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ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. XI. No. 1. March 22nd, 1924. WEEKLY.

EVICTIONS.

When Hicks was Minister of Health
No houses could be had;
Rent swallowed up most of our wealth
And things were very bad.
The workers got the bailiffs in
Who got them out completely;
We thought it was the workers' grin
When in went Comrade Wheatley.
Now Hicks was full of sympathy
For the evicted poor.
"But," said he, "it's beyond me
To circumvent the law."
"The law be blowed!" the tenants cried,
You treat our troubles meekly;
Out of house we won't be shied
When we get Comrade Wheatley.
He will say, "The law's an ass."
(In coster slang a moke.)
He wont put up with lawyers' gas,
Nor stand the bailiff bloke.
Our goods will stay as safe as rain
Within our houses sweetly;
Bailiff's knock won't come again
When we get Comrade Wheatley.
Wheatley's now got Hicks' job,
And—just the same—the poor
Are bundled in the streets by "Bob,"
That limb of landlord's law.
Out go all the the family sticks,
The bailiffs do it neatly,
Although we turned out Joynson-Hicks
And put in Comrade Wheatley.

W. Hampton.

YOUTHS OF THE FUTURE.

Youths of the future, where lies your treasure?
In the skill of your hand, in the truth of your eye,
In the knowledge of art and of science and nature,
Or shall it be war and destruction that thrall you?
Will you train to go bombing and shelling to death?
Youths of the future, what shall delight you?
Shall it be sunshine and dew on the rose?
The music of poets, the wisdom of sages,
Or shall it be wealth and the power of oppression?
Will you rust and grow old as you reckon your hoard?

NO MORE BABIES.

The Imperial Tobacco factory, which makes such enormous profits, in response to agitation by the Trade Union has consented to add to the annual week's holiday three days for employees of 30 years' service and six days for employees of 40 years' service. Not two of the employees will be able to qualify for this benefit, for most of the old employees were dismissed a year ago because the firm desires "youth and speed."

Another announcement has evoked more interest amongst the workers at the Imperial than this relating to the holidays; it is that the women employed by the firm are to have no more babies, as it disarranges the business of the firm. From a date shortly to be announced, onward any woman who has a baby is to be dismissed.

LANCASHIRE LOSSES AND THE DILEMMA OF CAPITALISM.

In 1923 the export of cotton piece goods from this country was only 59 per cent. of the 1913 total export. The export of the Far East, the Near East and Central and South America accounted for the greater part of this loss. The export to Europe, the Dominions and the United States represented only 12 per cent. of the cotton export in 1913 and 20 per cent. in 1923. The Far East in 1913 took 60 per cent. of the cotton exported from this country and 46 per cent. in 1923.

The great reduction is accounted for by the decreased purchasing power of the Far Eastern peoples, especially in India, and their own increased production.

Notice the steadily increased production of the Indian mills:

1913-14	...	1,164.3 million yards.
1918-19	...	1,450.7 ,,
1919-20	...	1,640.0 ,,
1920-21	...	1,580.8 ,,
1921-22	...	1,731.6 ,,
1922-23	...	1,725.2 ,,

The Indian export has increased even more rapidly than the rate of production in her mills, so that the balance left over for Indian consumption, according to official figures, has actually decreased in spite of her increased production.

1913-14	...	4,210.1 million yards.
1918-19	...	2,309.4 ,,
1919-20	...	2,435.5 ,,
1920-21	...	2,883.1 ,,
1921-22	...	2,586.8 ,,
1922-23	...	3,071.0 ,,

One factor is left out of the official figures; it is the homespun and home-woven production. This in 1913 was estimated as equal to the mill production. The mills have increased their production by nearly 50 per cent. since 1913. How far the home-made production has increased is not perhaps precisely known.

In a paper read by Professor G. W. Daniels to the Manchester Statistical Society the other day it was estimated that the consumption of cotton goods in India has fallen from 16 to 18 yards per head of the population in pre-war years to 13 yards in 1923. Remember that cotton is, broadly speaking, the only textile used by the Indian people, and that Peter Kropotkin, in his "Conquest of Bread," allocated 40 yards per head to the population, in drawing up proposals for a five-hour day of useful work for all, and the abolition of parasitism and useless toil.

The Indian phenomenon of increased home production, increased export, and decreased home consumption illustrates a world tendency of capitalism with which all the Western manufacturing countries, but, above all, this country must contend.

The purchasing power of the Indian agriculturists, who form the bulk of India's population, has, of necessity, fallen, because the price of their product has risen less than that of the manufactured goods they desire to buy. The index number for Bombay in November, 1923, showed cereal prices 25 per cent. above July, 1914, and cotton manufactures 135 per cent. above 1914.

The result is obvious, and that is one of the reasons for the growth of the Indian homespun movement with which Gandhi is associated. The hard-worked agriculturalist is, by sheer need, compelled to turn manufacturer also in order to meet his own needs, because he cannot buy the product of the industrial workers, the price of which is grievously enhanced by the burden of parasites it is made to support. Propaganda for the homespun or "Kaddar" movement is therefore easy.

The Indian peasants gain comparatively little by their revolt against the capitalist manufacturers, however, because their own manufacturing is done by primitive means, entailing a large expenditure of labour for small results. Their agricultural production is also primitive, the labour appertaining to it is great, the crop small.

Throw open to the people of any community facilities for agricultural production on scientific lines. Throw open to them also the means for industrial production on scientific lines. Let the agriculturalists produce enough to support themselves and the industrialists; let the industrialists produce what they require and also what the agriculturalists require. Let the product go as directly as possible from the producer to the consumer. Build up no parasitic apparatus of shops and banks and all that is therein involved, and plenty will be secured for all without undue expenditure of labour. That is the light in which we must regard world production and consumption, and local production and local consumption also. There is no room, no reason, for national feeling in all this.

The Indian phenomenon is the phenomenon of all the countries which are adding to their old primitive agricultural state industrial production on modern capitalist lines. The Lancashire dilemma, arising from this Indian state of affairs, is the dilemma that the older capitalist countries must face in relation to the markets they have made for themselves in all the non-industrial countries. Western capitalism, as represented by Lancasire, has not only to face the far from distant prospect of losing the Indian market, but of being ousted from other markets, even from its national ones, by Indian competition. India cannot yet compete in the finer cottons, but eventually she will do so. What is true of India is true of Japan, China, Russia, and other countries.

It is not merely the cotton capitalist industry of Britain that needs must view with anxiety the expansion of backward countries, the coal owners have still greater cause for alarm. The advent of machinery into coal-getting is rapidly outclassing the coal seams of Britain, which are narrow and far underground. To the thick and easily accessible coal seams of India and the United States, machine coal-getting can be much more readily applied.

We must not emphasise this point over much, for the methods of production are not static; coal may be replaced by oil, and oil by electric power and heat generated by using the mountain torrents, the winds and the tides, to mention but a few of the possibilities revealed by modern science.

Reverting to the question of increased industrial production and the reduced purchasing power of the peoples, it should be observed that

the exports of this country are not only relatively more costly than in 1913, but have risen in price relatively to the imports. Taking the money value of imports and exports in 1913 as 100, the following figures result:—

1920 ...	285.1	88.4	358.3	70.9
1921 ...	190.3	74.3	268.8	49.8
1922 ...	152.2	85.8	199.1	68.9
1923—				
Jan.-March	146.2	95.3	195.7	74.4
April-June	148.3	94.8	188.4	97.6
July-Sept.	150.8	88.8	192.3	68.7
Oct.-Dec.	151.6	92.8	183.7	77.5

As has often been observed, the world is a restricted area, and the constant increase of capitalist production is inevitably leading to a difficulty in obtaining markets for the goods produced. The tendency is accelerated by the shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dumb unheeded millions.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY, OR EVILS OF THE EARLY FACTORIES.

To-day we are faced with different arguments as to the bases of humane societies. The bases of society are food, clothing and shelter. In order to live man has to apply his labour power for these necessities of life.

But we find that humanity has been deprived of these necessities by the private-ownership, of the means of production and distribution. Therefore, they that own the fields, factories and workshops hold the masses in slavery, not ancient slavery, but modern slavery, known as wage-slavery.

Man is forced by economic circumstances upon the industrial field where he is employed by a master, not for his good looks or because his master loves him. He is employed for the purpose of producing a profit in order that they, the anti-workers, can live and enjoy that which Nature provides.

Just for an example, take your minds back to the evils of the early factories in the period 1800 to 1820, and even to 1840. Life in the mills in those early days was something now almost incredible to us; it resembled nothing so much as negro slavery. Children were taken from the workhouses from all parts of England with the idea of becoming apprentices to different trades and crafts; they were conveyed in wagons and canal boats to the Northern towns, then handed over to different agents, where they, the children, were bought and sold to different masters and employers of labour. Then the children were worked in relays from twelve to sixteen hours a day, both day and by night. By the time one section left the beds, the other section, exhausted by their toil, was compelled to enter into the same beds before the beds had time to grow cool. The beds were in a filthy condition.

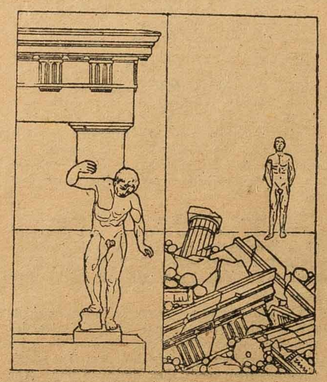
The food issued to the children was of the coarsest and cheapest quality. It has been said that the employers' pigs were fed on the same sort of food. If any of the children attempted to escape from this horrible life, they often had iron riveted to their ankles and other parts of their body and were kept as prisoners in dark cellars, where they were beaten and flogged. These are but very few of the cruel deeds that were enacted by the masters of those industrial institutes. At the same period there were women and children engaged in the production and distribution of coal. Poor women! What sufferings they must have undergone! Women in the mines ten, twelve, and even eighteen hours a day, enduring hardships injurious to often blinded before they reached manhood; it their health. Then there were poor pitlads, was a disgrace to our so-called civilisation!

Where misery and degradation exists, agitation gets hold of the people. Trade Unions were formed, and the first reform was carried through Parliament in 1833. In 1840 women miners were abolished. This agitation was stayed by the political reformers. Then war caused further hardships. Labourers in agriculture and workers in the mills and factories were feeling the pinch, riots broke out in the big towns, soldiers being sent to maintain order and to protect private property. Street meetings were attacked and the speakers arrested, and in some cases orders were given for the soldiers to fire upon the people, men, women and children being murdered in cold blood. In 1872 the London gas workers struck, and important places were plunged into darkness; only for a short time, because the authorities arrested the most active members for intimidating those who were willing to work.

Then the Lancashire mill workers came out in 1878; 120,000 men took part in this great strike. In the same year nearly 280 strikes took place, although only a few were successful, but in the year 1889 was witnessed the most famous and successful strike. Over 100,000 men left the London dockyards. Although their hardships were bitter and their wives and children were deprived of the necessities that they required, these men fought until the masters gave way to their demands.

Yet, after all this misery, degradation and reign of tyranny, we are still faced with the same question: that of the people's social welfare! To solve this question we, the workers, have got to organise on the industrial field and not on the political field. We, the workers, are robbed at the point of production; field, factories and workshops are the foundation of society.

Government is nothing more nor less than the safety valve to the private ownership. The main function of government is coercion. If you do not do as we want we shall bash you, jail you and whatnot is the Government way.



SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

The Bill for conferring the Parliamentary franchise on women has passed the first and second reading, and has now been relegated to the Committee stage. Opposition was made to the ambiguity of the description of the women sought to be enfranchised. As there was no distinction as to colour, it is obvious that a definition is to be made before it can receive the sanction of a majority. The Bill may remain in the Committee stage for the remainder of the session. Should it be dug out in time, there is every probability that the Bill will pass. The same Bill was thrown out last year by a single vote. This year the Bill was passed in the House of Assembly by 45 to 48.

Women under Socialism will change their environment entirely. Once get all the women to know how they suffer under present conditions, and how under Socialism they would be happy and free, they will demand Socialism.

BLACK TRADE UNIONISM.

The recent fourth annual conference of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa—the I.C.U.—held at East London, indicated the growing aspirations of the African workers in matters of trade unionism. Delegates, male and female, came from all parts of the Union, including South-West Africa. The following resolution was adopted:—

"That this conference of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa places on record its consternation and sad disappointment in respect of that portion of Col. Creswell's recent speech at Pretoria, which justified the Nationalist-Labour pact on the ground of combined opposition of the two parties thereto, to what the Labour leader described as the Government's policy of employing non-Europeans in spheres of labour hitherto preserved for Europeans. Such attitude irreparably injures many reasonable prospects of co-operation between European and non-European workers, and delays the triumph of the ideals of trade unionism and the consummation of Labour rule in this land. Further, the conference looks forward to a day when all European trades' unions will be opened to non-European workers, and counsels all European labour unions to repudiate the selfish theory expounded by the Labour leader, and to enunciate an enlightened policy on the basis of which may be expected friendly co-operation and ultimate fusion of all labour forces into one big union."

The position among the natives at the Cape is of great interest. There are two powerful bodies in bitter opposition, though their constitution and their names are similar.

The "I.C.U.," or Industrial Coloured Workers' Union, has dropped the "W" in the title, in order to differentiate between it and the moderates, who, led by M'Smang, as a separate organisation, adhere to the title I.C.W.U.

ISAAC VERMONT.

"Whatever form the governing machinery may take, two things must be granted. In the first place the Viceroy's Council must be of the nature of a Cabinet, and must be responsible to representative authorities. In the second place, India must have control of her own finances."—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in 1918. What now?

IMPORTANT.

You believe in the policy of the "Workers' Dreadnought," and there are many people who think like you who would like to have the paper, only they have not heard of it. Will you help us to bring it to their notice by sending us a donation towards advertising it? We need a minimum of 25s. a week for this.

THE SLACKER.

By R. M. Fox.

Day and night the clang of the hammer, the rasp of the file, the never-ending beat of the gas-engines, blending into a monotonous, inharmonic rhythm, resounded through the workshop. From huge machines that were tearing and shaping metal came weird, uncanny wailings and groanings in every key, till you could imagine you were listening to the cries of the victims in a mediæval torture-chamber. But the workers who swung the hammers and worked the machines had no time for vain imaginings. They worked hurriedly, feverishly. Always, even in normal times, they were used to the hustling, rushing methods of modern industry; but in these days of national crisis the speeding up had gone on to such an extent that it seemed incredible that a human being could stand the strain. And their abnormally long hours, together with the high pressure at which they worked, were undoubtedly telling on them. Still, they bore it with dull patience: day after day the long line of workers, with the marks of toil stamped indelibly upon their faces, trudged uncomplainingly down the pathway strewn with rubbish and waste, towards the great iron gates which were to shut them away from the fresh air and the enjoyment of things for another day of their lives. They accepted it with the same calm hopelessness that they displayed towards all the everyday drudgery and misery of working-class existence. After all—so some of them reasoned—this was better than slackness: they had at least enough to eat, and the foremen were not so ready to talk about sacking them and to play upon their fears of starvation as they were in normal times.

This morning, as usual, the straggling body of pale-faced, work-worn prisoners passed through those grim iron portals. It was a beautiful spring morning, and the golden rays of the freshly risen sun gave a touch of fragrance to the town which not even the dingy works with their black, ugly chimneys could altogether destroy or efface. And among those workers who made their way with shuffling gait towards another joyless day's toil was one, a young man, who saw and heeded the sunshine. He raised his head and inhaled the fresh morning air with deep, greedy breaths, as if he feared to lose it. In appearance he was like most of the others—a dirty greyish complexion, born of confinement within factory walls, in dust-laden atmosphere; rather round-shouldered and narrow-chested with much bending over his work, with limbs that sagged and dragged a little, as if they lacked something of the sap and virility of life. Yet his frame indicated strength—a strength that is developed by hard manual toil, not the elasticity and vigour produced by physical culture under good conditions. His face, too, was worth studying, for it revealed both strength and suffering. There were lines and deep marks upon it which told a tale, to those who could read, of privations and mental and physical pain. The hard lines round a somewhat sensitive mouth, with its rather too tightly compressed lips, revealed volumes to the understanding eye.

He stood this morning, irresolute, outside the factory gate, breathing the pure, clear air. Around and by him pressed others, all passing beyond the gates, and he could hear quite distinctly the ring of the time-registering clock as each man took his numbered card and "clocked on" for the day.

While he stood, some rebellious instinct was stirring in him. "Why should he," it said, "waste his life in there when life was so good and Nature so sweet, outside?" The rebel instinct won. He turned and walked away.

As far as he could, he avoided his fellow-workers who were coming towards the works, and, walking briskly, soon gained the outskirts of the town. He then struck out aimlessly across some fields, concerned only in enjoying to the full his sense of freedom, the song of the birds, and the whole rejuvenating spirit and impulse of life which filled the surrounding country and welled up in his veins. As the distance between himself and the factory increased, his spirits rose, though he glanced rather furtively from time to time at the great factories, belching forth smoke. Walking on, he came to wilder and more natural regions, and passed through a little wood with a tangled undergrowth of bushes, covered now with fresh green shoots.

All thought of toil and sweat and clamour faded out of his mind like an evil dream, and he gave himself up altogether to the enjoyment of his surroundings. The day was warm, bright, idyllic, and he thought that he had never enjoyed himself so much before. He rested in the fields for an hour or two at noon, and then set out to explore the surrounding country; and so engrossed was he in this occupation that it was nearly seven o'clock in the evening when he arrived back in town, rather tired, but with more colour in his face and brighter-eyed than he had been for many a day.

When he reached the Town Hall, on his way home, he found it the centre of bustle and activity. Several glaring placards informed him that Mr. Boyd-Jones, a well-known Cabinet Minister, would speak there that night. Although indifferent to politics and politicians, he thought he would go inside and listen, if only to sit down and kill time. So he went in. The great man arrived and met with a magnificent reception. The *élite* of the place were on the platform and in the front seats. At the back of the hall were a number of working men like himself, some of them political enthusiasts, but in the main just curious.

The great man spoke.

He dwelt in glowing terms and with sonorous and measured eloquence upon the greatness of the Empire, our wonderful Flag, our glorious Navy, the magnificent loyalty of our great overseas Colonies, and much else. Intense enthusiasm was manifested over these things, especially on the platform and in the front seats; though, to tell the truth, our friend the worker found it rather dull and, the open air having made him sleepy, was inclined to doze a little. Then the speaker struck a new theme. He spoke of the glorious heritage of British citizenship, and of the freedom enjoyed by all, from the highest to the lowest in the land. Our dozy friend woke up at this and began to pay attention. The applause was greater than ever. Puffy white hands, be-ringed and manicured, came together with resounding claps. Gentlemen in dress-suits, with expansive shirt-fronts, fairly perspired with admiration, and dabbed their foreheads gently with delicate cambric handkerchiefs. The men on the platform interested him greatly. They seemed a different sort of being from his kind: sleek, well-groomed and prosperous: he could not fit them in, somehow, with his life.

The speaker went on.

He spoke of the self-sacrifice of men for the Empire, for the retention of our privileges, glories, and rights. "But," he said, "in this time of general self-sacrifice, when so many are nobly doing their duty, there are working men who are shirking theirs. These men are slackers whom no words of mine are strong enough to condemn. They are viler and lower than any of the brutes in creation."

The platform and front seats rose at this, and from the throats of the well-fed indolents came something like a snarl at this word-picture of workers who refused to give all their energies and health to preserve their masters in comfort and security. As the denunciation went on the response increased, faces were distorted with wrath, hands trembled with intensity of feeling; and the worker looked on coldly, but with a growing sense of contempt. He looked at his hands, calloused and scarred, hard and rough. He visualised for a moment, in contrast to the meeting, the stifling heat, the wearisome monotony, the hopelessness and shabbiness of his life. He thought of his work-mates, with their struggles and trials, and how little life had given or would give them. And then—this leisured pack in front of him, who yelped at them and talked of priceless heritages of British citizenship—a feeling of nausea arose.

When the meeting was brought to a close and he went out, he found himself wedged in a mass of people who were waiting for the speaker to come out to his motor-car, that they might cheer him as he went. Presently he appeared, and there was a pressing forward to get a glimpse of him. One big cheer and he was gone.

—From "Factory Echoes."

Germinal

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(Anti-Parliamentary.)

For particulars of membership apply Secretary, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Meetings.

Sundays, 3 p.m., Hyde Park. N. Smyth and others.

CLERICAL WORK.

Volunteers are needed for Clerical and Organising work. Comrades should write to the "Dreadnought" office.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

THE WAR OUTLOOK.

Lord Haldane is at the head of the Committee of Imperial Defence, just as he was at the head of the War Office in the years that preceded the last great war. Friendship towards France and accelerated war preparations is the order of the present day, just as friendship towards Germany and increased war preparations were the order of the day in the years that led up to 1914.

Why is the sinister brain that played so important and intimate a part in the brewing of the last world conflict now called to the helm by those who hold office to-day precisely because some of them won the confidence of many people by denouncing the last war making and by raising the cry: Never again?

The speeches of Mr. Stephen Walsh, in introducing the Army Estimates, and Mr. Leach, in the Air Estimates, leave no doubt that war preparations are being enormously accelerated. A great programme of Air Force expansion has been inaugurated, and it is indicated that the Air Force is to be regarded as the principle aim of the fighting services. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that both the cost and the size of the Army will shortly be vastly increased.

A most serious significance must be attached to the statement of Mr. Stephen Walsh that the ground troops authorised to work with air craft in home defence are to be increased by 19,000 men, that is to say, from 3,000 to 22,000. The annual financial cost of this increase will be £600,000. This is but the beginning of a vast home defence scheme. No such scheme would be contemplated were there no contemplation of an early conflict.

* * *

THE ARMY AND INDUSTRY.

No less ominous are the statements of Mr. Stephen Walsh on the mechanicalisation of the Army, by which it is sought to procure great destructive power with a lesser number of men. This process has been going on through the ages in warfare as in industry. The great advance in this direction which it is now sought to make has a special significance, a special menace, not only because it foretells the approach of war, but also because of its special reactions upon civilian industrial life. The words of Mr. Stephen Walsh are illuminating. Remember that he is a Trade Union official, one of the leaders of the working class, who were used to drive the workers to submissive service for the last war. He says:—

"The tendency of the last war was to mechanicalise the Army . . . but we cannot mechanicalise an army without having mechanics, and it is naturally difficult to attract the highly-skilled man into the Army if they can earn high wages in civil employment."

Mr. Walsh went on to explain that an Army technical training school has been established at Chepstow, where there will shortly be 220 boys, and to announce the setting aside of £500,000 to inaugurate a Supplementary Reserve consisting principally of technical classes.

* * *

AN INDUSTRIAL RESERVE.

The creation of this industrial reserve, as it really is, compels the expectation of industrial conscription in the next war. Such industrial conscription would be militarisation of a kind much more complete than anything attempted by any country during the late war. It would not be the extension of some semi-military regulations to industry; it would be taking industrial workers into the Army and setting them, as soldiers, to do industrial work.

It is but a few weeks ago that M. Poincare tabled proposals for militarising French industry in the next war. We now see the same thing being quietly organised for this country.

* * *

ARMY INDUSTRIALISTS *VERSUS* THE HOME POPULATION.

The Army industrial Reserve cannot only be considered in relation to war with a foreign Power; it is even more serious in relation to the class war at home. Firstly and immediately in transport, but presently in many other branches, this Reserve will be a force which the workers must expect to find pitted against them in every important industrial dispute.

The vacational training started in April, 1923, under which it is proposed to give industrial or agricultural training to 5,000 of the 15,000 men who leave the Colours every year must also be observed in this connection. The training is to be given to "well-conducted men of a good standard of education who are about to join the Army Reserve, and to long-service men about to take their pension."

* * *

OUR POLICY IN RELATION TO THE ARMY.

We cannot too frequently emphasise our policy in relation to armies and armaments. There are features of the private property system, which will pass away with the world advent of common ownership.

We have no desire to preserve the Empire; therefore we do not wish to assist in providing troops to defend it. We believe not in empires, but in a voluntary federation of the peoples of the world.

We refuse support any way in defence of private property interests, which are at the root of all wars between capitalist states. We wish, on the contrary, to establish fraternal relations with the peoples of all countries, and especially with those movements in all countries which are striving for the abolition of the private property system.

We believe that wars will never cease till the people refuse to take part in them and rise up to end the private property system.

We regard it as necessary to make the worker in the Government services realise his unity with the worker in capitalist employment.

Unlike many others, we still stand for the general strike against war, which has received so much lip service and so little practical support.

* * *

THE I.L.P. FOUR-CHAMBER PARLIAMENT.

The London Central Branch of the I.L.P. is advocating a four- or rather a five-chamber Parliament. The proposal is adapted from the proposals of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb in their book, entitled "A Commonwealth for Great Britain." We cannot subscribe to the I.L.P. proposal. It is out of keeping with the free communist society we desire. Nevertheless, we welcome the fact that even in the I.L.P. people begin to realise that King, Privy Council, Lords and Commons together represent a machinery which is incompatible with the Socialist ideal.

THE INDIAN BUDGET.

The refusal of the British Labour Government of the round table conference asked by the Indian Nationalists has been retorted to by defeating certain clauses in the Indian Budget in the Legislative Assembly. The Viceroy restored the clauses expunged, and the Assembly again rejected them. The Viceroy will doubtless use his power to impose the rejected taxes by certificate. In the central provinces the Legislative Council threw out the whole Budget; the Governor has taken action to make it operative nevertheless. He could not do so in the case of the salaries of Ministers; but on the Ministers resigning, he has simply assumed their portfolios and carries on without them.

We regret to learn that the Nationalists have expressed their intention to take no action outside the legislature. Refusal to pay the taxes thus imposed by autocratic measures is the proper sequel to their action in the Assembly.

The incident shows that the non-co-operation movement will not become effective till it becomes again a genuine non-co-operation movement by cutting itself adrift from all participation in the Legislative Assembly.

* * *

IRISH LABOUR PARTY ADOPTS PROTECTION.

The Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress has declared for protective tariffs We are not surprised by that. The Nationalist movement which has coloured most movements in Ireland has long been predominantly protectionist, and the Irish Labour Party is merely swimming with the tide as the British Labour Party does when it eulogises the Empire and adopts as its own the Tory estimates for the Air Force. The Irish Labour Party is much like the British Labour Party. It is not what it might have been if Connolly and his friends had lived.

* * *

SINGAPORE.

The building of new docks at Singapore are to be abandoned, but such facilities as already exist are to be fully maintained, and the oil-storage facilities are to be extended, £200,000 for that purpose being included in the Navy Estimates. It would therefore be inaccurate to say that the naval base at Singapore is being abandoned.

* * *

THE VOTE TO REDUCE THE ARMY.

The vote of Mr. Dunnico against what was practically a vote of confidence in the Labour Government in its policy of deciding to build the five cruisers, seemed to us a more practical test of anti-militarist belief than the vote to reduce the Army by 150,000 men, which was supported by 15 members of Parliament on March 17th. The cruiser division was a critical one, in which many Liberals voted against the Government, and the Government was obliged to rely on Tory votes for its majority. It is when there is a possibility of defeating the Government, or at least embarrassing it, that a vote against the Government is apt to be taken seriously.

The amendment to reduce the Army was, of course, purely a piece of propaganda. No one knew better than its promoters that only a handful of members would vote for the resolution. It was merely an opportunity to make pacifist speeches. We welcome the propaganda involved in this vote, however small it may be; yet if the fifteen members had come out to organise for the general strike their action would have been infinitely more valuable. Regrettably, too, the argument of those who spoke for the pacifist amendment was mainly religious and non-resistance. The fundamental causes of war as an inevitable feature of the private property system were virtually ignored.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

AIR FORCE ESTIMATES

The Air estimates were introduced by the one-time pacifist and I.L.P. secretary, Mr. Leach, now Under-Secretary for Air. His enthusiastic language must have wounded many a supporter of the Labour Party. He said:

"No one, whatever his views, can remain unaffected by the magnificence of this organisation and the spirit of service which pervades it from top to bottom."

Having complimented his Tory predecessor on his enthusiastic devotion to the Air Force, Mr. Leach declared that the Air Force in Iraq is the central element of the British garrison there, and has made possible the reduction of ground troops. He asserted that "the duty of pacifying that territory and creating a stable civilisation" has been imposed on the Air Force—a strange view for a pacifist to take of the matter, to say the least of it!

BOMBING NATIVE RACES.

"In the mandated territories of Palestine and Trans-Jordania the air organisation continues to be a factor making for peace and good civil administration. The necessity for an offensive has only once arisen, and the revolt on that occasion was subdued inside 24 hours with armoured cars and one aeroplane. . . ."

"In Palestine we have one squadron of aeroplanes which has enabled us to effect a reduction of the ground forces there. . . . Depredations of the tribes on the Hinterland trade routes were dealt with. . . . Two machines sufficed to solve this difficulty, and both tribes surrendered on the following day."

AHEAD OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

"My Department believes this country is well ahead of other countries in all branches of naval aviation."

PACIFIST REPROACHES.

"Many friends of this Government are anxiously asking: 'How can a Labour Government justify itself in demanding an increase of air armaments?' They are saying: 'We looked to Labour to lead the way to disarmament, and are you not leading the way in the other direction? What about your professions, your conference resolutions and your speeches?' I for one am rather glad of the chance of discussing this matter. The first thing I want to point out is that we are not increasing armaments; we are decreasing them. It is true we are adjusting them between the three Services, but net result is a considerable decrease of war expenditure during the coming year."

As Mr. Leach himself previously explained, aeroplanes are labour-saving devices in the military sense, and when they are in use the same result can be obtained with fewer troops; fewer ships can also be required with the use of aeroplanes.

LABOUR PARTY AND DISARMAMENT.

Mr. Leach continued:

"Again, the Labour Party has never urged the diarmament of Britain, irrespective of what other countries might do. That is not a practical proposition, and I do not for a moment delude myself into thinking that the country would ever accept it. That way may be the Sermon on the Mount way—I do not know—but it is a way that is barred to us. A few days ago certain remarks of mine on Air policy in this House were severely criticised. It was represented that the presence of a pacifist at the Air Ministry was incongruous, if not, indeed, improper. I cannot see that."

"THE COLOUR OF PEACE AND GOOD WILL."

"I regard it as most appropriate that the policy of the fighting services, which is entrusted also with the development of peaceful aviation, should have the colour of peace and goodwill given to its work. . . . International disarmament is our watchword, but nobody can have it. . . . It is not my purpose to render my country defenceless. . . ."

"If only the League can prevent war, then obviously single nation disarmament will not do."

Defending himself against an attack by Major-General Seeley, he accused the latter of virtually scrapping the Home Defence Air Force.

ADOPTING THE TORY PLAN.

"The number of new squadrons to be formed for home defence this year is light. By March, 1925, we shall thus have 18 towards the 52 outlined within the next five years or thereabouts. The first interim Geddes Report on National Expenditure presented at the beginning of 1922 laid down the Cabinet view at that time, that no great war need be anticipated for at least ten years. It further recommended that the Air Force Estimates be reduced from £15,500,000 to £10,000,000. We have departed from that recommendation. The Labour Party assumed office almost immediately following the adoption by this House of an enlargement scheme, and decided not to interfere with that scheme."

YOUTH AND THE AIR FORCE.

Referring to the Air Force Cadets at Cranwell, Mr. Leach said:

"The quality of these men is wonderful. Entering at 17½ to 19 years of age, they pass exceedingly stiff qualifying examinations. Equally stiff medical tests ensure their complete physical fitness. . . . The sieves through which they pass ensure that we have combed the nation's young manhood, and found for our service almost a special class apart. They are our most daring, most resourceful, most physically perfect, cleanest living and ultimately highly-skilled stock. Just as war removes them, are we hit the hardest in the preservation of our national life. The parents of such boys in this House and outside are doubly blessed in the possession of their sons, and any Government taking advantage of them to pursue policies of agression abroad would be guilty of odious treachery to them."

The pale, half-pacifist tag which concludes these sentences does not mitigate their odious glorification of the military caste.

FINANCIAL INDUCEMENTS.

Referring to the short-service officers who serve five years in the Air Force and return to civil life with a liability to four years in the Reserve, Mr. Leach said:

"A boy leaving school at 18 or 19 becomes at once self-supporting, and he can also put by money. He is taught to fly, he receives instruction in the mechanism and running of aero engines, he serves overseas and becomes acquainted with other lands, he learns habits of discipline, and he re-enters civil life at 24 or 25 with a gratuity of £75 for each year of service."

Many a poor young hopeful will be caught by such chaff.

"The Air Service is brought into closer contact with the general population by this means, and our Reserve tends to grow. . . ."

"Some 3,000 lads are now under training as airmen, and the *esprit de corps* and *morale* are very high."

DEPARTMENTAL CHIEFS.

"I feel I must pay my tribute to the Departmental Chiefs of this great organisation, the Air Ministry. Their advice, their criticism, and their help are being freely rendered. I see them as superbly skilful, experienced men fulfilling very important duties in the spirit of love of their country. They are fast becoming my friends, and I shall hope to stand by them. . . . I find myself a pacifist, pleading with the chosen representatives of my country to strengthen its Air Force. We owe it to the 35,000 splendid young men we are enrolling not to lose any opportunities. . . Though we may prepare for war, our weapon is 'No more war.' . . . The air weapon, which it is my hard duty to ask the House to burnish and sharpen, now becomes for its purpose the most dreadfully effective of them all."

Mr. Leach will undoubtedly be a supporter of the next war. He has joined the "by jingo if we do" brigade.

THE TORY ANSWER.

Sir Samuel Hoare, Air Minister in the Baldwin Government, said the present Air estimates are his own, except that a subsidy for civil aircraft, which he proposed, has been left out. The Air Force is being doubled, he observed, and the Home Defence Force increased tenfold.

THE ANGEL OF PEACE.

Major-General Seely said:

"We recognise in the Under-Secretary the angel of peace, as he has been portrayed in *Punch*. . . . But never before have I seen an angel put the olive branch in his pocket, if angels have pockets, and bring out a sword."

THE LATEST U.S. BOMB.

Major-General Seely referred to the U.S. bomb-dropping experiments with a bomb weighing 4,300 lbs. The earth was thrown up by it to a height of over 1,000 feet, and the bursting effect was estimated to have displaced more than 1,000 cubic yards of hard sand.

THE ONE-POWER STANDARD.

Mr. Penny, on behalf of the Tories, moved an amendment, stating that the Air Force should ensure adequate protection against attack by the strongest Air Force within striking distance of our shores. This is part of the Tory campaign to secure a one-power standard. We are again in the position of the pre-1914 days: Tory opposition screaming for armaments, a Government building for war, professing that there is no danger of war, and that it is on the best possible terms with its rival—and Lord Haldane at the head of the war preparations. In 1914 he was at the War Office. He is now Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

MR. LEACH ACCUSED.

Mr. Penny said of Mr. Leach and his speech that day:

"It was absolutely a weather-cock turn, seeing the other day he was dead against it. To-day he had nothing but eulogy for the Service and for pushing on. . . . Our Air Force is such an important force that if we have a man who can turn round in a fortnight from south to north, he is not the man, and he must be thinking of the remuneration of the office more than of the interests of his country."

There were shouts of "withdraw." Accusations which reflect on the honour of a Minister are considered "unparliamentary," as the Speaker pointed out, but to suggest that a Minister desires to stick to his office is not unparliamentary, as the Speaker explained.

BLACKMAIL.

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy (Lib.), in a speech full of those inconsistencies which beset those who desire to remove the evils of the present system without having the courage of mind to approve any definite changes, complained that "We are back to the year 1910" in relation to war preparations. "It is a nice commentary on the sufferings, bloodshed, misery and bestiality which were seen during four years of war."

"I regret very much there was not some indication of what is the Government's policy to deal with this perfectly appalling system by which all parties in the House are practi-

cally blackmailed into voting for this great increase in the Air Service because of the position in Europe."

This was the nearest approach to a pacifist utterance made in the whole course of the debate. Of Socialist utterances there were none.

Mr. Leach was cheerfully able to reply that no one had found any fault with the Air Force scheme, and that he did not remember such unanimity on any subject in the House before.

Those "No More War" members of Parliamen who declare their intention of voting against the armament estimates had nothing to say.

Illuminating remarks were made by Sir Philip Sassoon:

"Before the development of flying . . . it was primarily the job of the Army and Navy to bear the brunt of the first attack. . . . But to-day the whole situation is reversed. The first people to bear the brunt of an attack upon the security of these islands will be the man and woman in the street, going about their round of daily business. It will be the ordinary peaceful citizen whose lungs will be the first to be affected by poison gas, whose body will be rent, and whose home will be destroyed by the bombs of the invader. . . . There is, after all, somethingper haps to be said for the paradox that in the next war the safest place for a man will be in the fighting Services. There, at least, he will have a gas mask issued to him, and he will be taught to use it, and how to defend himself, so far as defence is possible."

To be a C.O. in the next war will evidently require more courage than in the last.

SPICE.

Give me the avowed, the erect, the manly foe.
Bold I can meet, perhaps return his blow;
But of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send.
Save, save, Oh! save me from the candid friend. —*Canning.*

CANDID WORDS.

"I have been asked to reply."—Miss Margaret Bondfield any day in the House of Commons.

* * *

"I am speaking as a common ordinary person who is not hoping to go to Buckingham Palace in knee breeks."—Mr. Jack Jones, M.P.

* * *

One of our pacifist friends can overlook the blue and gold Court dress of the Premier, but she regrets that Mr. MacDonald should have gone to visit the King wearing a sword.

* * *

"How Austria was Saved" is the title of a League of Nations Union pamphlet. The *New York Times*, speaking with a detachment springing from the fact that America is outside the League of Nations, questions "Whether the economic life of Austria can support for any great length of time the heavy load of taxation through which the Government is reducing the deficit. . . The strain of taxation . . . has been . . . in fact much heavier than the League of Nations Finance Committee had foreseen.

* * *

King George of Greece has abdicated, and Persia seems on the eve of abolishing the Shah. Who next?

* * *

The Post Office strike: Electrical shocks by the E.T.A.

THE "ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN"

The One Big Union seeks to organise the workers on class lines. Read about it.
10/- per year; 5/- six months.
Plebs Buildings, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Canada.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Tories again produced their Bill to handicap the Trade Unions in entering into politics by making it necessary for every member from whom political contributions may be drawn to fill up a form stating that he or she is willing to be so levied.

With Liberal assistance, the Labour Party defeated this measure.

INDIA.

Mr. G. Lansbury (Lab.) protested against the firing on the religious procession at Jaito, and said that the processionists merely let off fireworks, as is usual in such processions. This led the British troops to fire on the procession, and to cover up the mistake which cost 21 lives and wounds to 33 people, a false report was sent to the Government in London. He asked for an inquiry into the strike of 15,000 Bombay mill workers, and pointed out that the *Times of India* declares the strikers to be actually starving. Mr. Lansbury added that the situation in India is "grave." He urged the Government to bring about a round table conference, saying:

"They ask us to meet them round a table to discuss how we can give them a little more self-government."

He asked for the conference for peace sake:

"That India may in that way become a real gem in the Dominions of this great Empire."

Mr. Lansbury also said:

"We have welcomed Indians over here to the Trade Union Congress and to the National Labour Party conferences, and again and again we have pledged them our support, not to independence apart from the British Empire or Dominions, but as a free partner with ourselves in a federation of the people."

Mr. Lansbury, it will be seen from the above words, is still an Imperialist; there is probably not one person in the House of Commons, unless perhaps it be Mr. Dunnico, who is willing to advocate the complete freedom of the Indians from British interference.

GOVERNMENT REPLY TO INDIA.

Mr. Richards, the Under Secretary for India, replied:

"I am sure the Government is full of sympathy with the ultimate ideal placed before this House by successive Governments for the last 40 years, that eventually it is the intention of this country to give full and complete self-government to the great Dominion of India."

As to the Bombay lock-out, Mr. Richards said it had begun with a small strike, in which the workers had struck against the advice of their leader. As to the Jaito firing, he declared that the Government was only keeping the peace between the rival Sikh.

The Labour Government has completely identified itself with the policy of its predecessors in relation to India.

The fact is that the real government is the Department of officials; the Cabinet Ministers who come and go are little more than its mouthpiece.

"BUSINESS AS USUAL."

Many complaints were made that the London and North-Eastern Railway has placed large orders for railway tyres in Belgium, because they are cheaper than in England.

Mr. Sidney Webb pooh-poohed the matter, saying it would be better to advertise the orders fulfilled than to complain of losses.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The eight-hour day applies to about half the workers in France.

ROSYTH.

Men discharged from Rosyth dockyard have their rents raised if they live in the Garden City.

SLUM CLEARANCE.

Mr. Thomson (Lib.) asked for an increase in the slum clearance grant of 50 per cent.

Mr. Wheatley, the Labour Minister of Health, said that grant will not be required!

MEAT PROFITS.

Mr. Baker (Lib.) said that Dominion beef producers get only 3¼d. per lb. for their beef in London, but the beef is sold to the housewife at 9d. per lb.

Mr. Sidney Webb, President of the Board of Trade, said "highly contentious legislation" would be required to deal with it, for which there is no time this session.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN GERMANY.

Mr. MacDonald explained that the British authorities in occupied territory raised no objection to the abolition of the eight-hour day there. It did not concern them, he said. Governments only intervene to protect private property interests, but this is supposed to be a Labour Government; its supporters expected better of it.

Mr. Foot (Lib.) drew attention to the letter of H. Nicholson, of 34, Annette Street, Glasgow, inviting investments to assist the shipment of liquor to the U.S.A., and promising 25 per cent. interest at the completion of the voyage. He called on the Government to suppress this traffic.

Before the Labour Party took office, Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues demanded Government action to suppress such traffic, but Mr. Ponsonby (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) replied that there are great difficulties in framing legislation to suppress that particular traffic without hampering legitimate trade. That answer is, of course, mere evasion. The fact is the liquor interests would raise a storm if the traffic were put down. The Liberals are now putting to the Labour Government the questions the Labour members used to put when the Tories were in office. The replies made now are frequently the same as those made of yore.

THE FIVE CRUISERS.

The "No More War" Labour men who voted with the Government in the debate on the five cruisers say that they were only supporting the Government, not voting for cruisers. They promise to vote against Naval, Military and Air Force estimates. Observe, however, that the invitations to tenders for the cruisers have already been issued, as stated by Mr. C. G. Ammon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, on March 12th.

FISH PROFITS.

Fish delivered on the quay at Oban at ½d. per lb. The carriage from Oban to Glasgow costs 1d. for 5 lbs. The fish is retailed in Glasgow at 6d. and 8d. per lb.

Ten cran of herrings were bought in Lowestoft for £12 10s. The carriage to market cost £8 17s. 7d.

Fishermen are having bad times. Their number had fallen from 90,710 in 1913 to 62,249 in 1922.

Immature fish are sold for manure, thus injuring the supply of fish.

EVICTIONS AND DESTITUTIONS.

Many pitiful tales of eviction and hard cases of refusal of war pension were, as usual, recorded. In Willesden a man and wife, with five children under nine years of age, were turned out to make way for a young couple anticipating marriage. Members cried out for restrictions upon the power to evict, but the proper solution is houses and yet more houses.

GOVERNMENT DEFEAT.

The Government was defeated on a motion to continue the sittings of the House after 11 p.m. The Tories desired, instead, that private members' time should be taken. The Government defeat on this motion means that private members' business, including the Miners' Bill.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

Mr. Stephen Walsh, the Labour Government's Secretary of State for War, introduced the Army estimates, saying that they "represented almost wholly the policy of my predecessors." He was confident

"that they have been framed with due regard to efficiency and economy and the needs of the country."

He announced a reduction of £7,000,000, the estimate being £45,000,000, against £52,000,000 last year, and 152,592 troops against 154,536 last year, a reduction of 2,000 men. Mr. Walsh declared that even the saving of men was in administration, not in fighting strength. £2,500,000 of the saving represented the reduction of terminal war charges, including the issue of war medals now quite small. 13,000,000 medals have been distributed, and only 300,000 more are on hand through failure to locate addresses. Newspapers and cinemas have advertised to induce those entitled to medals to claim them, but the owners are tardy in presenting themselves.

Mr. Walsh declared that the Army is a non-party question, and proceeded to show himself as much like his predecessors as possible.

Difficulties in Egypt, Iraq, India and the East in general warrant, he said, no decrease in the fighting forces. He indicated a considerable increase in the home defence troops working in conjunction with aircraft—actually an increase from 3,000 to 22,000. Mr. Walsh indicated an increase in the Army Reserve. He also announced the formation of a Supplementary Reserve of technicians, costing £500,000, with a technical school at Chepstow, where there will shortly be 550 boys. As far as possible machine power is to be substituted for man power.

Recruiting is not so brisk as Mr. Walsh would like, though it is 40,000 a year, as compared with 40,000 a year before the war.

Sir Laming Worthington Evans pointed out that the expenditure last year was expected to be £3,000,000, or £4,000,000 short of the estimates. Therefore the present Secretary of State begins with a surplus, and his saving may not be so great as appears on the surface.

THE ARMY RANKER OFFICERS.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, having decided to break his pledge to the Army ranker officers, accused their representatives of sending out a deceptive questionnaire, and represented himself as a man who had been trapped in the hurry of a General Election. He called for a coalition against answering questionnaires, though how the unfortunate electors are otherwise to secure redress of grievances he did not disclose.

Dr. Macnamara (Lib.) replied by quoting a letter sent on behalf of Mr. MacDonald to a ranker officer in Glamorgan, which said:

"Mr. MacDonald knows perfectly well that you had no intention of deceiving him. . . . The Prime Minister would not for the world break a pledge which he had given. . . As you are aware, the War Office must have the last word. . . and if anything can be done, the Prime Minister will do it as a matter of duty. He is desirous of impressing upon you, however, that he never had in his mind that you had done anything that was improper."

Thus to the constituency, but in the House of Commons:

"If these questions had been accurate, the promise I gave was a right promise, and it could have been carried out. But there it was, it was not fair. It was taking advantage of candidates to throw these things at them, especially in the middle of an election."

Mr. MacDonald tried to get the House to agree to refer the matters to a committee to discuss not merely the special prievance of the army ranker officers, but many other matters. Mr. Baldwin, on behalf of the Tories, agreed to this, but the Liberals would not. As a result, the Government very narrowly escaped defeat, getting a majority of only 19 votes.

Mr. Lansbury declared he could not play fast and loose with his promise. He therefore acted as teller against the Government. Mr. W. H. Ayles, Rev. Campbell Stephen and a few other Labour members voted against the Government. This revolt, it should be observed, was on a relatively minor issue.

WHAT WE STAND FOR.

The abolition of the capitalist or private property system.

Common ownership of the land, the means of production and distribution. The earth, the seas and their riches, the industrial plant, the railways and ships, aircraft, and so on, shall belong to the whole people.

Production for use, not for profit. Under modern conditions more can be produced than can be consumed of all necessaries, if production is not artificially checked. The community must set itself to provide all the requirements of its members, in order that their wants may be met without stint and according to their own measure and desire. The people will notify their requirements, and the district, the country, the world must co-operate to supply them.

Production for use means that there will be neither barter nor sale, and consequently no money. An immense amount of labour in buying, selling and advertising will therefore be saved.

Since there will be plenty for all, there will be no insurance, no poor and no poor law, no State or private charity of any kind. Humiliation, officialdom and useless toil, which means putting parasites on the backs of the producers, will be obviated thereby.

There will be no class distinctions because there will be no economic distinctions. Everyone will be a worker, everyone will be of the educated classes, for education will be free to all, and since the hours of labour and relatively monotonous tasks will be short, everyone will be able to make use of educational facilities, not merely in early youth, but throughout life.

There will be no patents, no "trade secrets," scientific knowledge will be widely diffused. Since the class war will be no more, the newspapers will be largely filled with scientific information, art and literature, historical research.

Society will be organised to supply its own needs. To-day the essential needs of the people are supplied by private enterprise. Ostensibly we are under a democratic Government, but the most outstanding fact in the average man's life is that he is largely at the disposal of his employer. The government of the workshop where he spends the greater part of his time and energy is despotic. Under Communism industry will be managed by those at work in it. The workshop will contain, not employees, subject to the dictation of the employers and their managers, but groups of co-workers.

We stand for the workshop councils in industry, agriculture and all the services of the community. We stand for the autonomous organisation of the workshops and their ordered co-ordination, in order that the needs of all may be supplied.

Under Communism Parliament and the local governing bodies will disappear. Parliament, with the monarch, the Privy Council, the Cabinet, the Houses of Lords and Commons, provides no true democracy. "Self-government is better than good government," and the only genuine self-government is literally self-government, in which free individuals willingly associate themselves in a common effort for the common good. On the basis of co-workers in the workshop co-operating with co-workers in other workshops, efficiency of production and distribution, which means plenty for all, can go hand in hand with personal freedom.

Elected on a territorial basis, Parliament is not able to manage efficiently the industries and services of the community. The services at present controlled by it are managed by salaried permanent officials. The condition of the worker employed in such services is the same as in privately owned industry.

A centralised Government cannot give freedom to the individual: it stultifies initiative and progress. In the struggle to abolish capitalism the workshop councils are essential. The trade unions are not based on the workshop, and are bureaucratically governed. Therefore they are not able efficiently to manage the industries. Not being able efficiently to manage the industries they are ineffective implements in the effort to take industry from the management of the employers and vest it in the workers at the point of production.

Therefore we stand for—

The abolition of the private property system,
Production for use, not profit,
The free supply of the people's needs,
The organisation of production and distribution on a workshop basis.

AN OPEN LETTER.

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

DEAR THOMAS,

I was sorry to see you playing the fool and making belief you were a gentleman. Perhaps if you were to lay aside your conceit, and banish from your mind the false teaching of the Sunday School, you would be more useful to yourself and the community.

Suppose we make belief to sit in a garden fair, and study the tree of knowledge together. The Bible says:—

"But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for *on the day* that thou eatest thereof, thou shall surely die."—Genesis ii. 17.

But we need not worry. Adam did not die on the day he ate an apple in the Garden of Eden; he lived for nine hundred and thirty years afterwards, Gospel truth.

From olden time priestcraft and statesmen taught from the Bible what best suited their own and the landlords' interests.

Let us briefly examine the landlords' claims in the light of English history, from the Norman Conquest. In Saxon times the land belonged to the people, and was called the folk-land. Norman William and his robber band invented the curfew bell and doomsday book, and called it the King's-land and the king's highway. For example, Kingsland Road and King's Road, Chelsea. The land on each side of the road was later on enclosed, and given away or sold to the robber lords, who regarded it as their private property. Now we are an outcast race. To-day a landless man who cannot find an employer to buy the only thing he has to sell, his ability to labour, if he is found wandering on the king's highway, without the means of supporting himself, is liable to be locked up by a policeman and sentenced to imprisonment as a rogue and vagabond.

The land question is of more importance than anything else; it is the rightful inheritance of the new generation, who, if they wish to be truly free, must own and control it themselves, by mutual agreement, independently of the false claims of landlords or the sham control of a Labour Government, if they wish to be truly free.

WHERE TO GET THE "DREADNOUGHT."

The following newsagents now stock the "Dreadnought":—

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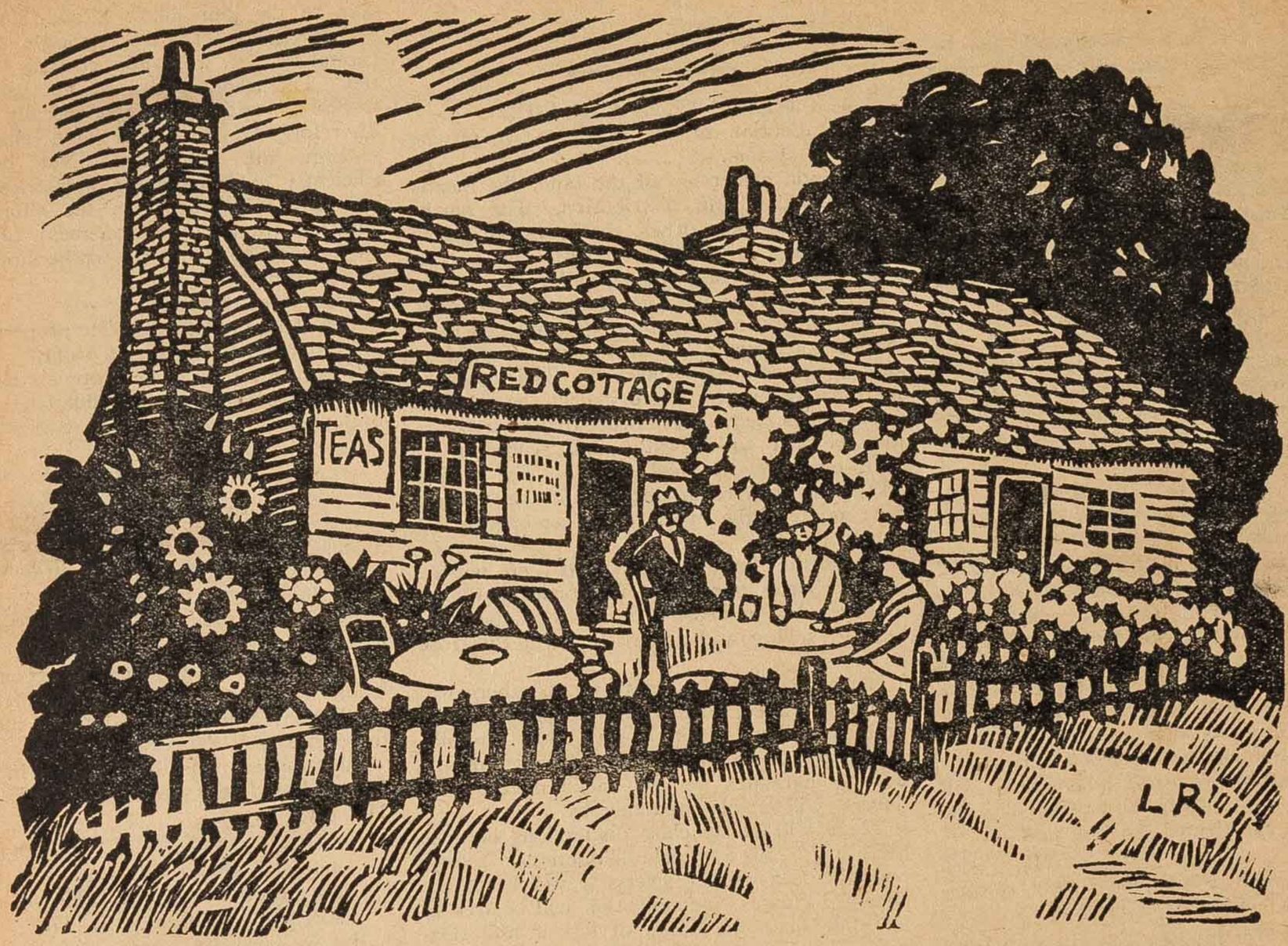
Readers are urged to encourage these newsagents by their support.



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COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, WILLESDEN.

A group of the C.W.M. has been formed in Willesden. Mr. A. Parsons, 182, Chapter Road, Willesden, is acting as Secretary pro. tem. Intending members should communicate with him.

IRISH WORKER LEAGUE, LONDON BRANCH.

New Irish Social Revolutionary Movement.

Meeting, Sunday, March 23rd, 8 p.m.—Subject: Ireland and the Future. Open discussion. All welcome. Labour Centre, 124, Walworth Road (near Elephant).

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