

Parliament as We See It.

Workers' Dreadnought

Remove the Frontiers and Build a United Europe.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1923.

WEEKLY.

THE LAST POEM OF PETOFI.

Petofi, the Hungarian poet, whose centenary is now being celebrated, was trampled to death in a victorious charge under the Red Flag in the revolution of '48. In this, his last poem, which has been translated by John Pollen, C.I.E., LL.D., Petofi foretold his death.

For me 'twere terrible to die
Pillowed in cushioned luxury,
To fade as slowly fades the flower
Whose heart a canker doth devour,
Or waste away like taper slim
Burning in rustic chapel dim.
Such death may God ne'er let me die.

God! save me from such death, I cry.

Rather would I, like wind-tossed oak,
By cruel blasts of storm be broke—
Or like some cliff-side rent asunder,
Be hurled into the deep with thunder.
But should the peoples, long enthralled,
Rebel, and, to the red flag called,
Send echoing down the line the cry,
For Liberty!

Down Tyranny!

And fight with heat the glorious fight
In bloody battle for the right,
There be my death! and there my heart
With its last life-drop gladly part!
Mingle my shout in battle fray,
With roar of musketry and trumpet's bray,
And charge of cavalry in fierce career,
Chasing the flying foe with cheer on cheer!

And o'er my prostrate body let them charge—
To tell the victory to the world at large!
And, when the day of burial comes, may they
In the same grave with me the red flag lay,
Covering, while songs in praise of death are
sung,

The bones of those who fought and gladly
flung
Their life away, fighting world-tyranny,
And in thy sacred cause, world-liberty.

STRONGER POISON-GAS.

Poison-Gas to Make Men Incurably Insane.

The "Sunday Times" reports that Miss Zoe Hawley, delivering an address to the students of the Royal Sanitary Institute, said a young officer training at Woolwich had told her that the greatest discovery made there recently, and the one of which those concerned were most proud, was a poison-gas which would penetrate any mask and make men incurably insane.

This is where Capitalist civilisation is leading us. It is high time the human race took refuge in Communism. It behoves us to hasten as speedily as possible to that desired goal, for the next Capitalist war will not be long in coming.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

The high cost of production of the paper necessitates prompt payment.

Emigrating Children of Fourteen Years.

In these days of distress, when many parents cannot feed their children; when boys and girls who have left school cannot find employment; the Government has decided to ship large numbers of children away from this country to the overseas Dominions.

The scheme for boys is issued first; the scheme for girls will follow.

The Ministry of Labour has issued a confidential circular stating that the **most promising age group for emigration is between 14 and 17 years.**

"Boys of that age," says the circular, "are impressionable," and "will readily adapt themselves to any environment in which they may be placed."

You know that is true, do you not, fellow-workers, who are mothers and fathers? Can you tolerate the prospect of sending your own, or other parents' young children far away from home, to be the indentured wage-slaves of farmers in Australia?

CHILDREN TO BE INDENTURED WAGE-SLAVES.

That, indeed, is what is contemplated. The written consent of the parent or guardian is first obtained. If the boy is going to Queensland, in Australia, an agreement will then be entered into between the child and the Queensland Government, and between the child and the employer. The boy will be bound to the employer for not less than one year, nor more than three years.

A boy of fourteen is not old enough to be held competent to enter into such an agreement. Nevertheless, the Government declares that the agreement is legally binding upon him.

If he is going to South Australia, the boy will enter into an agreement with the Government Commissioner of Lands and Immigration, and the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration will enter into an agreement with the farmer. The boy will not have a direct agreement with the farmer. The agreements in South Australia will be for one to three years; but the Commissioner may terminate the agreement with the farmer, and transfer the boy to another farmer, if he considers the original allocation is not satisfactory. This will not be done at the request of the boy: only if the Commissioner considers it necessary.

IF A BOY RUNS AWAY.

The boys are to be inspected periodically. Each inspector is to visit 500 boys a month on various, often widely distant farms. It is obvious to you, mothers and fathers of children, that such inspection can be only a matter of form.

If the boy is unhappy; if the boy is ill-treated, what is he to do?

The circular explains:

"Any boy having any cause for complaint will have the means of bringing it to the knowledge of the responsible State officials."

Whoever understands the position of a child, alone and friendless in the power of strangers, knows that, in most cases, the boy will be afraid to complain of any ill-treatment, however serious. Whoever understands the position of the busy inspector knows that, even if made, the complaints will usually be

pooh-poohed and explained away. If the boy writes to a Government office, whoever has done that knows the red tape he will have to encounter.

If the boy is so unhappy that he runs away, what then?

Then, since the contract is legally binding, he can be taken back to his master and punished in the Law Courts.

Observe, parents of children who will emigrate, that the contract with the farmer is not made with you, but with the Government and your child. If the farmer behaves badly, you, the parents of the child, will have no legal standing in making a complaint. You will have signed away your rights when you agreed to your child entering upon this contract. You will have no chance of obtaining redress if the Government does not adequately protect your child.

Another circular of the Ministry of Labour issued to Juvenile Employment Committees further explains the conditions under which the boys will go out to their unknown masters.

The wages are not stated: they are to be "subject to the approval of the Minister." In South Australia the boy will be allowed 4/- a week pocket-money.

If the farmer feeds him badly, this will not go far towards making up the deficiency.

The rest of the earnings will be kept by the State till the end of the boy's apprenticeship. The State will pay him 4½ per cent interest. Some of the War Loan holders get 7 per cent interest. There is no generosity in this proposition.

Payments from the boy's earnings will be made towards his clothing and the refund of his passage-money, if that has been lent to him by the Government.

In Queensland the boy will be allowed to have one-third of his earnings, two-thirds will be retained by the Government "at simple interest," and repaid to him when he is 21, or at the end of his apprenticeship, less the cost of his clothing and passage-money.

Observe that the Imperial Commonwealth Governments are only prepared to make a free grant of £11 towards the cost of emigration in the case of approved applicants.

The passage for juveniles, however, costs £83, and, in addition, the Imperial Commonwealth Governments demand that the juvenile shall pay £2 landing money.

The Imperial Commonwealth Governments will, however, lend £11, or £22, and also £2 to approved applicants, in case of "real necessity," the money being recovered from the boy's earnings by the Government to which the earnings are paid.

Clothing and outfit the parents must find for the boy, and they are advised to pay as much as possible towards his passage, because their child will have to pay back out of his little earnings whatever may be lent by the Government in order that he may help "to develop the Empire."

Parents will only send their young children out to the Dominions under such schemes from pressure of sheer necessity.

How long shall we tolerate a social system that forces parents to ship their children away from a land of abundance to work for unknown masters?

THE SEVEN THAT WERE HANGED.

By Leonid Andreyev.
(A Famous Russian Author.)

"AT ONE O'CLOCK IN THE AFTER-NOON, YOUR EXCELLENCY!"

As the Minister was a very fat man, pre-disposed to apoplexy, and as it was necessary therefore to spare him every dangerous emotion, they took the minutest precautions in warning him that a serious attempt upon his life had been planned. When they saw that he received the news calmly, they gave him the details: the attempt was to be made the next day, at the moment when His Excellency was to leave the house to go to make his report. A few terrorists, armed with revolvers and bombs, whom a police spy had betrayed and who were now being watched by the police, were to meet near the steps at one o'clock in the afternoon and await the Minister's exit. There the criminals would be arrested.

"Pardon me," interrupted the Minister in surprise. "How do they know that I am to go to present my report at one o'clock in the afternoon, when I learned it myself only two days ago?"

The commander of the bodyguard made a vague gesture signifying ignorance.

"At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!"

Astonished, and at the same time satisfied with the police who had managed the affair so well, the Minister shook his head; a disdainful smile appeared on his thick red lips; quickly he made all the necessary preparations to pass the night in another palace; in no way did he wish to embarrass the police. His wife and children also were removed from the dangerous premises.

As long as the lights gleamed in this new residence, and while his familiars bustled about him expressing their indignation, the Minister felt a sensation of agreeable excitement. It seemed to him that he had just received, or was about to receive, a great and unexpected reward. But the friends went away, and the lights were put out. The intermittent and fantastic glare of the arc-lights in the street fell upon the ceiling and the walls, penetrating through the high windows, symbolising, as it were, the fragility of all bolts and walls, the vanity of all supervision. Then, in the silence and one solitude of a strange chamber, the dignity was seized with an unspeakable terror.

He was afflicted with a kidney trouble. Every violent emotion caused his face, feet, and hands to swell, and made him appear heavier, more massive. Now, like a heap of bloated flesh that made the bed-springs bend, he suffered the anguish of the sick as he felt his face puff up and become, as it were, something foreign to his body. His thought recurred obstinately to the cruel fate that his enemies were preparing for him. He evoked one after the other all the horrible attempts of recent date, in which bombs had been thrown against persons as noble as himself and bearing even higher titles, tearing their bodies into a thousand shreds, hurling their brains against foul brick walls, and knocking their teeth from their jaws. And at these recollections, it seemed to him that his diseased body was another man's body suffering from the fiery shock of the explosion. He pictured to himself his arms detached from his shoulders, his teeth broken, his brain crushed. His legs, stretched out in the bed, grew numb and motionless, the feet pointing upward, like those of a dead man. He breathed noisily, coughing occasionally, to avoid all resemblance to a corpse; he moved about, that he might hear the metallic springs, the rustling of the silk coverlet. And, to prove that he was really alive, he exclaimed in a loud and clear voice:

"Brave fellows! Brave fellows!"

These words of praise were for the police, the gendarmes, the soldiers, all of those who protected his life and had prevented the

assassination. But in vain did he stir about, lavish his praise, and smile at the discomfiture of the terrorists; he could not yet believe that he was saved. It seemed to him that the death evoked for him by the anarchists, and which existed in their thought, was already there and would remain there, refusing to go away until the assassins should be seized, deprived of their bombs, and lodged safely in prison. There it stood, in the corner yonder, declining to leave, and unable to leave, like an obedient soldier placed on guard by an unknown will.

"At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!" This phrase came back to him continually, uttered in all tones, now joyously and ironically, now irritably, now obstinately and stupidly. One would have said that a hundred phonographs had been placed in the chamber, and were crying one after the other, with the idiotic persistence of machines:

"At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!"

And this "one o'clock in the afternoon" of the next day, which so short a time before was in no way to be distinguished from other hours, had taken on a menacing importance; it had stepped out of the clock-dial, and was beginning to live a distinct life, stretching itself like an immense black curtain, to divide life into two parts. Before it and after it no other hour existed; it alone, presumptuous and obsessing, was entitled to a special life.

Grinding his teeth, the Minister raised himself in his bed to a sitting posture. It was positively impossible for him to sleep.

Pressing his bloated hands against his face, he pictured to himself with terrifying clearness how he would have risen on the morrow if he had been left in ignorance; he would have taken his coffee, and dressed. And neither he, nor the Swiss who would have helped him on with his fur coat, nor the valet who would have served his coffee, would have understood the uselessness of breakfasting and dressing, when a few moments later everything would be annihilated by the explosion. . . . The Swiss opens the door. . . . And it is he, this good and thoughtful Swiss, with the blue eyes, and the open countenance, and the numerous military decorations—he it is who opens the terrible door with his own hands. . . .

"Ah!" suddenly exclaimed the Minister aloud; slowly he removed his hands from his face. Gazing far before him into the darkness with a fixed and attentive look, he stretched out his hands to turn on the light. Then he arose, and in his bare feet walked around the strange chamber so unfamiliar to him; finding another light, he turned that on also. The room became bright and agreeable; there was only the disordered bed and the fallen coverlet to indicate a terror that had not yet completely disappeared.

Clad in a nightshirt, his beard in a tangle, a look of irritation on his face, the Minister resembled those old people who are tormented by asthma and insomnia. One would have said that the death prepared for him by others had stripped him bare, had torn him from the luxury with which he was surrounded. Without dressing he threw himself into an arm-chair; his eyes wandered to the ceiling.

"Imbeciles!" he cried in a contemptuous tone of conviction.

"Imbeciles!" And he was speaking of the policemen whom but a few moments before he had called "brave fellows," and who, through excess of zeal, had told him all the details of the attack that had been planned.

"Evidently," he thought with lucidity, "I am afraid now because I have been warned and because I know. But, if I had been left in ignorance, I should have taken my coffee quietly. And then, evidently, this death."

But am I then so afraid of death? I have a kidney trouble; some day I must die of it, and yet I am not afraid, because I don't know when. And these imbeciles say to me:

"At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!" They thought that I would be glad to know about it! . . . Instead of that, death has placed himself in the corner yon-

der, and does not go away! He does not go away, because I have that fixed idea! To die is not so terrible; the terrible thing is to know that one is going to die. It would be quite impossible for a man to live if he knew the hour and day of his death with absolute certainty. And yet these idiots warn me: "At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!"

Recently he had been ill, and the doctors had told him that he was going to die and should make his final arrangements. He had refused to believe them; and, in fact, he did not die. Once, in his youth, it had happened to him to get beyond his depth; he had decided to put an end to his existence; he had loaded his revolver, written some letters, and even fixed the hour of his suicide; then, at the last moment, he had reconsidered. And always, at the supreme moment, something unexpected may happen; consequently no man can know when he will die.

"At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!" these amiable idiots had said to him. They had informed him only because his death had been plotted; and yet he was terrified simply to learn the hour when it might have occurred. He admitted that they would kill him some day or other, but it would not be the next day. . . . It would not be the next day, and he could sleep quietly, like an immortal being. . . . The imbeciles! They did not know what a gulf they had dug in saying, with stupid amiability, "At one o'clock in the afternoon, Your Excellency!"

From the bitter anguish that shot through his heart, the Minister understood that he would know neither sleep, nor rest, nor joy, until this black and accursed hour, thus detached from the course of time, had passed. It was enough in itself to annihilate the light and enwrap the man in the opaque darkness of fear. Now that he was awake, the fear of death permeated his entire body, filtered into his bones, exuded from every pore.

Already the Minister had ceased to think of the assassins of the morrow; they had disappeared, forgotten in the multitude of inauspicious things that surrounded his life. He feared the unexpected, the inevitable: an attack of apoplexy, a laceration of the heart, the rupture of a little artery suddenly made powerless to resist the flow of blood and splitting like a glove on swollen hands.

His thick, short neck frightened him; he dared not look at his swollen fingers, full of some fatal fluid. And though, just before, in order to avoid resemblance to a corpse, now, under this bright cold, hostile, frightful light, it seemed to him horrible, impossible, to move even to light a cigarette or ring for a servant. His nerves were at a tension. With red and upturned eyes and burning head, he stifled.

Suddenly, in the darkness of the sleeping house, the electric bell just under the ceiling, among the dust and spiders' webs, became animate. Its little metallic tongue beat hurriedly against the sonorous edge. It stopped for a moment, and then began to ring again in a continuous and terrifying fashion.

People came running. Here and there lamps were lighted on the walls and chandeliers—too few of them for intense illumination, but enough to create shadows. On every hand appeared these shadows: they arose in the corners and stretched out upon the ceiling, fastening upon all projections and running along the walls. It was difficult to understand where all these taciturn, monstrous, and innumerable shadows could have kept themselves before—mate souls of mute things.

A thick and trembling voice said something indistinguishable. Then they telephoned to the doctor: the Minister was ill. His Excellency's wife was summoned also.

THE CASTLE IN THE AIR or THE MIGHT-BE LAND, By Clara Gilbert Cole.

One penny.

A charming fairy-tale of Communism for children of all ages.

Parliament As We See It.

The King's speech promised credit facilities for agriculturists and the remission of taxation which presses "on the agricultural industry."

Bills dealing with housing, unemployment and industrial insurance and trade boards are also promised, but these will probably prove the reverse of beneficial to the workers.

A Bill dealing with increase of rent and mortgage interest, which is promised, will undoubtedly be in the interests of the property owners.

Unemployment a Settled Feature of Capitalism.

In replying to the address, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald pointed out that Professor Keynes has said that it is "doubtful whether in these days we should be able to employ the whole employable population except at the very top of the periodical booms."

Sir Burton Chadwick blurted out the truth: "You never expect to employ the whole population except at the top of the boom!"

Macdonald on Housing.

With regard to housing, Mr. Macdonald said there is a monopoly on housing, and that Mr. Lloyd George's solution to the problem was to build. This, he said, was the right solution. "The problem can never be solved until you get a perfectly free and open market."

That, of course, is not a Socialist solution: common ownership and free use of the houses is the Socialist solution.

Macdonald and the Ruhr.

On the Ruhr question Mr. Macdonald commiserated the Prime Minister on finding "the chapter half written." "He is bound," he said, "to go on writing without a break in the middle."

That is a highly significant statement. It has often been boasted by Capitalist politicians that "British foreign policy is continuous," whatever Government is in power. Mr. Macdonald apparently approves that pernicious doctrine. He further said that in his view Britain should neither support French Imperialism in its Ruhr adventure nor oppose her quite directly. He added:

"But there is a third attitude which an important French newspaper suggested, that France should take towards us, over Turkey. . . . 'Le Matin' says: 'If the Turks refuse to sign the Treaty, it is admissible that French interests should be sacrificed to ambitions which France does not share.' That is the third alternative. I leave it there."

This, of course, is precisely Mr. Bonar Law's policy. It was on his declaration that this should be British policy, East and West, that Bonar Law brought about the overthrow of the Lloyd George Government and came into power.

However profusely Mr. Macdonald may decorate the blunt words of Mr. Bonar Law with platitudes, he will not in the long run be able to convince anyone that the Labour Party has nothing to do save to adopt the policy of a Tory Prime Minister.

As to Lausanne, Mr. Macdonald made no criticism of the bully's terms Britain and the other Western Powers have imposed on Turkey; he hoped, indeed, the Treaty would be signed; still he thought the Turk might have been "approached with a little more sympathy"; he ought not to have been told he was "practising the arts of the bazaar." Russia, he thought, ought to have been "taken more into account," but how he did not define.

Mr. Macdonald, who grows progressively anti-French and more nationalist in his utterances, further asked:

"Has any Note been sent to France reminding her we have claims on her income and resources now that we are beginning to pay our debts?"

Mr. Macdonald also asked whether a tariff is to be levied by the United States on the goods sent there by Britain in payment of the British war debt to U.S.A.

Wee Free Proposals.

Mr. Asquith observed that he had said three years ago Germany could only pay £2,000,000,000 in reparation; yet Germany is now being asked to pay £6,600,000,000. (It was 11,600,000,000 once.) He also urged a moratorium for Germany. He considered the reference to this question in the King's speech inadequate, and said that the Government ought to persist in urging that the matter be dealt with by the League of Nations.

The Prime Minister, in reply, said that those who were dealing with the British had counted on war weariness; but "if war is inevitable, it will have to take place," though he did not think there was danger of it. He said that Britain had proposed a four years' moratorium for Germany, during which a Council, representing the Allies, America, and a neutral nation, and having a German chairman, should advise "the German Government on financial matters, the payment to be exacted from Germany to be £2,000,000,000, and £500,000,000 more if the Arbitration Tribunal thought Germany could pay it. France had rejected the proposal. Poincaré was bent on the Ruhr occupation, and objected to the £6,600,000,000 being reduced except in so far as any Ally might disavow its own claims."

Mr. Law said the French Government had made no declaration as to whether it meant ultimately to annex the Ruhr, nor had it suggested the British Government should send workmen to the Ruhr. The French had seized the Ruhr, he protested, because "they are afraid."

Mr. Bonar Law affects to ignore the secret treaties, but he knows, without a doubt, that the French intention is annexation pure and simple.

Mr. Bonar Law added:

"We still have our troops on the Rhine. I do not know whether it will be possible for them to remain long. I knew quite well in Paris when we came to that decision that the question of their remaining there would become very difficult. Up to now it has not become acute; but after what has happened it may become acute. . . . any German Government or any French Government could easily make it impossible for our troops to remain. I think that would be a misfortune. While we are there we are at least in touch with the situation. We have at least some chance of having a say in the control of it, and though one cannot foresee any issue out of it I think it would be a pity to have the Entente brought to an end—because that is what it would mean. My right hon. friend suggests that we should appeal to the League of Nations. . . . There is no use doing that if you are certain that the French will not have anything to do with it. . . . I am certain that would be their view to-day."

The Unemployed Marchers as Casuals.

Sir William Joynson-Hicks, who is secretary to the Overseas Trade Department, but does duty for the Minister of Health till that worthy secures a seat in Parliament, declared that the unemployed on the march have "no rights at all to relief except as casuals." Mr. Lansbury declared that there was no law to compel the Guardians to place any person in a casual ward. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks revised his statement; the hunger-marchers, he now said, had "no rights other than the rights of any other person who applies to the Guardians." Guardians, he said, have no right to go beyond "what is reasonable." "A couple of thousand men have no right to swarm down on a small Workhouse and say: 'We are destitute; you must provide for us!' He de-

clared that the marching was an attempt to break down the Poor Law.

A heated altercation took place, in which Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Kirkwood heckled Sir W. Joynson-Hicks as to whether the Government inspectors had told Boards of Guardians that they must put hunger-marchers in the casual ward. Sir W. Joynson-Hicks declared that if the hunger-marchers had money, the Guardians must take it for their maintenance. Dingley had told the Guardians if the marchers were treated as casuals they would raid the town.

30,000 Fish Thrown Back in the Sea.

Mr. G. D. Hardie (Keir Hardie's brother) pointed out that the starving poor of Plymouth have had the heart-breaking experience of seeing large catches of good fish, to the number of 30,000, thrown back into the sea because the public would not, or could not, pay the high prices demanded. A report had been issued in Glasgow showing that the condition of some children there approaches the famine-stricken condition of Viennese children in 1920.

The Overworked Millionaire.

Captain Hudson protested that much work is done by millionaires, and that "if the hours they work were shown to a Trade Union official he would have a fit."

The millionaire would certainly refuse if his employers demanded such piece-rates!

Emigrating Children of Fourteen.

Mr. Muir (Lab.) protested against the Government emigrating children of fourteen years. These children, he said, though going nominally with the consent of their parents, are wrung from them by the present system. Girls are being excluded from benefit by the Employment Exchanges if they refuse domestic service, so the families are being broken up, the boys emigrated, the girls sent to domestic service—

The well-to-do Members of the House laughed.

"Is there one hon. Member opposite who would consent to his boy or girl being sent out in these conditions?"

Viscountess Astor, with her much-nursed, much-governed, and much-tutored children at home, cried: "Yes!"

Mr. Muir again urged that the Government is proposing to emigrate boys of fourteen, and urged that no Member on the Government side of the House would emigrate his boy, much less his girl, even at eighteen years, under the conditions laid down.

Mr. Muir quoted the case of a Church Army emigration scheme, under which boys sent to New Zealand were paid 7/6 a week, though the standard rate for boys of their age there was 25/- to 30/- a week. Boys and girls of seven and eight years were sent out to milk cows between 3 and 4 a.m. and 8 and 9 p.m.

The Last King's Speech.

On reference being made to the King's Speech, Mr. Walton Newbold (C.P.) interjected:

"It will be the last King's Speech, I hope!"

Ben Turner's Odd Rebuke.

Mr. Ben Turner, the mild I.L.P. Labour Member, who rose to speak a few moments later, rebuked the Bolshevik by observing that the House was the constitutional forum of the country, and the King's speech the Government's declaration of policy. He then mentioned the case of thirteen persons living and sleeping in two bedrooms, and the case of twelve persons also sleeping in two rooms: the father, an ex-soldier, and two of the children suffering from tuberculosis, and the mother expecting her confinement.

Turkey and Greece.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert (Lib.) observed that Mr. Lloyd George had attempted to found a great Greek Empire, to unify the Entente, (Continued on p. 6.)



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Our View.

THE LABOUR PARTY AMENDMENT to the address called for an all-round cancellation of war debts as part of a settlement which would make the League of Nations representative of all peoples and employ it both for matters like the Ruhr and for reconsidering the Peace Treaties, especially the economic clauses.

It was a badly and very vaguely drafted amendment. Lord Eustace Percy aptly twitted the Labour Party with not explaining how the Treaties should be altered, and pointed out that the Labour Party supported the territorial arrangements made by the Treaties, both during the war, and specifically in their war aims manifesto of 1918, and when the Treaties were made.

The Amendment asks that the League of Nations shall deal with the Ruhr issue; but Mr. Philip Snowden, who made by far the best Labour Party speech on this question, declared that the Labour Party wishes the issue to be submitted, not to the League of Nations, out to a world conference to which representatives of all nations shall be called. Mr. Clynes and some other prominent Labour Party men have been active in the League of Nations propaganda. It is difficult for them now to declare, as other Members of the Labour Party do, that the League is a sham. Mr. Clynes, in the debate, repudiated that view, but euphemistically admitted that the League is "a wounded and disabled force" which must be "cured and strengthened." He disavowed attempts to start a new or rival League.

Lord E. Percy further observed that the Labour Party has not made up its mind whether it would like the League to be a machine for conciliation amongst the nations or a super-national authority possessing powers of compulsion. That, of course, is true. On this, as on so many other questions, the Labour Party has no concerted policy. The majority of those of its members who were in the last Parliament—the Trade Union officials—simply followed the Government policy on this and all international questions, believing support of the Government to be patriotic where foreign affairs are concerned, and fearing to place themselves in opposition to the main trend of public opinion. The older I.L.P. Members have adopted a Liberal pacifist view, strongly tinged with humanitarianism. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, however, is daily growing more imperialist, and the question is how far he will lead the whole party with him. The Scottish I.L.P. Members are far from having reached his way of looking at things as yet; but the influence of the House and of their Party leader will be strong.

Mr. Snowden, reactionary, as he is in many ways, may retain his old pacifism, and in spite of his narrow truculence, may still be incorruptible, long after MacDonald has ceased even to recall the I.L.P. member who was a target of Jingo abuse and vilification during the war of 1914-18.

"Appeal to France," says Mr. Clynes, who still draws back somewhat from the MacDonald policy, which is now beginning to be definitely anti-French and pro-German. "Propose a world conference," says Mr. Snowden. Let France refuse, if she will: "What we have to do is to mobilise the moral opinion of the world." Should France refuse, "she will be morally isolated."

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S views are of another colour: he urges a break with France: declared opposition to her policy: refusal to allow France to possess the great iron and coal basin which lies between France and Germany; the interests of Britain do not permit that France should possess such industrial wealth and such a source of war material.

Mr. MacDonald has ceased indeed to be a pacifist: he is an advocate to-day of the balance of power he once condemned; he is an advocate of preparedness. He says:

"Is it something essential to a demonstration of amity to France that we are going to turn a blind eye to all the dangers that the development of an enormously powerful European Power is going to offer us? ... Am I going to be asked to show my friendship for my friend in terms, and in a way, and on conditions that will throw me absolutely open to the most deadly attack, should it happen, which, God forbid, that my present friend ever comes into conflict with my interests, either at home or elsewhere?"

"If we are going to discuss security, we must discuss it, and we must remember that the problem of European security is not a problem between France and Germany. There is Russia, there is Turkey, there are the Arabs, there is Egypt, there is Palestine. ... Yes, Mr. Speaker, but this House will never adequately discuss the problem of security, either upon a moral basis which I should prefer, or upon a military basis, upon which I am prepared to discuss it, without bringing the interests of this country in and without placing those interests in relation to the military power either of Germany, or of France, or of Russia, or of Turkey, or of any other nation that you care to select to put along side of us."

AS MR. MACDONALD FEELS HIMSELF nearing the possibility of the Premiership, he becomes more imperialist: he begins to regard the business of that office as his predecessors regarded it. He continued most significantly:

"I am not sure that we would not do a little better than we are doing if we had a certain amount of the spirit of Palmerston in these days. Hon. Members will never find the Labour Party as I say opposed to a certain amount of the spirit of Palmerston."

Palmerston, who laid the foundations of aggressive modern capitalist imperialism; Palmerston, the Jingo; Palmerston, the friend of reaction in every land, who supported the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in France and opposed democratic reform in his own country; a fine example truly for the Labour Party to follow!

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald expects to become Prime Minister; he foresees war with France; he is letting it be seen very clearly that he is prepared to take the responsibility of declaring war in order to obtain or maintain for Britain the hegemony of Europe.

It is as though the Emperor had said: "Only an imperialist Government shall take office here."

It is as though the leader of the Labour Party had answered: "I will be an imperialist amongst imperialists; my Government shall make thine Empire mightier yet."

Well might the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Tory Mr. Baldwin, say:

"When I heard the leader of the Labour Party invoke the shade of Palmerston, I felt that now the Labour Party, once for all, has purged itself of pacifism."

The Tories will maintain the French alliance till Eastern questions are settled. Later rivalry with France will come to a head. The Labour Party will be used to popularise that war.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE LABOUR PARTY POLICY

THE WEAKNESS OF THE LABOUR PARTY POLICY is the weakness of the Wee-Free Liberals. In face of French aggression in the Ruhr; in face of the fact that the foundations of another European war are being surely laid, it merely protests and appeals to the Government in power: it takes no alternative action. The Wee Frees might practise tax resistance; but the Labour Party has a more direct and powerful weapon—industrial resistance. That weapon it refuses to use.

That weapon the Amsterdam International might use in every country; but fails to use in every country. Those who would say: this thing shall not be; and say it with effect by stopping the work and supplies which make the aggression possible, have not, as yet, the confidence of the masses. The masses have not yet learnt that they can immediately check the actions of capitalist imperialism—nay, more—can overthrow it.

We must work and wait till the eyes of the people are opened.

THE LABOUR PARTY has introduced a new

Unemployment Bill; its provisions are not yet known. Mr. Clynes, in the debate on the Labour amendment to the Address, has, however, foreshadowed that they will include the conscription of the unemployed for work on roads, etc., and the abolition of maintenance without work. Such a measure is likely to be accepted by the Tory Government and administered in a harsh and niggardly spirit.

MR. HAYDAY has disclosed the fact that when the Trade Union Congress General Council met Mr. Bonar Law at Downing Street he observed:

"No one who has at all given thought to this subject can help feeling what an absurdity it is that a man, the most valuable instrument of production in the world, should, at particular times, lose all value, while a horse always has value."

How extraordinary it is that even a Tory can regard a fellow human being as of no value save to make profits for the employer.

IN THE HURRY of day to day events we do not often study the "Plebs" Magazine, which aims at being the special custodian of independent working-class education and Marxian instruction.

We were surprised to find in the February issue of "Plebs" an article entitled "The Economics of Unemployment," by a gentleman named Maurice H. Dobb, who clearly has not the remotest conception of Socialism, and who completely misunderstands the teaching of Marx, although, as many "Plebs" writers are apt to do, he repeatedly introduces the name of Marx in order to give added weight to his own point of view.

Mr. Maurice Dobb leads off by discussing whether unemployment and non-employment will exist in a Socialist society. Unemployment he defines as denoting that "workers are turned on the streets to starve without adequate maintenance." He uses the term non-employment to denote that "certain

Lead and the Soul.

A comrade writes: "In the aftermath of the war, in the disillusion produced by it, your work of producing a paper—however devoted and earnestly meant—is useless. Stay the pen. Let events drift. When the people will have found out by their own sad experience what Capitalism means, they will take action by themselves."

This argument raises a dilemma: Shall lead speak only in the form of bullets—or shall lead also speak as printers' type? Shall all work of revolutionary education cease, simply because all Europe is again given as prey to militarism?

We are not for milk-and-water reformism: yet we believe—strongly believe—in the necessity of counter-acting—as far as is possible with our limited force—the pernicious daily work of the Capitalist Press.

In other words, we believe in the usefulness of the Workers' Press.

What is your opinion, reader?

Lead, in the form of bullets, has widowed Europe of many of her best sons.

Lead, in the hand of the printer—let the printer be, for the moment, the symbol of our joint efforts—will spread enlightenment and make for the only possible "reconstruction": the reconstruction of the mind.

workers are not employed on work for the present, because it is not expedient for them to be so employed."

Unemployment, as above defined, will not exist, he says, in a Socialist community, because all will have "a right to 'maintenance' even when there is not work for them to do." He adds as a footnote:

"Although, of course, society will reserve the right to deprive certain people of this maintenance on the principle of 'he who will not work, neither shall he eat,' and it may be expedient, at any rate during the transition period, to make the level of 'maintenance' lower than the full pay when on work."

He further says:

"It is for the merely technical convenience of measuring how far labour-power is being employed in its relatively most productive uses that probably some price-system, coupled with a system of costing, would be found necessary in any form of Socialism."

Before dealing with Mr. Dobb's argument on unemployment, it is as well here to quote from the much mis-interpreted Marx, who would certainly have repudiated Mr. Dobb as an exponent of his theories, as roundly as he repudiated the authors of the Gotha programme.

"... When labour is no longer the means to live ... then will the narrow bourgeois outlook be transcended, and then will society inscribe upon its banners: 'From every one according to his capacities, to every one according to his needs.'"

MR. DOBB proceeds to assert that "non-employment may exist in a Socialist society as well as in a Capitalist society." He quotes the fact that there is non-employment in Russia

to-day in proof of that. Having no notion of Socialism, it is, perhaps, not surprising that Mr. Dobb does not know there is not Socialism in Russia.

We will not follow Mr. Dobb in his argument as to the causes of unemployment, but will concentrate upon some of his points which misinterpret Socialism, and the points wherein it differs essentially from Capitalism.

Mr. Dobb argues that if unemployment is due to the fact that the workers receive in wages only a part of the total money income of the community, and are therefore only able to use a part of the commodities produced, non-employment could not be cured under Socialism. "For, as Marx said, Labour can never get its full product, because a part of the annual income will always have to be devoted to repair, development, and improvement—probably as large a part as is at present re-invested."

Mr. Dobb, like many others, makes things more difficult for himself by his habit of thinking in terms of money; a habit from which

every Socialist should break away. From the above argument one could imagine him to be as ignorant of the Capitalist system, which encompasses us, as the denizen of another planet who had only read of it, most vaguely, in some travellers' stories. Mr. Dobb should reflect on the immense volume of parasitic workers and idlers attendant on the Capitalist system: the shareholders, makers of advertisements, the canvassers, the middlemen, the retail and wholesale merchants, the limited liability companies and their directors, the stocks and share brokers and their clerks, the book-keepers and accountants, the banks full of workers, the workers at the Mint, the manufacturer of shoddy goods for the poor, the lackeys, and makers of excessive luxury for the rich, the competition which takes a dozen laundry, bakers', butchers', and milkmen's carts into a single street, the insurance companies and their agents, the Poor Law and other dole-giving officials, the policemen and other employees of the penal system. Two-thirds of the population, it is estimated, are employed in such useless occupations, or are not employed. Mr. Dobb, since he likes to think in terms of money, should consider the immense proportion of the annual income which is expended on all these folk; their wages, salaries and incomes. Socialists will consider the food, clothing, housing that those parasitic toilers consume; the great burden their upkeep places upon the community; the great service they would perform for the community if they were but usefully employed.

In case Mr. Dobb should follow the anti-Socialists who fear, and the Fabians who hope that the purely administrative work of Socialism will employ a large proportion of people, we will refer Mr. Dobb again to the opinion of Marx upon this point.

Pro-capitalists will be opening their eyes at this, and declaring that if we are going to do away with the useless toil, we shall increase the volume of unemployment. We hope Mr. Dobb sees further than that.

THE POINT IS that the only thing that matters is to supply the needs of the people. If the needs of the people can be supplied without employing all the workers who are able to practise some particular craft; either the hours of work will be reduced, the workers will take turns to do the work, or some of them will apply themselves to some other occupation. The Trade Unionism which prevents workers from doing that to-day will disappear under Socialism, having become unnecessary.

IT IS STRANGE that Mr. Dobb should be able to offer his views to the Plebs as advanced, scientific, and Socialist. He assumes in his article that all the profits made out of industry are re-invested. He de-

clares that the amount re-invested is not likely to be less under Socialism than at present, and that the only thing the community will be able to do under Socialism will be to prevent chaos by regulating the balance between the production of constructional goods and consumable goods.

After reading Mr. Dobb, the careful Plebs student should turn to the report of the annual meeting of the Burma Oil Company, at which a shareholder made the following interesting observations:

"I have come all the way from London to be present at this meeting, and I should feel myself full of ingratitude if I had not come, because within the last ten months I have made a sum of over £20,000 out of the Burma Oil Company alone. (Laughter and applause.) And, Mr. Chairman, with the four shares that you give me now for every five shares held by me, I have about 900 shares that have cost me nothing." (Laughter.)

BURSTON STRIKE SCHOOL.

We recently chronicled the distraint at Burstons Strike School for income tax, which, as far as the layman can judge, was not due. The authorities are also threatening to take action to recover property tax and land tax. Mr. and Mrs. Higdon declare they are not liable for either, but the authorities persist, and further trouble may be expected any day. The Higdons have most carefully filled out all the forms and given the fullest possible information to the authorities.

The Higdons are fighting the matter with determination, and are receiving the sympathy of others in similar cases.

Last December 219 boxes of fish, weighing 22,294 lbs., and 507 lbs. of game were unsold, went bad, and were used for manure in the city of Glasgow, where hundreds of the sand were hungry.

"DREADNOUGHT" £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £446 14s. 4d.
F. Houghton (10/- monthly), £1; R. Scott, 5/-; M. Powell (monthly), 5/-; Mr. Archer, £1. Total for week, £2 10s. Total, £449 4s. 4d.

INTERNATIONAL MEETING.

THE COMING EUROPEAN WAR

and

THE SPREAD OF FASCISM.

At 17 Frith Street, Soho,
Sunday, February 25th, 3 p.m.

Speakers:

P. Gualducci, in Italian.
Sylvia Pankhurst and J. Welsh, in English
And a French Comrade.

(Continued from p. 3.)

and to partition Turkey. What he had done was to divide the Entente, unify Turkey, and bring the Turks back into Europe with éclat.

Labour Party Stands Up for British Trade.

Mr. Noel Buxton (Labour, recently Liberal) said that the Labour Party had specific charges to make against Lord Curzon's policy at Lausanne. He had failed to get peace and to restore the openings for British trade. Lord Curzon had gone "much further" in concessions regarding capitulations "even than the Labour Party."

If the Labour Party were not imperialist and an echo of the Capitalist parties, it would denounce capitulations altogether!

Mr. Buxton criticised the Government for not agreeing to Russia's proposal to close the Straits to warships. He further charged Lord Curzon with putting Mosul oil before the welfare of Christian minorities; but when Mr. R. McNeill, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, asked him reproachfully if he really meant that, he balked the accusation. Mr. McNeill protested lustily that "nothing could be further from the truth than the idea that in these negotiations material matters of that sort occupied Lord Curzon's mind!"

The protest, of course, was for the public outside.

Mr. Johnston (Labour, editor of "Forward") protested against the havoc caused by the spread of deer forests in Scotland. One-fifth of Scotland (from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 acres) is devoted exclusively to deer forests. A farmer in his constituency had lost grain to the value of £109 last year owing to the depredations of the deer. A deer forest proprietor is claiming £13,000 compensation from the Government for alleged disturbance of his deer in the interests of food production during the war.

Kirkwood Cannot Stand Women and Jews.

Mr. David Kirkwood (Labour, one of the Clyde deportees), in the course of a long and not altogether accurate geographical and historical survey of the world and the British Empire, was observing that the ingenuity of his Scottish race had been exploited by English Capitalism. He was many times interrupted by the not altogether unprovoked hilarity of Members. Suddenly he became wrathful, and cried:

"I hope you do not come here to irritate me now."

The Speaker endeavoured to calm him, with a sympathy not frequently accorded to more intelligent grievances, but Mr. Kirkwood protested:

"We on these benches are prepared to listen quite calmly and quietly to Scotsmen, Englishmen, or Welshmen reasoning with us in regard to emigration; but, as I said last night, I am not going to take it from a German Jew. In the same way it irritates me when a woman comes in—"

The Speaker here interposed that other Members had been returned from constituencies also, and were entitled to equal respect.

Mr. Kirkwood is one of those rough diamonds who require so much polishing that it is difficult to discover their merits. The Capitalist Members of the House treat him well, because they know that a prejudiced fellow of that sort can always be used by them as a bell wether for the flock in time of war. As a matter of fact, Kirkwood is never tired of boasting of what the Clyde workers did for the war.

When it is a question of impudent sallies, however, Lady Waldorf Astor is accustomed to take the lead: no child of the gutter can out-do her in this, her principal accomplishment.

From Motherwell to the Ruhr.

Mr. Walton Newbold declared that steel manufacturers of Motherwell, Barrow, and South Wales hope to buy up the magnificent steelworks in the Ruhr "for an old song," owing to the ruin caused by the French occupation. He added that the American debt would enslave the future Labour Government.

Esperanto.

Lesson 8.

ADVERBS.

Rapide, rapidly, quickly; **bele**, beautifully; **bone**, well; **multe**, much.

An **adverb** usually "modifies" a verb, as in the above examples. It may, however, on occasion modify any word other than a noun.

Compare the adjective in **rapida** parolanto, a rapid speaker, with the adverb in li parolas **rapide**.

An adverb is formed from an adjective by changing a into e, e.g.: **bele**, beautiful; **bele**, beautifully.

KIO, IO, etc.

Corresponding with the **Kiu**, etc., series in Lesson 6, we have the following words, which are formed on exactly the same pattern:

Io, something

Kio, what? (thing)

Tio, that (thing)

Nenio, nothing

Cio, everything Indefinite.

(We have already seen that

-O means something which is.)

K asks a "KWestion" —What?

T, like a signpost, points out.

-ET means **tiny**, **little** (diminutive); thus, libro, a book, **libreto**, a booklet; domo, a house, **dometo**, a cottage; hundo, a dog, **hundeto**, a tiny dog (a "doglet").

-EG has the opposite effect to -et; it means the highest degree (of size or intensity); it is augmentive. Granda, big, **grandega**, huge; bona, good, **bonega**, excellent; varma, warm, **varmega**, intensely hot; domo, a house, **domogo**, a mansion (perhaps a "skyscraper").

-AC expresses contempt; thus, ĉevalo, a horse, **ĉevalaco**, a sorry nag; hundo, a dog, **hundaco**, a cur; domo, a house; **domaĉo**, a hovel.

Vocabulary.

oro
iras
brilas
staras
kontraŭ
standardo
kamparo
lama
estis
bruo
terura

gold
goes
shines
stands
against
standard (flag)
the (country)
lame
was, were
noise
terrible

Translate: Li bone parolis. Si bele parolis. Ni ne multe parolis. Li parolis rapide. Ĉu vi (you) rapide parolas? Jes, mi parolas rapide. Ĉu ŝi bele parolis? Jes, ŝi bele parolis. (Jes, yes, is pronounced as in English.)

Translate: Ĉio iras bone. Io brilas. Kio brilas? Ne ĉio kio brilas estas oro.* Ni rapide margas. Nenio staras kontraŭ ni. Kio estas tio? Tio estas nia standardo, la ruĝa flago. Nia dometo estas en la kamparo. Ĥia (their) ĉevalo estas lama; ĝi ja estas ĉevalaĉo! La bruo estis grandega. La bruego estis terura.

* "Not everything which shines is gold." This is more logical than the customary "all that glitters is not gold."

DUTCH COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

The Communist Workers' Party of Holland recently held its annual Conference. A representative of the German Party was present, and a message of greeting was read from the Russian comrades. The Dutch Party reaffirmed its adherence to the Communist Workers' International. The Congress deplored the split in the German Party, and urged the executive of the International to endeavour to re-unite the so-called Berlin Group to the main body, upon the basis of the revolutionary theses adopted by the Communist Workers' International. The Dutch Party upheld the views of the so-called Essen tendency.

In old days men had the rack. Now they have the Press.—Oscar Wilde.

RAND NEWS.

By Isaac Vermont.

The Labour Party Conference at Durban adopted unanimously a compromise resolution to replace the "Socialist objective" clause in the Party's constitution. This masterpiece of equivocation should be quoted textually. The objective of the Party is now declared to be:

"To secure for producers by hand or brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon a basis of common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration, and the control of each industry or service, with a view to the ultimate achievement of a democratic and Socialist commonwealth."

One of the delegates, discussing the Labour Party, remarked that a good fisherman who is unable to catch fish changes his bait. This is undoubtedly quite a good metaphorical description of the Labour leader's plan. The bait may be changed, but the hook is there all the same. Mr. Van Lingen, a Dutch delegate, said Socialism meant to Dutchmen spoliation, and he urged the removal of the word. The Conference was intended to rally and revive the Party, and was well advertised in the public Press. It was, however, badly staged, and turned out to be more of a farce than a stirring drama.

Another batch of Bills to be introduced during the coming session of Parliament has just been gazetted. Amongst them is a Bill to make provision for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed by conciliation and the registration of Trade Unions. The measure is a direct outcome of the strike on the Rand a year ago, and of the report of the Mining Industry Board. It is proposed to make illegal the declaration of a strike or a lock-out until the dispute has been reported on by a Conciliation Board. During this interval any employer declaring or taking part in a lock-out, and any Trade Union or employee declaring, or taking part in, a strike, will be guilty of an offence, the penalty for which may be a fine of as much as £1,000, in addition to imprisonment for a year.

Similar penalties are prescribed against any person who, in the interval allowed for the conciliation scheme to work, either advocates or incites others to take part in a strike or a lock-out.

The second step is the provision that if the Conciliation Board has failed to reach an agreement within a reasonable period—fourteen days is suggested—it may call to its counsels an independent referee; and if he is unable to bring the disputants to an agreement, he will report to the Inspector of Labour for the area. Thereafter another fortnight's interval must elapse before a lock-out or a strike may be declared.

Moreover, it is specifically laid down that no strike may be declared until a secret ballot has been taken, at which at least three-fifths of the persons voting have voted in favour of a strike.

The scheme can be operated under the provisions of the Bill without the aid of the Trade Union.

The fourth chapter of the Bill provides for the registration of Trade Unions, which will become bodies corporate in the eye of the capitalist law.

Another clause enables the Government, in time of strike or lock-out, to make provision for the continuance of public utility services at the expense of the local authority, which is either unable, or unwilling, to discharge its functions.

This measure is an attempt to deprive workers of the strike weapon, which is the only offensive and defensive weapon in Labour's armoury.

Read

Communism or Christianity,
by Bishop Brown,
1/-; post free 1/2.

News from Ireland.

"We on whose shoulders are borne
The pomp and the pride of the great
Whose toll they repay with their scorn,
Shall challenge and master their hate."

Some recent activities in loyal Ulster have been an eye-opener to a number of people. What a state of affairs! The hitherto loyal Ulster workers are beginning to kick—just as though they were dirty rebels. The peaceful days of ruthless exploitation are gone now that the Economic Section has obtained a footing in our fair province.

The Specials have used the heavy hand in a very impartial manner lately. Their usual terroristic programme of raids, arrests, and intimidation has been carried out, as usual, but this time it has not been confined to the Catholic workers. It is said that "our" Government stands four square behind the Specials.

Right here is where the partition of Ireland ceases to exist. The bosses have joined hands in a hurry immediately the workers began to show signs of waking up.

Fellow-worker Southwell, of the Transport Union Committee, has been arrested in Co. Down. The brow-beating of the Union members proceeds, irrespective of religious denominations. The workers need expect nothing else but raids and arrests, since they now dare to sink their religious differences.

A British soldier was court-martialled and shot two weeks ago, and it was decided at the Court Martial that a state of war now exists in Ulster.

We wonder when the war started? The Specials, however, are not all mercenaries, not by long chalks. The majority of them are Specials because of religious bigotry, membership of Orange Lodges, etc.; and the man who would cheerfully raid, outrage, or intimidate a "Catlick" worker is apt to think furiously when ordered to do the same to his co-religionists.

Southwards, the struggle intensifies daily. The Wobbly tactics of hitting the boss in his pocket are having their effect. Daily the workers become more and more "refractory" and show an ever-increasing desire to run the farms, mills and factories for themselves ECKSECK.

THE LABOUR HOSPITAL.

I went to the Labour Hospital, Manor House, Golder's Green, last Sunday week, to visit a patient, and I received there a few pleasant surprises.

The Manor House is an old mansion, and during the war it was fitted up as a military hospital, and a few huts were built. Most of the surgical appliances and other instruments were supplied by rich people, one of them being George Robey. When the hospital became a Labour Hospital, the beds and instruments were left to it by those who had given them.

The Labour Hospital differs from other hospitals in the following ways:

1. Patients are allowed to go home for week-ends.
2. Patients are allowed to go out for a walk during the day.
3. Patients are allowed to smoke in the wards.
4. A canteen is connected with the hospital, where one can buy smokes, lemonades, and other light refreshment.
5. There is a billiard-table, dart-board, and ring-board.

I was amused by a visitor who came to the bed of each patient and handed him a box of matches. With one of the patients she held this little conversation:

Visitor: Have you seen the "Sunday Pic-torial" this morning?

Patient: No; I haven't.

Visitor: I saw the posters, and it said France is winning. I haven't seen it yet, but I will have to buy it. Do you know Germany can afford to pay, and she ought? Germany started the war.

COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS. THE SOVIETS.

The function of the Workers' Councils, or Soviets, is to administer and co-ordinate production, transport and distribution.

The functional units of the Soviets are the groups of workers of all grades, including those who are doing organising or managerial work, in the engineering, textile, or boot factory, the dockyard, the mine, the farm, the warehouse, the distributive centre, the printery, the laundry, the restaurant, and the domestic workers, whether engaged in the hotel or communal house or the individual dwellings—so long as individual dwellings continue to exist.

THE SOVIET STRUCTURE.

The generally accepted theoretical structure of the Soviets is as follows:

Industrial Co-ordination.

The Workshop Council, comprising all the workers in the shop.

The Factory Council, comprising delegates from the Workshop Council.

The Sub-District Council, comprising all the delegates from the Sub-District Councils.

The District Council, comprising delegates from the Sub-District Councils.

Inter-Industrial Organisation.

The National Council, comprising delegates from the District Councils.

Inter-Industrial Sub-District Councils, comprising delegates from the Sub-District Councils of each industry.

Inter-Industrial District Councils, comprising delegates from the Inter-Industrial District Councils.

National Inter-Industrial Council, comprising delegates from the Inter-Industrial District Councils, or, in part, from the Industrial District Councils, in part from the National Industrial Councils, and in part from delegates elected by sub-district mass-meetings or Shop Councils.

There is thus a dual machinery:

1. For the organisation and co-ordination of each industry and service.
2. For the linking together of all industries and services.

The Soviet organisation must be tested and judged by its efficiency in supplying the needs of the people and in enabling the work itself to be healthy and enjoyable to those who take part in it.

The Workshop Councils, the councils of actual producers, must preserve complete autonomy and power of initiative, sense of responsibility and pride in the adequacy of their work. Their business and their object would be to serve the community by supplying what the people need and desire, as and when it is required.

We speak of the Workshop Councils, but under a normal state of Communism the Councils will meet only when new arrangements, plans, and ideas are to be considered and elaborated. At other times the members of the Works Council will apply themselves to their respective tasks. The managerial function will almost cease to exist in a community where all the workers in an enterprise are educated, willing co-operators in a common plan, but such managerial or directive work as may be needed will be done by those who have been chosen by their co-workers, not as a manager in the present sense, but as a leader in skill, a teacher and guide.

The Sub-District, District, and National Industrial Councils, and the various Inter-Industrial Councils, will also only meet when there are new arrangements to make, and for periodical consultation and report. Their function will be to establish co-ordinating machinery, bureaux, telephone exchanges, as it were, between the sources of raw material and the workshops on the one hand, and the consumers of the product of the workshops on the other. The national bureaux will be responsible for import and distribution to the main supply stores of the larger areas, the sub-district bureaux will be the agencies to which the workshops will apply for their requirements.

It will not be the business of the national, district, and sub-district Councils to command and direct the Workshops' Councils. The latter will be master of their craft, and fully competent to exercise it. Dictation from the so-called "higher Councils" will neither be needed, nor would it be accepted. There will be no conflict of class interest; all will be working towards a common end. The co-ordinating councils, however—for it is as co-ordinating links that the District, Sub-District, and National Councils will function—will, however, collect and distribute information amongst the districts. New discoveries will be notified to their bureaux. They will preserve technical data for reference as it may be required by any of the workshops. They will estimate and procure the supplies of raw material and finished products required.

In considering the Soviet organisation under Communism, it must always be born in mind that the social classes will have disappeared, that the economic interests of the people will be identical, and that therefore the clash of interests which keeps the members of the present legislative and administrative bodies interminably wrangling and speechifying will be no more.

Under Communism the arguments which will arise in the Soviets will be as to the efficacy of this or that technical process, as to whether this or that proposed innovation will increase or improve production—an end desired by all.

The network of committees of delegates which makes up the framework of the Soviets and links the many productive groups, and also individual producers, should not be regarded as a rigid cast-iron machinery, but as a convenient means of transacting necessary business, a practical method of organisation which gives everyone the opportunity of a voice in social management.

The various members of a community are dependent upon each other. The cotton spinning mill is operated by a number of groups of workers in the spinning mill who are dependent for the execution of their work on the cotton growers, the railwaymen, the mariners, the dockers, who provide them with the raw material or their trade. They are dependent on machine makers, miners, electricians and others for the machinery of spinning and the power to run it, and on the weaver, the bleacher, the dyer, the printer, the garment worker and upholsterer to complete the work they have begun. In order that the spinners may do their work they are also dependent on builders, decorators, furniture makers, food producers, garment makers, and innumerable others.

The Soviets will supply an efficiency that is impossible in an industry which, on the one hand, is maintained solely from the motive of making money, competition being the only check to the supply of inferior goods and the desire to make profits a constant incentive thereto; and which, on the other hand, is carried on by wage workers, who work only to win their wages, and whose poor up-bringing, low wages, and extended hours of labour do not permit them to possess either complete health or an adequate education. The will to work, in the workers, the sense of mutuality between the producer and those for whom the goods are produced, which the Capitalist vainly seeks to-day in Whitley Councils, profit sharing, bonuses, and so on, will be a matter of course under Communism and the Soviets.

(To be continued.)

Last time they asked us to go to war to end war: this time they will call their oil or iron and coal war a war for the League of Nations.

NEW IDEAS

Are generally brought to public notice by means of a pamphlet.

Have you written one?

Do you propose to have it printed?

Write for terms and standard rates to the Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought."

AN ECHO OF 1918.

King's Cross Station: Train about to start for the North.
 Blind man leans out of window playing concertina.
 Half an hour later, blind man makes his way along corridor, stopping at the door of each compartment and shaking a tin can in which he collects pennies. At his approach an atmosphere of mingled irritation, boredom, and disgust rises to greet him.
 In one compartment six passengers out of seven drop pennies in the cup, some swiftly, with an impatient shake of the shoulders, others slowly and with grudging reluctance as the blind man still stands there rattling the coins.
 At last he moves on.
 Then passengers begin to talk.
First Passenger (a Yorkshireman, probably a commercial traveller): "That's some-thing new."
Second Passenger (a young woman): "Was he a soldier?"
Third Passenger (an elderly woman, with a prim bonnet): "I don't know. I hadn't any coppers, and I don't care to give silver unless I know what I'm giving to."
Second Passenger: "It is a miserable thing to be blind."
Third Passenger: "Blind? Was he blind?"
Fourth Passenger (an elderly man who accompanies third passenger): "Oh, yes; he was blind; there is no doubt of that."
Second Passenger (turning to third passenger): "What did it say on the placard he was wearing?"
Third Passenger: "I don't know."
 Half an hour later.
 Blind man again comes to the door of the compartment carrying an open black leather brief bag, in which are boxes of matches and cigarettes.
Fourth Passenger (who has been standing in the corridor, and now rises to prevent the blind man from entering, and to induce him to move along the corridor): "That's not your seat."
Blind Man (maintaining his stand in the doorway): "Does anyone want any cigarettes or wax lights? We can sell you wax lights for 2d., and there's one packet of Grey's left for 1s. 6d."
 He holds out boxes of matches and cigarettes.
 A long pause.
First Passenger: "I don't think this is a smoking compartment."
 Another long pause.
 Blind man moves off.
Third Passenger: "There's no doubt this will be a very different world after the War. It'll never go back to what it was."
Fourth Passenger: "Yes; things will never be the same."
Third Passenger: "The men's wages will never go down to what they were. Look at the agricultural labourers' wages, how they've risen! Those fellows will never come back and work for what they did. They won't be able to if the prices don't come down, and they won't come down, not for years."
Third Passenger: "The agricultural labourers used to work for 9s. a week twenty years ago."
Fourth Passenger: "They were working for 15s. before the War."
Fourth Passenger: "Things will never be the same again. If only we would always do what is best without waiting for a catastrophe."
First Passenger: "That's right; it has been done at a great cost, but, when you come to think of it, nothing worth having is ever won without great suffering."
Fourth Passenger: "Yes; things are going to be altogether different; the men will never go back to the old conditions; it isn't right that they should; they've got a minimum wage now, and high time."
Second Passenger: "The 25s. minimum is not worth what 15s. was before the War!"
 Silence.
 [Reprinted from the "Workers' Dreadnought" of March 9th, 1918.]

You remember such conversations, do you not, fellow-worker? Now the average wage of the agricultural labourer is down to 14s. at pre-war rates. It is expected to fall to 10s. at pre-war rates.
 What do you think of the situation?

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT MEETINGS.

Friday Fortnightly Meetings.

March 2nd.—Minerva Café, 8 p.m.: Janet Grove, "Kropotkin's Ideas on Communism."

Sunday, February 25th.—Workers' Friend Hall, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel Road (take an Aldgate bus from the bank). Social and At Home. Songs, recitations, and short speeches by J. Bellamy, Sylvia Pankhurst, J. Welsh, Norah Smyth, and others. Refreshments at moderate prices; sale of work and literature. Admission by programme, 3d. From 7 p.m. to 10 p.m.

COLCHESTER,

Saturday, February 24th, 8 p.m., Culver Street, Colchester: Sylvia Pankhurst, Kenneth Harvey.

STILL ON SALE.

Copies of last week's "Dreadnought," containing the important Dariae Report on the Ruhr, Secret Treaties, and Maps.

The Karmi, a monthly journal, advocates the cause of Labour in India. Published by the Employees' Association at No. 72 Canning Street, Calcutta, Post Box No. 2352.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS.

MUSICAL COMRADES able to set Communist songs to music, or to sing or play at meetings, socials, etc., are requested to write to A. H., "Workers' Dreadnought" Office.

TO SINGERS, Writers, and Actors.—Use your art as a means of spreading Communist ideas. Write for advice to A. H., "Workers' Dreadnought" Office.

SIGN AND GLASS WRITING, Art Decorating and Gilding, Posters, Tickets and Showcards, Illuminated Signs: first-class work at lowest prices.—H. V. Prince, 97 Church Lane, Charlton, S.E. 7

THE "ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN" (Canada's Foremost Labour Paper)

will interest you.

The One Big Union seeks to organise the workers on class lines. Read about it.

Eugene Sue's marvellous story: "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," now running in serial form.

10/- per year; 5/- six months.

Plebs Buildings, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Canada.

From the Publishers.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

By Isaac Don Levine. (John Lane, 3/6.)

This book was written by the foreign news editor of the "New York Tribune" just before the Soviet Government was established in Russia, and whilst Kerensky's Government still ruled. It is mainly interesting to-day in its revelation of its author's complete misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Russian Revolution, a misinterpretation in which, whether it arose intentionally or not, almost all the bourgeois newspapers and politicians joined.

United States journalism has not inspired us with faith in its accuracy. If it is nevertheless true, Mr. Levine's story of how the Czar received the news of his fall is interesting:

"General Voyeykov cried out: 'The only hope is to open the Minsk front to the Germans. Let German troops put things straight.'"

"Yes," said the Czar, 'Rasputin often said that, but I did not listen to him. It could have been done when the Germans were before Warsaw, but I have never betrayed the Russian people.'

"Nicholas went on the platform, very pale. Beside him staggered Nilov, hopelessly drunk."

Some days later:

"Shulgin, the colleague of Guchkov, said the Czar was dirty, unwashed, and four days unshaved, and looked like a convict released from a burning prison. When he went into the brightly lighted dining-car he was in the uniform of a Caucasian regiment."

"I have thought all day yesterday and to-day, and have decided to abdicate," he said. 'I cannot part with my son. I hope you understand this. Therefore I have decided to abdicate in favour of my brother.'

The American Labour Book, 1921-2. (The Rand Book Store, New York, 2 dollars (10/-). It contains a mass of information which is not always accurate. It omits to place the American Communist Party in the section which it devotes to "Socialism and Political Radicalism in the United States." This may be due to the tactics of the American section of the Third International, which now calls itself, we believe, "The Workers' Party." So much of the information is incomplete, misleading, or incorrect that we do not know how far we may trust the Year Book in matters on which we are not fully informed. The sections dealing with Labour legislation and decisions in the Courts are probably accurate.

Our Bookshop.

Jack London:	
War of the Classes	2/3
Sydney Howard:	
The Labour Spy	1/1
Upton Sinclair:	
The Spy	2/3
Emile Zola:	
Germinal: The Story of a French Mine	5/4
Baudelaire:	
Poems in Prose	1/-
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The Kiss, and Other Stories	1/-
G. Bernard Shaw:	
The Miraculous Revenge	1/-
Henrik Ibsen:	
Pillars of Society	1/-
T. H. Huxley:	
Aphorisms	1/-
Reflections on Modern Science	1/-
Dr. Marie Stopes:	
Gold in the Wood	1/2
All Workers' Revolutionary Union	1/4d.
An Encyclopaedia of Industrialism	2/10
Introduction to Esperanto	4d.