

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. X. No. 45.

January 26th, 1924.

WEEKLY.

SLEEP, SLEEP THOU ON.

By Tom Anderson.

Comrade, sleep on, the great eternal sleep,
With mother earth, her watch o'er you to keep,

Sleep, sleep thou on;

Comrade, sleep on.

Thy narrow bed we'll tend with reverend care,
Through winter's snows and summer's kindly air.

Sleep, sleep thou on; comrade, sleep on,
Sleep on, sleep on, Our Liebknecht.

Our comrade sister shared a fate like thine.

Her life, her work, a measure of divine

Sister, sleep on,

Sleep, sleep thou on,

Each year that comes, while yet our lives shall last,

We'll bring fresh flowers in memory of the past.

Sleep, sleep thou on,

Sister, sleep on,

Sleep on, sleep on, Our Luxemburg.

The sun a million years may travel here,

'Tis naught but yesterday within the sphere.

Comrades, sleep on,

Sleep, sleep thou on,

Thy lives are hallowed now in every land,

Our children praise your deeds and understand.

Sleep, sleep thou on,

No fear beyond,

Sleep, sleep thou on, Comrades, sleep on.

These words, set to music by R. Reilly, are published by the Proletarian Bookstall, Glasgow.

SPICE.

"King George is not alarmed about losing his head, and, instead of sharing the fears of rival politicians about Mr. MacDonald and his following, it is likely that he feels well assured Mr. MacDonald will give him a Government not notably unlike its predecessors."—*The Freeman*.

* * *

Aliens in U.S.A. are to be obliged under a Government Bill to register their names, addresses, political opinions and attitude towards their employers.

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"Unemployment may be on the increase, but gunemployment is holding its own."—*The Liberator*.

"Religion is the Opiate of the People," was the motto of the Third International.

* * *

On January 15th, the Brotherhood Movement and the N.U.W.C.M. held a joint meeting in the Church called the "City Temple."

* * *

A resolution was moved by Mr. H. E. Martin, N.U.W.C.M., and seconded by Mr. Tom Sykes (Brotherhood Movement), "cordially" welcoming the co-operation of the Brotherhood Movement and affirming:

"That where men are willing to work, but unfortunately cannot secure it, full maintenance must be assured them as a just and honourable right of every citizen in a Christian State."

"Also its belief that, given sympathetic and statesmanlike proposals, the workers of England will honour the trust and Play the Game."

After the resolution came: "The Blessing."

* * *

Strange that the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, which is

under the control of the Third International, should hold joint meetings with the Brotherhood Movement.

* * *

How is that from the super-Marxians? What does Moscow say to its British pupils?

THE RAILWAY STRIKE AND THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

What the Strikers Have a Right to Demand.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"And I am prepared to believe that, in the current crisis, the basis of their discontent lies deeper than the mere fact of being called upon to forfeit certain of the emoluments of enginemmen. I like to think that five out of every six of the recalcitrants are actuated, not by purely loco. motives, but by the grave truth that the proposed cut is yet another step in the workers' economic declension. And methinks I am right in thinking that. Hence my cry, 'Bravo! Bromley's men. . . .'"

"Now, in my judgment, Mr. Bromley is one of the anxious few who want to start some big impressive move to stop this race to economic perdition. To suggest that his counter-demand before the N.W.B. was a notoriety angling gesture is to grievously wrong him—and ourselves. For those demands were mooted long ago, but never pressed. It seems to my unbiassed mind that Bromley was answering the companies' emissary in this strain:—

"No, absolutely no, my friend. You shall not pass. Already you have been permitted to advance too far, and are now occupying economic salients that are rightly ours. Not a penny, not a minute more shall you exact. Withdraw, or, with all the power of my 60,000 men, I'll launch a counter-offensive."

"Surely a commendable attitude, that!"—A. E. Rochester in the N.U.R. organ, *The Railway Review*.

Those are fine, honest words from a member of the National Union of Railwaymen, the Union of Messrs. Thomas and Cramp. They are words that we can endorse in every line. We hope that they will be taken to heart by every member of the N.U.R. and many other workers beside.

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS.

We observe that Mr. Ben Tillett has been telling the Press that the trouble on the railways may bring to a head the grievances of other transport workers; grievances under which they have been sorely smarting since the cut in their wages last year. Mr. Tillett says that, "As an experienced Trade Union official," he recognised the "menace" of action by the members of his own union, and that was why he was so anxious to avert the railway stoppage.

The workers in Mr. Tillett's Union should observe that the first instinct of Mr. Tillett, as of most other Trade Union officials, is not to secure the best possible conditions for his members, and to seize every opportunity to improve their lot, but to keep the workers quiet, to retain them at work and to maintain things as they are. That is one of the most significant features of present-day Trade Unionism. It is a feature that the workers who form the membership of the unions cannot afford to overlook.

THE CASE OF THE A.S.L.E. & F.

The Union on strike, the A.S.L.E. & F., has struck against deductions in wages, in obedience to an enormous ballot vote of its members, a vote which no organisation pretending to be democratic has the right to disobey, or the power to disobey, if it complies with its constitution.

THE "HERALD'S" MISDEED.

The *Daily Herald*, "Labour's own daily," has begun by preserving an attitude of ostensible neutrality, always veering towards the side of the N.U.R. "Labour's own daily" has had to admit that the A.S.L.E. & F. has acted in accordance with its own constitution in declaring the strike, and that it has not defied the constitution of the Railway Wages Board, to which the striking Union is one of the parties.

On January 21st, the first day of the strike, the *Daily Herald* entitled its leading article on the strike: "*Regrettable But not Unconstitutional*." That was really a hostile comment, and one which may justly be called unfair. Nevertheless, up to this point, January 22nd, the *Herald* has attempted a semblance of impartiality towards the strikers, whilst publishing much that was hostile to them from the officials of the rival union, the N.U.R. One thing, however, the *Daily Herald* has done which we regard as unpardonable: On the Saturday before, and on the Monday, the first day of the strike, the *Daily Herald* published a quarter page advertisement from the railway companies, giving their case against the locomotive men.

We shall be told that this was a paid advertisement, and that the *Herald* cannot turn advertisement revenue away. We reply that, in our view, it is disgraceful that a trade union paper should allow the money of the employers to purchase a part of its columns for propaganda against the workers on strike.

This is not the first time the *Herald* has offended in the matter of advertisements. We recall the days when the *Herald* used to publish large advertisements by the supporters of the capitalist intervention in Russia, and when the People's Russian Information Bureau, which was defending the proletarian revolution, used, with difficulty, to spare enough money to insert a little advertisement upholding the proletarian side, and ask for it to be inserted under the interventionist advertisement. Money received from the enemies of the workers, for use against the workers, should be regarded by a workers' organ as tainted—surely that is self-evident.

The advertisement of the railway companies stated that only 48 drivers would receive so large a cut as 22/6. It is really surprising that the directors should endeavour to force so great a reduction upon so small a number of men, the saving to the companies on 48 men's wages being but negligible.

"THE WORKERS ON STRIKE ARE ALWAYS RIGHT."

We will not, however, discuss in detail the reductions of wages and increases of hours against which the strikers are fighting. "The workers on strike are always right" was a dictum laid down by the *Daily Herald* in its early days; it may fitly be adopted for the present contest.

The National Union of Railwaymen has not been so severely hit by the present wages award as the locomotive men's union. From the first the N.U.R. has taken its stand with the employers against the A.S.L.E. and F. "The fight is not ours," the N.U.R. officials

have declared, and Mr. J. H. Thomas, always a bitter opponent of the rival union, has gone so far as to declare that any members of the N.U.R. who join the strikers will be blacklegs to the N.U.R.

On the first day of the strike Mr. Thomas gave to the capitalist press the statement:

"The strike is, as I anticipated, a complete fiasco! The best evidence of that is the number of trains running this morning."

That statement was obviously untrue, for clearly the A.S.L.E. and F. members had responded well to the strike call, and in spite of the fact that N.U.R. drivers and firemen were keeping at work, a large proportion of the trains could not be run.

Though Mr. Thomas's statement was untrue, such statements have a cruelly depressing effect on workers who are fighting the hunger fight that a strike is. Only with hope and courage and confidence can such hunger fights be maintained, and the strikers are often dependent on the capitalist press for news of their own struggle. Mr. Thomas's heartless statement was of course headlined in the capitalist press.

"EMBARRASSING" TO THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

The excuse made for the disloyal attacks levelled against the strikers from proletarian quarters is that the strike will embarrass the Labour Government. The excuse is invalid. In the first place it must be remembered that the Labour Government takes office without even a semblance of power. It will be dependent on Liberal support, and it does not pretend to even a hope that it will be able to raise the wages or otherwise improve the standard of living of any section of wage workers. There is no promise, or pretence, that the workers may look to the present Labour Government for assistance in their struggle for daily bread. Therefore it is really an impertinence for the protagonists of a Labour Government to ask the workers to desist from their efforts to maintain their standard of living, on the plea that a Labour Government would be embarrassed by a railway strike.

WHAT THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD TELL THE CAPITALIST.

But why, indeed, should a Labour Government be embarrassed by a railway strike?

We can understand that a Liberal or a Tory Government is embarrassed by strikes, but, in our view, a Labour Government should in no wise be dismayed.

A Capitalist Government has to prove to its makers and clients—the capitalists—that it is able to insure the best possible conditions for the business of capitalism.

A Labour Government has no such duty. In the event of a strike it should say to the capitalists: "We told you so; capitalist production is inefficient and immoral. The class war will never cease till capitalist production is abolished."

WHAT THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT SHOULD DO FOR THE STRIKERS

So far from being embarrassed by the railway strike, the Labour Government should regard it as an opportunity to go further in the direction of its principle, on the ground of emergency, more dependent as it is on Liberal votes, than it might otherwise be able to go.

The strikers will have reason for serious complaint should the Labour Government content itself with a mere pious regret that it has not the power to nationalise the railways for lack of a majority and with an assurance to the strikers that the resources of the Government will not be used to coerce them, to replace them, or to mitigate the inconveniences of the strike.

Should the Labour Government take that line the strikers will justly say that many capitalist governments have refrained from intervention in industrial disputes, and that more than mere neutrality should be expected of a Labour Government.

The strikers have a right to demand that the very least the Labour Government should do is to use the Emergency Powers Act against the employers, as capitalist governments have used it, or threatened to use it, against the workers. The strikers are logically justified in demanding that the Labour Government should step in and take control of the railways, on the plea that the companies are not running them in the public interest. In that case the Labour Government would, of course, be expected to employ the strikers at not less than the pre-strike wages.

This is the least that the strikers have a right to expect from a Labour Government.

Will the Labour Government take such action?

We shall see.

To the workers we say: All this goes to prove that you should manage your industry on a Workers' Council basis in the interest of the whole community.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Mr. Baldwin's assurance that he would withdraw, should the House desire it, his motion to re-elect the Tory chairman and deputy-chairman of Ways and Means was an admission of the coming defeat of his Government.

INTERMENT OF AN M.P.

Mr. Pringle, Sir John Simon and others protested against the interment without charge or trial of Mr. Cahir Healey, one of the Members for Northern Ireland, as a breach of the privileges of Parliament. It was pointed out that the Northern Parliament had given no reason for his imprisonment. Mr. Healey had written:—

"I have always kept the law, and the Northern authorities desire my being kept in custody until the boundary matter arising out of the Treaty is settled. They think they will, by holding 450 odd men here . . . have something to bargain over."

"Once, it is true, I was prosecuted for the possession of some bills calling a meeting against conscription."

Mr. Pringle read an affidavit by Patrick Cleary, who deposed that the county inspector of the Royal County Ulster Constabulary had endeavoured to procure from him a statement that Cahir Healey was County Intelligence Officer to the I.R.A., an allegation which Mr. Healey denies.

The Speaker reserved his answer until the following day, when he ruled that the question was not one of urgency and that it must wait till a Member could get a motion to set up a committee of inquiry brought before the House.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

The King's Speech having been read, and a humble Address of thanks having been moved in reply by two gentlemen in Court dress, as is usual, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald announced the Labour Party Amendment, stating that the Government does not possess the confidence of the House.

He protested that the King's Speech was made up out of proposals "borrowed and stolen" from the Labour Party.

The proposal that all political parties should be invited to the agricultural conference he deprecated as "somewhat idealistic," saying:—

"Idealism like that goes much too near the sky for me, and does not keep near enough to the solid facts of political experience on this earth."

That was a very odd remark for Mr. MacDonald to make, for the proposal that all parties should co-operate in securing reforms is certainly his own, as anyone must agree who read his article in the *New Leader* before Parliament met. Mr. Brailsford, who warmly praised that article, must be wondering what Mr. MacDonald means by such gyrations.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Mr. MacDonald observed that when the Labour Party moved the resolution to benefit

old age pensioners, as now suggested by the Tory King's Speech, 229 Tories voted against it and only 13 Tories supported it.

FOREIGN POLICY.

As usual, Mr. MacDonald was ambiguous and self-righteous in dealing with foreign policy. He said:—

"We want new minds to deal with these problems. We need very skilful handling of the diplomacy that arises out of them. We want the objective observation of other people's susceptibilities, and, at the same time, a friendly, firm, emphatic assertion of our own interests."

That is a dangerous point of view, as will be seen when Mr. MacDonald gets into office. "Skilful diplomacy!" How often the ship of peace has been split on that rock!

The Labour Party leader protested against the theory that Parliament is bound by the decisions of the Imperial Conference. He said, however, that the resolutions of the Imperial Conference will be submitted to Parliament, "whoever is in office." Forgetting his opening protest against the possibility of the rival political parties combining to deal with agriculture, Mr. MacDonald returned to the tone of his *New Leader* article, saying he was not sorry no party had a majority, as the fact would preserve the rights of private members, and urging that the House must leave old-fashioned party tactics and members must try to find grounds of common agreement, whilst we maintain our party independence and party principles.

MACDONALD TO THE RESCUE!

He declared that no party to-day would take office without feeling it would rather avoid doing so if it possibly could. "Nothing but sheer folly would rush in to take responsibility," "but the nation's government has to be carried on."

Rather amusing that from the leader of a minority party which is largely fighting for office and excitedly denouncing any whom it thinks are manoeuvring to prevent it!

Mr. MacDonald's phrase, "the nation's government," was interrupted by that aggressive Tory, Rear-Admiral Suter, who shouted: "The King's Government."

Mr. MacDonald took the line: "The King's Government—I do not make distinctions of that kind," he protested.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

Mr. Lloyd George followed, claiming the King's Speech as a re-hash of the Liberal programme. He asked whether the mines in the Ruhr are now to be handed over to French management, as reported in *The Times*, whether the French are to control the port of Tangier, whether the 26 per cent. reparations duty on German goods is still to be paid by the British importer, whether the scheme for controlling finance proposed by the Lloyd George Government, which was turned down by the French, would now be published, and what the present British Government is doing in view of French support to the Rhineland separatist movement. Mr. Lloyd George declared that Marshal Foch had protested at the Peace Conference against any proposition which would not permit France to annex the Rhineland. This was why the French supported the separatists, he said.

Mr. Lloyd George has an advantage over Mr. MacDonald when he browbeats the Government in the interests of patriotism. Mr. Lloyd George is not expected by his followers to care for anything save the interests of British trade. Mr. MacDonald, on the other hand, is expected to combine what the commercial man calls a care for patriotism with a passion for peace and abstract justice. The two features cannot be combined effectively.

Mr. Lloyd George's questions were bandied about from Minister to Minister and took several days to answer. His request that the Government would publish his Government's scheme for controlling German finance was referred to Mr. McNeill, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, but Mr. McNeill could not give any pledge.

TANGIER.

The Port of Tangier question was also passed on by the Prime Minister to the Under-Secretary, who explained that the Port is controlled by a private company, which used to be a French company, but he could not, or would not, say whether the controlling power in it is still French or not. The capital in the company is 30 per cent. French, 20 per cent. British, 20 per cent. Spanish, 10 per cent. Sherifian Government, 10 per cent. international administration of Tangier. Mr. McNeill could not say whether the Treaty would require ratification by Parliament. The British Government having objected had secured a "more equitable" distribution of share capital and more British representation on the board. Commercial patriotism regards the whole world as a limited liability company in which he hoped to see his countrymen get a majority of the shares.

RHINELAND SEPARATION.

As to the Rhineland Separatist movement, Mr. McNeill said the British Government did not object to it provided the States declaring themselves independent should still remain part of the German Reich and provided there were sufficient demonstration that the people of the State in question desired independence, otherwise the British Government "could not allow" separation. The Rhineland movement, he asserted, has come to a natural end largely through the influence of the British Government. The movement in the Palatinate might have been a genuine movement at first they thought it really might be a genuine movement, but Mr. McNeill and the British Government do not think it is genuine any longer, whatever it may have been at first. Therefore the British Government desired to send a representative to investigate, but the French objected. Therefore the British Consul-General at Munich is investigating instead, and the Government is awaiting his report. That was all the answer Mr. Lloyd George could get on that point.

THE 26 PER CENT. REPARATION DUTY.

As to the 26 per cent. Reparation duty, that fell to the lot of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to answer. After much beating about the bush he explained that the German Government has agreed to "give an undertaking of eventual re-imbursement," and is sending a delegate here to discuss the methods by which the undertaking is to be fulfilled.

Germany is in the hands of very determined creditors. The Tories are not likely to be remiss in getting the full pound of flesh with interest as soon as the possibility arrives. The so-called progressive politicians who try to out-do the Tories in this respect are merely competing in the art of the horse leech.

INTERNATIONAL EXPLOITATION OF THE RUHR.

Mr. Lloyd George's question as to whether French industrialists are gaining control of the Ruhr industries, to the disadvantage of British capitalism, was answered most cordially by the President of the Board of Trade. He was as eager as Mr. Lloyd George for British interests, of course. He was watching lest stocks of steel which had accumulated in the Ruhr might be dumped in Britain or on British markets to the detriment of British trade. The British Government had told the French that before such a thing as that were done it must be consulted. Members of Parliament are always glad to know that their Government has been making demands which no little country would dare to make. The British Government had procured an agreement that it should be informed of all licences granted by France and Belgium for the export of German steel from the Ruhr and that licences should not exceed the average export prevailing in 1922. There had not been any "serious sales" of the steel seized by France in the Ruhr outside France and Belgium. British markets and markets Britain is "very much interested in" had not been invaded.

Members felt somewhat relieved; but the Duchess of Athol, in her maiden speech, com-

plained some days later that French ship-building firms are under-cutting British firms and are securing important contracts, and that the prices they quoted indicate they are getting some special help.

As to Mr. Lloyd George's specific question whether French firms are securing any measure of control over the Ruhr industries, the answer was that M. Poincaré has repeatedly affirmed that no such arrangement has been made. The British Government would have "the fullest right to decide, in conjunction with its Allies, whether such an arrangement was proper."

So far good; but there might be a "private arrangement," the President of the Board of Trade added anxiously, and that might be equally important but more difficult for the British Government to deal with. Fortunately, the British steel makers were "in touch with the others concerned." The British Government would give British industry "the fullest measure of support that any Government could give."

Mr. Marly (Labour) interjected something about "exploiting the worker," but his observation was snuffed out.

The President of the Board of Trade concluded by the statement that German industry must be subjected to the heaviest taxation it can bear, in order to prevent it undercutting British industry.

LABOUR PARTY AND PROTECTION.

Mr. Baldwin observed that he had predicted, so long ago as 1903, that when Protection comes in this country, it will come from the Labour Party.

STAMP, STAMP STAMPING WITH A BROAD FOOT AND A BIG HEEL.

Mr. McNeill said that if Mr. MacDonald were going to the Foreign Office with a broad foot and a big heel to stamp upon M. Poincaré in order to establish peace, he was "in for a heavy measure of disillusionment." When Tories talked about British prestige and the necessity of Britain asserting itself, they were denounced as jingoes. He did not think Mr. MacDonald would have talked of it had he not been Leader of the Opposition. He added:—

"I confidently predict that before many months have passed he will tell us how completely disillusioned he is, and that, as the result of his own experiences, he is willing to admit that the conduct of foreign policy, by the present Government has not been as bad as he supposes at present."

Mr. Tom Shaw and Mr. J. R. Clynes, for the Labour Party, both insisted, however, that British prestige has fallen woefully. Mr. Clynes declared himself a strong supporter of the British Empire Exhibition, and expressed the hope that respect and veneration for the Empire might be in the breasts of the future.

MR. ASQUITH.

Mr. Asquith, as had been anticipated, announced that his party would support the Labour Party Amendment. He declared that the Liberals would support the Labour Government in social legislation, but would give no countenance to Socialistic experiments.

The old gentleman played his skilful game more gracefully than most of his colleagues.

TAUNTING THE LIBERALS.

Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, the Tory Minister of Health, taunted the Liberals with their election denunciation of the Labour Party. He quoted a particularly damaging phrase of Mr. Lloyd George:—

"If the only choice is between the reaction of Toryism and the violence which has become identified with the Socialists . . . I think the people might find refuge for some time, even in reaction."

It must have been most unpleasant for Mr. Lloyd George to have to submit to the authority of the Asquithians who decided to permit the Labour Party to take office rather than come to terms with the Tories. Mr. Lloyd George could easily be secured by the Tories, we think, if they would only have him.

MISS SUSAN LAWRENCE.

The first woman to address the House this session was Miss Susan Lawrence; she accused the Government of having broken the law by cutting down the expenditure on meals for school children.

A WEEK OF BOREDOM.

Altogether the first week of Parliamentary talk was one of exceeding boredom.

The debate on January 21st, which ended with the defeat of the Government, was carried on with much hilarity. Mr. Austen Chamberlain's humour was of an acrid character. Of Mr. Asquith he said:—

"My right hon. Friend remains among us as a monument of Victorian statism, and of Victorian oratory, but, alas, he is also what, in undertaker's language, would be called the relic of Victorian controversies."

Having begun by declaring that the Liberals had succeeded in constructing for the election "an address to which nobody paid any attention," Mr. Chamberlain now declared that what the country desired was a Government that was neither Protectionist nor Socialist, with a spirit like that of Bonar Law. Therefore it would have been becoming for Mr. Asquith to assume the responsibilities of Government. Apparently, Mr. Austen Chamberlain would have been willing to give Mr. Asquith his support, unless even this part of his speech was really part of his joke.

T.P.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, the "father" of the House, told a pathetic story:—

"When I came to London first, thinking its streets were paved with gold. . . I was taken by a fellow countryman to see an Englishman, who, he said, had written seventy pantomimes, and was a man of brilliant ability. I went to see this past-master in the art of letters, an art in which I was a young and tremulous apprentice, and I found that my millionaire Englishman, the author of seventy pantomimes, was living in a single room, with a small bed and only one chair. That was the moment of my conversion. I then realised that what was at the bottom of this magnificent English greatness were the masses of the people struggling daily for a daily wage."

MR. BALDWIN'S LAST WORDS.

Mr. Baldwin twitted Mr. J. H. Thomas with his story of what had happened between himself and Lord Derby. He declared Mr. Thomas to be a "true successor of Landor in his 'Imaginary conversations,'" and asked:—

"Is it in vain to think that the millions of Hearst and Rothermere will be offered to him for the work of his pen when out of office?"

Of course, the House enjoyed itself hugely at that. Little more humorous, though given in serious guise, was Mr. Baldwin's later remark:—

"If we are defeated to-night we leave our successors no outstanding problems."

He added that the restriction of exports might be necessary. Rather an amusing observation that, in view of the cry that Britain has lost her foreign markets, and must recapture them by cutting down wages! If Mr. Baldwin could only convert the Trade Union leaders to that view, they might feel patriotically justified in putting up a firmer stand for the wages of their members.

MR. MACDONALD'S HOUR.

Mr. MacDonald tried to live up to the humorous example which had been set, by declaring that he felt as though he were Scott's Rebecca from Ivanhoe, with a champion and an enemy fighting for his cause. His speech ended, however, in a plea to be permitted to govern. The Labour Party only wanted to "renew" and "expand" capital, he assured the House.

The Government was defeated by 328 votes to 256.



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Our View.

RAILWAY WARFARE is certainly in the air. First a railway strike at home. Then a railway contest between the Franco-Belgian Régie of Railways and the British authorities in occupied Germany. The Franco-Belgian decree prohibiting ordinary commercial and other traffic between the British zone of occupation and those of the French and Belgians, though said to be only a temporary affair, was also said to be a reprisal for British action against the Rhineland separatist movement. The French Government was using the separatist movement as a means of detaching the Rhineland from the rest of Germany with a view to making it virtually a French dependency. The decree is part of the effort of the Franco-Belgian Régie to merge the railway lines in the British zone under its control. Franco-British friction is growing apace, and the Labour Government has inherited a pretty kettle of fish. The "skilful diplomacy" which Mr. MacDonald promises to apply will meet a severe test.

Our policy remains, as always, one of complete indifference to the strife between the rival capitalist interests. Bring the troops of all nations back from the occupied area, we say, and leave the field clear for the German workers to go forward to their emancipation, when they are ripe for the effort. We here can only influence the recall of British troops from Germany. We must leave it to French and Belgian comrades to look to the doings of their own Governments.

Will the Labour Government recall British troops from Germany and abandon the struggle to bleed Reparations out of the German people? That remains to be seen. Certainly, if the Labour Government attempts to rival France in the struggle to gain the wealth of German industries in the Ruhr we shall have war before long.

THE NEWS that the nineteen-year-old conflict between the French Government and the Vatican is to cease is an indication of the reaction which is still increasing throughout Europe, and in the course of which we have seen cemented the friendship of the Vatican and the Italian Government. Nominally, the French arrangement is a surrender by the Vatican because the Pope accepts the regulations for religious associations proposed by the French Government in 1905, and then rejected by the Vatican. Actually there is a drawing together of Church and State which bodes no good for advanced movements.

THE NEWS of Lenin's death is robbed of its sharpness, because he has been dead to active participation in affairs for a long time. Had he died in the height of his vigour, above all,

in the height of the revolutionary struggle, when the movement for freedom was still advancing, the shock would have been poignant, almost unbearable in its force.

He gave himself with single, unsparring devotion to the proletarian cause. Those who disagree most with his methods and objects are obliged to admit that.

He proved himself a great tactician in the hour of revolution; he felt the pulse of popular revolt, knew when the people had achieved the power and determination for action. His pronouncements went before the rising tide of revolt, crying to the workers and peasants themselves: Now is your hour for action. His pronouncements were justified; they proved correct predictions, accurate advance interpretations of the movement that was rising to overwhelm the existing order. How far Lenin's advice and propaganda caused, how far they merely voiced, predicted and explained the October Revolution, no one can know. What might have happened or developed without Lenin at that juncture it is impossible to say. Undoubtedly Lenin himself was, for the time being, swept forward in his ideas by the revolutionary situation.

He had been a Social Democrat, labouring under the limitations of the Social Democrat. During the height of the revolutionary advance, he seemed to rush onward towards broader and more advanced ideals—in fact, toward Communism.

Great tactician of the struggle to overthrow capitalism as he was, however, he lacked the constructive conception of Communism and the practical ability to take definite measures thereto.

With the actual overthrow of capitalism, his social ideals became stationary; then receded, as his physical powers waned, and the Soviet Government became stabilised in power. Finally he ceased to believe even in State Socialism as an immediate possibility, and became a strong believer in the capacity of private interest in production.

The men and women of to-day have much to learn from the successes, still more from the failures of the movement with which the name of Lenin is associated.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

The Labour Government has taken office without power: we predict that it will prove a great disappointment to its most enthusiastic supporters.

We look forward to the time when there shall be no Governments. The trial of Labourism in office is one which it was inevitable we should pass through in the course of evolution.

Education will prepare the people for more advanced developments.—E.S.P.

A MANIFESTO.

A manifesto to the members of the Communist Party of Germany from the Communist Workers' Party of Germany:—

"We address ourselves to you because we believe that you are sincere in your desire to prepare for the ending of the bandit system of capitalism.

"You know, just as well as we do, that the proletarian class has only the choice, either of putting its foot on the neck of the bourgeoisie through the dictatorship of the proletariat, or of rotting in capitalism as a timid miserable slave.

"You know as well as we do that the victory will not be easily accomplished, that its attainment will necessitate the exertion of all the forces of the working class."

The United Front of all really revolutionary proletarians is more necessary than ever.

"You know that in the early days of the Spartakusbund we fought with you for the great goal. Then our ways separated; for years we have been fighting against you. We do that because we believe that the tactics which your Party has adopted for carrying on the class war are false, and do not lead you out of your misery—but thrust you deeper into it.

"We now address ourselves to you to enable you to examine once more your purpose and ours; to examine it independently. For those who only repeat parrot-like what their leaders say do not count where the real class-war is concerned.

"We believe that you can be at one with us on the following point:—

"The necessity for the revolutionary class-war is clearness as to the conditions of the war."

"Whoever thoughtlessly engages in a war, or whoever is surrounded with a mass of men whose ideas are confused and who are only seized by a temporary enthusiasm can accomplish nothing, when opposed by a thoroughly clear and determined opponent.

"Our tactics are founded upon this principle. Compare them with yours. You believe that we must take part in parliamentarism, if it is only to unmask it.

"We believe that we must give up parliamentarism altogether, because it actually paralyses the independence of the masses and wraps them in illusions, because it separates the leaders from the masses and compels them to treachery, because when capitalism sees itself threatened it will get the better of Parliament.

"You believe that a political party and a group of leaders should keep the proletariat in leading strings.

"We condemn Party and leader dictatorships. We believe in a majority of the workers becoming consciously communist; in the fight from the bottom up, in the dictatorship, not of a Party or of leaders, but of the class. We believe that only a class-conscious class can destroy the still exceedingly strong, although declining, capitalism of Western Europe.

"You believe that a communist dictatorship of the workers and peasant proprietors can be established.

"We believe that the peasant proprietors are much too firmly bound up with private property, and will remain so, and therefore are the enemies of Communism.

"You believe that what you call a 'Workers' Government,' that is to say, a Coalition Government of social-democrat and Communist Parties can establish Communism.

"We believe such a government either leads to the immediate betrayal of the working class, or to State capitalism, therefore to the destruction of Communism.

"You believe that you must influence your opponent through demagoguery and lies, as, for instance, with the lie of nationalisation, the demagoguery of anti-Semitism, and coquetting with Fascism.

"We believe that in the long run you can never deceive the opponent about his own interests; that such tactics must have a reaction with disastrous results.

"You believe that Moscow and the Third International remain true to Communism, and that they will also, if the necessity arises, hasten to assist the German revolution with arms.

"We believe that Russia has returned to capitalism, that in consequence of her capitalist reconstruction she has no longer any serious interest in the revolution; that she only uses the Third International as a means of coercion, by which she can enforce her foreign policy upon the other States.

"You believe that the Trade Unions should not be destroyed, but that they should be revolutionised from within.

"We believe that the Trade Unions should be destroyed and that Workers' Councils should be set up, because the Trade Unions can never create a real united front, but will always divide the proletariat and their fight, because all leaders in the Trade Unions must become bureaucrats, and are even separated from the interests of the masses.

"You believe that capitalism can be overthrown by 'putsches' and surprise attacks.

"We believe that that only leads to senseless bloodshed, that only the conscious power of the working class can attain victory.

"Comrades of the K.P.D. Proletarians! Examine all these points thoroughly and independently! Weigh the pros and cons!

"Consider carefully all your fights, from the Kapputsch, through the March action in Central Germany, to the fight in Hamburg and the Workers' Government in Saxony and Thuringia. Do not be fanatical about the catch slogans you have learnt, but be ardent revolutionaries thinking for yourselves!

"If the proletariat is to win it must be united.

"Unity can only come if clarity of thinking exists, clarity regarding the necessity to fight and conquer.

"Do not be the stupid tools of a host of ambitious leaders hungering for power!

"Be self-acting members of your class."

From: *The Communist Workers' Party of Germany. The All-Workers' Union.*

The Communist Workers' International.
 We shall comment on this Manifesto and Reply to it in Next Week's Issue.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS ZIONISM IN PALESTINE.

A PALESTINE NOTEBOOK, 1918-1923. By C. R. Ashbee. Heinemann, 12/6.

Mr. C. R. Ashbee had been working as an architect and craftsman for many years, both in East London and at Campden, in the Cotswolds. He formed a guild of handicraft which had an estate and workshops at Campden. The schools and workshops, on which he had expended laborious years, were brought to an end by the war.

Mr. Ashbee was summoned to Palestine by the British Military Administration in 1918, to report upon the arts and crafts there. He returned to London in January, 1919, and in the following May went back to Palestine, to act as "Civic Adviser" to the City of Jerusalem. In this position he advised on restoration and repairs, plans for new buildings, new street alignments, the park and garden system, civic ordinances and by-laws, schools, arts and crafts. Powers he had none. His advice was taken—or not—by the Governor, the Chief Administrator, or the High Commissioner. During this experience Mr. Ashbee seems to have gathered a profound contempt for the greater part of the administration—especially for the civil administration. He seemed to have had a somewhat vague admiration for General Allenby and the military men, including the Tommies. His regard for the military arose partly from a preference for persons of action; partly, no doubt, from the fact that during the war every conventional patriotic Englishman felt he must preserve an attitude of non-critical obedience towards the military command. Mr. Ashbee, in spite of leanings towards William Morris, is still a conventional, patriotic Englishman, with a respectful acceptance of the Empire and a comfortable belief that internationalism and Free Trade can best be secured by maintaining the dominance of the British Navy. Nevertheless he has two saving qualities, which may lead him further than he has gone, if he will let himself think sufficiently. Mr. Ashbee is not given to analysis: he is primarily a craftsman, and when it comes to ideas, he is apt merely to take in impressions and give them out again, less than half-digested. The fact that he is a craftsman, however, largely emancipates him from awe of the politician and professional administrator, whose ideas and whose actions are bounded by his files. This emancipation is only complete when Mr. Ashbee comes into direct contact with the administration, as he did in Jerusalem, for his general belief in the value of imperial administration is not destroyed.

Mr. Ashbee's second advantage is that he began life with a good start towards emancipation from religious dogma, owing to the fact that his father was an English Protestant, and his mother of Jewish race. Mr. Ashbee still wants God to decide for him, or for the rest of

the world, anything Mr. Ashbee does not understand or anything upon which he feels himself to be in a hopeless minority; but he has no prejudices in favour, either of Christianity or Hebraism. Indeed, he is in opposition to both, and regards the religion of Islam as an advance on both. He has a sentimental attachment to Bahaism, which appears to fit in with his own views so far as he understands it and them.

He is not a Zionist, though apparently he was before he went to Jerusalem. He explains his mental evolution on the subject thus:

"And so if we ask where is this idealistic sequence our Palestine venture fits in we find this: There is first the brilliant victory of Allenby and the impulse given by it toward the ending of the Great War. There is then the effort of clearing up and rebuilding a country, and the city of Jerusalem—for here the part is always greater than the whole—a country which to all men has a strange, unreal sanctity. Palestine for most of us was an emotion rather than a reality.

"There was next the half-generous, wholly ignorant impulse that this, as we English thought, empty land, this land lost to us when we were last there in the days of Edward Longshanks, might as we had now conquered it of the Turk be tossed to the Jews. So we thought.

"There was then—and here came the rub—a certain chivalrous reaction, and it came with greater knowledge. This country, it appeared, belonged after all to other people, and they, too, had helped us win the war. Who were these other people? What right had we to mortgage their inheritance? Might it not be a breach of trust? We have recently begun to find out the truth, to answer some of these troublesome questions.

"The greater knowledge clinging round the word 'self-determination' came as an eye-opener. It showed us two things: first, that we were after all, as far as Palestine was concerned, only a part of Christendom; Greek, Italian, French, German, Russian, also had a share in the Holy Land, perhaps a greater share than we, even as St. Bernard, St. Francis, and St. Louis did more for Palestine, and meant more for the world, than Richard Cœur de Lion and Edward Longshanks. It showed us next that there were also the Arab and the Moslem to be reckoned with, him to whom the Holy Land actually belonged, to whom the Holy Land was equally holy, and whose record and achievement in it—Amr, Aboul Malek, Al-Mamun, Saladin, Kalaoun, Kait Bey—were far greater than ours. We were learning a little history."

So much for Jerusalem. Mr. Ashbee had gone there from Egypt, where experience taught him to support the Egyptian Nationalists, though he does not think they, or the Arabs, or the Indians, or any others, should ask for more than "self-government" under the British Imperial Crown: "Loyalty to the Imperial Crown, but insistence on self-government under it," is what he advocates on the advice of the late Wilfrid Scawen Blunt.

If Mr. Ashbee had worked in South Africa, he would no longer think, as he says in this book, that the Boer War cleared up the South African troubles, when the peace made Botha and Smuts "our friends."

Oh, these innocent, ignorant, well-bred Englishmen of the upper classes, ignorant of history, ignorant of geography, ignorant of languages and ethnology, ignorant of politics and economics, how-much they are responsible for, in their blind support of policies and governments they do not understand! A corner of the veil of ignorance has been lifted for Mr. Ashbee, but he has learnt grievously little; he seems incapable of deduction from the particular to the general. If only he would consider again that administration of the files, of which he speaks so scathingly, a veritable earthquake might take place in his conception

of things. This is how Mr. Ashbee describes government in Jerusalem:

"Something did happen—the great blizzard, when some two hundred buildings in the city fell from mere neglect, and the weight of snow. Petitions came pouring in to the Governor. . . . 'Oh, yes, of course, there have been so many governors and deputy governors—and he also was a bureaucrat, who sought safety in files. What was to be done? And could not the Governor help? Yes, the files show how, during the snow crisis, the Governor was hard at work most conscientiously at his desk. And this is what he did. He made an entry in a neat, firm hand: 'Let a file be opened immediately.'"

"What was done for the fallen buildings?"

"Why, nothing, you cannot rebuild fallen arcades and domes by means of paper asses, and to this day the street levels of the Holy City have been raised appreciably at certain points during the British occupation."

Mr. Ashbee finally left Jerusalem, because the British administration's drainage work was so defective, that the sewage of a Jewish slum broke out in the best Moslem residential district, and his own house was rendered uninhabitable. No other was available, except at great cost. The administration was unwilling to pay for this. Therefore, the Civic Adviser departed. All the great schemes for which he was responsible were abandoned, the assistants he had trained were dismissed.

Mr. Ashbee's opposition to Zionism is based on two facts:—

Firstly, the Jews are in a small minority in Palestine, and the country cannot be administered as a Jewish preserve, on the basis of a democratic franchise, because if the Arabs had the vote they would out-vote the Jews.

Also he regards the Jews as largely parasitic; as he thinks that only a small proportion of them will be willing permanently to work on the land or as industrial producers. The majority will engage in trading and speculation.

In spite of some lack of comprehension of general principles, Mr. Ashbee possesses the craftsman's saving grace of appreciation of the producer. He gives us, moreover, some remarkably brilliant sketches of people and politics in Jerusalem. Some well known personalities are discussed under their proper names; others are thinly disguised.

We are told of a certain sculptor, named Melnikoff, who, having made a bust of Allenby, was doing one of the Governor. During the Jerusalem riots, however, the Governor gave orders that the studio of Melnikoff, who was a Russian Jew, should be searched for arms. Finding no arms, the police started to take the cloths from the models. The sculptor, infuriated, seized a mallet, shouting: "If that's what your Governor wants . . . I'll open him out for you," and smashed the bust to atoms.

One description of one of the Governors is as follows:—

"Our Governor," said Mercutio, "is an arrivist, a man full of humour, wonderful at lunch parties, very quick at the up-take, but with no power to carry things through. He is delightful to work with as long as what you are working at does not cross his personal interest. He has an innate taste for bric-à-brac, is entirely without ethical scruples of any sort; in brief, a brilliant amateur, incapable of doing anything that bores him, and good at everything, except what he is paid to do—administration."

This is what Mr. Ashbee, through the medium of an imaginary person, says of Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, once a Liberal Cabinet Minister:—

"Of Herbert Samuel in Palestine, it is *de rigueur* to speak always, even, I believe, in the bosom of his family, as H.E.," said he. "This is done with

bated breath, and a slight catch in the voice, and, of course, we all know he wears a mask of bronze.

"His greatest first distinction is his pre-eminence in ritual. He is like one of those bronze gods of ancient Egypt, made, if you please, with perfect precision, that they used to draw out of the temple at the end of a string, in a ship, or shall we say an ark, for regular airings."

"And then?"

"Why, they put him back again. . . . After ritual, justice. He has a fine sense of justice. . . ."

"They used to say in England it was one of Samuel's weaknesses to be regarded as an English gentleman. . . ."

"It's very easy to frighten the Samuel administration."

"You mean the fourth quality is timidity?"

Of soldiers this architect says:—
"But then English soldiers always seem to think that towns can be laid out and roads projected without plans or contour maps, and that, anyway, we can leave that sort of thing to the Germans. Keep your horses in good fettle, keep your buttons bright, keep a brave heart, and damn the consequences."

Lord Robert Cecil and the League of Nations, which Mr. Ashbee has not yet outgrown, evoke the following comment:—

"Lord Robert Cecil, whom I missed (he had just gone to Paris), is now one of the League spokesmen. I recall his profound disbelief in the whole thing in 1916, when he patted us on the back about it. But politicians have to hustle in these days, if they are to hold leadership. All the more honour to him now for his honesty."

Without any cloak of anonymity, Mr. Ashbee thus openly denounces the late Lord Northcliffe:—

"February 27, 1922. We have been entertaining that insufferable vulgar Lord Northcliffe. When I say 'we' I mean the Administration. Everyone has been bowing and kowtowing to him as to Royalty, and some of us have been stricken with shame—a feeling of degradation that it was this that we were doing honour to."

"We received and feted him at a special Pro-Jerusalem lunch given at the Governorate. It was all very interesting and very picturesque, with the archimandrites, and jewelled bishops, the Grand Mufti, and the Grand Rabbi, and the rest of the social and intellectual staging of the Holy City, that one is now so familiar with, and that means so little when weighed against reality. And as for the table; it was covered with the loveliest examples of Ohanessian's blue glaze. But the Great Bounder's speech was an amazing piece of egoism and bad taste. He ignored his company, his hosts, the things they were trying to do, or the ideas they stood for, and he fired a political broadside at, presumably, the British Government, through his tame pressman whom he had brought with him. He addressed a sort of speech to the world at large, or shall we say, 'the Harmsworth control': 'My papers,' as he kept calling them, the little whelps who lick his boots and wag their tails to him."

"When the war first came on us in 1914, one of the things we hoped for in the new world after it was over was a press clean, reliable, and not directed by men who had no principles except themselves. And now we have this man, bull-like, massive, double-chinned, provocative, pop-eyed, with puffs of flabby flesh beneath, a keen sight for what comes immediately to hand, an instinct for the crest of the wave, patriotic if you like, but spiritually blind."

Mr. Ashbee's comments upon religion, as seen in Jerusalem, are vivid and scathing:—

"Sunday, June 30th, 1918. When I

went into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the next time I tried hard to be by myself alone. I shook off the inevitable Cook's guide, whom even the war has not destroyed, and sat down to think under the great dome, but I was pestered with beggars, cats, fleas and horrible chantings. There were monks singing in some side chapel—atrociously, then a cat screamed for milk outside the tomb of Christ, and then a beggar, one of the tribe of wealthy professionals, caught me by the coat, and whined in language he thought becoming to my costume, 'Please—will—you—give—mister—Jesus—mister—blood.'

"I've never felt so pagan and repelled in my life. To come back to this mediævalism after the quiet reverence and sanity of Islam, as one has observed it in Egypt, is something like a shock. Islam, of course, is just as mediæval, but somehow by the greater simplicity and purity of its faith it has got rid of the ancient tribal fetishes, the folk-lore, the priest craft, and the 'Mumbo-Jumbo.' Oh, for a whiff of Hellas, or the children playing in the garden!"

"And then there are the Sundays! The Sabbath in England is the day upon which all good Christians cleave apart from one another. The Sabbath in Jerusalem is multiplied by three. The Moslems celebrate it on Fridays, the Jews on Saturdays, the Christians on Sundays. At first sight this appears reasonable, but it is really religious cussedness, and each group hates the other for profaning the Lord's day. The principal hatreds, however, are reserved for the Christians toward one another—how to fit all the services in as between all the fighting sects, how to satisfy all the silly little ritual squabbles as between the contending priests, monks and parsons, has been the problem of the ages. Every conceivable type of ecclesiastic is to be seen in the Holy City. What are they all there for? Do you burn a candle or don't you? I hate you. Do you celebrate Easter as I do or not? I hate you. Does the Holy Ghost proceed or doesn't it? I hate you. Was Christ crucified or not? I hate you. It is the perpetual Litany of Jerusalem."

"Here's a conversation overheard in the Holy City and which is passing among the English soldiers. The clean, deferential sergeant, recently arrived, is talking with his commanding officer.
"C.D.S.: 'And is this the place, Sir, where Our Lord is supposed to have been?'
"C.O.: 'It is.'
"C.D.S.: 'And the religion began here? Here's where He had His Apostles and all that?'
"C.O.: 'So we are told.'
"C.D.S.: 'And these Apostles were just simple folk, like the folk we see walking in the streets here?'
"C.O.: 'So we are bidden to believe.'
"C.D.S.: 'Then, Sir, all I can say is—it's a marvel to me how it ever cut such a show!'"

"An English officer the other day, one of the red and efficient sort that gets things done, turned up at the wailing place, but on the wrong day, and found nothing doing. Quickly drawing a shilling from his pocket he seized on the nearest Haluca and shouted: 'Here—WAIL, you blighter!' And he wailed."

The dishonest trickery of British Government policy is piquantly exposed:—

"Do you hear of the Arab nationality movement in the Harmsworth papers? Or is what is going on out here censored in England for fear the Irish should ask questions in the House? We are preaching Nationality in Palestine, but we sup-

press it in Egypt and Ireland. We are a wonderful people! The Governor made a speech in Arabic, and quoted Shakespeare, 'To be or not to be.' (Great applause!) They've been acting 'Hamlet,' and they've now to make up their minds whether it is to be an Arab rising, a suppressed nationality rising again after centuries of Ottoman rule, or not. All Oriental Jerusalem was here, except the Jews, there having been a Jewish rising against the Arabs—fact! We are for the Arabs, being good Moslems. . . . Then there was the special representative from the War Cabinet. . . . He bears veiled kisses from King Georgios—a Greek name, you observe, and there was General Allenby—Al Nabi, they call it here, which means, in Arabic, the Prophet. We make great capital out of the Arabic tradition that Jerusalem comes back to the Arabs when a new prophet shall enter it as conqueror. And it has happened. Your German Kaiser may ride in in triumph with Turkish troops; but we follow the prophet Al Nabi who more modestly enters the Holy City on foot. And so it goes on. Of course, the Jews don't like it. They think the New Jerusalem belongs to them. But we don't take that view, holding that it belongs to all men, being a city of the mind. So for the moment the Jews are in disgrace and not invited to the banquet. 'But,' said one of the officials who sat on my left, 'we don't talk about that just now.' It's rather like driving a chariot with six horses, and even St. Luke is difficult to read under such conditions. The business of the moment is not St. Luke nor the new Jerusalem, but raising an army; and Arabs are good fighters, *Alhamdulillah!*"

"The American gathering would have thrilled you. It was so absolutely, so naively American. . . . We ate great swimming slabs of ice cream, and rose with our plates, and napkins folded in great triangles, to the sound of 'Hail Columbia.' Then Columbia entered, such an earnest, dear, deadly earnest young woman, dressed in white, standing on a white box to make her look taller, attended by two little pages got up as Red Indians, and she holding the Declaration of Independence. I think it was, in one hand, and in the other a sort of trident crowned with cotton wool—to present foam, foam of the ocean. Columbia stands no nonsense, mark you, from German submarines! Yes, she was 'gotten' up like the statue of Liberty in New York harbour, and there were silver rays, spiky ones, coming out of her head. And there was a bevy of young ladies dressed in Stars and Stripes, neatly flounced, who did figure dances, and then more American music, and we all saluted the flag. Good old eagle! For its very naïveté it always brings the choke to my throat somehow. No other people could do this sort of thing, and in Jerusalem in the twentieth century, as if Dickens had never been, nor Emerson called the Brook Farmers an 'Age of Reason in a patty pan.' *Quand même* they're a splendid people."

"I wondered what the generals thought of it, Allenby and Money. I shall hear, doubtless, but we take our Allies very seriously. And the British Bishop of Jerusalem, he, too, was there, taking himself very seriously, though, so good Anglicans whisper, this American 'freak colony' has a religion all of its own and follows some fanciful tradition of the Puritan fathers, enough to turn the colour of any Anglican Bishop's gaiters. He was wonderfully dressed, white coat, white apron, white trunks, white gaiters, and the merest soupçon of a violet waistcoat, with a great silver pectoral cross pendant on his diaphragm to a violet silk cord. Oh! but the confection was perfect, even the button on the gaiters matched."

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press it in Egypt and Ireland. We are a wonderful people! The Governor made a speech in Arabic, and quoted Shakespeare, 'To be or not to be.' (Great applause!) They've been acting 'Hamlet,' and they've now to make up their minds whether it is to be an Arab rising, a suppressed nationality rising again after centuries of Ottoman rule, or not. All Oriental Jerusalem was here, except the Jews, there having been a Jewish rising against the Arabs—fact! We are for the Arabs, being good Moslems. . . . Then there was the special representative from the War Cabinet. . . . He bears veiled kisses from King Georgios—a Greek name, you observe, and there was General Allenby—Al Nabi, they call it here, which means, in Arabic, the Prophet. We make great capital out of the Arabic tradition that Jerusalem comes back to the Arabs when a new prophet shall enter it as conqueror. And it has happened. Your German Kaiser may ride in in triumph with Turkish troops; but we follow the prophet Al Nabi who more modestly enters the Holy City on foot. And so it goes on. Of course, the Jews don't like it. They think the New Jerusalem belongs to them. But we don't take that view, holding that it belongs to all men, being a city of the mind. So for the moment the Jews are in disgrace and not invited to the banquet. 'But,' said one of the officials who sat on my left, 'we don't talk about that just now.' It's rather like driving a chariot with six horses, and even St. Luke is difficult to read under such conditions. The business of the moment is not St. Luke nor the new Jerusalem, but raising an army; and Arabs are good fighters, *Alhamdulillah!*"

"The American gathering would have thrilled you. It was so absolutely, so naively American. . . . We ate great swimming slabs of ice cream, and rose with our plates, and napkins folded in great triangles, to the sound of 'Hail Columbia.' Then Columbia entered, such an earnest, dear, deadly earnest young woman, dressed in white, standing on a white box to make her look taller, attended by two little pages got up as Red Indians, and she holding the Declaration of Independence. I think it was, in one hand, and in the other a sort of trident crowned with cotton wool—to present foam, foam of the ocean. Columbia stands no nonsense, mark you, from German submarines! Yes, she was 'gotten' up like the statue of Liberty in New York harbour, and there were silver rays, spiky ones, coming out of her head. And there was a bevy of young ladies dressed in Stars and Stripes, neatly flounced, who did figure dances, and then more American music, and we all saluted the flag. Good old eagle! For its very naïveté it always brings the choke to my throat somehow. No other people could do this sort of thing, and in Jerusalem in the twentieth century, as if Dickens had never been, nor Emerson called the Brook Farmers an 'Age of Reason in a patty pan.' *Quand même* they're a splendid people."

"I wondered what the generals thought of it, Allenby and Money. I shall hear, doubtless, but we take our Allies very seriously. And the British Bishop of Jerusalem, he, too, was there, taking himself very seriously, though, so good Anglicans whisper, this American 'freak colony' has a religion all of its own and follows some fanciful tradition of the Puritan fathers, enough to turn the colour of any Anglican Bishop's gaiters. He was wonderfully dressed, white coat, white apron, white trunks, white gaiters, and the merest soupçon of a violet waistcoat, with a great silver pectoral cross pendant on his diaphragm to a violet silk cord. Oh! but the confection was perfect, even the button on the gaiters matched."

"An English officer the other day, one of the red and efficient sort that gets things done, turned up at the wailing place, but on the wrong day, and found nothing doing. Quickly drawing a shilling from his pocket he seized on the nearest Haluca and shouted: 'Here—WAIL, you blighter!' And he wailed."

The dishonest trickery of British Government policy is piquantly exposed:—

"Do you hear of the Arab nationality movement in the Harmsworth papers? Or is what is going on out here censored in England for fear the Irish should ask questions in the House? We are preaching Nationality in Palestine, but we sup-

When I talked Jerusalem with him I felt quite pleased that I matched too, in my white silk suit. 'Better to be door-keeper in the house of the Lord than what is it? I forget. 'Better be a button on the gaiter of an Anglican Bishop than dwell—no, supply the metaphorical verb—something American, childlike, soaring—on the bosom of the undenominational. But I am not sure that the undenominational here isn't nearer to Christ's teaching.'

"To-day the Zionists inaugurated their new University on Mount Scopus; all the world was there. I got back just in time to hear Mr. Balfour's telegram read, bow to the generals—all the red tabs—and to hear the Daughters of Zion rejoice. They did it very creditably in pale blue and white, with flags embroidered at the Bezaleel School—a sort of suggestion of Nehemiah. But it's we Protestants with our dear old English Bible who really remember Ezra, not they."

"July 3, 1918. To dinner with John Smith to meet Father Wilfred, who has been sent out by the 'War Cabinet' to report on Palestine. Afterward to an Arab 'recruiting meeting'—the people of the *Shereefa*, the anti-Turkish party. There were some fifty of us. We smoked, talked, drank coffee. They were beautiful people, many of them, especially Shibli Bashara who interpreted. They sat around in their silk *abayehs*, black and gold *argals*, and fingered their rosaries. They wanted a speech from the King."

"I come from the King!" said Father Wilfred, rising, and with sublime audacity committing King, Cabinet, Lords and Commons, 'the King sits upon a throne of velvet, in a chair of gold. He speaks but seldom. When he speaks it is law. But I will try and get him to speak. (Like a parson's cheek!) Know, however, that though he should not speak his heart is with you."

"Murmurs of appreciative comment, and touchings of the breast. Father Wilfred has the parson's sense of the dramatic.
"We are all brothers," said John Smith, 'and it must be Christian and Moslem alike, it matters not which—is that clear?' Honest John is the recruiting sergeant of the moment, with an eye on the main chance.
"We are Arabs first and Moslem afterward."

"Was that true, I asked, 'or but a compliment to the English?' It was the spirit of nationality awakening here as elsewhere. What is this strange awakening? Of the Arabs present the majority were Christian.
"The interpreter, Shibli Bashara, continued, I suppose somewhat embellishing the words of Father Wilfred:—
"We fight for England, and England stands for justice, and the privilege of managing our own affairs against the German and the Turk.' (Bureaucrats please note!)"

And now the Arabs are suppressed and Palestine is to be the Jewish home: What a game!

This brief vision of the work of some so-called Socialists in Palestine is illuminating:—
"But suddenly I was in an Arabian Nights dream of beauty and colour. In a vast hall were some two hundred women refugees from Bagdad, Damascus, Georgia, all dressed in the most exquisite silks and embroideries, in veils of gauze covered with silver stars, great shining purples and blazing orange, cool blues and glittering sapphire, masses of black set off with green, and carmine and cadmium. And they looked so noble, and fitted to their clothes so well, and had such a sense of what was seemly and beautiful—a very

joy of colour. And they were all carding wool—by hand.

"And in the next room there was the product being made up, stockings on the 'stocking machine,' Young Jewish 'Mammelles,' all dressed very neatly in blacks and drabs, with a sort of American, second-hand, fashion-plate tidiness. I asked my Jewish interpreter—he was part German, part English, and wholly Zionist social democrat—to whom the machines belonged.

"To the young girls."

"Then why aren't they working at home in their own time?"

"We tried that," said he, 'and had to drop it to prevent the girls being sweated.'

"I lifted up a rather unpleasant black stocking that had just been banged out of the machine. 'Explain.'

"If the girl made this pair by hand it would take her a day and a half. If she does it with this machine she can do ten pairs a day."

"But in God's name isn't that enough?" said I. 'It's surely a reactionary step to turn the women out of their homes and bring them again into factories.'

"We can't meet the competition. If we bring them here and work them under factory organisation for seven and three-quarter hours a day, they will do the ten pairs in that time. If they work at home they sweat themselves, and take nine or ten hours to do it."

"He smiled rather sadly. 'We're just planning to get out a machine that will turn out twenty stockings instead of ten.'

"Is that going to end it?"

"Being a social democrat he saw the drift of my reasoning."

"And we," said he, 'are not a capitalistic organisation running for profit. Our plan is for the workers to control the power.'

"The problem is still to be solved. The mere organisation of industry on the 'Webb' Fabian-Socialistic lines, is not the solution. And all the while in that other room, an incidental detail in the greater process, that other thing is happening, all that beauty and dignity of life is being destroyed. Those women will never make and wear their beautiful dresses again."

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"Soldiers! Soldiers! Soldiers!" Weary am I Of that word forlorn, Of the King's command, Of the children's insolent cry, A nation's cry whom the nations scorn For its children's pride. Better were these unborn! England! Where is she? Where? Land of the fortunate free Which hath ceased to be? What hath she done with her fame? The nations that envied her Turned to her in their care, Sought her light upon land and sea, Called as once on her ancient name, The name of her liberty. But her ears were shut to their prayers; Her place was a sepulchre, She had ceased in her strength to be, She was no more free.

She fell as a star from its place, As a bird from its path in the sky, As a spring run dry, A fruit in its rottenness, As a drunken woman prone on her face While the world went by, And she knew not her own disgrace. O thou, who hast seen her fall, Who hast witnessed her agony, Who hast looked on the face of the dead! Lift up thy voice in the night and cry "The harvest is harvested. As these shall have made their bed, So let them lie!"

"Satan absolved," though perhaps the least successful piece as poetry contains an exceedingly graphic and outspoken denunciation of British capitalist Imperialism. "The Wind and the Whirlwind" is a spirited defence of Egypt and condemnation of the part played by British capitalism there.

As a narrative poem of descriptive imagery, "Esther" reaches perhaps the highest level. We find the love sonnets of Proteus on the whole somewhat tedious. Many of them are marred by obvious defects. The best of them are not love sonnets, but descriptions of scenery, such as:

THE SUBLIME.
To stand upon a windy pinnacle, Beneath the infinite blue of the blue noon, And underfoot a valley terrible As that dim gulf, where sense and being swoon

When the soul parts; a giant valley strewn With giant rocks; asleep, and vast, and still, And far away. The torrent, which has hewn His pathway through the entrails of the hill, Now crawls along the bottom and anon Lifts up his voice, a muffled tremulous roar, Borne on the winds an instant, and then gone Back to the caverns of the middle air; A voice as of a nation overthrown With beat of drums, when hosts have marched to war.

THE SAME CONTINUED.
Clutching the brink with hands and feet and knees, With trembling heart, and eyes grown strangely dim, A part thyself and parcel of the frieze Of that colossal temple raised to Time, To gaze on horror, till, as in a crime, Thou and the rocks become accomplices. There is no voice, no lift 'twixt thee and them. No life! Yet, look, far down upon the breeze Something has passed across the bosom bare Of the red rocks, a leaf, a shape, a shade. A living shadow! Ay, above thee there, Weaving majestic circles overhead, Others are watching. This is the sublime To be alone, with eagles in the air.

Comrades will like to read Blunt's tribute to William Morris:

AN INSCRIPTION.
At this fair oak table sat Whilom he our Laureate, Poet, handicraftsman, sage, Light of our Victorian age,

(Continued last page, last col.)

LOYALTY.

LOYALTY TO WHOM, fellow worker? Is it to be loyalty to Mr. J. H. Thomas and the employers or loyalty to your fellow workers? Certainly, we consider it a disgraceful thing

that railway workers should be at work whilst railway workers are on strike against an attack on their standard of living, do not you?

When the railwaymen struck work in 1919, and failed to receive the support of workers in other industries, the movement the workers were then making to force up their economic conditions was checked.

When the miners struck against a wage reduction in 1921, the advance in the workers' industrial army was definitely turned into a rout.

The locomotive men are standing to resist the steady encroachments which the employers are making upon the economic position of the workers. Certain people are asking you to leave the locomotive men in the lurch, fellow workers.

You are told that it is more important for a Labour Government, under Mr. MacDonald's leadership, to re-establish British prestige in Europe, than for the workers at home to protect their standard of life.

You are told it will embarrass the Labour Government if you put up a solid fight on the industrial field for working-class interests at home. Take no notice of that red herring. It is an old and very foul one.

The miners are giving notice to terminate their agreement shortly. Remember 1919 and 1921. The railwaymen fought alone in 1919, and were beaten. The same thing happened to the miners in 1921.

Shall history repeat itself in 1924?

You are told that conditions are such that if you do not accept starvation wages your employers cannot make profits.

The answer to that is: let us give up the system of production for profit: let us produce for use: let us change the system.

The fact that locomotive men who are members of the N.U.R. are working the trains whilst locomotive men who are members of the A.S.L.E. & F. are on strike shows the need for workers' committees and the rotten state of Trade Union organisation.

The fact that members of the Amalgamated Engineering Union employed in railway running sheds will be working during the strike on engines run by blacklegging N.U.R. men, though they will refuse to work on engines run by other blacklegs, is an absurdity.

The fact that Messrs. Thomas, Cramp and the rest of the N.U.R. Executive have lined up with the employers instead of with your comrades in the A.S.L.E. & F. is a challenge to you, fellow workers.

Rise up and accept it by forming rank and file Workers' Committees. For the present show solidarity.—*The Searchlight*.

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

London members of the above should note that an aggregate meeting takes place at Edmonton, on Saturday, January 26th, at 2 p.m. It is of the utmost importance that this meeting is well attended, as several important questions will have to be settled then.

Amongst other matters down on the Agenda to be discussed is the proposed affiliation to the U.W.O., of South West Ham, London, and Leeds Districts. These Districts are at present in negotiation with the U.W.O. with a view to affiliation. Poplar will also come up for discussion, though that Borough is well in hand. Several other matters require attention, such as our constitution, plans for propaganda, future activities, etc. It is desirable that members should make an effort to attend this meeting, and to attend punctually.

This meeting will also have to decide whether a delegate should be sent to Leeds to explain the aims and objects of the movement.

The present construction and constitution of the Area Councils will also come up for discussion and revision. Members will realise

it is all very important, and requires close discussion and consideration before a decision can be taken. I hope, therefore, that members will make a point of attending this meeting.

You will have noticed in the last issue of the "Dreadnought" reference is made to an attempt by the N.U.W.C.M. to capture Bow Branch. They evidently had enough of one meeting in Bow Baths as no steps have been taken to repeat their former show. However, they are welcome to try again if they feel inclined.

Bow Branch is still going strong, and so is Edmonton. Steps are also being taken to organise Hornsey and Ponders End. These two Boroughs had previously been organised by the N.U.W.C.M., but owing to the very slack system of organisation of that body, the Branches have now died out. However, as stated before, the U.W.O. now intends to take this matter in hand.

It is also important that comrades should endeavour to push the sale of the "Dreadnought" on every occasion. After all, it is the only publication which opens its pages for us, and allows us to spread our propaganda. Apart from the propaganda of the U.W.O., the "Dreadnought" certainly gives some healthy reading and clean working class propaganda not previously doped and doctored by any political caucus. Each member should therefore see to it that he gets a copy, and an extra copy for a friend.

G. E. SODERBURG,

Secretary, Central Committee.

POPLAR BATON CHARGE TRAGEDY.

One of the men assaulted by the police outside the Poor Law Guardians' Offices on September 26th, was taken to Poplar Infirmary. Afraid of getting into trouble, he at first pretended that his injuries had been caused by falling from a char-a-banc. Afterwards he admitted he had been at the Guardians' Offices with the unemployed. As a result of his injuries the man is now in Claybury Lunatic Asylum, and is said to be regarded as an incurable case.

TO BOW READERS.

The "Workers' Dreadnought" may be obtained from Hayes, Newsagent, Roman Road, Bow, who stocks it regularly. The paper may be ordered through any newsagent.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £172 8s. 3½d. A. and J. Matthews, 5s.; E. T. Leonard and Shopmates, 5s.; H. Taylor, 3s.; G. Sear, Jr., 10s.; J. Leakey, £8; T. Humphrey, 1s.; F. Malnick, 10s.; A.H., 2s. 6d.; T. Hill, 10s.; Collection, Hamilton Hall, 3s. 2d. Total for week, £10 9s. 8d. Total, £182 17s. 11½d.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT. INDOOR MEETINGS.

Sunday, February 3rd, 7 p.m., New Morris Hall, 79, Bedford Road, Clapham. Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth.

Sunday, February 17th, 7.30 p.m., Hamilton Hall, Willesden Green.

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Some of our 1s. a week subscribers, too, need a reminder that their subscriptions are due.

(Continued from p. 7.)

William Morris, whose art's plan Laid its line in ample span, Wrought it, trestle board and rib, With good help of Philip Webb, For an altar of carouse In his own home, the Red House. Thirty years and five here he Made good cheer and company, Feasting all with more than bread. Had men stored the things he said, Jest profound and foolings wise, Truths unvarnished of lies, Baseness chastised and set Like hounds slain beneath his feet, Knowledge prodigally poured, His best wine, at this free board; Nay, but if the crumbs he shed Nightly round of heart and head Gleaned had we, not this good hall Half the wonders might install, Wit's wealth lost, which now must sleep Dumb when we have ceased to weep.

Our Bookshop.**OUR BOOKSHOP.**

The *Dreadnought* bookshop has a number of new and secondhand books at specially reduced prices in stock, which may be seen at the office up to 8 p.m. any evening, and up to 4.30 p.m. on Saturday afternoons.

A FIRST STUDY COURSE.

"The Conquest of Bread," by Peter Kropotkin, 2s.

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WANTED.—Second-hand copies: "How the War Came," by Lord Loreburn; "Economics for the General Reader" (Clay); "Brass Check" (Upton Sinclair), cheap edition; "Ancient Lowly" (Osborn Ward).

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, meetings to explain the policy of this movement, can be arranged on application to the Secretary, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

FOR SALE.—Engineer's Taper Gauge, £1. Radius Gauge, 7s. 6d. (Starrett's). Proceeds for "Dreadnought" Fund.

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