

WAR. By Lionel Grant.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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LINES FROM SHELLEY.

HELL.

Hell is a city much like London—
A populous and smoky city;
There are all sorts of people undone,
And there is little or no fun done;
Small justice shown and still less pity.

There is a Chancery Court; a King;
A manufacturing mob; a set
Of thieves who by themselves are sent
Similar thieves to represent;
An army; and a public debt;—

Which last is a scheme of paper money,
Which means, being interpreted—
"Bees, keep your wax—give us the honey;
And we will plant while skies are sunny,
Flowers, which in winter serve instead."

There is great talk of revolution,
And a great chance of despotism;
German soldiers—camps—confusion—
Tumults—lotteries—rage—delusion—
Gin—suicide—and Methodism;—

There are mincing women, mewing
(Like cats, who "amant misere")
Or their own virtue, and pursuing
Their gentler sisters to that ruin
Without which—what were chastity?

Lawyers, judges, old hobnobblers,
Are there,—bailiffs—Chancellors—
Bishops—great and little robbers—
Rhymsters—pamphleteers—stock-jobbers—
Men of glory in the wars,—

Thrusting, toiling, wailing, moiling,
Frowning, preaching—such a riot!
Each with never-ceasing labour,
Whilst he thinks he cheats his neighbour,
Cheating his own heart of quiet.

Lunches and snacks so aldermanic
That one would furnish forth ten dinners
Where reigns a Cretan tongued panle
Lest news—Russ—Dutch, or Alemanic—
Should make some losers, and some
winners;—

Statesmen damn themselves to be
Cursed, and lawyers damn their souls
To the auction of a fee;
Churchmen damn themselves to see
God's sweet love in burning coals:—

The rich are damned beyond all cure,
To taunt and starve and trample on
The weak and wretched; and the poor
Damn their broken hearts to endure
Stripe on stripe with groan on groan.—

All are damned—They breathe an air.
Thick, infected, joy-dispelling;
Each pursues what seems most fair,
Mining like moles through mind, and there
Scoop palace caverns vast, where Care
In throned state is ever dwelling.

—From "Peter Bell the Third," Part III.

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The International Chaos.

THE POWER OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS.

Events are moving rapidly in the Ruhr. The unarmed resistance of German workers, which prevented France either from getting coal from the Ruhr or from wholly preventing the export of coal from the Ruhr to occupied Germany, shows how formidable a thing is the industrial power of the workers.

If such power exercised by a disarmed people against an armed foreign invader can do so much, how much more can the industrial workers do against a home Government whose forces, being the blood brothers of the resisting workers, are always liable to go over to the workers' side!

That the German Government has been obliged to mobilise, not soldiers but workers—miners, railwaymen, telegraphists, and others—in this struggle with France, is providing the workers with a great experience, an experience which, let us hope, they will soon turn to account in the struggle for their own economic emancipation. The cynical actions of the great German Capitalists, who, throughout this struggle with France, have only sought their own interests, should have left the German workers with no illusions as to the merits of the German bourgeois republic. A growing number of them should be seeking the opportunity which will enable them to throw off the Capitalist domination and set up the Soviets.

The German Fascisti.

Meanwhile the German Fascisti, the so-called "National Socialists," whose avowed chief aim is to attack Socialism, the Socialists and Communists, are armed amongst a disarmed population. Hitler, their leader, has his machine-guns and his storm troops armed with hand-grenades in Bavaria, and though the Bavarian Premier protests, his disapproval of their breaking of the United Front, the fact remains that Hitler's men are allowed to remain armed and to act with impunity. Neither the local Bavarian Government, nor the national German Government, takes action against them. Moreover, the Entente Powers have taken no steps against the existence of this particular armed force, which is clearly outside the regulations which they laid down in respect of the armed forces permitted to Germany since her defeat in the war. The reason for this complacency is, of course, that the Capitalists of all nations look with favour upon any armed brigand forces which are set up with the purpose of fighting Socialism.

The resistance of the German workers has begun by paralysing the French occupation in the Ruhr and moved on to paralyse the older French occupation of the Rhineland. French bayonet charges, even when held by black troops, have not quelled the courage of the people. The French military at Essen instructed the German Police President to retire behind the French troops when the German crowds cannot be kept back, and when the French troops use their arms against the defenceless people. The Police President spoke up like a man—whatever his political views may be. He said that his men would never retire behind the French and expose the people to the French fire.

The Failure of the Amsterdam International.

Once again we must mourn the failure of international workers' solidarity to come to the aid of the German workers. The Amsterdam International, to which, be it remem-

bered, the vast majority of the organised workers of the world are affiliated, the Amsterdam International, which nominally represents millions of workers in the countries directly affected by the Ruhr situation, has done nothing.

French Trade Unionists are in the Ruhr beginning to operate the German railways which the German workers refuse to work at the bidding of French militarism. The "Daily Telegraph" correspondent reported on January 29th that 3,750 French railwaymen were already at work in the Ruhr. Since then it is announced that French staffs are entirely replacing the German railway, telegraph, and post-office workers.

What does the Amsterdam International say to this? What does the French Confederation General du Travail say?

Nothing, nothing; these organisations take no steps to prevent such action. They do nothing to hinder the development of a situation in which the workers are made the mere tools of contending Capitalists.

The secretary of the Amsterdam International has been to London to confer with the General Council of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party, with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues, as to what shall be done by the workers to stop the French militarist outrages in the Ruhr. Nothing tangible has resulted from this conference.

Henderson Echoes the British Government.

Mr. Arthur Henderson has been over to Paris to meet the French Socialists and Trade Unionists. As usual, he played the part rather of a follower of the British Capitalist Imperialist Government than of the Workers' International. He said that the British Labour Party viewed with anxiety the French occupation of the Ruhr. Bonar Law himself would not have hesitated to say that. It is what all the Tory papers have been saying for weeks past. He went on to make the following truly evil declaration. We quote from the "Daily Herald," which may be trusted, we suppose, not to misrepresent its chiefs:

"Although the British Labour Movement agreed that France and Belgium were entitled to the largest reparations for their devastated areas, these reparations were, in themselves, linked up with the whole question of the economic reconstruction of Europe."

Thus, even at this late stage, the Labour Party still adheres to the Entente Government's demands for reparations; still it adheres to the iniquitous alliance from which sprang the secret Treaties.

In his weekly article in the Capitalist "Reynold's Newspaper," Mr. Henderson explains that the suggestions for action discussed by the Second, the Vienna, and the Amsterdam Internationals range from "a 24-hour strike to a great international campaign of meetings."

O farcical internationals: it is not thus that the Capitalists take action in international crises!

The League of Nations.

Mr. Henderson adds frankly:

"My hopes, for the moment, centre upon the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Paris."

Mr. Henderson should know better than to pin his hopes, even for a Capitalist solution, to a League of Nations in which the only powerful nations are France and Britain. Since the many conferences in which these Powers have met failed, why should their

That is clear; Mr. Henderson regards the Workers' Internationals as mere ciphers, and considers that they should remain so. In his view, the Governments alone should act; however murderous may be their action, the people, in his opinion, should bow their necks to the destroyers' flail, so long as it is wielded at the bidding of those in power. His doctrine may well appear revolting to young men of military age who may be cut off from life, before Mr. Henderson and his colleagues are able to form Governments in the principal European countries. Such young men may be not altogether confident that such Governments will refuse to obey the dictates of Capitalist war-mongers.

Should British Troops Withdraw from the Ruhr?

The I.L.P. organ, the "New Leader," is debating whether the British Government should recall British troops from Germany. Messrs. Trevelyan, Seymour Coombs, and other I.L.P.ers of the U.D.C. school, are urging that the troops should come home. Mr. Brailsford, the editor, urges that they should remain. He seems to have some idea that they may be used to protect the German people against the French military.

One is at a loss to know why some guileless persons persist in attributing benevolence to the British Government, and why they imagine that whilst the mission of other armies is to coerce, the mission of the British Army is to play the part of a protecting big brother. Every day affords evidence that such patriotic conceit lacks all shadow of justification; but the wish is father to the thought, and divers amiable persons continue to build illusionary castles in the air on the grievously false foundation that British Imperialism is wholly disinterested and altogether just.

The fact is that unless British troops are prepared to mutiny against their officers, their action in the Ruhr can only be to safeguard what British Capitalism, as represented by a Tory Government, regards as its interest. At present the British Government is disposed not to quarrel with the French, and British troops have simply protected the French in their aggressive action.

Should the German workers rise and overthrow Capitalism, British officers in the Ruhr would co-operate with all other Capitalist forces against the workers. That is the main reason why the British troops would be better out of Germany.

The "Constitutionalists."

It is time, however, that the workers' organisations should cease to discuss so much what the Governments should do, and should devote their attention to deciding what they and their members will do to combat the crimes of militant Capitalism.

Mr. Brailsford is a constitutionalist, the leaders of the I.L.P. and the Labour Party are constitutionalists; will they, therefore, do murder and assist murder at the bidding of the clique of Capitalist politicians which happens to be in power? If the elections were falsified, as they were in Finland, would they still regard it as their duty to obey the Government in power?

The great need of the hour is for an eager revolutionary rank and file organised at the point of production, which would cry halt to the imperialist war makers, and would do so with compelling power.

Mr. Brailsford Warmly Agrees.

Mr. Brailsford, in the "New Leader" (and again remember this is the I.L.P. official organ), discusses the question of an amalgamation of the German coal and French steel "interests"—Capitalist, of course. He says:

"Were it merely a business arrangement, we should warmly agree. It would, however, be an economic conquest, achieved by force for political ends. We asked an exceptionally well-informed German whether a free and voluntary arrangement between the Stinnes group and the French is possible. He felt sure that France will never offer German big business a partnership on equal terms, and Herr Stinnes will never take less. The ultimate rulers of France are, he believed, bent on bringing about a marriage between the German coal industry and the French iron industry, but their aim is domination. They might offer Herr Stinnes a 30 per cent. share in their trust, hardly more."

This is really amazing! Why should Mr. Brailsford, a Socialist, we are told, "warmly agree" to a great Capitalist amalgamation between German coal and French steel kings? Why should he be concerned to secure for Stinnes 50 per cent. of the profits?

As a matter of fact, we, as Socialists, cannot recognise the claim of Stinnes to a 30 per cent. share in these industries. At the same time, be it noted that when the Germans found oil in Mesopotamia, the British Empire intervened and forced the Germans to hand the oil over to British oil companies, giving the Germans only 25 per cent. of the shares. We do not think that French Capitalism is prepared to let Stinnes have even a 30 per cent. share. It is remarkable that civilised persons should calmly discuss how the French shall share out the wealth of Germany, as though it were quite a reasonable thing to do, but such are the usages of Capitalist Imperialism, and of course the greatest iniquity is that there should be shareholders of any nationality milking wealth from the labour of the men in the mines and forges.

French Communist Strike Threat.

The Committee of Action, formed by the French Communists of the Third International and the Unions affiliated to the Red International, has announced that it will call a general strike when additional troops are mobilised for the Ruhr. The disadvantage of this policy is that it permits the Government to proceed as it pleases in the meantime. If the Third International is able to call a general strike it should do it at once. We do not believe it is strong enough. A more practical proposal would be refusal to handle goods intended for the Ruhr, to transport French troops and officials thither, or to go to the Ruhr to work. Those who are prepared for such action need not wait for the entire mass to move; that is to say, if they are prepared to run the risk of dismissal should they be unsupported by their fellow-workers. The way of sabotage is also not unknown to French workers.

British Coal-Owners' Harvest.

The Press raised a clamour that the French Government had asked the British to place an embargo on the export of British coal to Germany. Whether the request was made or not, the embargo is evidently not going to be put on. Herr Stinnes is said to have bought 1,000,000 tons of coal in Germany. British coal-owners are reaping a rich harvest out of the situation by substituting also the coal which France was getting from the Ruhr before the present occupation all but cut off the supply.

If British miners and transport workers were really earnest in their hatred of French militarism, they would supply no coal to the French until they vacate the Ruhr.

The Eastern War is Our Responsibility.

The French and British Governments have been working in accord, although the British representatives on the Reparations Commission abstain from voting, and though the French seem about to leave the British to tackle the Turks alone. Britain is preparing to bully the Turks into subjection; and British reinforcements are hastening to Anatolia. The phantom League of

Nations is to be invoked in order to popularise the coming war with Turkey.

The proletarian organisations of this country have less to say of the Turks and Mosul than of the Germans and coal. In the Turkish situation our own Government is, however, the prime offender, and it behoves us to set our house in order before going to sweep out those of other people.

British soldiers, sailors, transport workers and seamen are assisting in the war preparations against Turkey. The Trade Unions are complacent—the Workers' Committees which should be set up are wanting.

It is said that if France brings in the Poles to fight Germany, Soviet Russia will enter the war on the side of Germany. It is said that the Russians will in any case assist Germany, and that the German workers are confident of securing Russian aid.

Will a European war find the workers here and internationally as subservient as was the case in 1914?

Will war mean revolution?

E. S. P.

THE BRITISH LEGION.

A. Thornton writes from Portsmouth:

"Some 'Daily Herald' readers are not certain whether the British Legion is for or against Labour. Note the list of the worthy officers here at Gosport, as given in the Portsmouth 'Evening News':

"Major-General J. E. B. Seely, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Hampshire, was re-elected Patron of the Branch, and Major-General Sir John Davidson, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., M.P., is again the President."

"The vice-presidents were Admiral J. Denison, D.S.O., J.P., Major P. M. Terry, Major Jack Blake, Colonel P. J. House, Colonel-Commandant St. G. B. Armstrong, C.B., C.M.G., Major D. J. Gowney, D.S.C., D.C.M., Mr. J. O. Upfield, Major C. O. Graham, O.B.E., Lieutenant J. H. Tildesley, Rev. Canon Guy Landon, M.A., Mr. C. Hibberd, Colonel C. H. Hoare, D.S.O., Engineer Rear-Admiral W. G. Mogg, C.B., and Mr. Tewkesbury."

"I guess the 'Dreadnought' readers are under no illusions."

SPICE.

"It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. . . . Law never made men a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or some movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power? Visit the Navy yard, and behold a marine, such a man as an American (or any other) Government can make, or such as it can make a man with its black arts—a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity, a man laid out alive and standing, and already, as one may say, buried under arms with funeral accompaniments."—H. D. Thoreau, "Essay on Civil Disobedience."

Many unemployed ex-Servicemen are hawking goods from house to house.

A high police official quoted in the "Star" says:

"A useful dog in the house who can bite is a good antidote to the pedlar nuisance. You did not expect that sort of thing in 1914."

THE MINERS.

By Emile Zola.

"Stay and lunch with us; I'll tell you more at dessert," said the director.

"Very well, as you please," answered Dennekin, so full of his own concerns that he accepted without further ceremony.

He became conscious, however, of his rudeness, and turning to Madame Hennebeau, he apologised. She accepted his apology in a most delightful manner. When she had ordered a seventh cover to be laid, she seated her guests—Madame Gregoire and Cecile beside her husband; then Monsieur Gregoire and Monsieur Dennekin to her right and left, and at last Paul, whom she put between the young girl and her father. As they started on the "hors-d'oeuvre," she said, smiling:

"You will excuse me; I meant to have given you some oysters. Every Monday some arrive at Marchiennes from Ostend, and I intended to send cook in the carriage, but she was afraid of being stoned on the road."

She was interrupted by a general burst of laughter. They all thought it very funny.

"Hush!" said Monsieur Hennebeau, looking vexed and glancing at the windows whence the road could be seen. "Hush! we need not let all the world know that we have a party this morning."

"At any rate, they'll not have this slice of sausage," declared Monsieur Gregoire.

The laughter began afresh, but in a lower key. The guests made themselves at home in the handsome room hung with Flemish tapestry, and furnished with old oak buffets. Silver flashed. There was a large chandelier in ruddy copper reflecting the greenery of a dwarf palm and an aspidistra in majolica pots. Outside, that December day was icy with a bitter north-east wind. But not a breath of it entered the room, which was warm like a hot-house and pervaded by the perfume of a pineapple cut in slices in a crystal dish.

"Suppose we draw the curtains?" suggested Negrel, to whom the idea of terrifying the Gregoires promised some amusement.

The housemaid who was assisting the manservant took the thing in earnest, and did as she thought she was bidden, at which the jokes commenced afresh. There was no longer a glass or a fork put down without some mock precaution; every dish was hailed as something saved from the sacking of a town that had fallen into the hands of the enemy. However, beneath this simulated gaiety there lurked a secret fear which manifested itself in involuntary glances towards the road, as if some band of starving wretches were watching the table from outside. After the scrambled eggs with truffles came a dish of river trout. The conversation had now turned on the industrial crisis, which had grown worse during the last eighteen months.

"It was inevitable," said Dennekin; "the extreme prosperity of the last few years was sure to bring us to it. Think of the vast amount of capital that was sunk, the railways and harbours, and all the money swallowed up in most extravagant speculations. Why, only in this neighbourhood people kept on building sugar factories as if the department could yield three crops of beetroot a year. And, as a matter of course, money has become scarce nowadays. We must wait for people to get back the interest of the millions that have been spent, with the result that mortal glut and stagnation of business have set in."

Monsieur Hennebeau opposed this view of the matter, though he was bound to admit that the years of prosperity had spoiled the workmen.

"When I think," he exclaimed, "that these fellows in our pits were able to earn as much as six francs a day, or double what they are earning now! And they lived well, and their tastes became extravagant. Of course, to-day it seems hard to them to have to resort to their primitive frugality."

"Monsieur Gregoire, pray take some more trout," interrupted Madame Hennebeau.

They are delicious, are they not?"

Then the managing director continued:

"But really now, is it our fault? We ourselves are cruelly tried. Since the factories have been shutting up one by one we have the devil's own trouble to get rid of our stock; and now, in the face of the ever-decreasing demand, we are naturally obliged to lower the cost of the output. That's what the workmen refuse to understand."

As early as the Saturday, many families had gone to bed supperless. But though they were confronted by terrible days, nobody complained; all obeyed the password given to them, with unobtrusive fortitude. In spite of everything, there reigned absolute confidence, a religious faith, the blind submission of a people of believers. Since they had been told that an era of justice was at hand, they were ready to suffer for universal happiness. Hunger turned their heads, as it were. Never beyond their narrow horizon had a more boundless vision of happiness appeared to these poor families, crazed by hardships. When their eyes grew dim from weakness, they beheld the ideal city of their dreams close at hand and real, with its brotherhood of workers, its golden age of labour, and the daily repast partaken of in common by all. Nothing shook their conviction as to their final entrance into that city. The fund might be exhausted, the company might refuse to give in, everybody might aggravate their situation, and still they did not relinquish hope. They smiled contemptuously at existing facts. Had the very ground opened at their feet to swallow them up, even then they would have expected some miracle to happen to save them from destruction. This faith replaced food and kept them warm. When the Maheus and others had too quickly digested their watery soup they fell, as it were, into a semi-trance—that ecstasy of retelling the certainty of a better life, which made the martyrs of old throw themselves into the lions' den.

She did not seem to hear; she was simply bewailing her lot in a low endless plaint: "Is it possible that things can have come to such a pass? Before all these horrors we still got on somehow. We ate dry bread, but at least we were together. What have we done, good Lord! to deserve all this wretchedness, some of us lying in the cold earth, and the others only wishing to be there with them? True, we were put to the yoke like cattle, and it wasn't fair that our only share of the profits should be blows; it wasn't fair that we should always be helping to increase the wealth of the rich without a hope of ever tasting the good things of life. The pleasure of living assuredly goes when there's no hope left one. Yes, things could not go on like that; we wanted breathing time. Still, if we could only have foreseen things! Is it possible that we can have become so miserable simply because we wanted justice done to us?"

Heavy sighs welled upon her throat; her voice became choked with the intensity of her grief.

"And then there are the would-be clever ones who promise that things will change for the better if one will only take trouble to make them do so. One gets so wound up with suffering from things as they are that one ends by asking for things that don't exist. I was already building castles in the air. Like an idiot I dreamt of a life of friendship with everybody! Upon my word! I was in the clouds. And one breaks one's ribs on tumbling back in the mire. It wasn't true; there was nothing of all we fancied here on earth. The only real thing was our wretchedness, and now we get bullets as well!"

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

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Mrs. Malnick, 5/-; Per Mr. Cohen, 6d.; S. R. Kirkpatrick, 10/-; J. L. Mills, 6/10d.; Collections: Noel Street Meeting, £2 8s. 2d.; Hamilton Hall, £1 1s. 3d.; F. Houghton, 3-6; Special Fund: Mr. Taylor, 2/6; J. E. Matthews, 2/6. Total for week, £5 0s. 4d. Total, £444 1s. 10d.

AS OTHERS SEE US.

The following is not a piece of fictitious satire, but extracts from a letter actually written by an Eskimo in 1756 to Paul Egede, son of the Greenland missionary, Hans Egede:

"How appalled I was when I read of the destruction of such multitudes of people in the great earthquake (at Lisbon). . . . Your people do not seem to care very much about it; for they are not only cheerful and merry, but they relate that the two nations who come here whale-fishing, not your countrymen, but of the same faith as you, are fighting with and shooting each other, both by land and sea, hunting each other as we hunt seals and reindeer, and stealing and taking away ships and goods from each other, from people they have never seen or known, simply because their lord and master will have it so. When I asked the skipper, through an interpreter, what could be the cause of such inhumanity, he answered that it was all about a piece of land right opposite ours, so far away that it could only be reached after three months' sailing.

"Then I thought that there must be a great scarcity of land where these people dwell; but he said no; that it was only because of the great lord's greediness for more riches and more people to rule over. . . . I said to myself: 'Thank God we are poor, and possess nothing which those greedy kabalunaks (foreigners) can desire. What we have upon the earth they do not care to possess; what we require for food and clothing swims in the great sea; of that they may take as much as they can, there will always be enough for us. . . . although we can as justly say that the sea belongs to us as the believers in the East can say of the unbelievers in the West that they and their possessions belong to them.' We can say it is our sea which surrounds our land, and that the whales, cachalots, grampuses, seals, halibuts, salmon, cod which swim in it belong to us too; but we willingly allow others to take of this great store as much as they please. . . . I have often wondered at the Christians, and have not known what to think about them—they leave their own beautiful land and suffer much hardships in this country . . . simply for the sake of making us good people; but have you seen so much evil in our nation, have you ever heard such strange and utterly senseless talk among us? Their teachers instruct us how we are to escape the devil whom we never knew; and yet the roystering sailors pray with the greatest earnestness that the devil may take them, or may split them. . . . This year, in particular, I have heard so much of the Christians that if I had not in the course of long familiarity with them known many good and worthy men among them . . . I could have wished that we had never set eyes upon them lest they should corrupt our people.

I daresay you have often heard how my countrymen think of you and yours that you have learned good behaviour among us; and when they see a pious person among you they will often say: 'He is like a human being,' or 'a Greenlander.' You, no doubt, remember that funny fellow Okako's idea of sending angekoks (that is, medicine-men) to your country to teach the people to be good, as your king has sent preachers hither to teach us that there is a God, which we did not know before. . . . It is strange enough!

Your people know there is a God . . . that after this life they will be happy or miserable, according as they shall have conducted themselves here, and yet they live as if they were under orders to be wicked, and it was to their honour and advantage to sin.

My countrymen, on the other hand, know nothing either of a God or a devil, believe neither in punishment nor in reward after this life; and yet they live decently, treat each other kindly, and share with each other

(Continued on p. 8.)

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OUR VIEW.

BRITISH AGRICULTURE is on the verge of collapse, it is said. Agricultural labourers' wages are down to 25/-—14/0½ at pre-war value—and will probably be reduced presently to 18/-—10/1½ at pre-war values. Nevertheless, agriculture is not a paying concern, the farmer says, because of the high cost of manures and feeding stuffs, rent, rates, taxes, and railway rates, and the heavy toll put on the product by the middlemen. Yet the yield per acre from British farms is greater than that from the farms of America and the Dominions. The result predicted is that more land will be used for stock-raising and less for crops. Thus fewer workers will be employed, and the migration of agricultural workers to the towns will be accelerated, and the unemployment there increased.

Mr. Montague Fordham, in the "New Leader," puts forward some ill-digested panaceas which are, unfortunately, welcomed with approval by the editor of the "New Leader," which is the I.L.P. organ, and, therefore, almost a Labour Party organ. Mr. Fordham's lack of economic knowledge may be judged by the statement that the ruin of thousands of British farmers and the drift of hundreds of thousands of British labourers to the towns in the half-century following the introduction of Free Trade, "might well have been avoided if on the introduction of Free Trade the price of home-grown wheat had been fixed at 45/- a quarter, and similar steps had been taken with barley and oats."

At the present moment Mr. Fordham does not propose to fix British agricultural production at prices above the world market price, whilst allowing the lower-priced products to be imported freely. Though he thinks it would have solved the difficulties of 1850-1899 he does not offer the same expedient now.

Mr. Fordham further says that the present collapse in agriculture might have been avoided if the proposal of the Land Club Union in 1908 had been adopted. This proposal was that a State organisation should "deal with markets and fix prices." Mr. Fordham says there is a great deal to be said for the Land Club scheme, but he makes another proposal, and this is approved by Mr. Brailsford.

The proposal is that the Co-operative Wholesale Society should be given a State charter to monopolise the nation's food supply. It should be the sole distributor, buying both from the home farmer and from abroad. The scheme Mr. Fordham thinks might be applied first to wheat, potatoes, milk and eggs. Overseas food would only be bought when the home supply failed to meet the demand. A State subsidy might be paid, says Mr. Fordham, in order to keep the price of bread down, because, he says, "wheat can hardly be produced in this country at a lower standard price than 50/- a quarter."

The scheme, says Mr. Brailsford, would:

"Save the farmer the tribute he now pays to the middleman. Precautions could be taken for the representation of the producer as well as the consumer. We

realise, of course, that there are formidable private interests in the way. We have to choose between the middleman and the producer (and in this matter farmers, smallholders and labourers have an identical interest) unless we are prepared to subordinate the 'private enterprise' of the profiteering salesmen to the common good, we must either face the ruin of village life, or tax ourselves to keep it artificially alive. We prefer co-operation."

By all means, let us substitute co-operation for competition; but why this particular piecemeal stunt? Why should we be thus tender towards private enterprise when he comes to us in the guise of a farmer, a landowner, and a railway company; and yet be ruthless in our extermination of the hawk and the grocer and the greengrocer? Why should we only attack the middleman who supplies our food? Why not also the middleman who supplies our clothes? Why should we retain in subjection to the dividend-seeking Co-operative Committee the low-paid Co-operative employees?

Why, in short, this piecemeal plan? Why not go out for Socialism?

The "half a loaf is better than no bread" school will plead that a scheme of this kind is easier to obtain than Socialism.

We must reply, however, that, on the contrary, such a scheme is impossible of attainment whilst Capitalism is in power. Moreover, such piecemeal schemes are essentially cruel and unjust. Were it put into practice, masses of persons, who to-day are earning a small living by the retailing of food, would be rendered destitute, with only the grudging charity of the Poor Law between them and starvation. Meanwhile, the great landowners and coal-owners, and the railway, industrial and financial magnates would remain rich and powerful as before.

Let the I.L.P. and the "New Leader" abandon the chase after such red herrings and really follow their own slogan: "Now for Socialism!"

THE SINCLAIR OIL COMPANY, of U.S.A., has secured from the Soviet Government a concession to exploit oil, natural gas and resin in Northern Sakhalin for thirty-five years. If the United States makes war on Soviet Russia or fails to recognise her de jure within five years, the Soviet Government reserves the right to annul the concession without compensation. This will be considered as a clever piece of diplomacy, but the question is whether Soviet Russia will have the power to enforce the bargain.

The news of every concession to exploit the land and people of Russia granted to the Capitalist distresses us as deeply as if it were a clod of earth falling upon the coffin of a beloved friend; for all these are steps in the rebuilding of the Capitalist fabric in Russia and internationally.

MR. J. H. THOMAS has condemned hunger marching, because he says he cannot conceive anything worse than an attempt to exploit the suffering and misery of the unemployed. Does

Mr. Thomas forget that the hunger marchers are the unemployed who are weary of enduring unmerited and unnecessary suffering and misery in a land of plenty?

The unemployed have indeed been patient far too long. The marchers at Brighton have shown a disposition to become less patient. We are glad to observe that: we hope they will redouble the energy of their protests.

SOME OF OUR FRIENDS OBJECT to the opening up of Tutankhamen's tomb: "Why not let him sleep," they say, "instead of making his resting-place a sensation for the curious and a source of profit to Lord Carnarvon, the 'Times,' and others?" Though we hold no brief for those

who are making money out of the tomb and its contents, we consider this a wholly mistaken view. The science of archaeology rests upon the discoveries made in the tombs of by-gone peoples. For our part, we regard the precious objects in the tomb of Tutankhamen as a beautiful legacy which the ancient Egyptians have left to peoples of this and many future ages. The Egyptians placed their treasures in the tomb believing that Tutankhamen would find them beside him when he reawakened to another life; but the fate of these treasures is no less wonderful, no less splendid. We are glad, indeed, that this storehouse of knowledge has been re-opened. A few people may make money out of it; but, what is more important, many will learn from it.

A REMARKABLE PROOF of the spread of Republican feeling in Ireland is the controversy which has arisen between the Dublin Corporation and the Free State Government. The Corporation had decided to pay

half wages to those of its employees who have been arrested by the Free State military authorities—a thoughtful provision which would have spared some suffering to the prisoners' dependants. General Mulcahy, the Free State Commander-in-Chief, cruelly objected to this proposal. With ruthless disregard of the popular welfare, the Free State Government announced that the Dublin housing grant would be withheld until the Corporation should rescind its decision. More than that, General Mulcahy intimated that if the decision were carried out, the military would arrest the persons concerned.

These are strange, not to say barbarous doings, for a Government which poses as the upholder of democracy and the will of the people. Where does the will of the people as expressed through the Dublin City Council come in? General Mulcahy is said to be an idealist. Well, well; some people have strange ideals!

THE KING held a Privy Council at Buckingham Palace on January 29th. The list of business, it is said, was heavier than usual, because there had been no Council since the middle of December. The Press reports that the meeting had no connection with the Royal engagement, but "was concerned with an accumulation of work from the various Government Departments."

Observe, good people, that, in this democratic country of ours, the King still has a Privy Council which transacts affairs of Government in secret, and that under our "limited Monarchy" the sovereign still plays a part in Government which is not open to the searchlight of public observation; and may be very much more extensive than you and we have any notion of.

PEOPLE HESITATE to believe that we could exist if the money system were abolished; but the question is how the human race is to go on existing if the money system continues. The "Sunday Express" complains that Mr. Baldwin:

"favoured an American proposition which would have involved Great Britain in a payment of £40,000,000 a year, about £1 a head for every man, woman and child in Great Britain for sixty-two years. But this was not the worst of it. This forty millions is calculated in currency, and would only remain at this figure if exchange remained at its present rate. . . . The very fact of the British payment must depress exchange against us, and so fling the annual figure up to the impossible total of fifty or even sixty millions."

That is a gloomy prospect, is it not? Our Government, when it borrowed the money from the U.S.A., promised to pay 5 per cent. interest on it. The U.S.A. Government now talks of letting us off at 8 to

34 per cent., since we protest we cannot pay. The British Government wants to get off with 24 per cent.

Remember, however, that the greater part of the National War Debt is to the home Capitalists who get 5, 6, and 7 per cent. interest on their money. How many pounds per head does the debt to the home Capitalist come to, and how much more will it amount to when the next big war that is looming up gets under weigh?

Communism is the only way of escape: how soon will the people discover that?

COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

II.

Those who are well to do under the present system are apt to oppose Communism, from conservatism and lack of imagination, and from anxiety lest the disorganisations of the transition period may destroy their present comfort. Some even fear that under Communism the emancipated workers may revenge themselves upon those who were of the employing class in Capitalist society, by degrading them to a subject position; but Communism has no place for subject classes. It has neither economic nor social distinction. It will emancipate the entire humanity.

The hard toil of the business man and his manifold anxieties are continually cited as arguments against this or that amelioration of the lot of the workers to-day. Let the exacting toil, the stupendous financial commitments, the ceaseless stupefying anxieties be admitted: Communism will remove all these. It will emancipate the business man from his business: it will free him for useful, care-free work and pleasure, from the shackles of useless toil. Nevertheless, the Capitalists of to-day have shown themselves as ready as were the feudal lords of the eighteenth century to resist the processes of evolution by force of arms and to make war to prevent the coming of the equalitarian social order.

In the contemporary cycle of civil wars, that of Finland was an early example of this fact.

The Russian Revolution of March 1917 removed the Czarist domination from Finland. Kerensky's provisional Government opposed the independence of Finland, dissolved the Finnish Parliament, which had passed a law making itself the supreme power in Finland, and ordered new elections. On one occasion it posted Hussars to prevent the assembling of the dissolved Parliament, but next time only "Kerensky's seals" were on the door, and these were easily broken. Kerensky's Provisional Government lacked the strength to keep Finland within the Russian Empire. The All-Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Council, which sat simultaneously with Kerensky's Provisional Government and was steadily becoming the real power in Russia, had declared for Finnish independence. Finland at that time was considered the most democratic of countries. Its Parliament had only a single Chamber, it had a wide franchise and proportional representation, votes for women, and women members of Parliament. In the Parliamentary elections of 1916 the Social-Democratic Party had secured a majority, and a coalition had been formed. Finland had had no army under the Czar: she had been policed by Russian troops, and now Finland was without an army. Finnish Capitalists had desired to retain the Russian domination and the Russian Army, but that hope had failed them. During the summer of 1917 an eight-hour working day law was enacted, and universal suffrage was extended to the field of local Government. Russia was moving towards the Bolshevik revolution, and would not interfere. There were only a few large Capitalists in Finland in the timber and paper industries, and the taking over of about ten large firms would have nationalised by industry. Already the forests belonged to the State; the Russian domination had checked the growth of powerful Finnish interests. Apparently there was nothing to prevent the country from passing on to Socialism by

ordered Parliamentary stages. Yet Parliament seemed helpless. War conditions, including the British blockade, were causing a food shortage, and, though the Parliament passed a law to stop speculation in food supplies, the law failed to operate. The Coalition Government, swayed to and fro by its Social-Democratic and Capitalist members, remained inactive.

The workers were hungry: in Helsingfors, the capital, they began to seize and to distribute stocks of butter—a general strike broke out spontaneously. It lasted two days, and then was brought to an end by the efforts of the Trade Union leaders.

In October 1917 new elections were held. The Social-Democrats anticipated a clear Parliamentary majority. Instead, they lost the bare majority they had, and became a minority party. When the election figures were announced, it was found that some representatives of the bourgeois parties had obtained a greater number of votes than there were electors on the roll. Later on, when the revolution broke out, masses of voting papers made out for the Social-Democratic candidates were found locked away in the offices of presidents of electoral bureaux.

The elections had been falsified. Nevertheless, the Social-Democrats had also lost votes, because, in spite of their majority in the Coalition Government, they had been unable to safeguard the people's food and thus lost the enthusiasm of the masses.

The Coalition Government was now no more. The bourgeois groups in the Parliament voted a resolution entrusting the supreme power to a triumvirate, but dared not immediately put it into practice. At the same time, they entered into negotiations with the Russian Provisional Government with a view to sharing the power and obtaining military aid to quell the people.

Then the Russian Provisional Government fell: the Russian Soviets rose to power. Lenin, who had taken refuge in Finland for a time, in returning to Russia charged the Finnish comrades to set up the Soviets; but they did not; they were opposed to revolution.

The Finnish Capitalists were now getting arms from Germany and preparing an army.

There were divided Councils amongst the Social-Democrats: some desired a general strike to secure democratic government; others did not. The various Social-Democratic factions all wished to avoid revolution. Eventually a general strike was declared. It secured a vote from the Democratic majority in the Parliament that the Parliament itself, and not merely a Government bloc, should be the supreme power in the country. This was but camouflage. The Capitalists continued preparing the army which was to attack the workers.

At the end of January 1918 the Capitalists gave the word of command for its butchers to begin the onslaught upon the workers' organisations. The Social-Democrats replied:

"The bourgeoisie is violating and destroying democracy. To arms!"

Then, tardily, the workers took arms and met force with force. They might have been victorious; but the Capitalists procured aid from Germany. Thus Capitalism maintained its rule and revenged itself by scourging Finland with a ruthless and prolonged White Terror, in which the lives of many thousand Socialists and workers were sacrificed.

In Hungary the Liberal Minister, Count Karolyi, who had come into power through the bourgeois revolution of November 1918, surrendered his office, and called the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, the Soviets of Hungary, to take the power. He did so because Hungary had been made economically bankrupt as a result of the European War and the dismemberment to which the Allied victors had subjected her. The Soviets were soon deposed by the armed forces of foreign Capitalism.

The bloody civil strife which has taken place in Germany since the war, and the invasion of Soviet Russia by the Allied Powers, are further examples proving that the Capitalists will fight against the introduction of Com-

munist. Italy provides a more recent, and in some respects an even more striking example.

In Italy the Socialists were making steady progress towards a Parliamentary majority. A large number of local governing bodies already possessed Socialist majorities. The masses, through their industrial and political organisations, as well as by some local mass uprisings, were manifesting a strong desire for Socialism. In 1920 the employers in the metal industries attempted to lock out the workers. The workers were organised in the workshop committee movement, which they had formed and organised independently of the Trade Unions, without surrendering their membership of the Unions. The workshop organisations now seized the factories, protected them with barbed wire, and placed machine-guns on the roofs. Workers in other industries and on the land began to take similar action. The army was sympathetic towards the movement, the Government was powerless to intervene.

The Socialist Party and the Trade Unionists, on the other hand, were either opposed to revolution, or unprepared for it. The Communists and the Anarchists did not find themselves strong enough to take the lead. The Socialist Party decided that the affair must be left to the Trade Unions. The Trade Unions persuaded the workers to surrender the factories and to become once more obedient to the Capitalist Government and to their employers.

The Capitalists showed no gratitude for the assistance they had received from Trade Union and Socialist leaders; their main concern was to take steps to prevent the workers rising again. The great industrial Capitalists of Italy, therefore, provided the funds for Mussolini to create his Fascist Army, which attacked the Trade Union, Co-operative, Socialist, Communist and Anarchist organisations of Italy, destroying their offices and plant, breaking up their meetings, wounding, or even killing, their members and officials. The Fascists did not stop at the Labour organisations; they resorted to violence to influence the elections, and raided the local governing bodies which had a Socialist, or even a Liberal membership, assaulting, or even murdering, the members and officials who stood for progress. Finally they took arms against the Government and established a dictatorship in Italy. In their every step the masters of the Fascists have been the greater Capitalists of Italy, whose intention has been to prevent the emancipation of the workers and the establishment of Communism the equalitarian social order which shall establish plenty and security for all.

Many British people cling to the belief that such manifestations of militant Capitalism are unlikely to occur here. Yet there is plenty of evidence to the contrary. It is notorious that certain organisations financed by the great Capitalists have constantly employed violent rowdies to combat reform agitations. The Suffragettes, the Socialists, and the opponents of war have had to run the gauntlet of such rowdyism. The Germans, Austrians, and others suffered from it during the war-time "intern-them-all" agitation. The Curragh incident, in which officers of the British Army announced that they would take sides with Ulster, in preventing the application of the Irish Home Rule Act, showed that in Britain, as elsewhere, the class in power will not stop at mere rowdyism, but will proceed to civil war in defence of its privileges. The terrible Ulster pogroms, which were organised and approved by the rich and powerful, though carried out by hired subordinates and poor and ignorant mobs, are another proof of the fact that the British Capitalist, like any other, would be quite prepared to cast aside legality, if the law should cease to protect his privileged position.

(To be continued.)

When each member of the community has sufficient for his wants, and is not interfered with by his neighbour, it will not be an object of any interest to him to interfere with anyone else.—Oscar Wilde.

ESPERANTO.

LESSON 6.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS LESSONS.

O ending of noun, e.g., **floro**, a flower; **Komunisto**, a Communist.

A ending of adjective, e.g., **bela**, beautiful.

OJ ending of noun in the plural, e.g., **floroj** (pronounce **flor-roy**), flowers.

AJ ending of adjective in the plural, e.g., **belaĵ floroj** (pronounce **bel-lĵ flor-roy**), beautiful flowers.

AS ending of present tense of verb, e.g., **parolas**, speaks.

IS ending of past tense of verb, e.g., **parolis**, spoke.

Cu (?) placed before a statement turns it into a question, e.g., **Cu la floroj estas belaj?** Are the flowers beautiful?

Ne (not) is usually placed before the word it negatives, e.g., **Mi ne parolas**, I do not speak.

Note.—The accent (stress or emphasis) is always on the last syllable but one (when there is more than one syllable); e.g., **pa-ro-las**.

KIU, IU, ETC.

IU means **some** (individual) (person or thing). If you have a number of objects or persons and you wish to refer to **some one** of them, the word **Iu** is used. Example: **Iu domo**, some (a certain) house; **Iu persono**, some (one) person, a certain person.

Now note the following series of words. They are important, because, once you have grasped the simple principle on which they are formed, you can quite easily learn forty other words which are formed on this pattern.

Iu, some one (person or thing).

Kiu, which (one), or who? (Indefinite).

Tiu, that (person or thing). (K asks a "Question.")

Neniu, no one, nobody. (T, like a signpost, points out.)

Ĉiu, each, every (one), everybody. (Negative.)

Vocabulary.

| | |
|------------|---------------------|
| ĉambro | a room |
| Iu | some one |
| Kiu | which, who? |
| Tiu | that |
| tiu ĉi | this |
| ĉiu | each, every |
| ĉiuj | (one), everybody |
| neniu | all (plural of ĉiu) |
| ne | no one, nobody |
| li | not, no |
| labor-isto | he |
| urbo | worker |
| tre | town |
| infano | very |
| infan-eto | a child |
| bela | a tiny child, baby |
| patrino | beautiful |
| por | mother |
| propra | for |
| ŝi | own |
| ŝia | she |
| tamen | her, hers |
| viro | nevertheless |
| | a man |

Translate.—**Iu** estas en la ĉambro. **Kiu** li estas? (Who is he?) **Kiu** viro? (Which man?) **Tiu** viro **Kiu** estas **Komunisto**. **Ĉiu** laboristo en la urbo estas **Komunisto**. **Ne** ĉiuj laboristoj en la urbo **London** estas **Komunistoj**. **Tiu** floro estas **tre** **bela**. **Neniu** infaneto estas **bela**; **tamen**, **por** ĉiu **patrino** ŝia **propra** infaneto estas **tre** **bela**.

* Pronounce "Kom-moo-nisto."

Note.—An Esperanto "key," containing the grammar of the language, together with a vocabulary of over a thousand words, can be obtained for 1½d. post free, from the British League of Esperantist Socialists, Secretary, C. W. Spiller, 6 Windermere Avenue, N.W. 6.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO
ESPERANTO.
LA LINGVO INTERNACIA.
Price 3d. 32 pp.

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Eight of the I.W.W. war-opinion prisoners have been offered commutation of sentence on condition that they will leave the United States sixty days after release, never to return. One of these eight prisoners, G. J. Bourg, is an American citizen, born in Lemont, Illinois. Four of the prisoners, Sam Scarlett, Charles Lambert, Archie Sinclair, and Harry Lloyd are British subjects, one is Spanish, and one a Czecho-Slovakian.

Demands for the release of U.S. war-opinion prisoners have been made by working-class organisations in Sweden and Argentina.

The ten I.W.W. members, who were tried for criminal syndicalism at Sacramento, California, simply because they admitted membership of the I.W.W. in giving evidence in another trial, have been found guilty.

The Defence News Service reports that one of the witnesses against these men was W. E. Townsend, who declared that he had taken part in an I.W.W. plot to send spoiled canned goods to the soldiers in France during the war. The I.W.W. has officially denied the existence of this plot, and the U.S. Government concerned declared that its system of inspection would have rendered it impossible, but Townsend repeated the story in giving evidence in this case. He also admitted, in cross-examination, that he had staged more than fifty hold-ups, but had never been prosecuted. Defence News states that Townsend is a Labour renegade, a sexual pervert, and an habitual Army deserter. He is now employed by the Los Angeles police department. Townsend admitted in evidence that he had deserted thirteen times and re-enlisted under various aliases.

W. F. Herron, the counsel for the defence in this case, was fined 200 dollars for contempt of Court by Judge Glen, because he attempted to bring before the jury a report of the Minneapolis General Hospital showing that Townsend was suffering from venereal disease in May 1921 as a result of an abnormal incident. When he entered the hospital, Townsend was employed by a Minneapolis police organisation called the Citizens' Alliance.

Albert Coutts, ex-burglar and ex-convict, was another police witness against the I.W.W. He has given evidence against the I.W.W. in many trials, and has "confessed" to setting fire to various barns and haystacks. When testifying against Sidney Flowers in Los Angeles in 1920, Coutts admitted that he was being paid 300 dollars a month and expenses by the police for his services as witness. Judge Glen cautioned the I.W.W. defending counsel against asking questions to elicit such evidence in the trial of the ten men.

Jack Diamond, another police witness in this case, had recently absconded with 1,200 dollars of I.W.W. defence funds. He is also a professional witness against the I.W.W., and has bought a farm out of the proceeds of this work.

The Herrin strip mine-owners are now trying to be revenged on the miners who defeated them in the fight which the owners began. Five of the miners are being tried for murder. Dr. O. F. Shipman, who is giving evidence for the prosecution, has testified for the owners in 100 cases.

A letter was read in Court in this Herrin case from one of the mine-owners' hired gunmen, who wrote:

"We have two guns planted on the reservoir dam, two on top of sleeping cars, and six guns on top of the hills. They shoot 600 shots each a minute. There are 100 guards with Winchester rifles that shoot three miles. . . . Well, 12 dollars a day for sitting here with a Winchester rifle on your lap looks good to me. We are all under ninety days' contract."

Charles Davis, a farmer, testified that he and his cattle were driven off a public road by the mine guards.

One hundred and forty I.W.W. members are in gaol at San Pedro, California, for speaking at the docks. Reinforcements have been sent for, and Wobblies are travelling thither long distances to fill the gaols. They are coming by freight trains, travelling without tickets on and under the coaches in the bitter cold, the like of which is unknown in England.

A CO-OPERATIVE COLONY.

Llano is a Co-operative Colony at Leesville, in the State of Louisiana, U.S.A.

On Sunday, January 7th, Comrade Wilcox, of Llano, started a new school in which the pupils are sick people who wish "to learn to get, and stay, well." Llano wishes to discard such institutions as hospitals and sanatoria for people who are ill.

Comrade W. H. Lindsey called for volunteers to strip Japanese cane. Children were soon swarming about the cane pile, for all the children who had not a regular job in the industries of the Colony had responded. These children are usually the younger ones who have not yet decided what occupation to choose. The elder children have usually chosen theirs, and are busy at some regular work when not at school.

Four children of the Colony have become bricklayers, and are engaged every morning on the new machinery building. In the afternoon they go to school.

One of these young bricklayers is a girl, Loretta Toble. Some of the girls work in the garden, some at the sawmill and in the print-shop, others make sweets or work in the sewing-room. The girls of Llano are not keen on cooking and washing dishes. When they are asked to work in the restaurant, where many of the inmates take their meals instead of cooking at home, the girls are apt to say: "Oh! let the women do it; we want to learn something more interesting!"

The Llano people began baking bricks for a new building on January 3rd. They calculated that it would take three weeks to complete the work. This new building is to contain a large study room, a large sitting-room, and eight bedrooms, in which twenty girls are to be housed. One of them, Lottie Braine, is helping to make shingles for the roof. The boys are also wanting another house; and Mrs. Beavers, at the laundry, is asking for a new steam drying shop, so there is plenty of building in prospect.

Some of the classes now going at Llano include folk dancing, swimming, agriculture, sex hygiene. There is an orchestra, and there are newspapers, including the "Llano Colonist." Llano has steam and electric plants, a sawmill, cabinet-making shop, dairy, creamery, clothing, boot, broom and crate factories, harness-making shop, a garage a smithy, and much other industrial plant. It rears poultry, sheep, pigs, goats, Angora goats, and cattle. It has a cinema and a theatre.

Order the "Workers' Dreadnought" weekly from your newsagent, or get it sent by post from 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

A postal order for 6/6 pays for a year, 3/3 pays for six months, and 1/7½ for three months.

Why not take out a subscription for yourself and a friend?

With the abolition of private property, then, we shall have the beautiful, healthy Individualism. Nobody will waste his life in accumulating things, and the symbols for things. One will live. To live is the rarest thing in the world. Most people exist, that is all.—Oscar Wilde, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism."

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Central London Group (Hon. Secretary, S. Cahill) meets Thursday evenings, at 152 Fleet Street, 7.30 p.m. Volunteers for meetings, clerical work, etc., should write to the Secretary at 152 Fleet Street.

THE HOUSE THAT WAS SEIZED.

"HOMES FIT FOR HEROES TO LIVE IN."

The men charged under Acts of Richard II. and Henry IV. with seizing the house at 40 South Grove, Peckham, and ordered to vacate it by the end of the year, could find no other shelter for their families.

On January 23rd, at 2 p.m., whilst the four men were out, a motor-car drove up to the house containing four bailiffs, who, with the assistance of about twenty policemen, turned the women and children and the furniture into the street.

The women and children were taking a meal of potatoes, and the invaders flung even the potatoes into the road.

The furniture remains in the street, through wet weather and fine. One of the men has sent his wife to her relatives in another part of London. He stays beside his goods in the front garden of the house all day, and creeps away to sleep out in some corner that he has found at night. One family has moved off, the others do not know where.

Mrs. Nunn's young baby had been buried four days before the eviction. Her other children are in hospital. Nunn and Nay parade the town with banners advertising their homeless and destitute plight. They and Summerfield were arrested for begging, but declared they had been singing. The magistrate discharged them.

Unemployment and lack of housing accommodation has brought these families to this unfortunate state. And this is called civilisation!

NEWS FROM IRELAND.

From Economic Section.

Fourteen more gone out! Fourteen authorised murders. Fourteen of the pick of the rebel workers of the world fallen victims to the iron heel of Irish Capitalism. The dying kick of the forces of Big Business is as bitter as the dying sting of a wasp.

We wonder whether the execution of these workers will have any more effect on our comrades in Britain than the previous ones. Will it rouse them from the apathy into which they have fallen with regard to the struggle of the Irish workers? Or will they still continue to regard our fight as the national, instead of the class, issue?

How often do we hear a group of "intellectual Parliamentarians" discussing the matter and disposing of it with the phrase: "National struggle, pure and simple."

We wonder, do they get their information from the Capitalist Press, or has it got to be a national struggle because the would-be dictators to the proletariat say so? For the sake of any sincere revolutionary who may believe that the Irish war is being waged on national lines, we wish to recapitulate a little and point out some of the features that emphasise the fact that the question in Ireland is boss versus worker.

Perhaps it is not generally known to the movement in Britain that the activities of the "slavers" did not start with the Four Courts fight. No; they started in Killmallock a good many months before, when the question was one of striking workers versus the bosses' army, and ended in the district being placed under martial law. No national struggle there. The next activity of "our" army was against the unemployed of Dublin, who had seized the Rotunda buildings. Was it a national struggle when the workless "stuck up" the town and compelled the bourgeoisie to feed them? When they were faced first with an organised mob composed of "our" soldiers and the purchasable slum proletariat, second with Mr. John O'Duffy, C.O.S. of "our" army, and his buffs, and finally with an appeal to surrender rather than jeopardise the "political reputations" of some of the would-be dictators. Was that a national struggle?

The next phase of the struggle was the seizure of Mallow mills by the workers, which was promptly met by an order to the military to proceed against them. Then came the strike of the agricultural workers of Dublin and Meath, where "our" army once more showed where its orders came from. Has anyone heard of any Nationalist demands there? Then we come to the attempt to form the Cork railroad Soviet. Nationalist tactics, eh? And the seizure of Cleaves' factory. More Nationalism, perhaps. And when the enraged workers, brow-beaten by "our" army, blew up the Tipperary factory, was it because they loved their country? Does the fact that the red flag flew over a dozen seized factories go to prove that this is a national struggle?

Let us proceed to the fight in Dublin. Does any comrade imagine that the men of the Irish Citizen Army, the Economic Section, and the remnants of the unemployed Red Army, were waging the war for nationalistic ideals?

Now, comrades of the British movement, let us face the facts. These men, and those who agree with them, are still facing the guns of the boss class. They have not changed the class outlook for the national one, nor will they do so, no matter what certain politicians may think. We must be prepared to be judged by our attitude towards them. Either we believe in the solidarity of the workers or we do not. To those who are "sympathetic" we say: "Blast your sympathy; do something!"

To those who still sing the song of "national struggle," we say: "Watch out for your political reputation."

THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNISM.

We who are anti-Capitalist are not out merely to destroy. Negatives never carry far. It is as easy as it is necessary for us to renounce the Capitalist system. Our real work is something more important. It is constructive. Much of our time and energy is used in showing up the evils of the present system. That is a vital and ever-increasing necessity; but while we repeatedly prove the utter failure of Capitalism we must present our alternative, and it is not sufficient to say that we believe in Communism. We cannot practice pure Communism as isolated units in Capitalist society.

The first corollary of Communism is propaganda. Every Communist is a propagandist. Propaganda implies a knowledge of our aims and the possession of the spirit of our ideals. Many of us believe that Capitalism carries within itself the germs of its own destruction; but we desire to hasten the debacle. We do not desire this for any love of destruction, but because we desire to hasten the building of Communism.

What, perhaps, we are prone to neglect in our propagandist activities is the use here and now of materials that might well be turned to the use of Communism.

Communism is an economic theory; it is something more—it is the expression of the spirit of fraternity and fellowship. Communism as an economic theory can only be carried on with serious limitations under Capitalism, but because Communism is also fellowship endeavour should be made to express through co-operation as much of Communism as possible.

There are all kinds of co-operative effort, and many kinds exist under Capitalism. Communism is integral co-operation; it gets down to the roots, and it expresses itself in every relationship of life. All co-operation that has the spirit of Communism is a desirable functioning even under Capitalism. While we continue our propaganda through the ordinary channels, we should do well to cast around for manifold expressions of our willingness to co-operate.

It is easy to denounce and destroy; it is not easy to co-operate integrally. To learn to co-operate more and more integrally is a task to which we Communists might set our

hands with greater energy and with a more earnest desire to express the true spirit of Communism.

It is not criticism that will build Communism, it is only a sympathetic desire to do the Communist thing. This kind of co-operation does not mean compromise or the whithering away of our ideals. It means a loyalty to our ideals in a more fundamental way than most of us have yet achieved.

E. B.

WAR.

By Lionel Grant.

"I tell you what we are in need of is another war to relieve the present unemployment."

The speaker, a rich industrial magnate, sat back in his comfortable office chair and surveyed the lean-faced man standing, with cap in hand, before him. He was annoyed with his listener for having insisted upon forcing his way into his private room. The rights that the working classes were pleased to call theirs in these days were utterly preposterous.

"While we had war," continued the magnate, folding his hands in a self-satisfied manner across his breast, "there was little or no unemployment in the country. Every man, woman and child capable of work was engaged on something of national importance. You had the men in the factory and the mine, others doing their share in the Army or the Navy. And besides, you should try and remember that if Germany had won the war you would have been a thousand times worse off than you are to-day. You come here into my office and dictate to me about your right to share in the wealth you produce; you argue that the workers are the producers of capital."

He sniffed contemptuously and continued:

"I'd like to know how far the industries of the country would go if it wasn't for we men with the capital. I tell you what you people who shriek of Socialism and Communism will end in, it will come to the men of capital taking their money out of the country altogether. Go back to your working men and be thankful that you've got a job in these times; and don't come here again snivelling about the reduction in wages."

The lean-faced man turned with a smile on his lips to the magnate; albeit a smile of determination and strength:

"Come off that stunt, boss; it don't go down with me like some of the other boys who swallow it. In 1914 you were glad enough for the working classes to go to France to protect your interests, and the Government which represents your class found it easy enough to tell us that we were fighting to make a better country to live in. But now that balloon's burst. The stories of a better country won't go down with us to-day."

He paused, and shook his clenched fists menacingly in the face of the magnate.

"No; I'm not blind, if some of my mates are. I can see as plainly, as though you had spoken the words, where your class are leading us to. You are trying to get us back to industrial serfdom. Capitalism is no longer the old competitive Capitalism of the private individual, it is becoming more and more, as each day passes, an international affair of competition. And your plan is to break our wages system down to such a level that we shall be no better than industrial serfs. But there's a day of reckoning coming. And when that day comes you will find that the workers will mete out to you judgment in relation to your treatment of us now."

The magnate shook in his chair, purple in the face with rage. He raised one hand and pointed a finger towards the door, scarcely able to speak for the anger consuming him.

"Go!" he shouted in a shrill, harsh voice. "Go to the cashier for your pay, and then clear out of my works for good. War, did I say? Yes, there will be another war some fine day, if you and your fellow-Communists

(Continued on p. 8.)

WILL YOU BLACKLEG IN THE RUHR OR FIGHT IN THE EASTERN WAR?

When the fellow-workers of your craft are on strike, be they railwaymen, postal workers, dockers, or whatever they be, you would consider yourself a blackleg if you took the job they had left: would you not, fellow-worker?

Your solidarity does not extend to the workers of other trades. You do not say: If the miners are on strike I, as a railwayman, will strike too, in order that I may help the miners to beat the master class.

No; you have not yet got so far as that, but you would scorn to go in and accept a job at a shop where the workers were on strike, and your Union would deal drastically, we hope, with any of its members who would fall so low.

The French workers who have gone to Germany to replace the French railway and post-office workers who are on strike are playing the part of blacklegs.

They know they are doing wrong, fellow-worker, because through their Unions they have passed resolutions against the French Government's occupation of the Ruhr.

Why, then, do they play the part of blacklegs, fellow-worker? Why do they assist their Government to do that which they condemn?

Would you go to the Ruhr, if a call were made for British workers? We hope not, fellow-worker.

Why do not the French Trade Unions instruct their members not to accept work in the Ruhr? Does it not occur to you, fellow-worker, that it is their duty to do so, since they declare the occupation of the Ruhr to be an unjustifiable piece of militarism?

Why do not the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Second International declare that its members must not go to work or fight for the French Government in Germany.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, Privy Councillor, ex-Cabinet Minister, and Secretary of the Labour Party, is a leading light in the Second and Amsterdam Internationals. He has been over to France to talk to his French colleagues. Why did he go there? What did he say there?

Did the Right Honourable Privy Councillor issue a call for action? Did he say to the French: We expect you to pay the game and prevent any blacklegging on our German brothers who are fighting a righteous struggle, and who belong to our own International organisations.

No indeed, fellow-worker; no indeed! Mr. Henderson has been a member of His Majesty's Government: he is a Member of His Majesty's Privy Council. In speaking to the French he was careful to speak as becomes a man who has occupied and who occupies such positions. Mr. Henderson spoke, no doubt, with all the dignity that befits one of the Imperial rulers. He was careful not to commit himself any further than Mr. Bonar Law or Mr. Lloyd George, would have done: he remembered that he may occupy their position one day.

Mr. Henderson said that the British Labour Party views the French occupation of the Ruhr "with the gravest anxiety."

Very safe, that, fellow-worker. Then he added that France and Belgium are entitled to the largest share of reparations, but that these reparations are linked up with the economic reconstruction of Europe.

The French Trade Unionists thanked Mr. Henderson for his "friendliness," fellow-worker, just as the French Government thanks Mr. Bonar Law for his friendliness.

The French Trade Unionists knew that Mr. Henderson meant precisely what Mr. Bonar Law means; which, in plain English, is just this:

We are looking after the interests of Big Business in our own country.

Mr. Henderson's speech meant just a little more, because it meant also:

We are going to stand by our Government, so do not expect anything from us.

Mr. Henderson is as much trusted in these delicate little matters by the Government of Bonar Law as he was by those of Asquith and Lloyd George. He can always be trusted to echo the views of the British Government.

And what about the war in the East?

Oh that, fellow-worker, may come to a head any time. Are you willing to fight there and die there, in order that British Big Business may exploit the oil?

Are you willing to send your son to fight in the East for oil profits for the rich?

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

(Continued from p. 8.)

peaceably when they have food to share. . . Murder is very seldom heard of among us. It does not happen unless someone is suspected or accused of being a magician, and of having killed someone by his witchcraft, in which case he is killed without remorse by those whose duty it is, who think they have just as good a right as the executioner in your country to take the lives of malefactors; but they make no boast of it, and do not give thanks to God for it like the great lords in your country, when they have killed all the people of another land, as D. has told me. It surely cannot be to the good God of whom you teach us, who has forbidden us to shed blood; that they give thanks and praises; it must be to another who loves slaughter and destruction. I wonder if it is not to the Tornarsuk (the Devil)? Yet that cannot be either; for it would be flying in the face of the good Lord to give any honour to Satan.

"I hope you will explain this to me at your convenience (a hard nut to crack! Ed.). I promise not to tell my countrymen about it. It might lead them to think like Kana, who dared not to become a Christian, for fear he should come to be like the wicked sailors."

—Quoted by Fridtjof Nansen in his "Eskimo Life."

ESPERANTO correspondens estas dezirata pro juno lerino.—Strike School, Burston, Diss.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT MEETINGS.

Friday, February 2nd.—Minerva Café, 144 High Holborn (top floor), William Morris's "News from Nowhere," reading and explanation by Janet Grove, 8 to 10 p.m. Sale of Work and Literature, 6 to 8 p.m. Tea, coffee, etc., at moderate prices.

Friday, February 16th.—8 p.m., Minerva Café (top floor).

Sunday, February 18th.—7.30 p.m., Old William Morris Hall, North Street, Clapham. S. Pankhurst and L. Grant.

Sunday, February 25th.—Workers' Friend Club, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel. S. Pankhurst.

Agents and canvassers wanted in London and the provinces.—Apply the Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

Sunday, February 4th and 11th.—Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road, 7 p.m. Sylvia Pankhurst will speak on "Socialism, Old and New."

(Continued from p. 7.)

start trying to take our property away from us. But it will be you who will be the loser by it; we've got the Army and Navy on our side."

The lean-faced man smiled as he passed slowly out of the office.

"I wouldn't be too sure of that, boss, if I were you. Perhaps when that day comes you may find that the Army and Navy are with the workers. Such things have happened before in history, and may well happen again."

The magnate collapsed back into his chair and mopped his forehead, which was damp with the sweat of his rage.

"Liar!" he cried, as though seeking to comfort himself. "Liar! The troops and the sailors will remain faithful to the Government and to us who employ them."

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