In the Next War 500 'Planes will lay London waste. ONE PENNY.

Workers' Dreadnought

WORKSHOP COMMITTEES AND THE END OF THE WAGE SYSTEM.

VOL. X. No. 18. SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1923. WEEKLY.

JOE HILL'S LAST WILL.

(Written in his cell, November 18th, 1915, on the eve of his execution.)

My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide.
My kin don't need to fuss and moan—
"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."

My body? Ah, if I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.

Perhaps some fading flower then
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will.
Good luck to all of you.

REMEMBER.

We speak to you from gaol to-day,
Two hundred Union men,
We're here because the bosses' laws
Bring slavery again.

Chorus.

In Chicago's darkened dungeons
For the O.B.U.
Remember you're outside for us
While we're in here for you.

We're here from mine and mill and rail,
We're here from off the sea,
From coast to coast we make the boast
Of solidarity.

We laugh and sing, we have no fear.
Our hearts are always light,
We know that every Wobblie true
Will carry on the fight

We make a pledge—no tyrant might
Can make us bend the knee.
Come on, you worker, organise
And fight for Liberty.

Harrison George, Cook Co. Gaol, Oct. 18, 1917.

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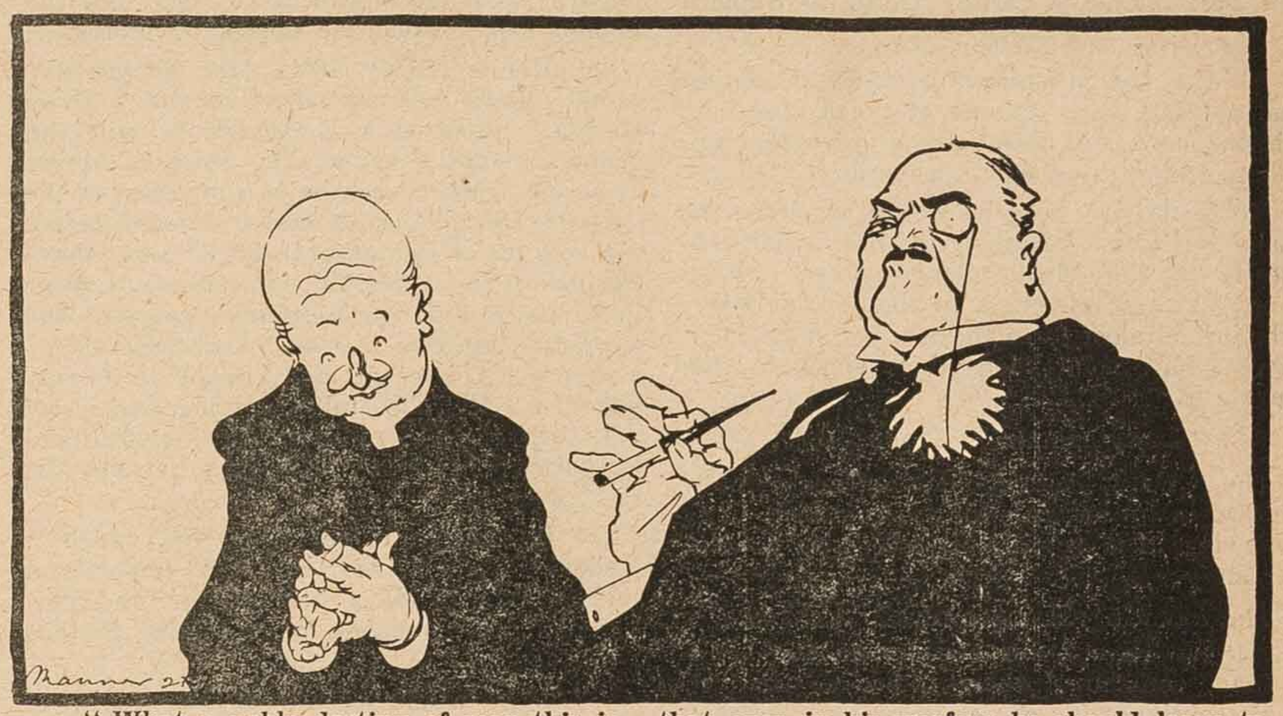

"What a noble destiny of man this is, that even in his warfare he should learn to fly and take unto himself wings as angels."

"And that his wife should learn to cower in a cellar to maintain his Christian humility!"

The Tragic Coming of Another War.

War is preparing; you will not escape it heedless, youths and maidens, building your house of life, living your little round of work and pleasure, unconcerned by the movements amongst the Governments of the world. You will not escape it, boys and girls who are still at school, nor will your parents. Only the very aged have slender cause to hope that this precarious truce of preparation may possibly last their time.

In the last war this country was sheltered, shielded by intervening allied and neutral nations from the hideous impact, protected by the infant incapacities of the new engine of war—the aeroplane.

The shield is gone. The narrow strip of water that divides us from the European mainland will be the centre of the coming struggle. The war airplane has emerged from its infancy. It will lay Europe waste, and we shall find ourselves no longer outside Europe. Cities will become places of death and torment—only in rural isolation will mankind be able to hope for safety from the engines of death man has made. It is a strange reversal of the social processes. To find safety from attack man built cities; to find safety from attack he will shortly flee from them.

What is to blame for the coming war? How might it be prevented? Already the approaching horror has assumed an appearance of inevitability. People begin to believe that there is no alternative to it. "National honour" seems to demand a resistance to French aggression. Shall we stand by, men ask, and see France turn Europe into a shambles or her slave pen? Shall Britain confess herself impotent? The pride of patriotism is wounded at the suggestion. More than that, people begin to believe there is actually no way of escape from the contest: even if patriotism, imperialism, and what men call national honour, be disregarded, people believe that France will attack Britain. People believe in the inevitability, even the righteousness, of the coming war who declared the last war to be unnecessary and opposed it at every stage. They declare France unmistakably to be the world aggressor, blameworthy at every step.

When the busy traffic stops and the long line of 'buses wedged stationary is stretching from Threadneedle Street to the Bank, those who would see the cause and the probable duration of the stoppage look not to the vehicle immediately before them, but stand up on the 'bus and gaze forward to the crossroads beyond.

Few take that intelligent course in regard to the coming war. Few consider the scramble for spoils amongst the victors of the last war, between the two great European rivals—France and Britain—in which Britain secured the richest prizes. Few regard the oil contest, in which Britain, France, and America have manoeuvred to outwit each other, and in which British Capitalism stole a march on its competitors and got the better of the French in every bargain.* Few consider the many conferences at Genoa, Cannes Lausanne, Paris, London, and so on, in which the rival Capitalisms have striven, not merely to pluck the wealth of some weaker nation, Russia or Turkey, as the case may be, but to outdo each other

Of the relatively few who notice these things and understand that war is their inevitable sequel, the majority find cause only

* See "Delaisi Oil" and Sylvia Pankhurst's "The Oil War," 1d.

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to sigh over the frailty and greed of human nature and to beg the capitalist to forbear a little in his quest for riches in order that the populations of the world may not be altogether wiped out.

The system that is at the root of all this goes unchallenged, or is vaguely chided, with the thought that it is too big, too all-embracing to be dealt with seriously, and that therefore the best must be made of it. So, like the peoples of the Etna region, men build again their homes upon the fields of battle, and twine the frail flowers of their loves and hopes about the very guns that shall destroy them.

All Parliamentary Parties Unite to Support Coming War.

All the Parliamentary parties will support the coming war. Some of the Tories may dissent now, but they will support the war when it comes, as they always do.

No opposition need be looked for from the Labour Party. Already it has committed itself to the Government policy. Even amongst those elements in the Labour Party which held aloof from the last war prominent figures have committed themselves to the next war.

"Daily Herald" Grows Jingo.

The "Daily Herald" has enthusiastically thrown in its lot with the Government. The following facts reveal this fact with a clear certainty:

The following extracts reveal this fact.

"We have never encouraged the belief that 'somehow' there could be arranged a continuance of co-operation between France and Britain. . . .

"Italy is with us at this moment. If we wipe out the debt which she owes us we shall keep her with us. If we offer to wipe out the debt of Belgium also we shall detach the Belgians from an adventure which they never much liked, and of which they now acknowledge the failure. . . .

"Having forgiven Italy and Belgium their debts to us, WE SHOULD PRESS THE FRENCH FOR PAYMENT OF THE ENORMOUS SUM THEY OWE US. At the same time, we should urge the United States to join an international conference to decide how much Germany can pay and how it shall be paid."—"Daily Herald" leading article, Monday, July 16th, 1923.

There is the policy of the Government baldly phrased by the ex-"Daily Mail" war journalist who edits the "Daily Herald." He accepts the contest with France in cold blood, and apparently with pleasure.

It is the old Balance of Power diplomacy, the old method of bribing the small Powers to enter the orbit of this or that great one: the Mussolini Government is welcomed into the British fold, and is to be bribed to remain there.

France, on the contrary, is to be flouted into further antagonism by pressure to pay her enormous debt. This late-comer to the Labour fold seems anxious to speed on the war as quickly as possible since he has made that proposal.

The Official Labour Party Policy.

It is important to remember that the "Daily Herald" is now a party organ under the control of the Party executive and an editorial board. Therefore, the editorial policy is official.

How ugly sounds that demand that "we should press the French for payment of the enormous sum they owe us," when we recall the protests by certain Labour Party lights that the payment of German reparations would be actually injurious to this country and would produce unemployment here!

Labour Support for Tory Premier.

Here is another extract from the Labour Party organ:

"Mr. Baldwin . . . has proved himself to have intelligence and pluck.

"The Tories proper, however, are grievously dissatisfied with their leader. . "Mr. Baldwin is too honest a man, and too little of a politician to trim his convictions. . . .

"Soon after Mr. Baldwin took office it was prophesied of him by a newspaper editor that HE WOULD HAVE TO APPEAL TO LABOUR TO SUPPORT HIM BEFORE HE HAD DONE! ALL THAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THEN MAKES THAT MORE AND MORE PROBABLE."—"Daily Herald" front-page article, Saturday, July 14th, 1923.

The "Daily Mail" war correspondent apparently sees no objection to that, and the Labour Party executive makes no protest.

On Monday, July 16th, Mr. George Slocombe, Paris correspondent of the "Daily Herald," reported a conversation with the French Liberal Pacifist, Mr. Herriot, Mayor of Lyons. Mr. Slocombe is a member of the "Daily Herald" staff which existed before the coming of its present editor, and, above all, before the "Herald" became a Labour Party organ. Mr. Slocombe belongs to the pacifistic tradition of the "Daily Herald": he has not yet accustomed himself to its new jingoism. Mr. Slocombe, arguing guilelessly that there should be mutual consideration and forbearance between the nations, reports Mr. Herriot as follows:

"But there are occasions on which I should like to see England understand France's attitude a little better, and particularly our reasons for remaining in that attitude.

"What would have been the reply of your Government, do you suppose, if in 1918 France had proposed that the Egyptian question should be submitted to an international tribunal, or that the fate of the ex-German colonies should be decided by a body of neutral experts?"

Here the imperialist "Herald" editor interposes a characteristic note:

"The British Government would no doubt have turned such proposals down, but they would have had the hearty support of the Labour Party."

Labour Supporting the Old Order.

The tragic folly of the situation is that those who thus identify themselves with the Government policy at the same time are accepted as spokesmen of the workers who have no part in Government policy.

The Labour Party has been drawn into the network of the established order. Its leaders go to Court and show that they are as anxious to uphold the King and keep his Empire prosperous and intact as any Tory. It is in the realms of foreign policy that the kingly interest is most apparent. A squabble between his subjects on minor issues may be of small moment in his eyes, but a squabble between the nations is always of first-class importance to him.

Labour Party support of the foreign policy of the King and Court means that there will be little or no Parliamentary opposition to the next war.

The Government obtained the support of the Labour Party during the war by pledging itself to respect the position of the Trade Unions, by exempting Trade Union officials from war service, by giving the Unions facilities for enrolling into their ranks the war recruits to industry. The employers adopted the same policy.

The Government and employers are securing from the Unions a large measure of indirect support and a still larger measure of acquiescence by refraining from an attack on the Trade Union machinery at this time when the Trade Union machinery is specially vulnerable. The Government and employers might have joined now in attacking Trade Unionism. Had the employers determined to employ non-union labour whenever possible, and had the Government decided at the same time to refuse the unemployment dole to workers refusing employment offered at blackleg rates and on conditions of non-unionism, the Unions would have had a stiff fight to maintain their large membership. The comfortable security of the Trade Union office would have become a thing of the past. Those sleek, corpulent officials would have given place to thin, haggard men in shabby clothes. There would have come a fighting virility into the Trade Union movement, and the Government policy would have been attacked at every stage.

The Government and employers have gained more by conciliation. As it is, the Labour Party can be counted on for a loyal devotion to what are regarded as the larger interests of British Capitalism, and especially for assistance in peacefully reducing wages to the level regarded as necessary to the maintenance of British trade.

Many who joined the Labour Party, believing it must stand as a bulwark against war, are disturbed by its support of the Government's foreign policy. They are opposed both to the French invasion of the Ruhr and to war with France. When they see the men who brought them into the Labour Party—Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald, E. D. Morel, and others—giving active or tacit support to the Government so obviously preparing for war, they protest that either no man may be trusted or there is really no alternative to war.

Their faith altogether wavers at times, and their hopes sink. Yet there is an alternative, but it does not lie within the system of private property and production for profit. The way of the Pacifist must be hard and unprofitable under the private-property system; self-interest will constantly thrust aside his counsels.

THE POLISH WHITE TERROR.

(The following summary of June happenings is forwarded by M. Sosna, from Warsaw, in Esperanto, and should be read in connection with the documents published recently in the "Manchester Guardian," which were quoted in the "Workers' Dreadnought.")

June—the first month of the rule of Wites-Seyda—brought to the Polish workers a series of sharp persecutions from the ruling "democratic" Government. In addition to the customary arrests of Communists and suppressions because of alleged anti-State actions, there are now new attacks upon the workers' industrial and educational movements. The Leather and Metal Syndicates in Warsaw, and the Joint Council in Siedlce have been expelled out of their offices. The educational journal "Koltura Robotnicza" (Workers' Culture), the trade Jewish journals "Frayc Arbayter Volt" (Free Workers' World) and the "Varshayer Nodel Arbayter" (Warsaw Tailor) have been suppressed. All the organisations of the Ukraine Association "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) in the districts Rowne and Wlodzimierz have been shut up.

Prosecution for political offences become more frequent. In Warsaw during the last few weeks the following comrades have been sentenced to two years' hard labour: Pakulski and three colleagues, for demonstrating for the eight-hour day; Bartczak, for action in the legal Proletarian Union; Sypula, Zienkiewicz and Slawinski, for legal agitation in the Warsaw Insurance Fund elections. Trial is now being dispensed with, for the District Commissioner in Kolomja condemned off-hand five persons whose only crime was participation in the May Day demonstrations.

The most revolting side of the White Terror is the treatment of the political prisoners. Questions in Parliament by the deputies Krowlikowski and Lancucki have brought to light the following examples, among many others: Pakulski was so beaten by the police on his way from the Mokotow prison to the Warsaw Court that the judge at once had him carried back in a drosky.

MARK STARR.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

The History of Utopian Thought. By Joyce Oramel Hertzler, Ph.D. (George Allen and Unwin, 12/6.) This is an interesting work. It would have been still more valuable had the author given a more complete account of the various Utopias with more extensive quotations, instead of quoting the opinions on them of other authors. We reproduce below an extract from the account of the Utopia of the Italian Campanella, a Dominican friar, who lived between 1568 and 1639. Campanella was a Communist and a revolutionary. He took part in the Calabrian conspiracy against Spanish rule. He was tortured by the Spanish Inquisition, and spent twenty-seven years in prison.

* * *

CAMPANELLA'S UTOPIA.

The children at the beginning of their third year are committed to the care of the State, and are taught at first, not out of books, but by objects visually presented. Upon the seven walls of the city were found presented all items of knowledge essential in a well-rounded life, and presented in such a way that they could be learned "without toil and as if for pleasure." There were found mathematical problems and explanations of them, drawings of the earth, and tablets discussing the customs, laws, origins and inhabitants of the different parts, paintings and specimens of minerals and metals, medicines for diseases, descriptions of meteorological phenomena, the views and discussion of the various parts of the human body, the various flora and fauna of the earth, pictures of inventors in science and law, and of renowned heroes in peace and war. Education of the youth by the visualisation process was thus suggested, the nature of it being such that children would unconsciously and without irksomeness acquire a knowledge of the great and essential things of life. Thus did Campanella anticipate present-day pedagogy by three hundred years.

Both sexes are instructed together in all the arts by "men approved beyond all others." They are also led to exercise themselves with gymnastics, running, quoits, and other games, "by means of which all their muscles are strengthened alike." They are also taught practical things, such as shoe-making, cooking, metal-working, carpentry, painting, etc. When the children are seven years of age the teachers begin to discern "the bent of the genius of each one," and the children are then taken to series of lectures on science, which explain essentials. Then, having found their particular speciality, they make themselves adept at it. The effort is made to train each so as to make him the most useful. "The men who are weak in intellect are sent to farms," where they are put at tasks requiring brawn mainly. But they do not believe in narrow specialisation, for "they consider him the more noble and renowned who has dedicated himself to the study of the most arts and knows how to practise them wisely." Both men and women are trained in warlike pursuits also. Campanella, like Bacon, demanded that natural science be given a prominent part in the life of his Utopians, even making it part of his educational system. Here also Campanella was centuries ahead of practice.

Another Utopianistic measure of the greatest importance is his means of securing social unity. Campanella, like More and Plato before him, saw the necessity of this if society was not to be perfected. His theory of social unity is very similar to that of Plato. For him the permanence of social peace and the happiness of the individual depended upon the abandonment of private property and the family. To him property was the prime disturbing element and a fruitful source of discord, a permanent destroyer of that solidarity among men essential to progress. In the "City of the Sun" all things are common. "Arts and honours and pleasures are common, and are held in such a manner that no one can appropriate anything to himself. "For private property is acquired and improved for the reason that each one of us by himself has his own home and wife and children. Hence Campanella would also have community of wives and children, for self-love springs from family, and "when we have taken away self-love there remains only love for the State, and this was the end. . . .

The inhabitants of the "City of the Sun" lived in common dwellings and dormitories, and eat in public dining-halls, where, during meals, "as in the refectories of the monks, there is no noise." The occupations were divided up and adapted as far as possible to inclination and capacity, thus freeing labour of much of its pain and sacrifices. "This," says Guthrie, "was part of his scheme for maintaining the efficiency of labour when the strong motive of individual gain had been removed. But because all, both men and women, except the indigent, work, it only falls to each one to work about four hours every day. . . . The remaining hours are spent in learning joyously, in debating, in reading, in writing, in walking, in exercising the mind and body, and with play." More, it will be remembered, had a working day of six hours, made possible in the same way and for the same purposes. Unlike More and Plato, they had no slaves, for since all worked they needed none. Furthermore, when people have slaves, then they have great leisured classes given over to "idleness, avarice, lasciviousness, usury and other vices."

In so far as they have lame, blind, or other physical defections, they are also given tasks suitable to them, lest they degenerate and become public charges. "No physical defect renders a man incapable of being serviceable except the decrepitude of old age," and these indigent aged were cared for by the State.

Since all labour is honourable, and since all work, no class distinctions can arise. Idleness alone is condemned. Labour thus becomes a part of civic duty; in fact, "the occupations which require the most labour, such as working in metals and buildings, are the most praiseworthy amongst them." . . .

In addition, there is no money," for gold and silver is reckoned of little value among them except as material for their vessels and ornaments, which are common to all." Because of this state of Communism, with its well-developed social sense and lack of temptations, and because of few laws, there are no crimes.

* * *

Dei Faschismus in Italien. By Giulio Aquila. Published by Carl Haym Nachf. Hamburg.

* * *

Everyday Life in the Old Stone Age. By Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell. (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 5/-.)

* * *

"It has been the habit . . . that when a strike is on, 'stars' in the Labour Movement are invited to appear on the scene, and entertain the strikers; entertain them and keep them in good spirits with rosy promises and prophesies . . . very much in the style that some generals do, who by bad whisky seek to keep up the courage of the soldier whom they are otherwise unable to beguile."

—Daniel De Leon, 1898.

Times have changed since De Leon wrote that. To-day the "stars," having conquered the masses for Trade Unionism, no longer desire strikes.

NEXT WEEK.

Special article on the Norfolk Farm Struggle, by A. K. Higdon.

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

President Harding commuted the sentences of twenty-seven political prisoners, but eleven of the prisoners refused to accept the conditions of release, which entailed an admission of guilt and would bar them, they said, from future activities in the workers' cause.

The eleven who refused to accept the conditions are James Rowan, serving a twenty years' sentence; G. J. Bourg, A. Cournos, Bert Lorton, and J. P. Thompson, serving ten years; Wenzel Francik, serving seven and a-half years; J. T. Doran, H. F. Kane, H. Lloyd, and C. H. Mackinnon, serving five years. Harry Gray, offered release on condition of deportation, has also refused. He is serving a ten years' sentence.

The eight prisoners who have accepted the conditions of release consider that they pledge themselves to nothing, declaring that they have always been law-abiding, and will be so in future. Ralph Chaplin, whose prison poems are well known, is one of the eight who have been released.

Five prisoners whose sentences have been commuted are yet being held in Leavenworth Prison until old deportation warrants against them have been considered by the Courts.

More Persecution.

Thirty-seven members of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union (I.W.W.) have been arrested at Hutchinson, Kansas, fourteen at Carthage, Mo. Another group were seized and badly beaten at McFarland, Kansas. Four have been arrested at Salina, Kansas, three at Port Arthur, Texas, sixty are in gaol at Enid, Oklahoma.

Imprisonment Without Trial.

Most of these men are charged with vagrancy charges. Other States secure this result by setting the cases for hearing during the winter terms of court.

Jury Disagree.

The jury trying Tom Connors, secretary of the California branch of the General Defence Committee, at San Francisco, on a charge of tampering with a jury, disagreed and was discharged. A charge of criminal syndicalism placed against Connors was also dismissed.

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Connors was arrested in May, during the trial of three I.W.W. members charged with criminal syndicalism. He had signed 20,000 circular letters asking the repeal of the criminal syndicalism law, one of which fell into the hands of a juror. The Sacramento district attorney pronounced this an attempt at "jury fixing." No evidence was produced to show that Connors had knowledge of the mailing of the letter to the juror. The defence called no witnesses, relying solely upon cross-questioning the witnesses called by the prosecution.

Judicial Bias.

Change of venue asked in the trial of Homer Stewart, D. C. Driscoll, and Peter Wukusich on charges of criminal syndicalism has been denied. Judge Busick, who in a previous syndicalism trial declared that an I.W.W. pamphlet sought to be offered in evidence by the defence was "treasonable and a pack of lies," and refused to admit it as defence evidence after allowing the prosecution to offer it, denied prejudice against the I.W.W., and insisted on trying the case. The trial began on June 18th.

Seven witnesses, subpoened from outside the county by the defence, have been arrested on charges of criminal syndicalism, on the ground that by so appearing they have "committed a crime in the presence of the district attorney."

Would comrades having any engineering tools to spare present them to the "Workers' Dreadnought"? This would be a useful act of comradeship.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Our View.

Workshop Committees or General Councils of Trade Unions.

MR. WALTON NEWBOLD, speaking on behalf of the Third International in the House of Commons, said that when the capitalists are expropriated, production will be organised, either by the general councils of Trade Unions, or by the workshop committees. To Mr. Newbold the difference seems to be immaterial. It is, however, of vital importance. It is nothing less than the question whether industry is to be controlled by an outside authoritarian body composed of professional officials, or whether it is to be organised by the equal co-operation of the workers in the industry.

In Soviet Russia the two ideas came into conflict as soon as the capitalist was expropriated, and the conflict continues there in so far as industry has not returned to the control of the private employer.

* * *

Mussolini's Electoral Policy.

MR. MUSSOLINI'S electoral reform Bill means that two-thirds of the electoral seats are reserved to the Fascisti. The electors will be permitted to vote for the remaining one-third on the basis of proportional representation. Mussolini has secured a vote of confidence from the Italian Parliament, and has been embraced by the ex-Premier Giolitti, by Daragona, the Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and by one of the Social-Democratic Members, Bianchi. Was there ever so topsy-turvey a situation; ever a people so hideously coerced? Mr. Mussolini, in the course of the debate, told Mr. Daragona that he would be willing to give him a place in his Cabinet.

* * *

Mussolini and the Press.

THE ITALIAN DICTATOR'S new plan for coercing the Press is ingenious. Senators and Members of Parliament are not to be editors. That may be a blessing in disguise to the Socialist and Communist Parties, but it is an odd stipulation. The serious clauses of the proposals are those which give the Government's prefects power to forbid an editor to act further in that capacity, or to prevent a publication appointing a third editor after two of its editors have been dismissed by the prefects. When a prefect suspects an editor of publishing matter which is false, tendencious, alarming, or subversive of existing institutions, the prefect will submit the case for hearing by a commission, consisting of two magistrates and a journalist. After that the prefect can dismiss the editor.

Refusal to allow a publication to replace a dismissed editor results in the complete suppression of the paper. The whole Press is thus placed at the mercy of the Government, through its prefects.

* * *

An Anti-strike Covenant.

IN THESE LATTER DAYS of the Capitalist epoch, when the ultimate decay and disappearance of Capitalism is the subject of wide discussion and expectation amongst people of all sorts, we need not be surprised that certain shrewd upholders of Capitalism are seeking for means to damp down the class struggle. The Labour Copartnership Association, conferring in lovely old Oxford, redolent of class privilege, has been passing just the resolutions one would expect from it. It has unanimously resolved that representatives of Trade Unions and of employers associations shall be invited to enter into a treaty of mutual guarantee against strikes and lock-outs. Mr. Carnegie, the mover of this resolution, suggested that if any of the contracting parties should violate the covenant, all the others should employ the weapon of ostracism against that one. Such ostracism would entail the severance of all financial, commercial and personal intercourse with the offender. One can easily imagine that such might have been the fate decreed by the contracting parties for the dockers; the shopkeepers and workers in all other industries being ordered not to supply the strikers needs, whilst even the Trade Unionists and employers on the Boards of Guardians were perhaps discovering that loyalty to the covenant would prohibit them from permitting relief to strikers.

Happily, even though Trade Union officials may enter into injurious covenants, the rank-and-file workers are beginning to show themselves an independent force whose liberties can no longer be altogether signed away by a stroke of the official pen.

* * *

Lausanne.

THAT THE LANSANNE CONFERENCE is still at a deadlock is no surprise to us. The British Press, of course, reviles the Turks for having refused to accept the Allied demands regarding the pre-war capitalist concessions to the British Armstrong Vickers and Turkish Petroleum Company and the French Regie Générale des Chemins de Fer. The Turks proposed to refer the question whether the Petroleum Company had a legal title to its concession to the Hague International Court and to allow the two other companies equality with their competitors for five years. The British Government representatives must have found it galling to be faced with a Turkish demand to live up to their democratic professions. They at first refused the proposals, but afterwards agreed to accept the suggestion for Vickers and the French company and to leave the question of the Petroleum Company to be settled outside the Treaty.

THE DOCK STRIKE.

The dock strike continues, and in spite of some defections there is a steady growth in solidarity of action with the dockers amongst the allied workers, the carters, market porters, and others. These sympathetic strikes are one of the most hopeful features of the situation, for they mark the gradual crumbling of the old sectionalism that has been the greatest obstacle to the workers' emancipation.

Well Done Railwaymen.

One of the most important incidents is the decision of the railway men at the L.M. and S.R. station of Broad Street not to handle meat after July 17th.

This strike has given a tremendous impetus to the movement for an All-Workers' Union, built on a workshop committee basis and run by the rank and file without paid officials.

The attack on the strike by the Trade Union officials has sensibly hastened the disgust for Trade Unionism which has long been developing amongst enlightened workers. Workers are beginning to see that what they require is an organisation that will give them the power to act for themselves in overthrowing Capitalism.

Union Officials Doing the Employers' Work.

The resolution adopted by the Docks Group Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union, published in the "Daily Herald" as an advertisement, and by other papers freely in full, showed that the solid determination of the strikers is causing anxiety in Union circles. The resolution whilst urging the strikers to obey Union instructions and return to work, produced a new bait in the hope of snaring the shy and suspicious rank and file. This was a call to the Union executive to summon a national conference to decide how the agreement might be "ended or mended."

The "Docks Group" thus effectively admitted that the dockers were right in their strike against the agreement, although Messrs. Bevin and Gosling have insisted that the agreement should be honoured.

The reply of Messrs. Bevin and Gosling to the resolution was also published in the "Daily Herald" advertisement. It is a characteristic autocratic bluff. It contained no promise to attempt the ending or mending of the agreement, but it promised to take the opinion of the members thereon **after the strikers have returned to work.** Indeed it is a document worthy of the employers' association. No negotiations until after work has been resumed is the habitual ultimatum of the employers when they feel themselves strong enough to issue it.

On July 17th the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union made themselves the medium for issuing a threat from the employers to the Union's members on strike. They issued a statement saying that the employers would obtain labour elsewhere if the Union members did not immediately return to work, and that if necessary the employers would appeal for Government assistance. The Union has played the employers' game at every stage.

It is freely stated that the employers will force seamen to unload cargoes.

The appropriate answer to such threats is an extension of the strike. Seamen, railwaymen, and all who are called upon to replace the strikers, will be guilty of treachery if they do so; but the situation calls for a more active solidarity than mere refusal to replace the strikers directly. Every worker who indirectly makes it possible to carry on without the strikers is actually a blackleg.

Our Mission.

The mission of the Communist in this crisis is to speed the formation of workshop committees, incidentally pointing out the inadequacy of the Trade Unions, as evidenced in this strike, and to arouse amongst the workers a great movement for the overthrow of Capitalism, to be replaced, not by an authoritarian State Capitalism, but by the Communist industrial commonwealth.

THE LIFE OF A SOCIALIST.

President Ebert of Germany as seen by Gross.

THE SYSTEM.

The railway companies burn much of the hay growing on the railway embankments because they find it difficult to prevent corruption in connection with the sale.

Production for profit entails much waste.

Parliament As We See It.

Owners of ships are under no compulsion to pay wages to the crew after a wreck. Parliamentary questions raised the condition of the survivors of the "Treversa" and of the dependants of those who died. It was pointed out that when public feeling is aroused the shipwrecked men usually get their pay for the period between the wreck and the landing, but when a wreck fails to get much Press publicity the men's pay ceases with the wreck.

The Government was asked to introduce legislation. The President of the Board of Trade replied the Government could not say when that would be possible.

THE "FREE" STATE.

It transpired that the British Government through its Disposal Board handed arms, equipment and stores of all kinds over to the Irish Free State without even ascertaining their value.

Some Tory Members of Parliament complained that a profit ought to have been made. Evidently the Government thought it more important to stop a republican leak in the imperial ship than to make a profit out of a subsidiary branch of the old firm.

MORE BANKING.

Labour Party Mr. Leach brought in a Bill to enable local authorities to establish savings and housing banks. Another variation of the old system.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

Money allocated to unemployment from January 1919 to June 2nd, 1920:

Employers' contributions	£42,700,000
Workers' contributions	36,700,000
Exchequer	25,800,000
Loan from Exchequer to Unemployment Fund at interest ...	15,690,000
Ministry of Transport on road works from winter of 1920 to date	23,600,000
Unemployment Grants Committee for schemes in which Committee gives 60 per cent. of wages	43,000,000
Other Government contributions	14,300,000
Local authorities' contributions to relief work, not including road or other work done without Government grants	28,,00,000
Ministry of Agriculture	670,000
Forestry Commission	200,000
Light railways	325,000

Adding the Poor-Law dole, which is not given in the above figures, large sums of money have been expended in providing maintenance for the masses of people whom those ance for the masses of people whom those who are in possession of the land and the means of production, distribution and transport debar from working. It is a funny, and also a terrible, thing that the man working on a road, or a light railway, or in afforestation, is regarded as a pauper dependent on the country, whilst the man who does nothing more useful than signing his cheques is considered an honourable member of society of altogether superior worth and quality.

LADY ASTOR AND HER BILL.

Mr. Scrymgeour, the Prohibitionist, complained:

". . . You are able to say that the Noble Lady is a leader of the temperance movement, and is doing a great work in the cause. On the other hand, she stands as a candidate for Plymouth, and puts in black type in her election address: 'I am not in favour of prohibition.'"

Later on Lady Astor was asked by Viscount Curzon whether or not she would oppose prohibition when it came to be voted on in the House. She replied:

"I would only like to say that prohibition has nothing to do with me. It depends on the people of this country."

That, of course, was a disingenuous manner of avoiding a definite statement which would lose the votes of one party or other if a definite answer were given. If Members of Parliament were delegates instructed in detail and liable to re-call, Lady Astor's inference that she was merely a vehicle for the expression of her constituents' desires would have had some truth in it.

LAUSANNE.

As usual, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs administered a snub to those Members of Parliament who want to know something about the foreign arrangements to which the Government is committing us all.

He refused information as to what has been agreed upon at Lausanne, and would not even tell whether the Press accounts are correct. Asked whether the Lausanne Treaty will finally be submitted to Parliament, he said:

"That is a question which should be submitted to the Prime Minister."

SLAVE TRADE.

Mr. C. Roberts (Lib.) tried in vain to stir the conscience of the Government on the question of slavery. He asked that the Government would assist the League of Nations with information regarding slavery, since the League has stated that its information is not adequate to provide the basis of a sufficiently complete report. The Government Under-Secretary indicated that the Government would not assist the League in this manner As to slavery in Abyssinia, he protested that as that country is an independent friendly State, the British Government cannot interfere with slavery there.

Interference with the internal affairs of independent States is a constant habit of the British Government, but when it is merely a matter of slavery and not of British capitalist interests, a friendly country can do as it pleases. Only a country to which the Government is hostile is to be criticised for practices which are barbarous or undemocratic.

WAR-TIME DISCIPLINE.

Returns of the numbers of Courts-Martial have not been published since 1914. The First Lord of the Admiralty declares that it is not possible to compile the return for the years 1914-21.

We quite understand that. If it were done, the public would be horrified by the multitude of Courts-Martial held upon the war "heroes." Moreover, it is probable that so numerous and rough-and-ready were the convictions that many have not been recorded at all.

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

The case of part-time workers who are obliged by the authorities to buy unemployment insurance stamps, but who get no unemployment benefit, was again dismissed by the Government as impossible of adjustment.

"INNOCENT" BLACKLEGGING.

Labour Members protested that "innocent" victims of trades disputes who are thrown out of work because other men are on strike, get no unemployment dole.

We admit the dishonesty of the Government in withholding benefit, but we point out that such men should be on strike in company with their fellows.

A LITTLE GOSSIP ABOUT LAUSANNE.

Mr. Becker (Ind. C.) asked whether the amusements, food, and refreshments enjoyed by the British delegation at Lausanne are paid for out of British funds.

Mr. Ronald McNeill, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was greatly shocked. "If I may be permitted to say so," he replied, "I regret the tone of the question. Amusements play a very small part, if any, in the life of the hard-worked British delegation, but any there may be are not paid for out of public funds. Ordinary expenses of board (exclusive of wines and spirits) and lodging in the hotel are paid from public funds."

Mr. Becker has no doubt been hearing a little gossip. In any case, fellow-worker, the delegation is having a very pleasant time out there, and the salaries of the bigwigs are ample for all the extras.

AGRICULTURAL RATES BILL.

This Bill to reduce agricultural rates is supposed to benefit agriculture. £300,000 of it is to go to the landlord, £180,000 to the farmer. The £180,000 will sooner or later go to the owner in the shape of increased rent. In Scotland the rates are partly paid by the owner, partly by the farmer. The Government is able to arrange this little gift to the owners by remitting part of their rates.

Mr. T. Johnston (Lab.) gave some rent figures in a debate on this Bill. The peasants of Strathnaver were permitted to rent unreclaimed land at £2 10s. per holding. When they had reclaimed the land the Sutherland family raised the rents to £20 per holding. On the Glengarry Estate the rent of the land rose from £100 to £5,000. On the Sutherland estates it rose from £35,000 in 1862 to £73,000 in 1882.

SOCIALISM DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Clynes continued the discussion on the so-called Socialist Resolution introduced by Mr. Snowden. He talked at random, saying:

"I want to give to the brain worker, the inventor, the captain of industry and the director the best of rewards in point both of pay and thankfulness for his services. I ask him, as representing the class, to be a little more considerate to the bottom dog and to think more of the very large mass of citizens who, though working, still possess every attribute of human nature as do the employing classes themselves."

The First Breath of Socialism.

As Mr. Lloyd George afterwards justly observed, the doctrine of Socialism had not been expounded by any speaker in these two debates until Mr. Dan Irving (Lab.) said a few words about it. Mr. Irving has had a very doubtful record in regard to Socialism during recent years, but he came into the movement forty years ago, when the time-servers and Liberals had not yet begun to flock into it, and when the doctrine advocated was still Socialism and not mere Reformism. Some of the old spirit still appears in his speeches at times. He said:

That Mysterious £100,000.

"I was pleading for a palatial school for the children in the town in which I lived. She said: 'That is all very well; but, whilst I am with you, so far as putting up a proper school goes, I do not see why I should be called upon to pay for those things which are not essential.' I said: 'My lady, think what the education of your children cost.' She replied: 'Yes, but we paid for our children's education, and now you are asking us to pay for others as well.' I said: 'Is that true? Supposing I beg, borrow or steal £100,000, and I invest it in a railway company. Being a young married man, with four or five children, I should have sufficient means to have my children looked after, so my wife and myself will travel the world. We travel for 20 or 30 years. During that time, how much of human service shall we have consumed? Coming home, I think of the £100,000, and I say to myself: "It will be getting smaller by this time. I will make inquiry from the railway company, and see how much is left, so that we shall not have to go to the workhouse." Lo and behold when I go to the railway company I find that the £100,000 is now £110,000, after I have been spending for all these years. Apply that to wages and see where the wages will go. What is your answer to that proposition, my lady?' I asked. She

laughed. I said: 'May I supply the answer?' She said: 'Yes, if you like.' I said: 'Would not my children, my wife and myself have been maintained all these years out of the unpaid services of the men who run the railway?' She was much more honest than most capitalists, and she said: 'Yes, I am afraid that is true.' . . .

"Hon. Members have asked the question: 'Where are you going to sell the stuff that you make?' It never seems to strike hon. Members opposite that you can eat the food you grow, that you can wear the clothing you yourselves make, and that you yourself can dwell in the houses that you put up. Surely that is the proposition for which Socialism stands. It does not stand for making houses and clothing, and selling these things in order to make a profit out of them, and then going and getting your livelihood by spending that profit. It simply means that the more people under Socialism you can have to work you will not have a worse but a better community, for many hands make light work.

What Shall We Do With the Produce?

"Hon. Members opposite do not mean to tell me they do not at the bottom of their hearts know that the million and a-half people who are out of work to-day, properly organised and given the opportunity, could produce enough to keep not merely the million and a-half, but two millions and a-half on the basis of to-day's requirements!"

He added:

"Even men like Lord Leverhulme in England, and Ford in America . . . know very well that our powers of production have outstripped in every possible imagination our powers of consumption. What I want to do is to bring the two together, and not bring this artificial system where money intervenes, and where food, raiment, and shelter are produced by those who are unable to enjoy them."

Lloyd George Protests.

Mr. Lloyd George observed that Mr. Irving's proposals meant that there would be no compensation for the expropriated capitalist. Mr. Irving said the community would stop the capitalist making profit; he could do what he liked with the capital. Mr. Lloyd George replied:

"When there is nowhere else they can invest it it is exactly the same thing as expropriating it."

That, of course, is true. This interlude in the debate can hardly have been pleasing to Messrs. Macdonald, Henderson, Clynes, and Snowden, for Mr. Irving's exposition of the case by no means represents their idea of Socialism.

Mr. Lloyd George went on to draw a very dismal picture of society to-day. He declared that, allowing for the rise in prices, the national income is £1,000,000,000 less than it was in 1914. In actual figures it was between £2,200,000,000 and £2,300,000,000 before the war, and last year from £3,000,000,000 to £3,200,000,000. He added that external debt has risen £300,000,000 more than before the war, rates and taxes are trebled and quadrupled, foreign trade has fallen by 30 per cent., and population has increased. France and Germany have been building new railways and factories and increasing their productive capacity. When peace is restored in Europe and the exchanges stabilised at any figure, even if it be the mark at a million, the kronen at 300,000, and the franc at 100, then the competition of other countries will be serious to Britain. Having drawn this dark picture, Mr. Lloyd George said:

"I do not believe any of the proposals that are put forward will be the slightest use. Take the motion of my hon. friend the Member for Colne Valley [Mr. Snowden]. Does anyone imagine we are going to get out of the difficulties with which we are confronted by nationalising mines and railways and factories?"

Certainly we do not; but Mr. Lloyd George had nothing to offer save warnings of disaster and the request for a Government inquiry.

Mr. Walton Newbold (C.P.G.B.) observed with truth that the Labour Party is using the enthusiasm for Socialism in the working class to push its little barque from the Opposition side of the table to the Government side. "No one will worry much about the Labour Party so long as its Socialism is the Socialism of the Privy Council," he observed.

Yet Mr. Newbold supports the Labour Party. He pointed out that Mr. Snowden, who now proposes to compensate the capitalist, some years ago suggested taxing his capital out of existence.

"TRUTH" AND THE DOCK STRIKE.

In "Truth" "Scrutator," calling himself "a truthful Tory," fulminates against the dock strike. He protests: "Here we have some hundreds of thousands of men who for a shilling a day are apparently ready to starve their fellow-citizens." He adds: "They can always get enough food for themselves." The dockers have not yet discovered that fact. If they took "Scrutator's" tip, would he be charged with incitement?

The burden of the truthful Tory's complaint is that according to the law the officials of the Dockers' Union cannot be sued for breach of contract, nor can the Union funds be seized for compensation.

Perhaps the "truthful Tory" does not know that the Union officials are as much opposed to the strike as he is. If the funds were seized it would make no difference, since the officials refuse to let the strikers benefit by the funds they have put together by their weekly contributions.

MR. THOMAS SECURES BLACKLEGS.

The Hull railway men, who in solidarity with the dockers refused to handle any goods landed in the port, are reported to have gone back on that position. As the result of a communication from Mr. J. H. Thomas, who told them that railway men are handling tainted goods in other ports, they are reported as having decided to become blacklegs also. Perhaps the London decision will bring them out again.

MR. TILLETT HOWLED DOWN.

Congratulations to those Manchester strikers who refused to allow Mr. Ben Tillett to intrude on their platform to advocate submission.

THE IRISH DOCK STRIKE.

Irish employers desired to bring the wages of Irish dockers down to the British level, but Irish dockers have joined their British brothers on strike. We hope that the workers in other Irish industries will co-operate with the dockers and set the comrades over here a much-needed lesson in solidarity.

The revolt of the rank and file that has taken place over here has its counterpart in the action of the Irish seamen, who at a conciliation conference with Government representatives, broke away from the Irish Transport and General Workers Union's official and put in a demand for their pre-April wage and the refund of the 6/- a week which has been deducted since that date. The Transport Workers' Union officials have repudiated the seamen's demand, and the Union's organ, the "Voice of Labour," declares that "behind this action of the seamen is the 'Hidden Hand' of Jim Larkin."

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

Colonel Reitz, Minister of Lands, was assuring the House "that the Government had done all it could do to solve the unemployment problem." Comrades Haynes, McCarthy, and Wandberg, who were sitting in the public gallery, stepped forward, passed a chain, fastened to their waists, several times round the gallery rails, securely locked themselves. They then addressed the House, very much after the same fashion as the Suffragettes used to address the House after chaining themselves to the grille in the House of Commons. Comrade Haynes said:

"Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Unemployed Committee on the Witwatersrand, I have come down here to register a protest—and an emphatic protest—against the way in which the House has refused to receive the delegates, who are here to state their case. I say, Mr. Chairman, that the unemployed and the starving working men in this country have a right to put their case before Parliament; and I say, further, that the criminal and callous apathy of this Parliament is an incentive to the hard-working men and the starving women and children to take the law into their own hands.

By this time two or three attendants and a couple of policemen had closed round Comrade Haynes and his voice came in indistinct gasps.

Just at this point there came another rattling of chains. Comrade McCarthy had fastened himself to the rails and begun to address the House in Dutch:

"I am a starving man from Johannesburg, I am hungry, and I want work. . ."

And then Comrade Wandberg arose in the third row of the gallery, completely isolated from police and attendants, and began to address the House:

"I speak on behalf of the returned soldiers, and I come down here to protest because the promise you gave us, which you have never had the guts to fulfil. You have adjourned the House, but there will come a time when you want us to protect you again—we shall know what to do. As a returned officer, I protest against this land of heroes. It is worse than a white Kaffir land."

All this time, however, attendants and police had been far from inactive. 'Phone messages had been sent for the instruments with which to break the chains. After a good deal of trouble the padlocks were removed. The sitting of the House was suspended. The Prime Minister, who had been a silent spectator, rose with the other Ministers and left the House, and the whole of the public gallery cleared. After their removal from the gallery they were severely admonished by the sergeant-at-arms, and after detention for half an hour or so they were taken out in the streets and allowed to go.

There is a worse state of unemployment and destitution than ever before in the Transvaal. In the Cape women and children are dying by degrees, the limbs of the young children becoming thinner and thinner till their bodies resemble the victims of the Russian famine.

If there is one thing certain about the problem of unemployment, it is that its solution will only be found through Communism.

ISAAC VERMONT.

BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION.

In 1921 42,000 women were employed in the coal mines of British India, and 1,171 children under twelve years of age. The employment of children under thirteen years is at length to be prohibited next year. There is apparently no restriction of the hours of labour.

THE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

The organisation shall be known as the "Unemployed Workers' Organisation."

OBJECTS.

The abolition of the present system of society and the creation of a "Workers' Industrial Republic."

CONSTITUTION.

As an organisation it shall be non-political. It shall not compromise with any existing capitalistic administrative machinery, nor shall it affiliate to any political party, Trade Union, Trade Congress, or Trades Council, or any combination thereof.

The unit of organisation shall be the local Branch.

A joint Area Council shall immediately be set up for the purpose of better organisation and furthering the interests of the U.W.O., who shall appoint its own officials (Area Council).

The basis of representation on Area Council shall be five representatives from each Branch, four of which shall be from the rank and file, and one from the Local Executive.

The affiliation fee to the Area Council shall be two shillings and sixpence.

Ten per cent. of the weekly income to Branches affiliated to the Area Council shall be paid to the Area Council.

RULES.

The entrance fee shall be one penny, contribution card one penny, and weekly contribution one penny.

One business meeting of the Branch shall be held once a week. Local Committee to determine place and day of such meeting.

Admission to business meeting shall be by production of membership card, which shall not be more than four weeks in arrears. Members more than four weeks in arrears shall be considered lapsed. ... ...

Branches shall have complete autonomy in their own local affairs.

All committees and officials shall be subject to immediate re-call.

No officials shall, under any circumstances, receive any pay other than expenses, which in every case must be sanctioned by the Finance Committee. Such sanction to be endorsed or otherwise at the subsequent business meeting.

The secretary shall produce a weekly financial statement and present a balance-sheet, with books and receipts, for audit every quarter.

Any part or machinery of this organisation shall not be used for distribution or administration of any charity, parcels, vouchers, or anything under the title of charity.

Where the expulsion of a member is necessary, the local Branch shall be the deciding factor.

These rules shall be reviewed at every quarterly meeting, so that any addition or alteration thereto may be made; also they shall be read preceding any nomination or election of officers.

Note.—Any matter wherein these rules are silent the members shall be the determining and deciding factor.

The above organisation is growing rapidly, much correspondence being received from all parts of the country. Below are extracts from some of the letters.

* * *

Charles Lock, of Grantham, writes:

"I have read the manifesto in the 'Workers' Dreadnought' with much interest, and should esteem it a great favour if you could let me know more about this movement. I may say that I have been linked up with the N.U.W.C.M. for some time. I feel interested in any new idea, and any move that can give spirit to the unemployed should receive due attention."

From Govan (Scotland):

"Just a few lines to say I saw your manifesto in the 'Workers' Dreadnought,' which I received this morning. I should like to have full particulars by return. I wish all success to the new organisation."

From Belmont:

"I read with great interest your manifesto in the 'Workers' Dreadnought,' and write to identify myself with the new movement, as I am fully in agreement with its aims and objects. . . . I have known for a considerable time that the N.U.W.C.M. has drifted steadily backwards instead of forward, and has adopted more and more a reformist attitude. . . . I am enclosing sixpence as a small donation, and shall be pleased to enrol as a member. Wishing you every success, etc., etc."

Similar letters come from Willesden, Liverpool, Edinburgh, etc.

* * *

Now this is the spirit we want, fellow-workers. Keep this up, and we shall soon see the day come when there shall be no necessity for an unemployed organisation. By the way, I hear that the N.U.W.C.M. credits our organisation with sixteen members. Not bad, eh? But there again, fellow-workers, they have got a peculiar way of figuring. You see, the editor of the "New Charter" is a graduate of the London University, and was not so very long ago a member of the editorial staff on the "Pall Mall Gazette." You know that rag, which came out with such a cry about Russian gold during the national march. Yes, fellow-worker, the editor of "New Charter" was actually on the "Pall Mall Gazette" at that time. "Nuf sed."

* * *

What about these figures taken from the financial statement of the L.D.C. of the N.U.W.C.U. for week ending July 6th, 1923? Nine committees bought stamps that week amounting to a total of £1 13s. 9d. Expenditure amounted to £2 10s. Deficit from previous week, £5 10s. 5½d. Total deficit, £6 7s. 4½d. Bills owing, £79 14s. 2½d.

Who said sixteen members?

G. E. SODERBERG,
Secretary.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL.

Since the defeat of Germany in the war, outside politics have seriously influenced the whole inner political life of this country, but by no means to such a degree as the German capitalists pretend. German Capitalism hides behind the pretext that the Reparations payments are the cause of all the misery. The desire of German Capitalism to expropriate the German workers is, however, one of the main reasons why the German mark has fallen so far and the economic conditions of the country have become more and more acute. On the one hand, the dearness is gaining ground and the prices of foodstuffs are going steadily and rapidly upward. On the other hand, wages are reduced. Steadily increasing circles of the population are unable to purchase. For ready-made goods there is no demand in the country. Unless the foreign countries are the buyers, the industries must reduce their production. The consequence is to be seen in growing unemployment, short working hours, hunger revolts, outbreaks of desperation by the victims of the capitalist politics.

An acute sharpening of the economic crisis was caused by the occupation of the industrial districts in Westphalia and on the Rhine. This district is the nerve-centre of Germany. Here is two-thirds of the coal production, and since the war the main part of the greatly reduced iron production. The severing of this part from the rest of Germany had naturally endangered German industry. Attempts to overcome the deadlock were made by importing coal (mostly from England) and iron (from England and the Scandinavian countries). This, however, gave rise to a new danger—the reduction of the value of the German mark. The enlarged purchase of foreign raw materials, which had to be paid in foreign money or in gold marks, robbed the German State of a part of its so-called gold reserves. The reduction of the gold deposits, the great demand for foreign means of payment, and the manipulations of speculators, caused a still greater debasement of the German mark, yet German Big Business never secured such gigantic profits as at present. The pressure on the proletariat is, of course, appalling. The remembrance of the bitter experiences of the great revolutionary fights of 1918, 1919, and 1920 helps to restrain the German proletariat from rebelling against such conditions; but the principal reason for the endurance by the workers of such slavery is the treachery of the leaders of the workers' parties and trade unions. In face of such desperate conditions of hundred thousands, yes, even millions, of German proletarians, there are still always to be found representatives of the working class who co-operate with the capitalists. The Social Democratic Party, the leaders of which are to-day Ministers on half-pay, General Presidents, Home Secretary, Chiefs of the Police, and so on, takes no interest in the victory of the proletariat. On the contrary, its leaders have all their interest in the maintenance of Capitalism. Thus they stand for the reconstruction of German Capitalism, and in their mighty positions as Chief Commissioners of the Police, etc., they are the worst opponents and prescutors of revolutionary workers. Nevertheless, they wear the garment of workers' representatives. They speak of the "laws" of the working class and try to prove to the proletarians that it is possible to grow into Socialism quite gradually. A large part of the proletariat does not recognise this treachery, but believes in the promises of those leaders who say that the workers' may be victorious without an armed struggle against the exploitations, and that elections to Parliament and city councils will be sufficient. Thus one part of the workers is misled, the other dreads a fight.

The C.P. of Germany once united its rank and file as the "Spartakusbund," the nucleus of revolutionary proletarians, has become the sentry of Soviet Russia, which more and more is returning to Capitalism. The German C.P. having lost all real revolutionaries, who broke away and joined the Communist Workers' Party of Germany now supports the Social-Democrats and the Trade Unions. With the representatives of the Social Democracy, these "leaders" sit together in Parliament, "fighting" for an improvement! They demand the election of an "Arbiter Regierung" (Workers' Government). The German proletariat has already once experienced how much opposed to workers' emancipation such a "Workers' Government" can be. It learnt that bitter lesson in the months following the German November Revolution of 1918, when People's Commissars formed such a Workers' Government and allowed the revolutionary workers to be shot down.

Such is the situation in Germany at the present moment; yet the revolutionary workers of Germany have not become tired. This fight is a hard one—thousands of our best brothers lie already beneath the earth, thousands are suffering in gaol, and many of us will have to follow these poor comrades as victims of this great fight for precious liberty. The end of this fight is the deliverance of the proletariat.

Class comrades of all countries fight together with us! We want, above all and everything, to lay the means of production in the hands of the whole community.

EUGENE SUE'S NOVELS.

The Gold Sickle and the Brass Bell:
A Tale of Caesar's Gallic Invasion 3/6
The Iron Collar: A Tale of Slavery under the Romans 3/6

OUR BOOKSHOP.

Edward Bellamy:
Equality 2/6
Charles Bradlaugh:
Doubts in Dialogue 2/-
Man Whence and How? Religion What and Who? 3/6
A Plea for Atheism ..... 6d.
Genesis: Its Authorship and Authenticity 4/-
Has, or Is, Man a Soul? 1/-
Henrik Ibsen:
Pillars of Society 1/-
Karl Kautsky:
The High Cost of Living 3/8½
Jack London:
Revolution 2/-
The Human Drift 2/-
The People of the Abyss 2/-
John Barleycorn 2/-
War of the Classes 2/3
The Scarlet Plague 1/6
The Valley of the Moon .....2/- and 6/-
Edward Carpenter:
Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure ... 2/6
England's Ideal 2/6
The Drama of Love and Death 6/-
The Promised Land: A Drama of a People's Deliverance 3/6
Desirable Mansions ..... 4d.
T. H. Huxley:
Aphorisms 1/-
Reflections on Modern Science 1/-
G. Zinoviev:
The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism ..... 2½d.
Maxim Litvinoff:
On Soviet Russia ..... 1d.
J. T. Walton Newbold:
Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution 1½d.
A. Ransome:
The Truth About Russia ..... 1½d.
Clara Cole:
The Castle in the Air ..... 1½d.
Parliament The People's Enemy ... 1½d.
Dustheap Alley and The Living Tomb ..... 1½d.
Belgium Never Neutral ..... 1d.
The Message ..... 1d.
Discovered: The New Armament Ring ..... 1½d.
Maxim Gorky:
Twenty-six Men and a Girl ..... 9½d.
James Leakey:
Introduction to Esperanto ..... 4d.
Wm. Cobbett:
1817. The Last Hundred Days of English Freedom 5/-
History of the Protestant Revolution 2/6
Rural Rides (2 vols.) 4/-
English Grammar 2/6
Cottage Economy 3/6
M. Delaisi:
Oil 2/6
Peter Kropotkin:
Conquest of Bread 2/2
Fields, Factories and Workshops ... 2/2
Modern Science and Anarchism ... 1/1½
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"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

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A. Hunter, 2/-; F. Lawes, 10/-; H. Surtees, £1; E. Wright, 12/6; E. Evans, 5/-; A. Woolley, 2/6; Irene Smith, 1/- (weekly); Mr. and Mrs. Beckett, 15/-; H. G. and E. L Johnson, 5/-; M. Isaacs, 2/6; J. Humphrey, 1/-; W. J. Paul, 5/-; G. B. Bailey, 10/-; Mrs. and Miss Chappelow, 10/-; E. B. Betts, 2/6; G. L. Jones, 2/6. Total for week, £5 6s. 6d. Total, £42 11s. 9d.

FOR THE DOCKERS.

Collected by A. Mack from Cable Shop, 13/6.

The Workers' Next Step.

It is a sad spectacle, fellow-workers. The dockers and a few of the other transport workers are fighting to prevent the working-class standard of life being crushed any lower.

The rest of the workers are standing by, watching the fight, as though it were merely a boxing match, and no concern of theirs.

The Trade Union officials, paid by the strikers, have made common cause with the employers who are grinding down the livelihood of the workers; the Trade Union bosses are ordering the dockers back to work, and warning them that the employers will not have them back any more, and will employ blacklegs to replace them unless they return at once.

Will the Transport and General Workers' Union accept those blacklegs as members, fellow-workers?

Probably so, fellow-workers, since Mr. J. H. Thomas, of the N.U.R., says it is not the business of the railway men to refuse to handle goods unloaded by scabs.

The officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union issued a statement that the employers would get Government help if the dockers did not go back at once. A few hours later the police began to baton strikers in the East End.

It is an ugly spectacle, fellow-workers, the forces of law and order beating the workers, and the Trade Union officials lining up with all the forces of wealth and coercion.

We must have our rank-and-file workshop committees, fellow-workers of all grades and all trades.

It is a tragic thing, fellow-workers, that after all these centuries of progress in the cultivation of the soil, in the production of manufactured goods, and in scientific mechanical technique, the workers should be facing the terrible arbitrament of hunger for the sake of 1/- a day.

Some of the strikers are getting Poor-Law relief. Many are not; many must fall back upon savings, the pawnshop, the soup-kitchen, and the scanty gifts of casual charity.

Such fights as this have been fought, fellow-workers, since the working class was freed from slavery. Millions upon millions of strikes have taken place in the centuries that have passed. The ancient Egyptians, the Greek and Roman Empires witnessed the strikes of the workers who had won freedom from slavery. As the workers emerged from the feudal serfdom of the middle ages they learnt that the master no longer troubled to keep them physically fit as he did his ox or his horse. They learnt to resort to the strike to maintain their conditions above starvation-point.

What have the inventions of the ages done for us, fellow-workers? Why are we still compelled to strike to maintain a bare existence?

It is time, fellow-worker, that we should struggle, not for a shilling or two a day, but to emancipate ourselves from the wage system.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Owing to a serious breakdown of the printer's machinery, the July issue of "Germinal" has been delayed and will not be on sale till Wednesday next, the 25th.

CONTENTS OF GERMINAL No. 1.

COMPLETE STORIES.

Comrades.—An hitherto unpublished story by Maxim Gorky.

Mbonga Jim.—By L. A. Motler.

The Glutton.—By Marius Lyle.

Utopian Conversations. — By Richard Marsden.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Poetry.—By James Waldo Fawcett, Wilfred Wilson Gibson, Clara Cole, H. D. Harben, E. Verney, Alexander Blok, L. A. Motler, Lionel Grant, Anna Akmatova, Sylvia Pankhurst.

Portrait.—G. Bernard Shaw, by Ludovic Rodo.

Drawings and Cuts.—By M. C. Haythorne, Herbert Cole, B. Stevens, Joseph Southall, Maurice Becker, Gross, A. Swift, Marcel Vertes, etc.

Coloured Cover, Ludovic Rodo.

Price 6d.

Ready next week.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

OUTDOOR MEETING.

Friday, July 20th.— Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 p.m.: Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

SUMMER FAIR.

SATURDAY, JULY 28th, 4 till 11 p.m.
In aid of the "Dreadnought" Fund.
BUILDERS' LABOURERS' HALL,
84 Blackfriars Road, S.E.
Admission 6d.
Come and bring your friends.

GARDEN PARTY.

THE RED COTTAGE,
Woodford Wells
(Opposite Horse and Well Hotel, Loughton High Road),
SUNDAY, JULY 22nd, 2 to 10 p.m.
Tea and music in the garden, 1/-

MEETING.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE,
SUNDAY, JULY 29th, 3.30 p.m.
"What is Socialism?"
Speakers: Sylvia Pankhurst, J. Bellamy, Janet Grove, W. Hall, J. Smart, J. O. Sullivan, N. Smyth, J. Welsh, and others.

Correspondents should as a rule endeavour to compress their manuscripts into the space of 600 words.

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