Indian Sinn Fein by an Indian.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 36. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19TH, 1921. [WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

UNEMPLOYED AND BIRTH CONTROL.

Comrade Mullins has sent us the following resolution, to be moved at a meeting of the Society for Constructive Birth Control and Racial Progress, to be held on November 22nd, at Essex Hall, Strand.

In view of the fact that both the physical deprivation and the mental suffering of the individual man and woman are greatly increased if either are anticipating parenthood through the birth of an expected child, and also definite injury to the child produced during a time of exceptional deprivation and anxiety is to be anticipated, this Meeting demands, in the interests of both the individual and the Race, that advantage be taken of the offer of the services of the only Constructive Birth Control Clinic in the country. This Meeting postulates that the easiest way of doing so is for the Ministry of Labour to issue to all unemployed married persons, together with their allowances, a printed slip, worded as follows:—

"It is important, both to spare your own personal distress and to avoid bringing a weakly child into the world, that no wife should conceive until her husband is in full work under normal circumstances. Whilst the best must be made of it, of course, wherever a child is on the way, no other should be begun at a time of distress. Sound and wholesome methods of Birth Control are known, and advice will be given free by a qualified person to all unemployed married persons who present this card at the Mothers' Clinic, 61, Marlborough Road, Holloway, London, N.19."

The resolution appeals to us as infinitely tragic. Dr. Marie Stopes, the leader of this Birth Control Movement, is possessed of a splendid intelligence and unquestionably, as her works reveal, she is capable of great insight and sympathy. Yet the only remedy which she and her colleagues can offer to the sorrowing exploited workers of this greatest Empire, this powerful, weathy nation, is: *"Do not bring any more children into the world."*

This solution is, indeed, a fearful one: a few steps further lead to its logical conclusion: *Cease to continue the human race; let it disappear forever from the earth it has made hideous.*

The workers; they who live laborious days and make possible the existence both of leisured people and of those who devote their time to study and research, are to cease to reproduce their kind. They are not to know the happiness of parenthood, because the favoured few, who have profited by the labour of the workers, have so arranged life that these are lean and precarious years for the working masses.

This need not be "a time of distress" if the powerful and wealthy were prepared to surrender their privileges and allow the world situation to be dealt with on Communist principles.

We predict that "easy" and without financial cost, as is the method of meeting distress, advocated by the Birth Control Society, it will meet with opposition from the capitalists, who do not desire that Labour shall become a scarce commodity twenty or thirty years hence, or that soldiers shall be lacking for the army, in eighteen years to come. Notice that advocates of Birth Control are being imprisoned in the United States.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

By Charles Browe.

III.

The Revolution in France gave fresh impetus to the popular discontent in England. The middle classes promptly seized the opportunity to enroll the support of the National Political Unions of Workmen to their Reform Bill, which finally passed in 1832.

Both in France and in England it soon became apparent, however, that the expected reforms were not forthcoming, that the Liberals and bourgeoisie had used the workers in order to further their own interests. In 1831 the silk weavers of Lyons, a manufacturing centre in France, were deprived of the minimum wage which they had for a while acquired. They revolted and held the town for ten days. But the complete lack of plan or object led to the speedy collapse of the insurrection.

In England, as a result of the continual displacement of workers by machinery, pauperism had increased to such an extent as to make the need for relief urgent. The relief came in the reform of 1834. The chief ingredient of this remedy has since become known as the "Workhouse Test." The new Poor Laws were based on the Malthusian doctrine that "to aid the people who did not reserve seats at Nature's feast meant to injure others who had better claims." The idea of the framers of this Bill was to abolish all relief for the poor. Its effects soon became manifest. The crisis of 1836 was followed by a series of bad harvests. This ushered in a period of the most abject misery, hunger, pestilence and Reform Bill of 1832 had dampened their spirits for political reforms. Hence, for a time, their leaders turned their activities to the industrial field. Under the influence of Robert Owen, the slogan became the reconstruction of society on a new basis. But employers and Government united in opposition. Labour Unions were disbanded, strikers dispersed. This produced a change of psychology. Seeing that they lost their battle on the industrial field, because the machinery of Government was turned against them, the working masses again turned to politics. Their objective now became to capture the Government machinery and to use it against the capitalists. Thus, out of Trade Unionism, arose the Chartist movement.

ARE YOU HELPING THE "DREADNOUGHT" FUND? SEND A P.O. TO-DAY.

At its inauguration, the Chartist movement attracted a number of recruits from the ranks of the middle class. In time, however, Chartism became ever more and more crystalised as a distinct Labour struggle for the reconstruction of society. The form of the demands were purely political, but the object strictly economic. Political equality was proclaimed as the only weapon to secure equality of condition and the abolition of class privileges.

The following extracts from the Manifesto of the General Convention of the Industrious Classes, adopted at Birmingham on May 13th, 1839, of which 10,000 copies were ordered to be printed for circulation, will testify to the class-character of the Chartist Movement: "Men and women of Britain, will you tamely submit to the incessant toil from birth to death, to give in tax and plunder out of every twelve hours' labour the proceeds of nine hours to support your idle and insolent oppressors? Will you much longer submit to see the greatest blessings of mechanical art turned into the greatest curse of social life? . . . Perish the cowardly feeling, and infamous be the passive being who can witness his country's degradation without a struggle to prevent or a determination to remove it! Rather, like Samson, would we cling to the pillars that sustain our social fabrics, and, failing to base it on principles of justice, fall victims benath its ruins. . . . Both Whigs and Tories are seeking by every means in their power to crush our peaceful organisation in favour of our Charter. . . . We have resolved to obtain our rights peacefully if we may, forcibly if we must; but woe to those who begin the warfare with the millions, or who forcibly restrain their peaceful agitation for justice—at one signal they will be enlightened to their error, and in one brief contest their power will be destroyed."

The demands embodied in the People's Charter were the following:—

(1) Equal representation.
(2) Universal Suffrage (women included).
(3) Annual Parliaments.
(4) No property qualifications.
(5) Vote by ballot.
(6) Payment to members.

In 1839, delegates from all over England met in London at a National Convention to present to Parliament a national petition. Likewise, a manifesto was issued to Chartist associations throughout the country, asking them if they were ready to adopt simultaneously the following: To withdraw savings from banks; convert paper money into gold and silver; boycott non-Chartist tradesmen; defend liberty by arms; and abstain from work and intoxicating liquors in the event of a sacred month being ordered by the Convention. The manifesto was followed by disturbances and rioting in the provinces, notably at the Bull Ring in Birmingham and at Newport Gaol in South Wales. The Government arrested the leaders wholesale, and by the end of the year had most of them in gaol. Thus ended the first phase of the Chartist movement.

(*to be continued.*)

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THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

London was dark with one of its ugly yellow fogs, but Fleet Street was crowded. The bells were ringing. People stood on tip toe to see over each other's heads, the Lord Mayor's Show going by.

In the restaurant, most of the guests had left their luncheon and were standing upon the chairs, craning their necks; but a few sat munching phlegmatically, preventing the waiters from being among the sightseers.

The proprietor lost his usual suavity, as he shouted up the speaking-tube to the kitchen at the top of the house. The kitchen is at the top of the house, that its fumes may not rise to the restaurant and guest rooms. The kitchen staff was hanging out of the windows watching the Show, regardless that this was lunch time, and impatient customers waiting below.

The guests mounted upon the chairs talked loudly of what they saw:

"There are the Girl Guides."

The little navy blue figures, gravely trudging by, evoked a faint cheer from the crowd outside:

"The Household Guards."

"I like that fellow with a bit of hearthrug on his saddle."

"Look at those round hats! Aren't they nobby?"

A plaintive voice rose every now and then from one of the tables, pleading:

"Where's my apple tart? Have they forgotten my apple tart?"

"They're keeping it warm for you," answered the proprietor, at once humorous and soothing; he was tired of scolding the kitchen staff and was watching the Show.

"I'll murder the cook if he puts too much salt in the turbot," roared a laughing wag, who refused to be drawn from his meal.

"People seem to be too much interested in the Show, to care for their dinner," observed a woman sitting in the alcove.

"Yes, madam; there have been some very nice things going past; very nice things; for the blind and paralysed soldiers. Lunch, madam? Mutton cutlet or roast beef?"

"The Lord Mayor's servants! The Lord Mayor's servants!" cried several spectators at the window.

"*The Lord Mayor!!*"

The top of the golden coach, and the fantastically garbed, high-perched coachman and footmen could be seen over the heads of the crowd, even by those who would not go to the windows.

"Fancy a man going down the street dressed up like that in the year nineteen-twenty-one! This is nineteen-twenty-one: just think of it! ejaculated a spare, bald-headed little journalist, in unobtrusive grey clothes, chuckling, waving his arms and jumping up and down on the cushioned seat.

"What do you think of it?" he continued, climbing down and thrusting his legs under the table.

"What do you think of it?" he babbled on, attending no reply.

A corpulent business man, re-settling himself for lunch and studying the bill of fare, observed confidentially to his companion:

"A couple of schoolboys could have done it better."

The little grey journalist went running down to the end of the shop to catch up a tall colleague who was dragging off his coat there.

"What do you think of it?" he exclaimed again chuckling and grimacing.

"Very stupid: not worth the money it cost," the other answered laconically.

As children they had given their attention to the childish show; and, as children, were disappointed.

ARMISTICE DAY.

Armistice Day seemed like a general holiday in London: the streets were thronged with people, although the biting East wind nipped them fiercely and made noses red, and checks grey and blue.

Almost everyone seemed to be wearing the big red poppies that ladies in warm fur coats and London Legion regalia were selling in Whitehall.

In the Strand and Whitehall, hawkers lined the curb, selling programmes of the day's arrangements, "The Song of the Unknown Warrior," photographs and models of the Cenotaph (they call it "Cinotaph" in the gutter), the *Ypres Times*, chocolate creams, black kitten mascots, celluloid toys. All the flower sellers of London seemed to have gathered for the occasion, waving great bunches of chrysanthemums or tiny posies of parma violets. A gaily-painted coffee stall was stationed at a corner in Whitehall.

The people thronging the pavements were mainly of two sorts: the unemployed, shabby and shivering, and the comfortable well-to-do, holidaying to the Cenotaph, plump and well-clad, they bore the cold without wincing.

Two stout matrons in their early forties, warmly clad in fur coats, jumped from the bus at Charing Cross and ran skittishly down Whitehall, dragging at each other's garments like a couple of schoolgirls. Parents had brought their children out to see the show, and the youngsters skipped along, chatting gaily. It was ever so much livelier than the Lord Mayor's Show, although there was nothing to be seen but the crowds of people. It was merrier than Christmas week, when people are out buying their presents, or a Bank Holiday. Nearly every one seemed to be treating the day as a festival, and nearly everyone seemed to have forgotten what it was all about.

What numbers of police there were! Groups of them at every corner, groups of them crossing the road, gangs of them passing up and down Whitehall. Near the Cenotaph they were drawn up in close lines, and mounted men patrolled up and down the centre of the roadway and were stationed on guard at either end of the great queue approaching and leaving the Cenotaph.

No one might go near the Cenotaph, save those who had come to lay flowers there. A line of police drawn across the road, on a level with Downing Street, turned all others back, or directed those who had business at Westminster to go round by the Horse Guards Parade on to the Embankment and back over Westminster Bridge, a considerable detour.

In the centre of the road the great deep queue of closely-wedged humanity seemed almost motionless.

The unemployed, who, week by week, have grown further away from their workshop selves, shabbier, feebler in health, and more unkempt, were massing on the Embankment. A banner from one of the districts bore, in huge letters, the word:

MISERY

a fitting comment on this unhappy muster.

A long row of carts, filled with women and children, bore posters: "POPLAR BOROUGH COUNCIL—WORK OR MAINTENANCE."

The occupants were so pleased to get anything as unusual as a free ride out of Poplar, that they forgot their hard times, and laughed and joked the big army of portly policemen stationed in strong detachments to repress any unseemly manifestations by the hungry workless.

The keen wind sped on, driving before it the hats of the unwary. It whipped into foam the small wavelets in the river.

Presently the feeble sound of the little amateur bands began to rise: the procession started. Those who walked in the front line of each district company of unemployed carried one or more large wreaths to be laid on the Cenotaph; tributes of workless ex-soldiers to comrades who were killed; genuine tributes, spared out of the pennies these neglected beings have been able to scrape together.

The sad futility of it filled the mind with despondent gloom.

AFTERMATH.

To JOHN REED.

Dear, they are singing your praises,
Now you are gone.
But only I saw your going,
I . . . alone . . . in the dawn.

Dear, they are weeping about you,
Now you are dead,
And they've placed a granite stone
Over your darling head.

I cannot cry any more,
Too burning deep is my grief. . . .
I dance through my spendthrift days
Like a fallen leaf.

Faster and faster I whirl
Toward the end of my days.
Dear, I am drunken with sadness
And lost down strange ways.

If only the dance would finish
Like a flash in the sky . . . oh, soon,
If only a storm would come shouting—
Hurl me past stars and moon!

LOUISE BRYANT.

—*From the* LIBERATOR.

GERMINAL

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF MODERNITY.

They who portray life in art, the writers and the draftsmen, have the moulding of the minds and manners of their fellows.

More than the politicians and the teachers of ethics and morals, the story-tellers make men's habits of thought and belief, their outlook on the broad and general, as well as on the intimate and particular things of life.

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"GERMINAL" will be published in December at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. Its price will be 1s. monthly.

Orders for "GERMINAL" should be sent in as soon as possible. Donations towards the initial cost of launching the magazine should be sent to "GERMINAL," 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Indian Sinn Feinism.

(*From an Indian Correspondent.*)

India has embarked upon a great national movement known as Non-Co-operation, which I may characterise as Non-Violent Indian Sinn Feinism.

After the war, the Alien Government gave us the Rowlatt Act, which was designed to extinguish the little bit of freedom we had. We protested, and the result was the Jallianwallah Bagh atrocities. Then we opened wide our eyes and once for all determined to dispense with the present system of British Government and establish *swaveif* (our own rule) in its place.

Boycott of Foreign Cloth.

At the present moment we are carrying on an effective boycott of foreign cloth, and a great temperance campaign. So far we have been thoroughly successful with the boycott of foreign cloth, and, I believe, the capitalists in England are feeling the emptiness of their purses in this matter.

Temperance to abolish Excise Revenue.

In the temperance campaign we have tremendously succeeded, and many places in India have become "dry." The predatory Government has suffered a great loss in its excise revenue, and ere long we shall abolish that revenue altogether. The finances of the Government, according to the latest budget, are at a low ebb, and the boycott is "likely to be a last straw on the camel's back."

Boycott of Government service.

Even if the Government proves equal to the occasion and somehow escapes its fated bankruptcy, we have already entered upon another step, viz., boycott of services, civil and military. For this the Ali Brothers, Sri Saukaracharya, and four others are charged with conspiracy and treason, and their sessions trial is going on at the present moment at Karachi.

In view of this fifty leaders of this movement, Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, and others issued a statement supporting the action of the leaders on trial, and appealing to the people to boycott civil and military services. Resolutions to the same effect are being passed from innumerable platforms.

The chief feature of this national movement is absence of violence. Its followers are pledged not to injure or do violence against the alien bureaucracy. In certain out-of-the-way places in India, where you could not find a glimpse of this movement, the bureaucracy with its repressive policy created support for the movement, and we find now even those places are stirring themselves from their slumber and contributing their humble quota to the national cause.

Independence will be Declared.

If before the December Sessions of the Indian National Congress, the British bureaucracy does not bend its kneq and submit to the will of the people; non-payment of taxes, establishment of parallel government and declaration of independence will be embarked on.

GERMANY.

From our Special Correspondent.

The economic and political situation has entered upon a phase of the existing crisis that must very shortly bring things to a head. The large capitalists of the Stinnes group are determined to seize the concerns belonging to the German State as a guarantee for an industrial credit to be granted to the Government by them.

On the 9th November the Social Democrats, the Independent Socialists and the Parliamentary Communists have in perfect harmony together celebrated the "achievements" of the "*Revolution*" in 1918. Briefly put, the result of the revolution has been:—

The monarchical oligarchy has been turned into a militarist-democratic republic, in which the leading army officers and Government officials of the Wilhelm regime have been retained, the fortunes of the war-profiteers preserved and protected by armed force, and the means of production and labour products safely secured to the large capitalists of the country. The profiteers have all along refused to find the means of raising the expenses of the Republican Government, and the millionaires and billionarists are now prepared to grant some credits to the Government on outrageous terms, namely:—

"The railways are to pass into the private possession of Stinnes.

"Thousands of railway and post-office workers are to be discharged, in order to save money.

"Capital is not to be taxed."

All this is to be the price of granting a larger credit to the State, and the terms will no doubt be accepted, although the General German League of Trade Unions professes to offer the most indignant opposition to these "outrageous" proposals. The United Trade Unions raise a cry of violent protest against the attempted destruction of an existing part of State Capitalism, but they draw the line at expropriating the war, and other profiteers by the dictatorship of the proletariat and the taking over of production by the workers themselves.

Socialists and Communists pursue a stupid, pacifist policy, as they only proclaim a feeble attempt at resisting the onmarch of Stinnes, but have neither the will nor the strength to carry out their design of resistance. The remedy of the Parliamentary Communists is not the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but a "pure Socialist Government," in which, or on behalf of which, the Communist Party holds the balance. The achievement of the dictatorship Independence will be Declared .... of the proletariat means a bitter, open fight with capitalism, and that the C.P. is unable and unwilling to recommend to the masses of workers and unemployed. Very soon it will become a question of foreign financial control or working-class domination. The large capitalists of Germany, in order to protect their own interests, naturally favour the former course rather than a proletarian revolution. When things reach a climax the masses will act over the heads of their political and economic leaders, as they gradually learn to understand the meaning of the Marxian pronouncement: The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves.

Sham Fights.

The economic situation is just as deplorable as the political. Everywhere strikes and lock-outs are the order of the day, but all these sham-fights of the Trade Unions end in the defeat of the workers owing to the treachery and corruption of their "trusted" leaders.

The strike of the Restaurant and Hotel employees, who have fought so nobly at great sacrifices has just been brought to an end by the Trade Union officials after six weeks of effective fighting. The fact is that the financing of the strike became too much for the funds of the Trade Unions, which were threatened with exhaustion if the strike were further continued. So they arranged a miserable compromise with the result that over 4,000 strikers are unable to obtain their old posts or any other employment. The employers refuse to discharge their numerous strike-breakers, and will, it seems, carry the day, as the Trade Unions have completely surrendered in their usual cowardly and submissive fashion.

A NOVEL.

The Editor, Workers' Dreadnought.

33, Silver Crescent,
Gunnersbury, W.

Dear Editor,—I beg to put before your readers a few considerations in connection with a subject that may seem personal, yet has, I think, a value to the workers' movement as a whole.

In the last analysis one finds that the working-class oppress themselves by being a prey to the "divide and conquer" tactics of the ruling-class. On all hands it is agreed that the emancipation of the workers must be achieved by themselves. It is because of this fact that the pioneers of the working-class movement, one and all, admit the tremendous value of the press.

The capitalist press, however, is not so potent when it comes out with its anti-labour leading articles. One of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the governing class is the control of fiction. No book is published in which the hero is a socialist or a Communist. There is no chance whatever for any one who does not advocate in his fiction works the justice of capitalism; the sublimeness of patriotism; the wickedness of agitators and prostitutes. I could quote many examples. Take any book at random. Here is Dickens's "Hard Times"; Stephen Blackpool is the hero; he does not believe in Trade Unionism! Here is Mr. Hornung's "Raffles"; he is patriotic to the extent of running risks and thieving, so that he will be able to send a jubilee present to the Queen; he finally dies fighting in the Boer War! Here is again Mr. William Le Quex's "Evil City" (Moscow). Here Soviet Russia is vilified to an astonishing extent; all the lies published in the capitalist press against Soviet Russia the hero finds "only too true!" Wholesale executions are made to be the order of the day!

Mr. S. Hocking said a few weeks ago to the representative of the *Daily News* that, now that he was economically independent he was writing a new novel. Not, as previously, for a living; but for the love of writing. In his new book he said the hero was a Red! This puts the position very clearly. Novelists who write for a living *must* make their heroes "respectable," "patriotic" and slaves to convention—or starve. Why? Because publishers know that fiction has a subtle and permanent influence on the reader. It makes you witness how other people, placed in similar circumstances as yourself, think and act. The scenes are described in vivid language; the emotions of lovers and loved are described in sublime rhetoric; so that what is said (which is camouflaged propaganda) makes a deep impression on the reader. The result is that the majority of the workers who never read heavy stuff read this propaganda, to "amuse," find themselves slaves of a cunnidgly created hope that if they, too, are "respectable" and "patriotic" they will succeed in life and die mourned by everybody.

This influence must be fought. The workers must have a fiction literature of their own. In America and France they have their Upton Sinclairs and their Anatole Frances. In Britain that side of the propaganda is sadly neglected. It was this fact that determined me to write a revolutionary novel under the sensational title of "The Millionaires of Bethnal Green."

The background of the story is historical. The frauds of the housing companies, the victimisation of revolutionary workers, the wire-pulling of the rich, the hypocrisy of law, the stabbing of a Communist are all weaved in a love-story, in which the heroine is forced on the streets. And, of course, it finishes with a happy end. On the whole, I claim for it, at least as much literary value, as most first novels published by the capitalist firms. It is not perfect in minor points—as you have pointed out. But it has some merits—as I hope you admit.

Now, I ask your readers whether they are prepared to encourage such works. I know you are prepared to encourage them yourself. That was proved by your intention to found—which I hope will someday succeed—a working-class fiction magazine. As you say, if finances allowed, you might publish it in the ordinary way. But finances do not allow it. Hence it is that I beg to put to your readers a simple scheme, in which they can help without any cost to themselves. The scheme is simplicity itself. The readers can help in two ways:—

(1) *Loan*, for the purpose of publishing the novel, as much money as they can afford. They can send it to you, asking you to publish it and be responsible for the return of their money as soon as the book is sold.

(2) They can order as many copies of it as possible, and send the price in advance.

Of course, they could, if they wished, give the money to the *Dreadnought*, asking the *Dreadnought* to loan it for the purpose of publishing the novel, and take it back when the book is sold.

To those who are under the impression that any good book has a chance of getting accepted by ordinary publishers, I would point out, on the authority of a novelist friend of mine, that to-day no new author's book is published without the author himself defraying the expenses.

I again appeal to our comrades to help you publish this novel, which I feel certain will do a great amount of good, as it is bound to be read by many non-converts.

Yours fraternally,
M.I.C.P.

LEAVES FROM AN ESPERANTIST'S DIARY.

(*Continued.*)

October 5.—I give my fourth lesson in Esperanto to the boys, find that two of them have given it up, so that leaves me 18, all good workers.

We arrive at Verbs, and I can now give orders in Esperanto: Sidu! sit down, pronounced see-doo, Legu, read, pronounced leg-oo (the Imperative always ends in U). Fermu la libron, close the book; Malfermu la libron, open the book.

The boys are specially delighted with the little prefix Mal, which reverses the meaning of words; bona, good; malbona, bad; granda, large; malgranda, small; it saves learning hundreds of words and makes the Esperanto dictionary delightfully short.

October 12.—I promise the boys that when we get on a little further, we shall arrange for a small play, Box and Cox, a threepenny edition is, I think, published in Esperanto, spelt Boks & Koks.

I shall have to buy some copies, but we ought to get a few girls to study for the part of Mrs. Bouncer, we must make a raid upon the girls' school one of these days.

October 19.—I make a dead set on the boys' pronunciation, those who say in English Rike for Cake will want some polishing up for Esperanto, it will do them good, and I wish I had a Scotch boy in the class to give a good example in rolling the R, a very necessary thing.

November 2.—Now is the half-term, no school this week, but there is a meeting of the League of Nations Union at the Assembly Rooms, so I go there to boast up Esperanto: the Chairman somewhat alarmed asks me to keep to the subject, Disarmament. I solemnly explain that the first step must be concord, and for that concord a mutual comprehension might not be undesirable. I point out that Lord Robert Cecil had particularly petitioned the League of Nations Council to encourage Esperanto in schools throughout the world, and that Mr. Vivian, one of the British M.P.'s who had visited Prague at the time of the International Esperanto Congress, had written an article in its favour in "Headway," the League Union's organ, and that Baron Nitobé, the Japanese Secretary to the League of Nations Council, had gone to Prague to speak for Esperanto.

I further suggested that the groups of Esperantists already existing in many English towns were the best starting points for all efforts towards universal peace.

How far they took it in, I don't know; perhaps I was too near the truth for a Tory audience.

November 9.—Half-term holiday is over, our class begins again. Up till now there are no replies to our advertisement for a paid teacher, this shows how far behind we are here in England.

So, up Labour! and show the way.

"NEVER AGAIN!"

The new agreements made by the Agricultural Conciliation Committee bring wages down as low as 36s. a week in some counties, whilst in many they are 37s. and 38s.

"Dreadnought" Development Fund.

MONEY URGENTLY NEEDED!

A. Riggs Hunt 12s., G. N. Ghose 2s., Mr. Griffiths 2s., C.P. of S. Africa £6, F. Haughton £2, S.C. 1s., J.S. 5s., Collection (Camberwell) 1s. 7d. Total, £9 3s. 7d.

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AT WASHINGTON.

The negotiations at the Washington Conference must be regarded from two points of view:

(1) *How they will affect the world proletarian Revolution, which will spread from Central and Eastern Europe to this country.*

(2) *How they will affect the neutral relations of the great capitalist powers, and postpone, or bring nearer the next capitalist war, which may precede or be prevented by the proletarian Revolution.*

Mere Limitation Inevitable, and of Small Importance.

disarmament proposals, in so far as the mere limitation of the number of war vessels, are of very small importance. An agreement as to a general limitation was inevitable: it is too costly to build in peace time at the war time rate; war vessels rapidly become obsolete; some new invention sometimes renders them all but useless even before they are built.

The rejoicing over the limitation agreement is mere cant; for though it undoubtedly will save expense, it will not postpone war by half a second.

It is true that the Hague Conference failed to secure the limitation of Armaments, whilst Washington will agree to it; but a few years ago armaments, and especially battleships, took longer to produce than now, and naval requirements were more stable. The experience of the European war shows that most of the war material is now produced during war itself.

Sir Percy Scott, a candid expert, has put the question in a nutshell: "Not to build battleships is no sacrifice for any country. Building battleships is the policy of the insane. The capital ship is the most expensive item in naval warfare, and the introduction of new weapons has debarred it from being what it was built for. Therefore it is of no use."

Moreover, did it ever occur to you, comrades, that a vaster number of battleships: a much vaster number of sailors, stokers, engineers and other workers confined aboard ship month after month might provide a greater danger of proletarian unrest in the Navy; a greater danger of proletarian Naval mutiny against the ruling capitalists? An unlimited growth in Navalism might mean a difficulty in getting enough men whose character fits them to be obedient Naval slaves.

One important point about the limitation is that the British Government has abandoned the determination to maintain a Navy as large as the combined Navies of any two Powers, and has settled down to accept the position of striving to maintain a Navy equal to that of any other Power. That position was accepted some months ago, and was announced by Winston Churchill in presenting the Naval Estimates. The acceptance of the "One Power Standard" was confirmed in the King's Speech on the prorogation of Parliament, the other day.

America the First World Power.

The fact is that the late war has definitely pushed the British Empire from the position of first World Power, which its rulers were striving to maintain, and jealously feared that Germany might wrest from them.

America is now definitely the first world Power, and Britain cannot even maintain the standard of possessing a Navy as great as that of any other single Power if America should determine to oust her from that position. Look at the building programmes which it is proposed the three Naval Powers, Britain, America, and Japan, shall abandon:—

SHIPS BUILDING OR PROJECTED.

	Tons.
America	618,000
Britain	172,000
Japan	289,000

That clearly shows both America's capacity and intentions.

Though the American proposals place Britain and America in a position of nominal naval equality, the position of America will remain superior so long as she continues to have, as at present, a greater capacity to build. Moreover, Britain remains, as always, the great Power most dependent on a Navy, because her Empire is scattered and she cannot exist without imports; whilst America is almost able to be self-supporting.

Japan's Position.

With Britain and America placed on a footing of nominal Naval equality, as the United States Government proposes, the position of Japan is important. America proposes that Japan's Naval strength shall be roughly three-fifths, and that of Britain and America, five-fifths respectively. Japan has protested, though not irreconcilably we think, that this is not enough for her; but it is, nevertheless, startling that this new Power has climbed up to a position so near that of the other two great rivals, and so far above that of other long famous Powers. Britain and her one-time colony now face each other as rivals for world domination, and the Japanese (the Navalism and the East) hold the balance of power between them. The world sees great changes, indeed!

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Japan holds the balance of power between the two world rivals, and as evidence of the fact, America demands the denunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Convention. The Japanese, at least in outward diplomatic statements, are becoming more friendly towards America. The Prince of Wales, with a retinue of diplomats, is being dispatched to Japan to keep firm the Alliance; but America has more to offer and more to threaten.

China is the lodestar on which Japanese policy has long turned. What oppportunites and monopolies in the exploitation of China will the rival Powers offer to Japan in return for her friendship and support in the even of war? This is one of the governing factors in deciding whether Japan will remain within the British orbit, or gravitate to that of America.

Russia, Japan, America.

The question of Eastern Russia is another factor in the situation. It has been said that Soviet Russia has acted astutely in giving concessions of territory in far Eastern Russia to American capitalists, because Japan casts covetous eyes upon this part of Russia, and the American rivals will keep Japan at bay. If, however, Japan and Russia decide to become not rivals, but associates, then every strip of territory conceded to American capital becomes a stepping-stone for the entry and establishment of the joint invaders.

The discussion of Navalism is a necessary incident of the Washington Conference, because it is a conference about the East, which America is preparing to exploit on a more extensive scale, and the Powers which America has to meet out there in the East are naval Powers, as is natural, seeing that the work of exploitation is carried on oversease.

The East, all save Russia, lies defenceless. The great Powers may quarrel over the peoples and territories there, or may amicably divide the spoils. If they quarrel, we shall all be involved in their struggle.

If they decide to lay thievish hands on Russia, the struggle will be fiercer and more complicated.

Secret Decisions.

Certain it is that much will be decided at Washington that the peoples who read the glowing press reports will never know till they are called out to give their blood to enforce those decisions. The silly women who proposed to send postcards wishing "God Speed" to Lloyd George on his journey to Washington failed to realise that this is merely a conference to decide how greedy rivals shall divide up the power to exploit defenceless peoples.

The Proletarian Revolution.

The Proletarian Revolution will, of course, be discussed by the representatives of the capitalist Governments at Washington: how to check its growth: how to prevent its rise: what to do if it breaks out in any country. The fear that the Proletarian Revolution might steal a march on them is the one thing that may prevent the great Powers from falling out amongst themselves.

THE IRISH WAR.

Some people are laughing at the Ulster "Die Hards" flattering themselves that Lloyd George and his Government are on good terms with Sinn Fein now, and that the "Die Hards" will be left high and dry, unable to influence anyone, whilst the rest of the two countries go on to conclude an amicable and lasting peace.

Well, well; one never knows; but observe that this week, by Order in Council, laid on the table of the House of Commons on Wednesday night, the night before the House rose, the promised deferred Powers were transferred to the Ulster Parliament under the Government of Ireland Act, which Sinn Fein is pledged to resist, and in resistance to which Sinn Fein fought the life and death struggle which led up to the present truce. That does not seem exactly like leaving the Ulstermen high and dry. They have scored the only tangible material point that has been scored in all these months of discussion: Sinn Fein may have been promised this or that; only those in the secret circle can really say what; but promises, as we all know so well, are only promises—even if any satisfactory promises have been made, which is open to doubt.

Of course, we know that the Government can scarcely afford a war just now; and that war on a home population, or what the Government claims to be a home population and is very near at hand, is always a difficult, distasteful business. In the case of Ireland it is a never-ending business as well.

Nevertheless, whilst it is quite obvious that the Government will think it worth while on this account to take considerable trouble in negotiations, threats, persuasion and trickery, the question is whether the Government will surrender on any vital matter of principle.

The reply of Austen Chamberlain to Captain Craig contains a very significant passage:

"If Ulster refuses, we shall not attempt to coerce her. We abide by our pledged word. She is mistress of her fate; but on her decision . . . may depend not alone the fate of Ulster, but the future history of our Empire."

Notice what that means: if Ulster refuses the Government's terms; the Government will not coerce her.

If all Ireland, save Ulster, accepts the Government's terms and Ulster rejects them, the Government will coerce the people of all Ireland to make them obey the decision of Ulster.

This policy is not new: it is the old policy in regard to Ireland.

Remember the Home Rule Bill of the Asquith Government, which reached the Statute Book, but was never put into operation.

Is this tenderness towards Ulster because Ulster threatens to fight? No, it is because Ulster is backed by powerful forces in this country.

The Irish question is by no means settled yet: there is still every possibility of war.

Meanwhile, the official Labour movement of Britain remains without an Irish policy.

Henderson, Clynes, and other Labour Party leaders have given their adherence to the view that Ireland must remain within the Empire, and have, at least, very strongly inferred that the terms offered by the Lloyd George Government and definitely rejected by Sinn Fein, are entirely satisfactory.

The Labour Party is absolutely without influence upon the situation, because it is not prepared to adopt a definite policy and to use the power of the working class in support of that policy.

GERMAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS

By Our Special Correspondent.

[Conference of the A.A.U. (General Workers' Union) held from November 5th till November 8th, 1921, at Eisenach, Thuringia, Germany.]

The Conference was attended by delegates from ten districts, representing between 30,000 and 40,000 members. Almost as many districts and members were not represented, owing to the deplorable economic conditions prevailing throughout the country at the present time.

When the Conference assembled, a strike of the Metal Workers had been in progress for six weeks at Eisenach and the entire Thuringian district. Owing to the continual rise in prices, the Metal Workers had demanded an increase of wages, which the employers had refused. The workers showed a united front, although divided by three different organisations. The greater number belong to the so-called Free Trade Unions (which adhere to the Amsterdam, Vienna, and Moscow Internationals, and stand respectively under the influence of the Social Democrats, Independent Socialists, and Parliamentary Communists). A considerable number, over one-third of the total number, belong to the A.A.U. (General Workers' Union), and a comparatively small number are members of the Hirsch-Dunker Trade Unions, a mixture of social-religious and political-democratic elements, which, politically, are adheents of the Centre, Democratic or People's Party in Parliament.

On the last day of the A.A.U. Conference the strike came to an end. A vote of the strikers had been taken, by the Trade Union leaders, in a great hurry. A little over half of the number of all the strikers recorded their votes, and half voted one way, and half another.

The strike would have been broken off, even if a majority had decided for continuing it, as the rules of the Metal Workers' Union prescribe a two-thirds majority, if a strike is to be continued. The capitalists, with the aid of their henchmen, the Trade Union leaders, achieved a complete victory. They had insisted on throwing some of the most rebellious strikers on to the street, and they succeeded wonderfully, as, according to the terms of settlement, the employers are entitled to leave 3 to 5 per cent. of the hands on the street.

It goes without saying that the majority of those shut out were will be members of the A.A.U., and particularly those who have taken a prominent part in stirring up their fellow-workers and educating them to a recognition of the need of overthrowing Capitalism and establishing Communism.

The Conference Programme.

Apart from the lengthy and thorough discussion of the political and economic position of the country, the principal items of the programme, of general interest, were:—

(1) Report from the delegation to the Congress of the Red Trade Union International;

(2) Attitude towards the International;

(3) Penal Laws (Anti-Strike Law and Unemployment Insurance Law) now before Parliament, and our attitude towards them;

(4) Programme and Rules;

(5) Tactics;

(6) Unemployment.

One of the delegates to Moscow augmented the report he had already previously given, and which had been circulated to the delegates, in printed form.* His principle point was that the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International had done its best systematically to suppress the Left opposition at the Congress. The voting power was so distributed that the Russian Section had, almost alone, a clear majority of the votes. Together with the "boring from within" tacticians they possessed an overwhelming majority. The independent organisations, such as the I.W.W., A.A.U., Syndicalists, Shop Stewards, etc., were, as far as voting power was concerned, in a small minority, although the Russian Trade Unions, and the "borers from within" in the German Trade Unions, have by no means so great a membership as to be able to swamp all the other organisations. The German opposition was only allowed one speech of an hour to explain its case, and half an hour to reply at the end. The greater part of this speech, and of other speeches in the same direction, *were not interpreted into other languages*, so that the bulk of the Congress delegates remained ignorant of the chief arguments on which the opposition was built up.

Moscow Delegate at Eisenach.

An interesting feature of the Eisenach Conference was the appearance of an official representative of the Red Trade Union International, who delivered a lengthy speech in which he tried his utmost to persuade the delegates that the A.A.U. should mend its ways and decide to join the R.T.U.I.

The arguments of this representative of the "Borers from Within," or Cell-Builders as they are also called, were old stock phrases with which we are so familiar.

He pointed out, with great pathos, that the revolutionary fighters in a cause, must not separate from the great masses of the workers; there is no time to smash the Trade Unions and to build up new organisations on the basis of the A.A.U.; before that can be done, the dictatorship of the proletariat will be here.

When he was reminded that the opportunist Commmunist Party in Russia and here practically dominated the R.T.U.I., and that here the Communist Party had made common cause with Social Democrats and Independent Socialists, who, in their turn, were in league with the bourgeois Parties (including that of Stinnes) in order to defend and support the black-red-gold Democratic Republic, this representative of the Red Trade Union International maintained that the new Trade Union movement had nothing to do with politics or political parties. In brief he failed to see that the present Trade Unions were built up and constructed on such reformist-opportunist principles, that even if they were completely dominated by the Cell-Builders, they could not become the revolutionary instrument of wage-slave emancipation, for which purpose the A.A.U. was called into being.

Not Reform, but Revolution.

The A.A.U. is an organisation that seeks the closest contact with the masses, by organising them within the factories and workshops, not for the purpose of futile strikes and struggles for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions—which are impossible in this period of the death-struggle of Capitalism—but the A.A.U. is an organisation that prepares the workers to be capable and fit for taking over the entire process of production when the dictatorship of the proletariat is proclaimed.

After several speakers had shown up the utter fallacies and distortions indulged in by the representative of the R.T.U.I., the Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:—

"*The Congress of the R.T.U.I. has, it is true, shown that the economic organisation, the uniting in trade organisations, no longer corresponds to the present economic structure and thus weakens their fight and becomes the principle reason for its failure.*

"*The Congress has pronounced in Articles 46 and 47, that only workshop organisations can carry out the fight successfully. But the Congress has not drawn the logical conclusions from this recognition. Having once recognised the fact, the R.T.U.I. should have made it its immediate object to begin with the founding of Shop organisations. Instead of doing so it has repressed the organisations already built up on the principle it recognises as correct, because it demanded of them to abandon their attitude which called for leaving the trade organisations on account of their totally counter-revolutionary form and ideology.*

"*The Congress has mainly directed its efforts to "boring within" the Trade Unions, with the immediate aim of getting rid of the counter-revolutionary leaders, to replace them by others, and then to carry through the transformation of the Trade Unions from above into Shop organisations.*

"*With this step, the founding of proletarian organisations, that would correspond to the present conditions of the class-struggle, would be considerably delayed. Moreover, by this method of transforming the trade organisations, the ideological education of the masses would not be sufficiently great. Thus the ideological transformation is a preliminary condition of the Shop Organisation, the object of which is not only to resist the attacks of the capitalists, but to abolish Capitalism and to organise production in the Communist sense.*

"*The A.A.U. is built up on this principle. In other countries, no organisations of a similar character exist; therefore, we are in duty bound to acquaint the workers in other countries with the nature of our structure and our tactics. This can be done through the already existing Bureau of the Communist Workers' Party and its organ, the 'Proletariat.' The necessary practical work is to be done by the delegate of the A.A.U. at the International Bureau in closest contact with the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee delegates a comrade as representative to the International Bureau.*"

Anti-Strike Legislation.

The discussion on the question of the penal laws and the consequences that would arise therefrom to the proletariat was very brief. The Anti-Strike Law is to apply, of course, *only to trades essential for the immediate sustenance of life.* We know how pliable this term can be made by the capitalist class, and that it can be interpreted to mean almost any, except the luxury trades. The saddest fact, with regard to this question, is that the real authors of the Anti-Strike and Unemployment Insurance Bills are the leaders of the Trade Unions. They can see in the ever-increasing number of strikes and generally growing rebellious attitude of the workers, the danger of the Trade Union funds being completely exhausted, the Unions and their own comfortable jobs being for ever lost. Thus they are prepared to use all the means of capitalist terror in order to gain their material end. It is a short-sighted policy, however, for nothing can save the labour traitors from the gallows the workers are building for them, not only in Germany, but throughout the world.

The new programme and rules of the A.A.U. were adopted with but a few small alterations, which will be referred to in a later report. The question of tactics was exhaustively discussed and will be reported upon very fully in a later issue.

Unemployment.

Concerning the question of unemployment, the following resolution was carried:—

"*All Labour Exchanges in the country are to be united on the principle applied to workshops generally. There the members of the A.A.U. districts must be organised in a body, in order to promote the propaganda of the A.A.U.*

"*The A.A.U. considers it its duty to regulate uniformly the propaganda among the unemployed.*"

* This report will be given in one of our next issues.—EDITOR, *W. D.*

ON SALE NOW.

SOVIET RUSSIA
AS I SAW IT
BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

From "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE, 152, FLEET STREET, E.C.4.

SIR BASIL THOMSON.

The gay and versatile young bloods of the *Daily Herald* have been amusing themselves vastly over the dismissal of Sir Basil Thomson, in which they are inclined to claim they have had a share.

Their chief charge against him is that he was incompetent. Certainly that would not distress us: we have no desire that militant Capitalism should be served by an efficient political force.

They also complain that he was naughty and foolish enough to suggest that members of the Communist Party might be violent people.

The Communist Party is popular with the young bloods of the *Herald* just at present, whilst nothing much is happening and whilst the big men in control of the *Herald* policy do not interfere.

The *Herald* staff, from the Editor downwards, is always anxious to discover that Lloyd George loves them still—with all his faults. He probably has said so. Therefore, it quite falls in with *Herald* views that Sir Basil Thomson should have been dismissed by the secretly good Lloyd George, on the *Herald* recommendation.

But the real reason may be quite an opposite one: it may be a mere personal question, or it may not be unconnected with Ireland and the coming war there and with more coercion of the workers throughout these islands.

It is interesting to notice that it was intended to replace Sir Basil Thomson by Brigadier-General Sir Joseph Byrne, who was recently Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and that when hostility to his appointment made this inconvenient, the Home Secretary declared that he was looking out for someone who had had experience during the war in the Naval or Military Secret Service.

A remarkable light has been thrown on the episode by Councillor Sam Jennings, of Merthyr, who has recalled the reading of a paper at the Chief Constables' Association, in June. In this paper, Sir Basil Thomson showed himself strongly opposed to Communism, as he understands it; but he said:—

"So far from our being on the eve of a revolution, we are already in the middle of it, but 'More Britannico' it was a revolution of thought and redistribution of wealth, rather than a revolution of violence, to which all Englishmen of all classes are averse. . . The prophets of violence are a mere handful of men who would carry no weight at all if they were not financed by foreign money."

Speaking of Labour leaders, he said:—

"No post is so difficult; for, besides the strenuous work of carrying on a constitutional Union, they have continually to meet attacks from the more irresponsible elements among their own men. . . . If I have to prophesy about the future, I think that the movement will be in the direction of a better understanding between Capital and Labour; for if the workmen are learning wisdom from experience, so are the employers."

In all this and more that we have omitted to quote, it will be observed that the views of Sir Basil Thomson—whilst as the poles apart from ours—are in complete accord with the official Labour Party, which the *Daily Herald* supports.

Looking further into the question, it transpires that Sir Basil Thomson was independent of General Horwood, the Chief Commissioner, in the collection of information but dependent upon his instructions in the matter of action. Therefore, in considering any action that has been taken of late, we cannot leave General Horwood out of account.

It is interesting to observe that Sir Basil Thomson is not the only high police official who has lately left the force owing to internal friction. In the House of Commons, on November 10th, Sir W. Davison raised the case of Major E. H. T. Parsons, C.B.E., who was removed from his position as Chief Constable in the Metropolitan Police, in 1918, after 15 years' service. In this case, also, Mr. Shortt declared that the official in question had resigned on the appointment of a new Commissioner—this time, General Macready. Major Parsons, however, denies that he resigned: he has been sent off without pension. Sir Basil Thomson, on the other hand, gets £1,120 pension: his salary was £2,000. Evidently he was considered too influential to treat too shabbily. Perhaps he might have had awkward things to say.

UNEMPLOYED INSURANCE v. POOR LAW RELIEF.

The Labour Party has secured no modifications of importance in the Government's Unemployment legislation; even the resolution supported by members of all Parties, to increase the childrens' dole from 1/- to 2/- a week was rejected by the Government and its obedient majority.

At the moment, the failure to increase the Government's proposed scale of unemployment benefit is apparently a defeat for the Boards of Guardians rather than for the unemployed; for the Guardians' scale of relief is as yet, in most cases, higher than the unemployment benefit. We say "as yet," because the Poor Law scale of Relief will undoubtedly be lowered by the combined pressure of Government orders and Guardians inability to raise money to maintain the present payments.

We anticipate that in the early future, Boards of Guardians will be instructed not merely, as at present, to take the unemployment benefit into consideration, but to refuse to grant Poor Law Relief to persons in receipt of unemployment benefit. The Poor Law scale will tend to fall even lower than the unemployment benefit.

It should be noticed that, in spite of all the discussion of Government loans to municipalities for the purpose of employing more labour and the bargaining as to the amount of such loans, less than half the normal pre-war number of people are at present employed on public works, i.e., work for the municipalities and the Government.

The resolution by the Birth Control Society, asking the Government to propagate the prevention of child birth, which we publish on another page, is symptomatic of the attitude of the well-to-do towards the tragedies of working-class life. It is a revival of the doctrines preached during the hungry years that followed the Napoleonic wars.

Financial experts have no more than a hope that trade will revive, and whilst trade is bad, the workers must starve and suffer.

The prospect is a tragic one, but when it becomes altogether desperate, we shall face at last the prospect of Revolution.

LONDON POOR RATES BILL.

What will the Scale of Relief Be?

When the Bill to equalise London Poor Relief was in Committee, Sir Ormsby-Gore (C.U.) said he understood the scale which the Minister of Health would lay down for London would be as follows:—

20/- for man and wife.
6/- for first child.
5/- for the second child.
4/- each for remaining children.
10/- for rent.
3/- or 1 cwt. of coal.

£2 12s. 0d. a week for a man and four children. No matter, said this unfortunate Conservative gentleman, how economical a frugal Board of Guardians might desire to be, it would be compelled to pay on this scale. We can promise Sir Ormsby-Gore that the unemployed will raise ructions against this scale, which alarms him so much; but is it the scale? We shall see.

Sir A. Mond (C.L.) assured the grudging property owners, who feared a two generous treatment of the destitute, that the Poor Law Inspectors of the Minister of Health have the power to attend every Board of Guardians and every parochial or other meeting held for the relief of the poor. "I intend," he declared, "to make use of these powers."

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

HOUSES FOR GOD AND THE RICH—NONE FOR THE POOR.

The *Rote Fahne* states that there are 130,000 houseless people in Berlin alone, for whom nothing is being done. Thousands of workers and their families are forced to crowd into restricted spaces, even cellars, whilst the middle-classes possess comfortable villas of their own. The middle-class authorities turn a deaf ear to Communist proposals to commandeer luxury buildings and to build dwelling-houses, the latter on the grounds that there are no building materials available. There seem, however, to be both materials and money for the building of new churches, which is being done in spite of there being no shortage of these places of entertainment already.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE COUNTRYSIDE.

A statement of Policy with regard to Agriculture and Rural Life. The Labour Party, 33, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. 1d. This is a curious statement of a curious policy. It begins by saying the Labour Party is out for "*the abolition of Landlordism*," and goes on to say that "*workers' control*" is a part of its policy. Workers' control turns out, however, to mean only the establishment of agricultural councils on which the workers are to have "adequate representation," or, as is stated in another paragraph, one-third of the council's membership. The main business of the council, we are told, is to secure an improvement in cultivation.

As to the question of farming the pamphlet says:—

"The Labour Party, whilst agreeing with the chief scientific adviser of the Ministry of Agriculture that land must pass from private to public ownership, entertains no such idea as that of the Government, at any time, working all the farms! . . . The view of the Labour Party is that now, and for many years to come, . . . there is room . . . for farms of all sizes—for as many small holdings as are likely to be demanded by really qualified applicants, likely to make a success of them on fair terms; for some very large farms requiring huge capital—not to mention also municipal farms and the farms of co-operative societies—and at the same time for the thousands of medium-sized farms . . . "

The Labour Party policy as outlined here is designed to appeal rather to the farmer than to his employees.

ANARCHISM AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

An answer to Robert Minor. By Fred S. Graham. Published in U.S.A. Price 15 cents.

NATIONAL PROSPERITY AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 6d. A Liberal pamphlet against Communism, which it admits to be the only alternative to capitalism, and that its "basic idea is an attractive one." It further says: "Communism has been tried for four years in Russia and has failed." Communism was not achieved in Russia; therefore it has not been tried there. The pamphlet is full of fallacies and mis-statements. The proposed solution is that impossible thing "a concord between capital and labour." Now that capitalism has labour more at its mercy in this country than has ever been the case in our time, we see that capitalism offers not a concordat but more exploitation.

[All books reviewed may be obtained from our Book Service, 152, Fleet Street.]

:: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

To the Editor of the Workers' Dreadnought.

Dear Comrade,—In the course of the article contributed by the Committee of Comrades in the North, in the current issue of the *Dreadnought*, a question is asked as follows: In what manner is this revolutionary industrial union to be organised? In my opinion, that question is not difficult to answer. Already in various parts of this country there are manifestations of the ferment amongst the rebel elements in the old unions, who have broken away or are ready to do so at any moment, which will eventually crystallise into a new revolutionary industrial union or unions.

Not long ago the Cwm Valley Lodge of South Wales' miners issued a manifesto calling upon their comrades to organise a new union to replace the M.F.G.B., which they termed a sorry wreck.

Again, at a Conference of Engineering and Shipbuilding T.U. branches, held at Glasgow, and reported in the current issue of the *Worker*, an amendment to the resolution was moved to the effect that "the workers should organise on the industrial field in one great industrial union, to take and hold the means of production, etc."

Lastly, during this week, I have had a conversation with the Chairman of Merton (Surrey) Branch of the U.V.W., who told me that practically the whole of their 500 members had ceased to pay to the funds of the Union since the treacherous Black Friday business.

Instead they were paying their contributions into their own fund, and were practically functioning as a nucleus of a new union, and were sending out manifestoes to other branches in London urging them to do likewise. These are three instances of the feeling that is abroad which have come under my notice, and I contend that it will not be a difficult matter to organise these groups of advanced rebel elements into one revolutionary industrial union if we only set to work in the right way.

Yours fraternally,
A. T. ROGERS.

58, St. Margaret's Court,
Borough, S.E. 1.

The Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought* was requested by the Camberwell and Southwark Branches of the Communist Party to address them. She complied with the request. Learning of these invitations E. Kant, London Divisional Organiser of the C.P., sent round a circular-letter suggesting that Sylvia Pankhurst was endeavouring to address the Branches of the Party, and declaring it to be unconstitutional for non-members to be present at Party Branch Meetings. This circular-letter reached the Southwark Branch at the moment of Comrade Pankhurst's arrival, but the Branch decided to disregard it and passed a resolution expressing confidence in Comrade Pankhurst as a Communist.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Ireland.

The Chief Secretary admitted that the Irish Republican Army has occupied Bally-Shannon Workhouse, and posted a sentry at the gate. The matter had, as usual, been taken up with the Chief Sinn Fein liaison official.

On October 30 a policeman was fired on and wounded at Baltinglass, County Wicklow. The Chief Secretary said the circumstances were "obscure."

Commandant Hales, of the Irish Republican Army, "was using" a Ford car, the property of the British General Lucas. The police seized the car. Commandant Hales thereupon took the car of a "loyalist" named Shorter. Viscount Curzon (C.U.) wanted to know what the British Government has done about it. The Chief Secretary said: "Mr. Shorter's car was returned five or six weeks ago." Lord Curzon said: "How much longer have we got to put up with this damned nonsense?"

The Chief Secretary admitted that a Belfast citizen was found under sentence of death guarded by three armed Sinn Feiners. A wireless installation and other military material were found in the same building.

Mr. Devlin said that three citizens were recently murdered by special constables in Dublin.

[This truce is remarkably like war!]

The Attorney-General for Ireland said the police have reported 595 breaches of the truce, including 36 kidnappings, in 144 of which the persons kidnapped are known to have been released; "it is believed that some others, although not definitely known," have been released also. 150 breaches refer to drilling, etc.

Affairs in Ireland seem to be remarkably wrapped in mystery so far as the British Government is concerned; one would think it were as vast and remote as Russia. The idea that people can be kidnapped and the Government not know whether they have been released or not is a strange one. Most of the so-called breaches of the truce are brought to the Government's notice by outsiders, usually Unionist M.P.'s.

Irish ratepayers are being summoned for non-payment of Sinn Fein rates.

The Irish Attorney-General admitted that a Republican Court was held in the Town Hall, Waterford; the magistrates including the Mayor, a Councillor and an Alderman. This was the offence for which McSwiney, the Mayor of Cork, was held in prison till his death by hunger strike. To-day no action is taken. This is the lull before the storm.

The Chief Secretary admitted that Michael Sweetman, a Protestant farmer of Skibbereen, was murdered last February. In July, ten days after the truce began, a quantity of his furniture was removed. In August men seized, threshed and sold the corn on behalf of the Irish Republic. This month an auction of the remaining goods has been held by Sinn Fein. Mrs. Sweetman and her son have left the district. Mr. Greenwood was not quite sure whether this was under Sinn Fein notice to leave within 48 hours.

The British police barracks at Kesh, County Fermanagh, was raided by armed men on November 4th, who took away rifles, bombs and ammunition. The Chief Secretary said the Sinn Fein liaison officer is "doing his best" to assist in finding the perpetrators. Lord Curzon asked: "How do you know?" Viscount Curzon said that at Strokestown Mullingar the British military occupy a private house, and a force of the Irish Republican Army, two or three times as strong, is stationed in the workhouse armed with machine guns, and a bombing section with armed sentries continually posted. His information came, he said, from an officer of the regiment stationed there, and "the military have very serious fears for their safety." The Chief Secretary replied: "The Commander-in-Chief of the Army in Ireland knows all about the situation in that country."

Powers of Northern Parliament.

An Order in Council transferring the promised powers to the Northern Parliament has been laid on the table of the House. Mr. Devlin (L. Nat.) said this was illegal. Lloyd George said it was not.

Kenworthy (Lib.) said that as the Order had only been placed on the table the night before, and as Parliament rose that day, there would be no opportunity to present an Address or take other steps against the Order. Lloyd George said the Order had not been ready earlier.

Of course, it is a piece of sharp practice, but, in any case, no effective protest would have been made; the Government does as it pleases at all times.

The Babies' Food Again.

It was pointed out that lactose for making milk stout is allowed in duty free, and that lactose used for infants' food is charged duty.

Protection for the London Underground Railways against Competition

Lord Ashfield is pressing for legislation to protect the tubes from competition. Will J. H. Thomas, as usual, support the company? The Government has not decided yet.

India.

Colonel Yate (C.U.) asked to have Basante Kumar Roy (whom the press calls de Valera's emissary) kept out of India. The Comptroller of the Household said the Secretary of State would attend to the matter.

When a Britisher is not a Brittisher.

The Government refused an appeal not to refuse old age pension to people who have spent any part of the necessary twelve years since attaining 50 years in the British Dominions instead of passing the whole period in the United Kingdom.

Mrs. Grundy.

The police and public are said to be shocked at the sight of bathers dressing and undressing. The Government will therefore spend £1,500 to erect a gradient from below the Rotton Row footpath to the Serpentine.

Theatre barred to L.C.C. Children.

The L.C.C. spent £2,745 on sending school children to the theatre. The expenditure has been surcharged, and it is alleged that the Chairman will have to pay the costs out of his own pocket. The Minister of Health did not know. Government representatives seldom know anything.

Up-to-date boarding schools for the children of the well-to-do make a point of taking their pupils to the theatre. Moreover, well-to-do parents, of course, take their children, but the Government of the well-to-do does not see any reason for providing the same educational entertainment for workers' children.

Unemployment—Dr. Macnamara's Feeble Hope.

Dr. Macnamara, Minister of Labour, hopes to make the Unemployment Insurance Fund solvent by June, 1923, by keeping the scale benefits down, and the scale of contribution up. The Insurance Act gives him power to borrow from the Treasury up to £20,000,000, and at the present time, with benefits down and contributions up, he is borrowing £3,000,000 a month from the Treasury. He believes he will get through the financial year, which ends in March, with the aid of the £20,000,000, and that afterwards he will cease to borrow and begin to pay back. Why does he think that? He estimated that during the year ending June, 1922, there will be 1,250,000 persons unemployed. (At present there are more than 1,700,000 so registered at the Labour Exchanges.) And he believes there will be only 500,000 unemployed persons for the year June, 1922—June, 1923.

Macnamara bases his estimate upon nothing but hope.

The 75 per cent. Wage.

The Government order that municipalities must only pay 75 per cent. of the Trade Union wage to unemployed people engaged by them during a period of six months was criticised even by Neville Chamberlain (C.U.), on the ground that it would "put every local authority in the country in a position where it is going to be abused and held up to obloquy by Labour people," and would give "a weapon to the extremists to say that advantage is being taken of the misery and poverty of the workmen to exploit him and bring his wage down." In his City of Birmingham the Council had passed a resolution of protest. The same protest was made on behalf of Manchester, Derby and other Corporations. The Association of Municipal Corporations has also passed a strong resolution of protest.

It should be observed that if the municipality gives its work out to be done by contract the contractor can pay the Trade Union rate, but if the municipality does the work itself and employs the workers direct it can only pay 75 per cent. of the Trade Union rate. The result is that there will be a tendency amongst the workers to oppose municipalities employing direct labour, though hitherto they have always advocated it. The supporters of private enterprise thus score an incidental point. Meanwhile the reduced wage paid by the municipality will induce the contractor to refuse to pay more.

Jack Jones observed: "One would have imagined we were back again in the days before the trade union movement became sufficiently respectable to receive political consideration."

Of course we are! Jack Jones has just waked up, like Rip Van Winkle, to discover what has long been apparent to everyone save the Trade Union Leaders.

Fewer Men employed on Public Works than before the War.

John Ward, Secretary of the Public Works and Constructional Operatives Union, who throughout the unemployed session has either voted with the Government or abstained, and who can usually be depended on to back the employing class, nevertheless for once had a word to say on behalf of the people he is sent to represent. He observed that there are not now 60,000 men employed on public works, whereas before the war there were from 160,000 to 180,000 men regularly employed on works of public utility in this country. 80,000 to 100,000 of these men were now out of work; they would be asked to take 75 per cent. of their ordinary wage. Moreover, if the municipal authorities complied with the request to hurry up their usual works and to take on all sorts of unemployed people the regular employees on such works would have a worse time presently.

The striking point to be noticed is that with all the talk about what is being done for the unemployed, and how municipalities are being encouraged to find work for them, municipalities are providing only a third of their usual supply of work.

To Spend or not to Spend?

Col. Wedgwood (Lab.) observed that six months ago the Government spokesmen said that the way to improve trade was to cut down Government expenditure; now they come forward with schemes of Government expenditure to improve trade. The Minister of Agriculture was quite proud that £750,000 had already been demanded of him for drainage schemes. Wedgwood hoped the Minister of Health shared his colleague's view, but if he did his attitude towards the housing scheme of his predecessor at the Ministry of Health, Dr. Addison, was a little remarkable. The Labour Members for the Holland Division of Lincoln and South Norfolk were both appealing for land reclamation schemes, but Wedgwood could tell them frankly that these schemes would not be accepted, because land reclaimed from the Wash would not belong to any private landlord, and the Government and the Lord St. David's Committee, which was really run by the Ministers of Labour, Agriculture and Health, would only assent to schemes to benefit private landlords. See how easily the afforestation Bill had slipped through! All one had to do under it was to give the landlord who wanted to grow trees £3 an acre to do it. There was a great confusion of policies. The Minister of Agriculture was now being given £700,000 for forestry, but "Eric with the axe" had just cut £250,000 off the Board of Agriculture vote.

A Trio of Misleaders—George Barnes.

George Barnes, J. H. Thomas and George Roberts, all of whom are of the same brand, though the first and last have now left the Labour Party, spoke at the tail end of the unemployment debate in characteristic style. Barnes said:—

"It is no good to talk of the unemployed problem being due to some particular economic system, for it is nothing of the kind. Unemployment is inevitable under any system . . . if the industry will bear 5 or 6 per cent. after wages are paid give capital 5 or 6 per cent. When that is done, if there is a profit left over . . . capital should take its share along with labour of what is left over."

That is the gospel of G. N. Barnes.

J. H. Thomas.

J. H. Thomas (Lab., N.U.R.) said:—

"No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that any particular party is alone interested in the question of unemployment. . . . The debates during the past three weeks have clearly demonstrated that Members in all parts of the House, representing all interests and parties, are genuinely anxious to do something for this most terrible of all household calamities. . . ."

Be it noted that the House refused to give more than 1s. a week per head for the children of unemployed workers! If the "interest" Thomas detected in all parts of the House was, as he says, "genuine," it certainly was not generous! It was a genuine desire to keep the unemployed on short commons!

Thomas continued:—

"I do not believe any party, whether it is those who are sitting on these benches or in any other part of the House, can take this Bill and say, 'here is a national remedy for this evil.' The sooner we get right down to the fact that it is not a local, not a national problem, but a world problem, the better it will be."

According to G. Roberts (the Norwich ex-Labour renegade), who spoke later, this was an admission by J. H. Thomas, that "*even if the Party of which he is a member were in power they would not have done much better than the present Government.*"

Neither Thomas, nor any other Labour Member, dissented from this statement.

Thomas added that he attached more importance to the £25,000,000 development scheme than to any other matter in relation to unemployment! So do the railway companies: Thomas always backs them up! He finished with his perpetual plea for "better relations between Capital and Labour."

G. Roberts.

G. H. Roberts threw doubts on the question as to whether there really is unemployment in agricultural districts; a farmer had told him he had difficulty in securing labour for his farms.

Army Services in the Coal Strike.

The House granted the Government £6,720,000 to defray the cost of the special army mobilisation which was arranged to deal with the Coal Lock-out—more than the Government has so grudgingly allotted to the wives and children of the unemployed. The sum spent on the preparations for White Terror during the coal strike was actually more than £6,726,000; there was a further £750,000 odd, but as recruiting for the territorial force fell off and almost stopped during the lock-out the territorial force saved some money, and this saving has been deducted from the cost of the lock-out preparations. Apparently recruiting fell off because men were afraid they would be sent to fire on the miners.

Questions were asked as to who had advised the mobilisation, but the Government representatives refused to say.

The Speaker.

The Speaker adopted a truculent attitude in this debate, and greatly balked discussion; indeed, he is doing this more and more.

Belgian Coal to Beat Miners.

J. E. Swan (Lab.) pointed out that during the lock-out the Government bought between 300,000 and 400,000 tons of Belgian coal. This coal cost 56s. a ton, though it cost only 38s. at the British pit mouth.

Lieut.-Col. Watts-Morgan pointed out that the Government pretended it could not afford £5,000,000 to continue control for a further six weeks. Yet it had spent more than that to beat the miners in the lock-out.

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC DEFEAT.

"Don't you think," asks Mr. Half-and-Half, "that you were playing the capitalists' game by your headline last week: 'Russia's Economic Defeat'?'

"Why?" we asked Mr. Half-and-Half.

He wriggled, and answered:

"Well, don't you?"

"No."

"What's the good of saying things aren't all right in Russia?"

"What is the good of living in a fool's paradise? Is it not the mission of a workers' newspaper to tell the truth to the workers?"

"People say Communism has failed in Russia," objected Mr. Half-and-Half.

"Is it not best to say: 'No, it has not failed; it has been defeated'?"

"Why not say things are going all right in Russia—except the famine and the blockade?"

"How, then, shall we explain to the worker the news he reads in the capitalist press and hears from the Labour Members of Parliament, that rent and Rates and taxes, and buying and selling, and private landlordism and Capitalism; all the things we have been urging him to fight against, have all been re-started in Russia?"

"Perhaps it is not true," said Mr. Half-and-Half.

"It is true: the Soviet's own news service says so."

"Well, why not say it's all all right?"

"Because it is all wrong."

"Well, why say so? We've been trying tomake the workers believe it's all right in Russia, because they've got Communism there."

"They have not got Communism there."

"But why say they haven't?"

"Because we want the workers to know what Communism is, and we want them to desire Communism: we do not want them to believe something is Communism which is not Communism; nor do we want them to desire something which is not Communism. We want the workers to know and to understand the position."

Mr. Out-and-Out had been standing by, silent. He said:

"You are right: give me another six quire of *Dreadnoughts*!"

Mr. Know-Nothing then asked:

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