are the fundamental and general average rules of human conduct. What are their application to the problem of the workers? Just this, that men and women eat, and when they are told they can eat and live easier in one place or by a different method of applying their energies, they wish to migrate or conform to the new method by which they can eat and live easier. To-day they live and eat under capitalism. Capitalist education and the State informs them and conforms them in the interests of capitalist property to its legitimate methods by which the mass may earn their livelihood, to the great bulk of the working class, that is by the sale of their power to labour.

But the ever-improved modern productive machine displaces the labour-power of the labourer, and the steel lever and crank motived by electrical power takes the place of his hand and arm. Thus in the merciless struggle for competition for the world trade, which ever decreases its sphere and its purchasing power, tens of millions of workers throughout the world are thrown destitute, with no hope of sustaining life. Appalled at events, into this chaos will come meaning messiahs and arrant mountebanks, fattening on the misery of their fellows. Multitudinous nostrums are propagated as measures for alleviating the distress. Lifting the burden from industry by settling the capitalists' international debt by means of a levy, and thereby rendering those to whom it is paid better competitors by virtue of the prevalence of "cheap money." Boring within the unions to capture them for Communism when the condition of the labour-market tends to disintegrate the union, and its leadership nauseates. The move for the parliamentary ascendancy of Labour politicians, who promise to alleviate the misery of the mass by opening up new avenues of trade, and other impossibilities which the capitalists themselves would do, if they knew how, and not due to their incompetency in seeking means. No word of the abolition of capitalist property and the wages system, no word of the workers undertaking production for their common needs, without the hope, lure and illusion of trade revival. Thousands must die and millions but exist; while a multiplicity of nostrums are propagated confounding them in arriving at a central aim: The abolition of the wages system and its con the abolition of the wages system.

The vulnerability or otherwise of capitalist production rests in the assent or otherwise of those who have been displaced in its development, to the continuance of their misery and degradation. They are the strata from which must initiate the revolutionary effort, bringing into their fold all accepting the revolutionary aim. In these and their adherents must be educated an understanding of communal production, and these must be organised to operate the productive machine, when such time arises as they consciously endeavour to seize control.

This is the propaganda of the Communist Workers' Movement. This is why it sponsors the All Workers' Revolutionary Union. Its object is to organise workshop committees, to delegate members to meet other delegates of other workshop committees, to unify and federate their activity, so as effectively to resist wage reductions, and to promulgate the ideas of communal society, and be the fabric for the mutual exchange of service in the production and administration of things under Communism.

The indecision of the workers to-day is accepted by the latent counter-revolutionaries as evidence of the incompetence of the revolution. We insist that the basis of power resides alone in their own head and arm, coupled with an understanding of the Communist objective. The A.W.R.U. has no tactic or method of intrigue. We realise that in any movement with an objective that it is psychologically prejudicial to the establishment of a mass will to set up or promulgate numerous alternative fears and hopes. In this we anticipate nor wish no mushroom growth, born of enthusiasm or disgust, to wane on the morrow. Its purpose to-day is to propagate an understanding of the workshop committee movement. The heat of future struggles will wean the workers from the leaders and methods of the Trades Unions, and resolve them by such better means to end once and for all time the wage struggle.

The policy of the A.W.R.U. to the Trades Unions is one of non-collaboration with their policies. At all times of struggle it will endeavour to educate the rank and file to take the organisation and control into its own hands, to establish their workshop committees, and federate themselves together throughout the length of Great Britain and Ireland into a common whole.

To the Red International of Labour Unions we say: "All well. You endeavour to link up all unions with world labour sympathies. These must of necessity be existing trades unions. You hope by so doing to form a better world-front to wage reductions. In your inception you felt you were the agency of a revolutionary world coup. Well, go ahead, but don't subvert our propaganda. We consider the world coup improbable, if not impossible; we confine ourselves within our territorial limits. We cannot live of the hopes of 2,000, 5,000 or 12,000 miles. We are under no delusions as to the possible forces of sabotage in the world mechanism of transport as within our own territorial limits. We confine ourselves to what is immediately possible in such events and what can come under our surveillance. The need of the revolution is the effective organisation of the mines, transport, agriculture, fisheries, and public utilities within our confines, to make us self-supporting in such a crisis.

We therefore consider ourselves the major instrument of revolutionary propaganda. If at such a time your international affiliations exist then, as avowed revolutionaries, you must swing them to the support of the revolution, and throw what possible fruits of international commerce into these ports, in the crucial period of capitalism's overthrow.

This, then, is the policy of the A.W.R.U. This, then, is the basis of communal effort. Communism and the A.W.R.U. are synonymous. Therefrom is developed the world intercourse and future world culture of Communism.

Spiller, writing as long ago as 1900 his textbook of psychology, "The Mind of Man," said:

"According to my interpretation of data the ship of psychology is still in mid-ocean; still at the mercy of the storms of doubt, still without chart or compass, still far from port. I maintain not only that the elementary principles of psychology have still to be established, but I believe that from a scientific standpoint no serious attempt has been made in that direction. So daring an assertion needs a prolonged defence. . . . . One shrinks, and never ceases to shrink, from the unwelcome duty of sounding a retreat. The heart almost fails when one has to announce to others that the news of victory which we all greeted with joy, is devoid of truth. Yet while destructive criticism may give rise to bitter disappointment, we endure it because of its ultimately beneficial effects."

His latest work, written in 1922 (twenty-two years later), shows how justified his statement was then as even to-day.

We concur with Spiller in our field of revolutionary education. The ship of revolutionary education is still in mid-ocean, still at the mercy of the storm of doubt, and far from port, without chart or compass, and we know that the news of victory, greeted with joy, is devoid of truth. So we have got back to fundamentals, and will build therefrom. We have no apologies for our stand. We will keep our skirts clean and faithfully seed the furrow. Knowledge and persistence will bring us victory. In this three-cornered phase of world-chess it is for Black or Yellow to move, and Red to win.

A.O.S.D.M.

RIGHT THOUGHTS.

(By Karl Liebknecht.)

(Written in prison, probably in April, 1918.)

What dreams and visions float about me in the darkness, filling my soul, yet ever unattainable! They slip from my grasp like silver moonbeams, they fly from me startled, phantoms of the night! I spread my nets to catch the fugitives; alas! they dissolve, they are swallowed up and disappear—whither? O sweet spirits, aerial visions, how can I reach you? How can I hold you, O happy dreams? What happiness is mine, possessed by you! My heart overflows, sensation is lost in the joy of dreaming. I feel you near me; almost I touch you, and lo! you are fled and my soul languishes. I hear your voices in the silence; I see you beckon me in the twilight; but even when I stretch out my hands towards you, you disappear.

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Six of One and Half-a-dozen of the Other

Greece goes filibustering against the Turks ; France goes filibustering in the Ruhr ; Italy goes filibustering against the Greeks.

Mussolini quotes good British precedent for the Italian seizure of Corfu, fellow worker. But French precedent is more recent. When the French seized the Ruhr Poincaré said they were only taking a pledge to force Germany to pay Reparations. Mussoilni says the seizure of Corfu is only taking a pledge to force Greece to pay compensation for the murder of five Italians on Greek soil.

The fact is, fellow worker, that Mussolini has acted according to the approved methods of all the Imperialists who never fail to maintain their "national honour" by adding a bit to their Empire whenever possible.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, who edits Labour's own daily, is asking YOU, fellow worker, to punish the naughty Italian imperialists. The sort of thing Mussolini has done, Mr. Fyfe approves when it is done by Britain: he can only tolerate it when it is done by a really great Power like France or America.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe finds it quite natural to tell you to punish the Italians and stand up for poor little Greece, fellow worker, because when he was on Lord Northcliffe's papers he had so much practice telling you to punish the Germans and stand up for poor little Belgium.

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe wants you to do your bit towards vindicating the League of Nations by refusing to buy anything from the Italian ice-cream man.

That won't inconvenience you much now the hot weather is over; and even if there should be another heat wave, Mr. Fyfe knows that Joe Assenheim's respectable Zionist ice-bricks are quite the rage in London just now, and, with the help of reinforcements from Maison Lyons, he confidently hopes that the "Herald" staff will be able to hold out against any temptation to defy the editorial policy.

But seriously, fellow worker, are you going to be gulled again into helping the capitalist governments to play their game of beggar-me-neighbour?

Wake up, fellow workers. What are you doing in the ports, and on the railways? What are you doing in the industrial centres? Are you preparing your mates for the General Strike against the possibility of another war?

Are you forming your rank-and-file Councils at the point of production?

And you who are unemployed. Are you preparing to go in your thousands to the point of production to stop the war preparations being made?

Mothers, wives and sisters, are you preparing to go as women to the troop trains and the munition factories to say: "This thing shall not be?"

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Sunday, Sept. 10th, 11 a.m., Osborn St., Whitechapel.—N. Smyth, J. Bellamy.
Sunday, Sept. 10th, 6.30 p.m., Finsbury Park.—Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth.

FOR SALE.—Bound Volume of "The Commonweal," No. 4, 1888, Official Journal of the Socialist League, edited by William Morris. Very rare? Good condition. What offers?—Box 76.

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