

Pictures of Murdered Rand Strikers, page 5.

Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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WAR PREPARING—AND WHY.

Cotton and the War Clouds.

As everyone knows, cotton manufacture is one of the great staple industries of Great Britain. Cotton goods form an important part of Great Britain's export trade.

The United States has hitherto been the great cotton-growing country; it produces the main bulk of the world's cotton crop.

It is but a few years since the United States cotton growers discussed destroying a part of the cotton crop to keep up the prices. Now, however, there is a tendency towards a world shortage of cotton, owing to the greatly increased demand for it and to the depredations of the American boll weevil which has made most serious inroads on the American crop, though tremendous efforts are made to combat its ravages, and it is now even fought by aeroplane, special machines being constructed to fly over the fields and spray them with calcium arsenate and other chemical preparations, upon which the experts are at work.

The uses to which cotton is put are continually growing. It is substituted both for silk and for wool; it is employed for motor-car tyres, for aeroplane wings, and so on, and the number of countries which spin cotton is continually growing.

The following figures of the number of spindles in various countries, the amount of cotton used and the sources from which it comes, are instructive. They show that the United Kingdom, with its vast preponderance of spindles, is not the greatest manufacturer and the greatest user of cotton; whilst they show that the United States is the largest manufacturer, they also show how vast is the aggregate manufacturing of Europe, apart from Britain, and how large is the manufacturing of Japan.

Consumption of Cotton for Half-year Ending January 31st, 1922.

Total Results of All Countries According to Returns Received.

Europe:—			
Great Britain...	51,162,519	247,464	56,420,078
France	6,787,604	326,482	9,600,000
Germany	8,627,998	534,905	9,400,000
Russia	1,100,000	367,000	7,100,000
Italy	4,076,297	336,032	4,550,000
Czecho-Slovakia	2,824,615	158,493	3,585,164
Spain	1,805,785	136,613	1,805,785
Belgium	1,584,601	121,945	1,584,601
Switzerland	1,511,508	41,620	1,550,000
Poland	451,080	39,400	1,185,623
Austria	1,021,792	59,146	1,021,792
Holland	687,484	56,082	687,484
Sweden	491,416	32,695	675,897
Portugal	94,292	8,485	400,000
Finland	238,932	18,559	238,932
Denmark	95,844	9,947	95,844
Total	82,580	8,498,059	99,797,924
Asia:—			
India	5,587,482	945,779	6,870,804
Japan	4,112,682	1,019,794	4,485,258
China	1,782,682	532,257	2,066,582
Total	11,482,756	2,497,830	13,420,844
America:—			
U.S. America	36,843,000	3,003,000	36,843,000
Canada	975,446	68,752	1,051,112
Mexico (Jan 15)	219,802	19,664	725,000
Brazil	1,570,000	226,908	1,570,000
Total	39,608,248	3,318,324	40,189,112
Sundries	94,115	8,000	250,000
Grand total	138,715,580	8,322,213	158,657,680

The spindles mentioned in the above tables are raw cotton consuming spindles: they do not include waste or doubling spindles. Whilst there is much talk of an approaching world shortage of cotton, the present competition is rather for cotton markets than for raw materials. In the half-year ending July 31st, 1921, the cotton mills of Britain ran barely more than half-time. The stoppages in Britain, France, Germany, and Italy during the following periods are tabulated below. The figures indicate the number of weeks of 48 hours in which the total number of spindles were stopped during a year.

Countries.	Half-year ending Jan. 31 1922	Half-year ending Jan. 31 1921	Half-year ending Jan. 31 1921
Great Britain	6.087	12.92	6.04
France	2.876	6.92	2.3
Germany	3.527	5.48	7.5
Italy	4.858	3.11	.99

The stoppage of spindles is reflected in short wages and unemployment for the operatives in the lowest paid skilled industry of the United Kingdom, and in privation and misery for the Lancashire working class.

Spindles Run Half-time, but Cotton Capitalists Still Prosper.

The cotton capitalists, however, remain prosperous. "Dividend declarations," observes the "Manchester Guardian Commercial," "continue on the whole very satisfactory." In February Werneth, Windsor and Bell declared a dividend of 20 per cent. (that means doubling your capital in five years); Devon and Pearl 15 per cent., and so on.

In Britain, at least, it was no shortage of raw material which caused the stoppage of spindles. In Japan the working week is 132 hours, not 48 hours. The stoppages there in the half-year ending last January amounted to six weeks of 132 hours. How shall British workers compete with operatives who work such hours and live on a handful of rice?

The immediate struggle of the cotton manufacturer is not to obtain cotton, but to obtain cheaper cotton, and cotton of a better quality. Nevertheless, the far-seeing manufacturer is also looking ahead to secure adequate supplies as the demand for cotton grows.

Whilst the United States has hitherto been the chief source of supply, British capitalists have not been without a share in the cotton fields of the States, and some Lancashire manufacturers own plantations within the territory of the United States.

Imperialism a Fight for Monopoly.

The growing keenness of international rivalries, the growing tendency to set up national barriers against the exploitation of the land and its resources by the foreigner, is causing each of the great capitalist Powers not merely to seek fresh markets in which to purchase cotton and lands which may be leased or purchased for growing cotton, but to seize and hold under their political domination new territories suited to cotton growing.

The growing of Empire cotton is now a favourite theme with the capitalists, and the extension of the Empire to take in cotton lands is their cherished dream. And this which is true regarding cotton is true regarding all kinds of raw material, especially those like oil, coal, and iron, which are the raw material of war. It is true also of the seas, the trade routes, and the means of transport: the struggle to monopolise them of the great Powers (and the great capitalists behind the Governments) grows apace.

The late War has tremendously accelerated the contest for monopoly, because nowadays, less than ever, does it suffice to have enough of raw material, enough of manufacturing plant, enough of competent labour. More than ever are these in vain without the power to control the world price of the raw material. If Lancashire to-day can only obtain cotton at the price at which Germany, France, and Italy can obtain it, Lancashire operatives must work short time, because the mark, the franc, and the lire are worth less than the British shilling, and therefore Lancashire operatives, however they may "clem," cannot work so cheaply as German, French, and Italian operatives, and all the other British manufacturing costs are in excess of those in the countries named.

How the British Government would assist Lancashire mill-owners if the British Empire controlled the supply is shown by Lloyd George's manipulation of the price to France of German indemnity coal.

Lloyd George, on behalf of British Capitalism, insisted that the French should pay five gold marks more for German indemnity coal from the Ruhr than its cost price. The French had thus to pay 200 francs a ton for the coal which the Germans would get for 72 francs and the British for 84 francs. These are the methods of Capitalism. The individual or the Government, which for the moment has the whip hand, forces a disadvantageous bargain on the rival and competitor.

Communism, complete and unalloyed, the sweeping away of the entire money system, alone can free humanity from these sordid contests.

Therefore, Lancashire manufacturers yearn for British Government control of the best and cheapest sources of supply, and with American production on the wane, both in quality and quantity, they see their opportunity.

The British Empire possesses territories which grow cotton, in India, in the West Indies, in Africa North and South, in Queensland. Its hitherto best and largest source of Empire supply is Egypt. Egyptian cotton,

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moreover, is at present the best in the world, the long staple cotton used for spinning the finest counts in which Lancashire is pre-eminent. Compare Britain's consumption of Egyptian cotton with that from the other great sources: it is by no means negligible even in quantity. There is no wonder, Capitalism being as it is, that the British Empire seized Egypt and insisted upon retaining it.

Cotton Consumption for Half-year Ending January 31st, 1922.

Countries.	American Bales.	E. Indian Bales.	Egyptian Bales.	Sundries Bales.
Europe—				
Great Britain ...	1,008,772	24,174	152,272	67,246
France	262,225	31,073	22,126	11,036
Germany	405,896	100,005	19,197	9,807
Russia	500	—	500	366,000
Italy	236,228	90,607	7,332	1,683
Czecho-Slovakia ..	131,956	21,103	3,749	1,683
Spain	114,071	15,613	4,271	2,638
Belgium	67,091	51,231	1,975	1,648
Switzerland ...	25,420	3,293	12,416	491
Poland	31,274	6,746	468	912
Austria	44,543	13,268	817	516
Holland	43,423	12,209	—	450
Sweden	31,538	902	215	10
Portugal	8,818	—	169	4,493
Finland	18,426	18	115	—
Denmark	9,717	131	—	99
Norway	3,011	154	—	4
Total ...	2,482,911	370,581	225,852	468,765
Asia:—				
India	28,768	896,573	2,456	15,987
Japan	334,983	637,160	11,149	86,502
China	71,970	110,314	505	319,468
Total ...	435,716	1,644,047	14,110	401,957
America:—				
U.S. America ..	2,855,000	6,000	82,000	60,000
Canada	68,102	—	650	—
Mexico (Jan 15) ..	11,897	—	650	—
Brazil	—	—	—	226,906
Total ...	2,934,999	6,000	82,711	294,554
Sundries	—	—	7,000	1,000
Grand total	5,808,626	2,022,578	329,733	1,166,267

Everywhere the Empire is increasing its cotton production. The African Colonies seized from Germany add to the Empire sources of cotton as they do of rubber, the pine kernels used for margarine, and innumerable other valuable commodities.

Mesopotamia.

Another rich war trophy presents a new field of cotton production which promises to rival in quality Egypt itself—Mesopotamia. Mesopotamia, rich in oil, valuable, too, as the gateway of the Persian Gulf and as part of one of the great trade routes, Mesopotamia also promises to be one of the world's best plantations for cotton. Experiments have been made, with remarkable results.

The Fight with France for Anatolia.

Mesopotamia, however, holds but a part of the cotton possibilities of Asia Minor, apart from its oil and its other wealth.

For the exploitation of that wealth the great rivals but lately were Britain and Germany; to-day they are Britain and France.

The Puppet King Fiesul.

In Mesopotamia the British Government has set up a puppet ruler, King Fiesul. This, according to his British financial adviser, Col. S. H. Slater, is how he rules in his dummy kingdom, Irak:

"A national—i.e., Arab—Government has been set up in Irak, with its headquarters at Bagdad. Great Britain has undertaken to assist the new State with its support and advice, and claims the right in return to exercise some control over the policy of the Arab Government in order to ensure as far as possible that that policy, especially in matters of foreign and financial concern, is not opposed to British interests, and is in general accord with the principles laid down in the mandate. . . .

"The High Commissioner occupies a position between the British Government and that of King Fiesul. His functions are partly diplomatic and partly consular, and he is also responsible for seeing that those

branches of administration in which King Fiesul has agreed to receive the advice of the British Government are actually administered in accordance with that advice. The financial "advice" is in this case a polite euphemism for orders. King Fiesul has to pay in more ways than one for the advice:

"The machinery by which he discharges the latter function consists of the appointment of British officers to advise the principal Ministries, these officers being attached to their respective Ministries, and being employees of the Arab Government, but keeping in touch with the High Commissioner through the medium of appropriate members of his staff. . . .

"Probably the Ministry whose work is of the greatest practical concern to British business interests is the Ministry of Justice, which is responsible for the administration of commercial law in the Courts. . . . the existence of a British administration and British Judges during the past few years in Irak has undoubtedly modified the Turkish law. . . . those whose business is likely to bring them into frequent contact with the administration of justice in Irak would be well advised to ask for information. . . . e.g. by requesting the Department of Overseas Trade in Whitehall to address the High Commissioner or by referring to the British Chambers of Commerce in Bagdad or Basra, or by writing direct to the High Commissioner, Bagdad, with the request that the Irak Ministry may be invited to supply the information." The signboard says, in short: Approach the kingdom of Irak only by way of the British Government officials.

Irak provides a rich harvest for the British capitalist to whom it is earmarked. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company monopolises the oil, and is building a refinery near Bagdad. Cotton, flax, tobacco, and wool also offer profitable fields. During the War the British Government built a railway to Basra, and equipped a port there, and also built a railway from Basra to the Persian frontier. These railways are to be handed over to a British commercial syndicate. The Port is to be transferred to an "unofficial Harbour Board," of course controlled by British Big Business.

Fiesul a Tool Against France.

So British Capitalism makes as much as it can from one part of the territory taken from Turkey. The neighbouring territories of Cilicia and Syria were promised to France by the Allied Secret Treaties. The Frenchman, Francis Delaisi, pithily recounts what happened:

"France . . . found herself in a difficult position. Mustapha Kemal and the Turkish Nationalists had excluded her from Cilicia. The Emir Fiesul was pushing the Senegalese battalions of General Gouraud towards the Syrian Coast. This was a blow to our national prestige, all the more serious in that it meant that our finances would lose control of the Beirut-Damascus and the Rayak-Aleppo railways, and the concessions as to ports which they had obtained in the time of the Turks. **The strangest part of it all—and everybody knew it—was that the power of Emir Fiesul depended upon the support of our good friends the British.** Then Lord Curzon said: "Sign the agreement with the Royal Dutch and you shall have Syria." M. Millerand accepted. Immediately Fiesul was left to himself. Thus the triumphal entry of General Gouraud into Damascus was paid for by the abandonment of all our oil resources."

The matter did not end there: France resolved to use the Turks against the British, as the British had used Fiesul and his forces against them.

The Angora Treaty.

France was already negotiating with the Turks to evacuate the territory which had been Turkish before the war, and which had been promised to France as Mesopotamia had been promised to the British, to be held

under a mandate, the Arabs forming the nominal Government under them. Briand, the renegade Socialist, as Minister of France, entered into negotiations with Bekir Sami Bey. Lord Hardinge was instructed to protest on behalf of Britain, but negotiations continued, and in October, 1921, the notorious filibuster, M. Franklin Bouillon, pulled off the Angora Treaty, or agreement, which is destined to have far-reaching results, and is a main cause of the present Eastern conflict. Under this Angora Agreement France agreed to cede to the Turks 10,000 miles of territory mandated to her. British politicians protested that the French mandate had not been confirmed, and that the Arabs had not been consulted, but neither France nor Turkey cared for that. The League of Nations, which was supposed to "confirm" the mandate, is only a shadow: the partition of war spoils was according to the contest of Might and Might between the great military and naval Powers. The League of Nations had only to obey in due course. As to the Arabs, they were but pawns.

The Armenians had been gathered from all parts and brought to Cilicia by the British authorities and given arms, as an Armenian stated, "to protect their own existence and uphold French prestige." France did not consult the Armenians when she made the bargain with Turkey. Neither France nor Britain had had any thought but for their own interests when they put the Armenians there. The Armenians, like the Arabs, were merely pawns. Race hatred had been tremendously increased by the action of the Allies. Masses of Armenians fled away from Cilicia, which they felt was no longer a place for them. Their sufferings were of no more interest to the Allies than those of the poor Turkish people, who, much more numerous than the Greeks and Armenians in Thrace and Asia Minor, have been victims of all this warfare.

In the eyes of British Capitalism the Turks committed a much more heinous sin in concluding the Treaty of peace and trade with Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia than in massacring any number of humble Armenians.

France had not merely evacuated the territory mandated to her, but, to the still greater anger of British Capitalism, she had handed over to the Turks a section of the Berlin to Bagdad railway and given the Turks permission to bring troops and munitions by it to the very gateway of Mesopotamia, and also (oh, sacrilege!) to hold up the trade of the British passing along that most important railway should occasion arise!

This was not all: in a covering letter, Youssouf Kemal had further demanded that France should consent to work for Turkey to recover Smyrna and Thrace, and for the Allies to evacuate Constantinople, leaving it to the Turks.

To this proposal the French General, Pellé, made a sympathetic response. Did France agree thus to restore to Turkey so much of what she lost in the War because her possessions were snatched from her by armed force, and because the Turks form the majority of the population in those areas? No; France made the bargain purely with an eye to the interests of her capitalists and to serve her contest with the British Empire for supremacy. France, in return for what she promised to do for the Turks, was to receive certain valuable economic concessions and economic priority throughout the Turkish Empire.

It has been said that there are secret annexes to the Angora Agreement, and no doubt there are, though it has also been denied that they exist. One of these is said to give France the right to train, in effect to officer and control the Turkish gendarmerie of 50,000 men, the only armed force allowed the Ottoman Government by the Treaty of Sèvres forced on the Turks after the late European War.

The insurgent Kemalists have, of course, disregarded the Treaty of Sèvres; they have Cont. on p. 8.

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS
FROM PRISON.

Translated by M. Campbell.

INTRODUCTION.

During the War Rosa Luxemburg spent three years and four months in prison, one year—from February, 1915, to February, 1916—in the Berliner Weibergefängnis (Barimstrasse) for a speech made in Frankfurt-on-M. on military abuses, then two years and four months (from July 10th, 1916, to November 10th, 1918) in "custody" in Berlin, Wronke, and Breslau. She was completely cut off from the outside world, being allowed to receive only books and correspondence that had passed a rigid censorship. Once a month she was allowed to see visitors, but under strict supervision.

It was the intention of the authorities to crush the power of the bravest of women pioneers of the proletariat, and to silence that voice of hers that was bent on awakening the masses, on branding lies and on proclaiming the truth. The failure was twofold. This iron will-power was not to be lamed. During these years of imprisonment Rosa Luxemburg worked indefatigably. The unspeakable loneliness of endless days and nights brought out all the powers of her intellect and innermost self. The passion that the knowledge of facts had awakened in her was responsible for the fanfare tone of some of her utterances: the famous "Junius Pamphlet" that was written behind iron bars was not the only alarm that found its way out of prison. Handbills, manifestoes, and valuable contributions to the "Spartakus-Briefe" were among the things that Luxemburg was able to transmit to her political friends. By means of illegal correspondence and work carried on in her cell she sought to stir up the masses and direct the revolutionary development of the German workers.

We do not, however, propose to give here an appreciation either of her scientific or her propaganda activities during these terrible years. Our present endeavour is to lay bare to the youth of the land, to the workers, to all those for whose welfare and freedom she fought, suffered and died—done to death by the coward hands of criminals—to lay bare the true character of this greatly slandered woman. And in her case there can be nothing to hold us back from exposing her intimate life. These letters can no longer be considered private letters. To know Rosa Luxemburg as protagonist and as scientist does not imply an acquaintance with all the aspects of her complex being. The letters from prison round off the portrait. Those who hold her convictions and are fighting the same battles have a right to know the inexhaustible wealth that abounded in Rosa Luxemburg's heart. They will come to see how this woman, unmindful of her own sufferings, brings a sympathetic love and a poet's vision to her understanding of all things in creation, how her heart vents itself in the warbling of birds, how verse of impassioned utterance finds an echo in her, how she took a real interest in the doings of her friends, in both the little things and the big. Thus we merely point to the monument that the departed herself has erected.

Berlin, August, 1920.

FROM LEIPZIG.

Postcard. Leipzig, 7-7-16.

My Dear Little Sonja! *

It is a very hot and muggy day, such as we often get in Leipzig—the air here does not agree with me at all. This morning I sat for two hours in the park near the lake reading "The Man of Property." It is a brilliant piece of work. A dear old soul sat down next to me, cast a glance at the title-page, and laughed: "That must be a fine book. I like reading books too." Of course, before I settled down to read I looked round to see how the park was stocked with trees and shrubs—all old acquaintances, as I satisfied

* Karl Liebknecht's wife.

myself on a closer inspection. The satisfaction, on the other hand, that I derive from contact with men and women is becoming less and less; really, I believe I shall soon retire from the world and become a recluse like St. Anthony, but—sans tentations any more.

Kindest regards,

ROSA.

Remember me to the children.

FROM BERLIN.

Postcard.

Berlin, 5-8-19.

(The prison in Barimstrasse.)

My Dear Little Sonja!

To-day, August 5th, I have just received both your letters together—that of July 11th (!!) and that of July 23rd. You will see that letters take longer to reach me than New York. In the meantime, I have also received the books you have sent me, and for all you have done I thank you from the bottom of my heart. When I think of the position * you are in, I am very much distressed at having to leave you; how I would like to get out into the open country with you again, and stroll about a bit or sit with you in the bay-window in the kitchen and watch the sun going down. . . . I had a card from Helmi, describing all about the journey. Many, many thanks, too, for the Hodderlin. But you must not squander so much money on my account, it pains me to think of it. Thanks, too, for all the nice things and the sweet peas. Write soon, and then perhaps there is a chance of me getting it this month. I take your hand in mine, dear, and hold it to me. Be brave, and don't let yourself be downhearted. I am with you in thought. Give my kind regards to Karl and the children.

Your ROSA.

"Pierre Loti" is wonderful; the others I haven't read yet.

Postcard.

Wronke, 24-8-1916.

Dear Sonitschka,—

If only I could be with you at this moment! I am dumbfounded at what has happened. ** But please don't let it damp your spirits, you will soon see that much of it is not so bad as it looks at present. But now you must go away—down into the country somewhere, among Nature, where it is beautiful and where you can find someone to look after you. There is now neither rhyme nor reason in your stopping here any longer and running yourself down still further. It might be weeks again before the appeal comes off. Do please go as soon as it is in any way possible. . . . Karl, too, would certainly feel it a load off his shoulders if he knew you had gone for a rest cure. A thousand thanks for your kind note of the 10th and for the precious parcel. I'm sure next Spring will find us wandering off together into the country or through the Botanic Gardens. I am already rejoicing at the prospect of it. But now get away from here, Sonitschka! Can't you go to the Bodensee, so as to taste a bit of the southern climes? Before you go I would particularly like to see you; make a request to the Commandant at the office. Write me a line soon. Keep in good spirits, and don't worry, in spite of all. Fond embrace.

A thousand kind regards to Karl.

I got the two cards from Helmi and Bobbi, and was delighted with them.

* Liebknecht having been arrested.

** Liebknecht sentenced.

(To be continued.)

THE EYES OF THE POOR.

Translated from the French of Baudelaire.

You want to know why I hate you to-day. It will probably be less easy for you to understand than for me to explain it to you; for you are, I think, the most perfect example of feminine impenetrability that could possibly be found.

We had spent a long day together, and it had seemed to me short. We had promised one another that we would think the same thoughts and that our two souls should become

one soul; a dream which is not original, after all, except that dreamed by all men, it has been realised by none.

In the evening you were a little tired, and you sat down outside a new café at the corner of a new boulevard, still littered with plaster and already displaying proudly its unfinished splendours. The café glittered. The very gas put on all the fervour of a fresh start, and lighted up with its full force the blinding whiteness of the walls, the dazzling sheets of glass in the mirrors, the gilt cornices and mouldings, the chubby-cheeked pages straining back from hounds in leash, the ladies laughing at the falcons on their wrists, the nymphs and goddesses carrying fruits and pies and game on their heads, the Hebes and Ganymedes holding out at arm's length little jars of syrups or parti-coloured obelisks of ices; the whole of history and of mythology brought together to make a paradise for gluttons.

Exactly opposite to us, in the roadway, stood a man of about forty years of age, with a weary face and a greyish beard, holding a little boy by one hand and carrying on the other arm a little fellow too weak to walk. He was taking the nursemaid's place, and had brought his children out for a walk in the evening. All were in rags. The three faces were extraordinarily serious, and the six eyes stared fixedly at the new café, with an equal admiration, differentiated in each case according to age.

The father's eyes said: "How beautiful it is! How beautiful it is! One would think that all the gold of the poor world had found its way to those walls."

The boy's eyes said: "How beautiful it is! How beautiful it is! But that is a house which only people who are not like us can enter."

As for the little one's eyes, they were too much fascinated to express anything but stupid and utter joy.

Song writers say that pleasure ennobles the soul and softens the heart. The song was right that evening, so far as I was concerned. Not only was I touched by this family of eyes; I felt rather ashamed of our glasses and decanters, so much too much for our thirst. I turned to look at you, dear love, that I might read my own thought in you; I gazed deep into your eyes, so beautiful and so strangely sweet, your green eyes that are the home of caprice and under the sovereignty of the Moon; and you said to me:

"Those people are insupportable to me with their staring saucer eyes! Couldn't you tell the waiter to send them away?"

So hard is it to understand one another, dearest, and so incommunicable is thought, even between people who are in love!

HARVEST FESTIVALS.

DEAR EDITOR,—On Sunday morning I took a walk, as I often do, around the lanes of Enfield and Botany Bay. Things had not altered much since the preceding week, except that there was a little more evidence of autumn coming upon us, and freshly gathered crops were disappearing from the fields and orchards. On passing several churches, I noticed that they were holding Harvest Festivals. Among the congregations entering to take part in these festivals were people of a hundred different trades, beside the landlords and farmers, and those who made a good living by selling the produce of the land. They had all been offering up prayers of thanksgiving to God for giving them this fine harvest, and I felt to wondering: do these people—that is, the proletarian section—ever think of the part they play in sowing, reaping, and gathering the harvest? Do they realise what a farce it is to offer up prayers for this abundance of produce when the weary ones who take part in this form of worship will at once plough in the crops or burn them if high prices are not ruling in the London market? The rest of the worshippers, be they the makers of farming implements, or the actual sowers and reapers, receive a reward for their labour that is practically no reward at all, but an insult. They are allowed to buy back some of what they have produced (or assisted in producing) at whatever price the parasite shopkeepers care to fix; the price is usually so high that they cannot afford to buy a sufficiency with their meagre wages. But still they waste valuable time on this sort of hypocrisy of Harvest Festivals. Why not put this valuable time to valuable use at a proletarian school or a Communist meeting on Sunday mornings?

J. O.

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WAR STILL THREATENS.

War still threatens, the great rivalry of French and British Capitalism continues unabated, and the lesser rivalry of Turk and Greek is unhealed. At the end of last week the pretence that this struggle is mainly a struggle of Greek and Turk, of Cross and Crescent, was thrust aside. The deadlock in the Conference of Generals obviously arose from the Franco-British quarrel, and it was in Paris, between the representatives of the two great Powers, without reference to the lesser combatants, that the question was argued.

Now the rift is ostensibly bridged for the moment, and last Sunday and Monday, as they had done the week before, the newspapers cried: "Peace is assured! War is averted!" The "Daily Herald" was as ecstatic as the rest!

But war still threatens: war is inevitable—the only question is, will it come immediately, or be delayed a little while?

The Labour Party and Trade Union Congress Joint Council is demanding a General Election, on the ground that the War Party in the Government have kept the country "in a state of uncertainty and alarm," and has manufactured war scares, "for which it has subsequently been shown there is no foundation," also that the Government "is divided and discredited."

A weaker and more absurd manifesto has never been read. It is in line with the statement of J. H. Thomas that only the Labour Party supports the policy of Lloyd George.

The Lloyd George policy has been throughout a policy of conquest and capitalist filibustering. Can it be that J. H. Thomas and his colleagues desire to see the fulfilment of a war-time prophecy of George Lansbury that David Lloyd George would be Prime Minister in the first Labour Government?

Comrades, Communists, and workers who suffer under this rule of the exploiters, avoid these politicians with their Capitalist Imperialist ideology.

Oppose all Capitalist wars!

Work for Communism and the Workers' Soviets!

THE LABOUR PARTY DEPUTATION TO LLOYD GEORGE.

At length the belated report of the Labour Party deputation to Lloyd George on the war is published. We are not surprised that the deputation kept the agreement not to disclose what passed if the official report is at all accurate.

After some platitudes about the horrors of war from other members of the deputation, the talking was mainly carried on by J. H. Thomas, with a few observations by Ben Tillett.

Thomas said, amongst other things:

"In all your foreign policy latterly, the only people who have supported you have been our people, and nobody knows that better than you."

J. H. Thomas, on behalf of the Labour Party, pressed for the freedom of the Straits under the control of the League of Nations.

Lloyd George declared that that was the Government policy, but that:

"You cannot defend the Straits and keep them free by flaunting a covenant in

the way of those who try to force them.

... Therefore, we have been in favour of the League of Nations undertaking the protection of the Straits, provided it is really done.

"If the Kemalists demand that the Straits should be under the demand of the Turks, and that we should depend merely on verbal guarantees that those Straits will be kept open, I should like to know what is the view of the Labour Party—whether you would accept that position without putting up any fight for the Straits."

The Labour deputation made no answer to this question. J. H. Thomas urged that Germany and Russia should be included in the League of Nations.

Lloyd George answered evasively.

J. H. Thomas read a Second International Resolution of 1919 protesting against the occupation of Smyrna by the Greeks.

Lloyd George replied by reading an extract from the Labour Party war aims of 1918, in which it was stated that Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia should be taken from the Turks and placed under the control of the League of Nations.

Lloyd George said this was his Government's policy: it wished the League of Nations to control through the mandate of some Power. It proposed that Britain, France, Italy, and Greece should hold mandates for territories. America, Italy and France had not retained the mandates; Greece, however, had wished to do so.

The mandate scheme is, of course, an odious enslavement of the peoples, in order that the Great Powers may exploit the territories. The Labour Party protests against the Greek occupation, but makes no demand that the British rulers should clear out of Mesopotamia.

As we have pointed out, the Labour Party follows the Imperialist policy of the ruling class with only the insignificant deviations that some of the mild Liberals affect.

J. H. Thomas boasted that Lloyd George and his Government had adopted the Labour Party war aims policy of 1918. Lloyd George replied that the policy was that of his Government from the start.

The situation is not one of which the Labour Party need be proud!

Whoever stands for the so-called freedom of the Straits stands for war. When all the narrow seas are to be neutralised there will be time enough to demand that for the Dardanelles and Bosphorus also.

The fact is, the British Government wants to make another Gibraltar of the Straits.

THE TRAMWAY BALLOT.

The tramway ballot is supposed to have resulted in a vote of 22,436 to 10,541 for accepting the reduction in wages of 4/- a week now and more presently. Only 90 ballot-papers are officially classed as spoilt. Our information is that masses of the London men, as a protest against taking the ballot instead of striking, returned their ballot-papers unmarked. How were those papers classed?

What do the rank and file joint committees say to the situation now?

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Harlesden Group: Provisional Secretary, Mr. A. Jarvis, 95 Minet Avenue, N.W.10. Meetings every Sunday evening, 7.30 p.m., Manor Road, Harlesden.

THE "DREADNOUGHT" AND THE WAR.

Again our issue this week contains more information about this war and the reasons of it than any other periodical.

We urge you to read it with care.

We urge you to place it in the hands of others.

See that the local newsagents have it on sale: ask them to show a poster.

Buy it from us at 1/6 for 26 copies, or 9d. for 13 copies, to sell at meetings in your district; or, if you can afford it, to give away.

We will buy back any copies you cannot dispose of, if returned within six weeks.

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 15.

You naughty child. Why did you beat your little brother?—Because he drank ink and afterwards he would not eat the blotting-paper which I gave him.

(The word VIAN, your, was omitted by mistake between BATIS and ETAN.)

EKZERCO No. 16.

Malsanulo (al la kuracisto) Malgraŭ miaj kapdoloroj mi ne fartas malbone.

Mi manĝas kiel lupo, mi laboras kiel ĉevalo, vespere mi estas laŭ kiel hundo, kaj nokte mi dormas kiel rato.

Kuracisto: Se estas tiel mi rekomendus al vi iri al bestkuracisto, kaj ĉesi trinki alkoholon, alie ĝi baldaŭ mortigos vin. Se vi volas resaniĝi vi devas nepre trinki nur akvon.

Malsanulo—Akvo! Akvo! Ho, Yes, Mi memoras, la fluidaĵo kiun oni vidas sub la pontoj?

VORTARETO.

akvo	water	lupo	wolf
alie	otherwise	malgraŭ	in spite of
alkoholo	alcohol	manĝi	to eat
baldaŭ	soon	memori	to remember
besto	animal	mortigi	to kill
ĉesi	to leave	nepre	positively
ĉevalo	horse	nokto	night
vi devas	you must	nur	only
dormi	to sleep	ponto	bridge
farti	to fare	rato	rat
fluidaĵo	fluid	rekomendi	to recommend
hundo	dog	sanigi	to be cured
iri	to go	se	if
kapdoloro	headache	tiel	thus
kuracisto	doctor	trinki	to drink
labori	to work	vespere	evening
laca	tired	vidi	to see
		voli	to will

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭriga.

Ciu ppaŝo en la kreskado de la kapitalistaro estis akompanata de responda politika antaŭeniro de tiu klaso. Jen subpremata klaso sub la regado de la feŭda nobellaro, jen armita kaj mem-reganta klaso en la mezepoka komunumo,* jen sendependa urba respubliko (kiel en Italujo kaj Germanujo), jen impostebla "tria etato" de la monarĥaĵo (kiel en Francujo), poste, dum la vera periodo de fabrikado, servante aŭ al la duon-feŭda aŭ al la absoluta monarĥaĵo kiel kontraŭbalancilo kontraŭ la nobellaro, kaj, laŭfakte, kiel la angulstonego de la grandaj monarĥaĵoj ĝenerale, la kapitalistaro estas fine, post la starigo de Moderna Industrio kaj la tutmonda vendejo, venkinta por si mem, en la moderna representanta ŝtato, ekskluzivan politikan regadon. La registaro de la moderna ŝtato estas nur komitato por administri la komunajn aferojn de la tuta kapitalistaro.

* "Commune" estas la nomo alprenita, en Francujo, de la naskiĝantaj urboj eĉ antaŭ ol ili pervenkis de siaj feŭdaj sinjoroj kaj regantoj lokan memregadon kaj politikajn rajtojn kiel "La Tria Etato." Generale paprolante, rilate al la ekonomia disvolvigo de la kapitalistaro, Anglujo estas tie ĉi alprenata kiel la tipa lando, kaj rilate al ĝia politika disvolvigo, Francujo. Daŭrigota.

ABOUT THE WAR.

We want you to help us to spread knowledge about the war.

We want your work and your co-operation. Write to us: we will tell you how to help.

Send a few stamps for some free leaflets about the war.



THE MURDER OF SOUTH AFRICAN STRIKERS.

The news has come that one of the South African strikers, Comrade Stassen, has been hanged for murder under the old Roman-Dutch law by which the strikers are made individually responsible for the deaths which took place during the fighting.

On the other hand, military officers who, like the "Black and Tans" in Ireland, took men out from their homes and had them murdered in cold blood, are treated by the South African Government as having done their duty. We publish on this page a photograph of the three Hanekom brothers, who were murdered by the orders of Captain Kirby, also a photograph of their graves, and that of Dowse, who was also murdered by the military.

Below we publish pathetic letters from friends and relatives of men who were murdered and imprisoned.

Smash the odious Capitalist system of wage slavery, must surely be the urgent thought which arises in the minds of all who read these letters. You shareholders, who, without working, draw your dividends from the South African mines, your money is stained with the blood of the men who died in the struggle and of the men who are being judicially murdered by the Treason Court.

From the Mother of the Murdered Brothers.

74 Andrews Street, Kenilworth,
Johannesburg, Transvaal,
South Africa.

Sir,—I, the undersigned, and mother of the three murdered Hanekom brothers, do hereby state in facts and full particulars the murder of my three sons by the Transvaal Scottish, under the command of Captain Kirby, on March 16th, 1922. The following are the names of the deceased:

Peter Albert Hanekom, age 27 years.

John Peter Hanekom, age 20 years.

Bernard Donald Hanekom, age 17 years.

On March 16th last my three boys were taken from my home, the sergeant in charge of an escort and sixteen soldiers rushed in my house and held everyone up at the point of the bayonet. The sergeant, Berry by name, then ordered me from the house. I refused. He then told me to stand in the passage, and that if I moved he would blow my brains out. They then proceeded to search for firearms, but failed to find any. The sergeant then found my eldest son's will. He then came to me and told me to look after it. I refused to take it. He then handed it to my son's wife, as her husband would not see the sunset. They then marched my boys away. That was the last I saw of them alive. They were taken to a valley not far from my home, and shot dead, without trial or fair hearing. This was cold-blooded murder. The two other men, Mr. Dowse and Mr. Smith, were also murdered by these soldiers. I am enclosing two photos: the one is the officer in charge, talking to the prisoners, and the other is the spot where my three sons were shot, within a square of six feet. You will be able to judge whether my sons were trying to escape, as the plea put forward by the troops at the inquiry. I have also six eye-witnesses to prove that they did not attempt to escape. The deceased Smith leaves a wife and seven children—the youngest was but twelve hours old when its father was murdered. I ask, is this Justice?

Wife Went Mad From Grief.

Mrs. Smith went mad, and is now in the Pretoria Asylum.

I have positive proof that my sons were ill-treated, and the eldest wounded with the bayonet, before they were shot. I have also proof that they were killed with dum-dum bullets. I could only recognise my eldest son by the clothes and boots he wore; the whole of his features were blown away. The other two were not much better. There was a magisterial enquiry, the decision of which to this day we do not know. There was a com-

Murdered in Cold Blood.

The top picture shows the place where the striker Dowse was shot. The centre picture shows the men who were dragged from their homes and shot by Captain Kirby, of the London Scottish. The murdered men are shown in line. No. 1 is Albert Thomas Keynack; No. 2 is his stepson (one of the three Hanekom brothers), Albert Hanekom, age 28; No. 3 is Petrus Hanekom, age 20; next to Petrus is Barend Daniel Hanekom, age 18.

mission appointed to review the case, and we do not know their decision, which is forthcoming.

The day of the arrest Mrs. Peter Albert Hanekom asked the sergeant about food for the prisoners. Berry replied that these men would need no more food. That alone proves that these men were murdered. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that my eldest boy went and fought for their country, and suffered eleven months as a prisoner of war. He was a gunner in the T.H.A., and was discharged with a conduct as exemplary. Don't you think this cold-blooded murder ought to be made known all the world over? And, if possible, I entreat you to put this case before the League of Nations, to bear witness to the Government. As I am of the opinion that the whole world be made acquainted with the facts of the cold-blooded butchery on defenceless people by the Union Forces.

Again entreating you to do your utmost for me. Thanking you in anticipation.

Believe me to be,

Yours sorrowful,

(Signed) Mrs. P. A. HANEKOM,

P. A. HANEKOM,

Miss B. G. HANEKOM,

T. W. DOWSE.

P.S.—Peter Albert leaves a wife and three children. You can have more details if necessary.

680 Men Awaiting Trial.

Bezuidenhout Valley,

Johannesburg.

September 5th, 1922.

Dear Comrade,—I received your letter with the last mail, for which I am very thankful. I hope you will shove this forward wherever possible, and wherever it can get attention. If it lies in my power I will bring it before the League of Nations, and also the home Parliament. I have interviewed Mrs. Hanekom and the family of the late Mr. Smith, who was murdered along with my brother. I will forward you copies of all information, and of all our fellow-brothers who are still in gaol. Two of them have been sentenced to death. Taphe Long's trial is on now. He will probably be sentenced to death. Mr. Erasmus has got ten years. Mr. Viljoen has got seven years. My other brother is still waiting trial, with about 680 others. I do not think the last man will be tried till 1924, as we have a Court sitting with three Judges, and they are taking their time in trying these cases.

The Government had aeroplanes dropping bombs on people's houses, and big guns firing in town on the people's houses. It used motor-cars with guns, tanks, armoured trains, and the materials for war against the few who were fighting in the just cause of freedom and liberty, and who were killed by gunfire, gassed and imprisoned, beside being murdered in cold blood.

I hope and trust I shall have the honour to appear before the League of Nations, and so bring the facts before the whole world.

My brother was bayoneted from all sides of his body, and the three Hannekoms the very same, and Smith the very same, before they were shot. I am enclosing you photos where they were shot.

Dear brother, it was cruel to think after we fought for the freedom of humanity for the Government to do what it has done.

Trusting all interests into your hands, hoping that I will have a favourable reply by return of post.

I am your sincerely suffering comrade,

J. W. DOWSE.

Brother of Murdered Dowse Claims Compensation for Children.

90 Broadway,

Bezuidenhout Valley,

Johannesburg.

June 15th, 1922.

To the Right Hon. Prime Minister,

House of Assembly, Cape Town.

Honourable Sir,—I take this liberty of writing to you with reference to the brutal

and cowardly action of the Transvaal Scottish (under the command of Captain Kirby), who murdered my brother, William Dowse, on March 16th, 1922.

He was pulled from his home, marched to the kopjes, and shot, without a fair hearing or trial of any description. He was in no way connected with the revolutionaries, and took no part in the rebellion whatsoever, nor did he even handle a rifle. Why he was shot in this brutal way without any provocation needs an explanation. My brother has served through German West and German East, then to be done to death like this seems unforgivable.

I am the eldest of the family, and on the strength of this I claim the sum of £7,500 (seven thousand, five hundred pounds) for his death and as you were in supreme command. I trust that you will give this claim the consideration it demands.

I have seen service myself as a British subject in the following areas: Boer War for three years, through the Langenburg War, Zulu Rebellion, and the War against Germany, so feel justified in urging this claim.

I trust that you will put this before the Government at an early date, and let me know what you intend doing in the matter.

I have the honour to be, Sir, an honourable citizen,

J. W. DOWSE.

Government Admits No Liability.

Prime Minister's Office,

Cape Town.

June 28th, 1922.

Sir,—I am desired by the Prime Minister to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 15th, in which you refer to the death of your brother William Dowse in March, 1922.

The Prime Minister desires me to say that he most sincerely regrets the death of your brother. He notes that on behalf of the family you claim £7,500 damages on account of your brother's death, but I regret to inform you that the Union Government can admit no liability in this unfortunate matter.

I have the honour to be, Sir

Your obedient servant,

SECRETARY TO THE
PRIME MINISTER.

Mr. J. W. Dowse,

90 Broadway,

Bezuidenhout Valley,

Johannesburg.

Prisoners Lacking Proper Food and Clothes.

108 8th Avenue,

Bezuidenhout Valley,

Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,—For your information I am forwarding you this letter, which will, I hope, give you some light of what has occurred and developed from the outcome of the strike, and of the shameful and cruel way this Government is treating my stepson, Martin McLoughlin, who was a member of the Jeppe-town Commando during the revolt here on the Rand. He was captured and taken prisoner at the above address on March 20th, 1922, and has been a prisoner all this time, and confined to prison waiting trial. The day that my son was captured there were no less than six men in blue, and one C.I.D. rushed my house, four in front and two at the back. They demanded the door to be opened, or they would shoot, almost pushing my wife into a state of collapse. My wife has been an invalid close on seven years, suffering from rheumatism and neuritis, and always in very severe pain now. You can just think for a moment, and picture my wife, the state she got into when these men in blue rushed my house at the point of firearms, threatening to shoot if the door was not opened at once. My wife has never got over the shock of that terrible moment.

I might mention that my wife has got three sons which did their part during the Great War. Martin McLoughlin is the eldest, and served seven years in the British Navy, ranking from petty officer to ship engineer. The second son served in the Loyal North Lancs., German East Africa, at outbreak of the war, for two years, then went to France, where he

was captured and taken prisoner. He was also badly wounded and lost his health through shell shock, and since his return home has done but very little work, practically none, owing to his ill-health caused through the War. I might further mention that Martin McLoughlin, who is still waiting trial, is suffering for the want of proper food and clothing.

I might mention that during the revolt the aeroplanes played havoc with our men, especially at Fordsburg, Brixton, and Newlands, slaughtering some of the finest type of South African heroes.

I will now come to a close, hoping and trusting that you are obtaining all the information that is necessary re this terrible case on the Rand.

I remain, yours very truly,

P.S.—Martin McLoughlin Naval No. 21a Oveita.

Are We to be Shot Down Like Dogs?

90 Broadway,

Bezuidenhout Valley,

Johannesburg.

July 12th, 1922.

Tom Mann.

Dear Sir,—I now take the liberty of writing you for help and to bring weight to bear upon the Union Government for the cowardly and brutal murder of my brother William Dowse, who had nothing to do with the strike or the revolution. For him to be done to death like this is unforgivable. He leaves a wife and family to grow up the best way they can.

Dear comrade, will you put this in all the Press and make it public throughout the whole world, so as to bring weight to bear upon the Union Government of South Africa to provide for his wife and family? As a brother of mine, I am only trying to do my duty towards him and his family, whom he left behind. He was only 29 years of age, and was cut off by such an uncivilised lot of creatures as John Smuts, the Prime Minister, who was in chief command, and Captain Kirby, and the Transvaal Scottish. My brother is not the only one; the three Hannekoms, Smith, and others were done to death in the same way.

Now I appeal to you, dear comrade, for help. Ask yourself the question: Are we wild animals in South Africa? Are we to be shot down like dogs when we class ourselves as thorough British subjects and true to our flag when called upon at any time? There is no tongue can express the bitter feeling which is growing up in South Africa for these men done to death without any cause.

Now, comrade, I leave it to you to do what you think best. Thanking you in anticipation for an early reply,

I remain,

Your true comrade in this struggle,

J. W. DOWSE.

THE BAKUNIN PRESS.

DEAR EDITOR,—In reply to the letter published in your issue for September 28th from Mr. Simcoe, may I be allowed to say that I am quite conscious of my faults and drawbacks? I know and deplore his reactionary conduct, his attempt almost to return to Rome on the question of the Communion and the Real Presence because of his fear and hatred of the peasants. In another essay written in prison, but as yet unpublished, I have treated of him and Huss, Zwingle, Carstadt, Melancthon, and the Anabaptists. Knowing all this, and fully understanding the Capitalist character of his evangel, I still applaud and admire the first phases of his revolt against Rome. Whoever has followed the story of his first challenges must admire his audacities, even though they place his social vision on a poor level and rank his intellect below that of men like Erasmus or Sir Thomas More.

I cannot follow friend Simcoe in his admiration for the monasteries. Whilst appreciating the economic factors that caused the Reformation to repudiate in explicit terms the semi-Communism of the early Christian Fathers, I yet believe that the freeing of the human mind actively advanced the cause of human progress towards the goal for which we stand.

No; there is no mass suggestion so far as I am concerned, and I have MS. essay here that criticises Luther as severely as ever my friend Simcoe could wish.

Yours fraternally,

GUY A. ALBRED.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

"A 15-in. HOWITZER SHELL."

By Tom Anderson.

As you walk through the Central Station of Glasgow, in the most prominent part of it, your attention is drawn to a group standing round in a circle gazing with admiration and seemingly devotion to some object which you cannot discern. You make your way towards the spot, and there you see, fixed on a wooden pedestal, a big piece of polished steel. You wait your turn to find out what it is, because your knowledge in some things being limited, you don't want to make a fool of yourself. You get inside the inner circle, and a small brass plate, which is fixed to the big piece of polished steel, explains what it is. You read it:

"15-inch Howitzer Shell,
Presented to the

"Royal Hospital for Sick Children.

"By Wm. Beardmore & Co., Ltd., A.D. 1916.
Supported by Voluntary Contributions."

There is a slot in the brass plate for you to put in your contribution, if you are so inclined.

"A 15-in. howitzer shell," and the most of us never seen one before; and the young girls and boys that gather round admire it with all the generosity of a king or an emperor. On their brain is placed for all time "a 15-in. howitzer shell." And then you will hear them remark: "That's what they beat the Germans with." Might I tell you that is why it is placed there, and might I also tell you that Glasgow is a Christian city. In the Post Office Directory for our city there is given in it the names and addresses of nearly 500 ministers of the Church of Christ. The 15-in. howitzer shell is an emblem of our civilisation, and it is placed there for voluntary contributions on behalf of the children of the poor of our city. Just write down on your brain, "A 15-in. howitzer shell," and then in a whisper say, "Jesus died for you. Do you see the great farce they play on the mentality of the young? The Royal Hospital for Sick Children's motto, then, is: 'A 15-in. howitzer shell.' Do you think you could get an emblem of a lower nature, supposing you were a prehistoric man? I don't think so. The shell is so placed in the station that you cannot fail to see it; and the thousands of men, women and children that come from the country go home and tell their friends of the 'big shell,' and so the purpose for which it has been placed there has amply repaid all the labour and expense in connection with it.

After you walk out of the station, if you are observant, you will notice a great big poster, and on it you will read the following: "God so commended His Love towards us that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

I read that poster, then I read it again, and I had to pull myself together. Was this Glasgow, I mused, or some far-away heathen land?

"Christ died for us," and "a 15-in. howitzer shell" saved us from the Germans. Then I thought, and muttered: "100,000 unemployed in Glasgow; and Christ died for us, while we were yet sinners." Then a smile came over my countenance, and I said to myself: "The poster is also for Henry, just like the shell. The unemployed are born in sin; they are unemployed because they are sinners." And "Henry" read it, and "Henry" knew he was a sinner, and he also knew he was unemployed. Then the thought crossed his brain, "I am unemployed because I am a sinner," he muttered to himself. And the poster served its purpose. It paid its way. Think that over. "God so commends His Love towards us, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." And the men who put the poster there don't work. They put it there to safeguard the interest of the soap factory and the brickfield, to safeguard the interests of every little bourgeois in our land. And the poster paid its way, just like the 15-in. howitzer shell.

And the 100,000 unemployed have it on their brain, and there is no hope. There are too many shells and posters, too many parasites, too many Labour leaders, too many disciples of Jesus, too many "fly men," and too little of the spirit of Communism. However, one hope you have got: you can think of the time you will have after you are dead. You can picture it in your mind as you stand waiting at the Bureau. You can be charitable to every living creature on the earth, for your day is coming yet. For "while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." And the words on the brass plate read: "15-in. howitzer shell, presented to the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, by Wm. Beardmore and Co., Ltd., A.D. 1916." Of such is the kingdom of the bourgeois.

HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

We have already published a number of articles on this subject. Back numbers containing the whole series may be obtained from the "Dreadnought" Office.

As after July 14th a new series of emigrations began, but this time it was not the reactionaries of the Court, but of the Assembly who led the war.

The more far-sighted middle class were establishing their power on a sure foundation by passing Acts to establish the responsibility of ministers and officials to the National Assembly, and giving the assessment of taxes into the hands of the Assembly. The title of the King of France was changed to King of the French. Republicanism had therefore not yet obtained the upper hand.

The middle-class municipality of Paris, or Council of Three Hundred, which had set itself up after July 14th, also established its authority. It was proposed to appoint from the Three Hundred sixty directors, and to divide them amongst eight departments—food, police, public works, hospitals, education, land and revenue, taxes, and the National Guard. It should be remembered that the Council had under its orders a National Guard of 60,000 well-to-do citizens. The Council and its Guard were assuming the right to supervise everything: meetings, newspapers, street literature, selling, advertisements, and so on.

Using the murder of a baker as the pretext, the Council begged the National Assembly for martial law, which was at once granted, and henceforth it was sufficient for a municipal officer to unfurl a red flag for martial law to be proclaimed. After that, if the crowd did not disperse on a third demand, a municipal officer could require the troops to fire upon the people. If the people were unarmed and dispersed peacefully before the third summons, only the ringleaders were arrested, and sent to prison for three years; but if the crowd were armed, the sentence on the ringleaders was death. If the crowd committed any violence, sentence of death could be applied to all concerned in the riot. Any soldier or officer of the National Guard who stirred up rioting was liable to the death sentence.

After the taking of the Bastille by the masses, the middle class had formed the National Guard to repress the masses; after the march of the masses to Versailles the middle classes secured the anti-rioting law. Meanwhile they were legislating to deprive the masses of political power. A few days after the Bastille fell the lawyer, Lieges, proposed to the Assembly that the people should be divided into two classes—active citizens and passive citizens—the latter comprising the great mass of the populace, being deprived of all political rights. Five weeks later the Assembly accepted the proposal, thus violating the Declaration of the Rights of Man as soon as it was proclaimed.

The National Assembly itself had been elected in two stages. "Primary Assemblies," convoked in every electoral division had been composed of nearly all the citizens. The

primary assemblies had nominated "electors," who, meeting in an "electoral assembly," chose a representative for the National Assembly.

The general assemblies of the villagers, under feudalism, had administered the affairs of the commune, such as the re-division of, and use of, the communal lands. These general assemblies of the villagers were forbidden by the municipal law of 1789.

The people, in defiance of law, had created in action a municipal constitution for France in place of the old feudal government by the "Parliaments" of the feudal aristocracy. When the National Assembly came to register

The middle classes in the National Assembly by the municipal and administrative law of December 22nd to 24th, 1789, excluded the mass of the people from the primary elections by admitting only active citizens: that is to say, persons who paid at least three days' work in direct taxation. Passive citizens were deprived of the right of the primary assemblies, nominating the National Assembly electors, and taking part in electing the municipality and local authorities, or joining the National Guard.

At the same time, the electoral assemblies were given the right to elect the local Councils, the judges, and other functionaries. To be eligible as an elector, however, it was necessary to pay at least the value of ten days' work in direct taxes. Later on, in 1791, when reaction had made further progress, the Assembly further decreed that the electors must possess landed property; whilst in order to be eligible for nomination to the National Assembly it was necessary to pay fifty livres (about 50 francs) in direct taxation—a fairly large sum in those days. Finally, the electoral assemblies were, moreover, prohibited from remaining in session. Once the elections were over, they must not meet again. Even their right to petition and pass resolutions was at last taken away. In law the local bodies which the workers and peasants had already established, the Assembly disfranchised the masses who had wrought the change.

Eighteenth-century France had not to deal with the problem of foreign creditors which has caused Soviet Russia so much trouble; for the days of international loans were not yet. Nevertheless, French investors in national securities were a force to be reckoned with, which would have attacked the revolution had the Government suspended payment. The financial deficit which had forced the King to make his first concessions to democracy was weighing heavily upon the National Assembly. It was this fact, rather than an anti-Church, equitarian, or other political considerations, which induced the Assembly to decide upon the seizure of Church property in 1789, its sale, and the payment of salaries to the clergy by way of exchange. The total income of the Church at that time was about 280,000,000 francs a year. The bishops rivalled the richest lords and princes in their wealth and extravagance, whilst the poorer clergy lived in great poverty. It was proposed to give each priest 1,200 francs a year, plus his lodging, and to use the rest of the proceeds of the sale for State needs. Five hundred and sixty-eight members of the Assembly voted for the seizure, 346 against. The clergy, of course, intrigued against the seizure of Church property. The Assembly then, on February 12th, 1790, voted the suppression of perpetual vows and of the monastic orders of both sexes. The religious bodies entrusted with public education and the care of the sick were not abolished until August 18th, 1792. The clergy became henceforth the centre of counter-revolutionary activity. In June and July, 1790, the Assembly embarked on the internal reorganisation of the clergy. Since the clergy were now paid servants of the State, it was decided to remove them from the control of Rome, and to place them under that of the French State, the election of bishops being confided to the Assemblies of electors. (Continued.)



RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

"Navayuga," a fortnightly journal devoted to national and international problems, published at Guntur, India, 12/- a year. This new publication is edited by G. V. Krishna Rao. Its first issue contains an article on the home-produced cloth to which the Indians are resorting in their boycott of the British ascendancy. The working Committee of the Indian National Congress has set apart 17 lakhs of rupees for this purpose, and loans are being made to provincial districts. Many schemes for increasing the native production are discussed, and some joint stock companies have been formed. The editor deprecates this procedure. He says the production of native cloth, "khadda," is mainly a cottage industry, which he claims to be in harmony with India's needs and ideals. Hand spinning and weaving he claims to be suitable subsidiary industries to that of agriculture, and means of supplementing the family income. Plain living and high thinking he claims to be the Indian ideal, whilst "the Westerner thinks of a higher creed of comfort, luxury, and conventional needs. In the traditional industrial system no one is master, no one is servant. Artisans always work on their own account, and not at the bidding of any masters or employers. As a matter of fact, our indigenous system aims at production of free men. Thus we see labour is healthy, pleasant, and has sufficient leisure at its disposal. The Western industrial organisation aims at increased production, and subordinates the main question of distribution, and as a consequence we see that life and its spiritual well-being having been sacrificed mercilessly on the altar of Mammon."

There is much in this, though India has its famines and its exploiting princes, who regard themselves as of quite other stuff than the peasants and industrial workers.

Mr. Rao adds a warning "to some of our leaders who hanker after dangerous things," "not to take this opportunity to exploit Indian labour cheaply in an insidious manner under the garb of patriotism."

Mr. Rao has not reached so far as Communism in his thought, but he urges co-operation. He says:

"There are three ways in which we can apply the principle of co-operation to relieve and help our artisans: (1) To provide cheap credit with co-operative finance; (2) co-operative purchase of raw materials, tools, and appliances; (3) sale of finished products on co-operative lines."

He also quotes with approval Professor Gide's observation that the substitution of electric power for steam enables motive power to be transported from the place of its generation to the place of its application, and permits new forms of industrial enterprise capable of resisting successfully the encroachment of large-scale industry.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT HARDING.

Published by the General Defence Committee, 1701 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

After years of incarceration in the jails of U.S.A., this letter comes as a bold challenge to the master class and also to the working class of the world. Written, as it is, by members of the I.W.W., it not only flouts the master class for their inability to stem the rising tide, but it carries a note of challenge to those workers outside jail to get on with the work of perfecting the machinery which will once and for all end the class war. In the words of the I.W.W. songster, Joe Hill, "Don't mourn, organise." Out of the seventy-one I.W.W.s in Leavenworth Gaol, fifty-two have signed this stirring document, and it is in answer to the undercurrent note of the master class that individual appeals for clemency will be heard, and they have given their

answer, and that is that they will not stir from their declaration of principles, nor will they abate one iota from the grim and merciless class struggle in return for clemency. It is indeed a thing to be proud of to be able to claim them as fellow-workers, for most of them are serving sentences of ten years, and seven of them twenty years. As they themselves say, "Liberty is sweet to any man in prison, but not sweet enough to us to be purchased at the price of principle." The letter is not only of interest from the point of view of the faithfulness of workers to the class, but it is a triumphant indictment of the tireless and pitiless persecution of the I.W.W.s of America; it shows up crude and bare the depth of infamy the American master class went to in framing up charges, and the torture and murder of members of the I.W.W. It shows the necessity for industrial organisation based on a recognition of the class struggle and the abolition of the Capitalist system, and it makes one wonder at the tragedy of revolutionary parties attacking in their Press (and helping on the master class hellhounds) such men as these. The letter says: "We rest our case, Mr. President, with the highest Court of all—the great mass of thinking workers"; and the action of these petty politicians will also be judged by that Court. The letter should be in the hands of every rebel, and it will give heart in the worst of our struggles. A further quotation sums up the spirit of those brave workers who lie in Leavenworth to-day:

"Go, traveller, to Sparta, and say that we lie here on the spot at which we were stationed to defend our country."

W.O. 36. A.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

All interested in the I.W.W. form of organisation are invited to communicate with W. J. Braddock, 8 Bennett Street, Garston, Liverpool.

"Old Man Conditions says 'Get Ready.'"

Revolutionary Industrial Union Propaganda League.

I.W.W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of the working class people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centring of the management of industries into fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs that allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby trying to defeat one another in the wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wages system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Cont. from p. 2.

gone ahead and fought disregarding the Allies; and the Allies, one and all, have displayed a respect for their strength which they did not accord to the meekness of the official Government of Turkey. Learn by that portent of Labour leaders who talk of a ten years industrial truce!

British Capitalists looked expectantly to see what Italy would do now that France had stolen a march on them and secured the economic exploitation of vast territories by negotiation rather than conquest. The Italians, however, were of the same mind as the French. They also had secured concessions, and, therefore, had no immediate desire to make war on Turkey least of all in the cause of British Capitalism.

(To be continued.)

LEFT-WING COMMUNIST MEETINGS.

Friday—7.30, Clapham Junction, Mrs. Bolton, N. Smyth, C. T. West.

Saturday.—11 a.m. and 3 p.m., Poster Parade; 7 p.m., meeting, The Peacock, Custom House, N. Smyth, C. T. West.

Sunday.—Poster Parade, meet "Dreadnought" Office, 4 p.m. Meeting, Osborn Street, 6 p.m.

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