Under the Stars and the Stripes (p. 3)

ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR THE ABOLITION OF WAGEDOM.

Vol. X. No. 37. December 1, 1923. WEEKLY.

What Are You Working For?

By TOM MANN.

(Answers appearing under this title commit only the writer, and are not necessarily in agreement with the Editorial policy.)

I have pleasure in replying to your query as to the "sort of society for which I am working."

In my speeches I am often saying: I am striving for conditions where we shall produce with the highest efficiency and distribute the products with the truest equity.

This fairly expresses what I am after, and it involves relatively perfect organisation of all forms of work, as I consider we should require to consume largely and therefore to produce largely.

This necessitates supervision and direction of industry, in order that the required percentage of the population shall be engaged in the various occupations, to admit of a sufficiency of production in all departments, on a basis of similar conditions for all.

The standard could be, and should be, very high compared to present standards; because it would be a gain individually and collectively to apply the most perfect methods, and to be continually searching for, and applying, still more efficient methods. Individual and sectional ownership of the means of production would yield to communal ownership. With no vested interests to prevent the application of the highest form of production, I conclude the hours of work and the working period per year, and per life, would be subjected to repeated curtailments.

I consider that by the time we had a year or two to organise and thoroughly equip ourselves in scientific production, during the working period of the year not much more than twenty hours a week would be required, and this for only some two-thirds of the year. I think it probable that on reaching fifty or fifty-five years of age retirement from productive work for upkeep would be general, and no one would have a lower standard of retirement than that they had experienced when fully participating in the hey-day of full vigour.

The organisation of industry would devolve upon the ordinary citizens working always for the common good to provide general requirements, as would be shewn by the statistical departments.

How far work should be directed from a centre would be decided by experience. Agricultural communal areas would, I imagine, work under perfectly free conditions, always providing the respective areas for the various crops were under central control.

Something corresponding to the Legislative Institution would doubtless be necessary, and yet so different to that we are familiar with as to be most unlike. The industrial administrative departments would naturally be of the greatest importance, but as the basis of all activity would be genuinely CO-OPERATIVE, there could be no conditions analagous to those we are for ever hampered by where exploitation prevails.

Parliament, if it continued to exist, would grow of less and less importance, industrial regulation would be systematised to the full, and education would soon come to occupy its rightful position; included in one's education before and after reaching the adult stage, would be TRAVEL FOR ALL, under leisurely conditions of easy affluence.

Such a condition of Society would in my opinion be communistic, and therefore I am a Communist.

The dominating idea would be to enable mind to increasingly triumph over matter, to develop man's powers increasingly, and finding and receiving the greatest honour by being of the greatest real service to the community.

We Shall be Free

By Ernest Jones.

Base oppressors, leave your slumbers,
Listen to a nation's cry;
Hark, united, countless numbers
Swell the peal of agony.
Lo, from Britain's sons and daughters,
In the depths of misery,
Like the sound of many waters,
Comes the voice, "We shall be free!"

Winds and waves the tidings carry;
Spirits, in your stormy car,
Winged with lightning, do not tarry,
Spread the news to lands afar.
Tell them, sound the thrilling story
Louder than the thunder, go,
That a people, ripe for glory,
Are determined to be free.

By our own, our children's charter,
By the fire within our viens,
By each truth-uttering martyr,
By their sighs, their groans, their pains,
By our right by nature given,
By our love of liberty,
We proclaim before high heaven
That we must, we shall, be free.

Tyrants quail, the dawn is breaking,
Dawn of Freedom's glorious day;
Despots on their thrones are quaking,
Tyrants' bands are giving way.
Kingcraft, priestcraft, black oppression
Cannot bear our scrutiny;
We have learnt the startling lesson,
That we must, we shall, be free!

Soviets or Parliament?

Soviet is a Russian word: it means *Council.*

In practice *Soviet* has come to mean *Workshop Council.*

The Parliamentary Government of this country includes:

- The King.
- The King's Privy Council.
- The Prime Minister.
- *The Cabinet*—chosen by the Prime Minister.
- *The Government Departments*—War Office, Admiralty, Foreign Office, Post Office, etc.
- *The House of Commons*
- *The House of Lords*, as a Legislative Assembly and as a Court of Law.
- The various *Courts of Law, Police Courts,* etc.
- *The Local Governing Bodies,* including County, Town, Borough and Parish Councils, Boards of Guardians, etc.

It is a complicated system. It is only partially a representative system.

The people have no voice in electing the King, Privy Council, Prime Minister, Cabinet, Officials of Government Departments, including Army and Navy, House of Lords, Judges and other officials of Courts of Law, Police Courts, etc.

The people have some share in electing the House of Commons and the Local Bodies, County Town, Borough and Parish Councils, Boards of Guardians, etc. The Local Bodies are merely administrative and work under the regulations of Government departments.

Although there are so many branches and departments of Parliamentary Government the main business of the community—the production, distribution and transport of the necessities of life—is not done by the Government, but by private persons. The Government is merely a costly, cumbrous and inefficient expedient for protecting private property and for regulating and inspecting the work of the private firms which supply the needs of the community.

The most important Government appointments are made either by the King or in conjunction with the King, behind closed doors.

The elected persons in the Parliamentary governing system possess only an indirect power which cannot be constantly exercised.

The electors have only an indirect and very remote power over the elected persons, which can be exercised, if at all, only at election times. It is impossible for the electors to give instructions to the elected persons or to enforce the carrying out of instructions.

If Parliament were to take over the industries the House of Commons could neither administer them, nor represent them.

A Member of Parliament elected to represent a constituency of say 20,000 people, cannot have a knowledge of all the industries practiced by his constituents. In attempting to represent the needs of any industry the most he could do would be to read a paper provided by the workers in the industry to the other Members of Parliament, most of whom at least would know

SPECIAL FOR THE ELECTION!

"Christianism or Communism"

will be sold at

FOUR COPIES FOR A SHILLING
During the Election Period

Apply—
"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,"
152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.

as little about the rights and wrongs of the business as himself.

The Soviet or Workshop Council system is built on industrial lines. It is built for the administration of production, distribution and transport by a community of co-workers for a community of co-workers.

The rank and file workers in the workshops are the basis of the Workers' Council system. The councils are linked together on the lines of community need, industrial efficiency and practical utility.

A workshop delegate sent to another workshop or to meet a group of delegates from many workers, could be instructed in detail by his co-workers and could report to them what he had done. He could represent them both by the completeness of his instructions and by his knowledge of their conditions, as no member of Parliament could represent his constituents.

The Workers' Council's could administer with industry and efficiency born of intimate knowledge, and with a freedom from officialdom and coercion which no Parliament could achieve.

We are anti-Parliamentarians,

Because we believe that the machinery of Parliamentary Government is unsuited to Communism and that the Workers' Councils must replace Parliament.

Because we believe that the Workers' Councils must be built from the outside independently of Parliament.

Because we believe that participation in Parliamentary elections turns the attention of the peple to Parliament which will never emancipate them, away from the workshops where they should build the workers' councils.

It is said by some who advocate participation in the elections that whilst the workers cannot be emancipated through Parliament we must nevertheless capture a Parliamentary majority in order to control the Army and Navy. That is in effect to say that the workers can be emancipated through Parliament and only through Parliament.

We look at history, and especially at the history of our own time, and observe that in the majority of the great constitutional upheavals that have taken place the Army and Navy have not obeyed the constitutionally elected Government which happened to be in power at the time.

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

Realising the futility of Parliament and local governing boards, the U.W.O., upon its inception, definitely stated that it was an anti-Parliamentary organisation.

The time has quickly arrived for us to put our principles and convictions to the test.

So far, the U.W.O. has been true to its word, and has refused to take any active part in the Election, notwithstanding the fact that our help has been solicited by the various so-called revolutionary parties.

We of the U.W.O. realise that Parliament is a capitalistic institution made for the preservation of Capitalism, and that it is folly to think it possible to administer Socialism with an instrument or a machine primarily made for the use of Capitalism.

We refrain from taking any action in the Election.

The first conference of the U.W.O. was held on Thursday last.

The rules were revised and amended, and an organising committee was set up.

It was reported that from a few determined men an organisation numbering over a thousand had come into being in a few months, and still the U.W.O. is growing.

This alone speaks volumes for the U.W.O.

Some very interesting meetings have been held throughout Poplar by the U.W.O., and in spite of the Election fever we still manage to get new members.

The U.W.O., to say the least, is going on very

(Continued on page 3, column three.)

An Adventurous and Eventful Life

(The following account of the life of Mr. B. S. Pathik, the well-known Indian agitator, now held for trial by the British Government, will interest our readers.)

(See glossary at foot of article.)

B. S. Pathik received what education he has at home at the hands of a pandit and a Moulvie. He left home for good at the age of fourteen and wandered to distant places, now reading Vedant with a Sanyasi, and then learning athletics with some Pahalwan.

He lived with a Rajput landlord of Ajmer Merwara for several years in the first half of the last decade. During that period he contributed to Rajput papers and composed poems in Hindi. He also completed his training in arms there. He was later on disgusted with the plans of Rajput supremacy, then being hatched, and proceeded to Mewar in 1914. Here he tried to bring about reforms among the Jagirdars by means of persuasion, and devoted two years to the task. He founded the Vidya Pracharini Sabha at Chittorgarh, and later on at Bijolia in Mewar.

Having seen with his own eyes the deep misery of the Mewar Kisans and the remnants of ancient bravery in them, he took up their cause in 1917. He is perhaps the first man in India to apply Non-co-operation on a popular scale. Thus he soon made the Bijolia officials his enemies. They fixed a price for his arrest.

Pathik's effort was to rouse the peasants to build up a self-reliant movement of their own. The hesitation of the peasants to believe in their own efforts was deep beyond measure. But Mr. Pathik, who is nothing if not tenacious, clung to his purpose and in a few months earned the unquestioning fidelity of the Kisans. The secret of his success lay in his freely and cordially sharing their wild merriments and exploits, their coarse clothing and frugal fare in his intimate knowledge of their language and customs, and in the uncommon hardships and privations which he disinterestedly suffered for the furtherance of their cause. He lived a life of self-imposed concealment for about two years. During the greater part of this period he passed his days, shut up in friendly houses, and his nights in dark caves or lonely rocks on the neighbouring hills. In the day he would write articles for the press, compose songs for his followers, draft petitions on their behalf and give instructions to the chief among them. At night he would emerge with his gun from his retreat with a few well-chosen youths, retire into the jungle and play rustic games till midnight, when the companions retraced their steps to their homes and Pathik to his rock or cave. One summer night while he was fast asleep in his mountainous abode he was visited by a tiger who gripped his ankle, and it was not before the visitant had dragged him a couple of steps that Pathik awoke and taught the intruder a fatal lesson with his unerring revolver. On another occasion, when the police were close upon his refuge in a farmer's hut, he slipped into a sugar-cane field and lived there for two rainy months, with a drizzling canopy of straw overhead and a coped cot without any bedding underneath. The simple village women would rather allow their benefactor to starve for a couple of days than be detected by the officials taking food to him.

Equally extraordinary was his skill in disguises. He would pass now for a Rajput Sepoy armed to the teeth, and then for an ascetic with ashes besmeared all over the body. Once, disguising himself as a Dhaker, he actually entered the prison, and returned after cheering the fifty-seven leading Kisans of Bijolia who were wavering under inhuman tortures.

Pathik believes that, if judiciously employed, the force of social boycott is the only effective weapon in the hands of a subject people. The destructive side of Pathik's programme included such items as boycott of foreign cloth, courts, titles and abstention from liquor, opium and other intoxicants, and abolition of child marriages, obscene songs and ceremonial extravagance and finally suspension of taxes. The constructive portion consisted of the spread of local Khadder, village and district arbitration courts both on communal and representative lines, national schools, village protection societies, female Sabhas and young men's associations, and co-operative shops.

It is noteworthy that substituting Swadeshi for Khadder, the whole of the above programme, divided into stages, was conceived and put into operation by Pathik at least two years before the non-co-operation movement was launched.

The success of the programme can be estimated by the fact that in the two districts of Begoon and Bijolia, inhabited by about 35,000 people, scarcely a village, prior to the recent forcible disbandment operation by the state, was without a Mahila Mandal, village protection society and Punchayat court. Important villages or groups of villages had their independent day and night schools for boys and girls, and each district had a co-operative shop to supply pure Khadder and other necessaries to the people. The spread of Khadder was a unique one, and not a few marriages were held up until the bridegroom from a neighbouring State would part with his mill-made clothes.

No less than ninety per cent. of the rural population took to pure Khadi, while liquor totally disappeared among them.

Patels resigned their official titles in a body, and during the four years of struggle no more than ten civil suits were filed in the Jaghir courts. Criminal complaints were even less. Obscene songs became a matter of the past, and there was considerable decrease in extravagance and child marriages.

Mr. Pathik has been active in organising the Jhiri Thakurs and the peasants of Mewar, Gawalliar, Athana, Indore, Bundi and Jaipur against the oppressions of landlords and Government. He held inquiries into the massacres of the Bhils, organised relief for the sufferers, and circulated a report of the tragedy in India and abroad.

Pundit—literally, a learned man; hence a title of learning.
Moulvie—a learned Mohammedan scholar and teacher.
Vedant—the monistic philosophy of the Hindus.
Sangasi—"one who has given up"—the world, God, and everything.
Pahalwan—an athlete (literally, the first; hence the strongest).
Rajput—literally, son of a king; hence one of the communities forming part of the Kshatriya caste.
Sepoy—an Indian soldier.
Khadder—a coarse cotton cloth woven on a hand-loom.
Swadeshi—literally, of one's own country; hence Indian, and Indian-made.
Mahila Mandal—a gathering or society of ladies.
Punchayat—"a gathering of five"—a body, say, of the village elders, who decide matters brought before them by the villagers.
Patels—village officials of a certain rank.

IMPORTANT!

We urgently suggest that comrades should endeavour to secure new subscribers to the "Workers' Dreadnought" and that they should collect at meetings and from their friends whatever is possible. However small the sum you can collect, it will be welcomed. Send it in stamps or postal orders. The "Dreadnought" is not self-supporting: the editing and managing is unpaid.

"THE WORKERS' FRIEND,"

Monthly, 2d. Monthly, 2d.

I am sorry that I only see you monthly. I hope you will wake me up and then I shall be with you weekly. I was not tired, but you made me tired. Your sufferings which I could not bear to see woke me and I shall go hand in hand with you till we shall be free from slavery and starvation.

WANTED, a copy of "Theatre Craft" (No. 3).

A Review of the Struggles of the Catering Trade Employees

By W. McCARTNEY

(Late Vice-President, United Catering Trade Union.)

VI.—THE WAITRESS.

The waitress has gone through an evolution and as a result is not the same to-day as the waitress of years ago.

She was only employed in coffee shops, small restaurants, etc.

To-day after years of patient suffering, tyranny, persecution, etc., she is really worse off than her sister of past years, although she has greatly displaced the waiter by getting into "high class" hotels, clubs, restaurants, etc. The waiter will shortly disappear altogether.

The waitress is, generally speaking, easier to handle, more docile, less able to defend herself against unscrupulous employers than the waiter.

She is more "attractive" to certain customers and therefore more valuable to the employer than the waiter.

Above all she is cheaper than the waiter—and so enables bigger profits to be made.

The waitress is on her feet racing up and down all day long, sometimes seven days per week, with just one half-day's rest in seven. Her conditions of work are in many cases worse than those of the waiter. The food is the same old staff muck. She is fleeced by agents just like other catering workers. She pays out of her miserable wages for her own cap and apron and cuffs, also the washing bill, and finds her own black dress, etc., making good any "shorts" on her day's takings at night or at the end of the week.

Of course I know they call the porter "the porter," the charwoman "the cleaner"; but the waitress is "Miss Smith," "Miss Jones," not "the waitress," the reason for that being easy to see. The employer wants the waitress to believe that she is so superior to the porter or the cleaner—yes, perhaps on ten shillings per week wages, with hardly any decent food from week to week.

Go look at the great glittering, brilliant windows, entrance halls, dining-rooms and halls of your London hotels, restaurants and clubs. Then look at the careless and happy crowd pouring in these restaurants, absolutely unconcerned about anything but their own enjoyment.

At many places the employer, in order to obtain profits and keep expenses down, pays the waitress as small a wage as possible (sometimes six or seven shillings a week), and induces her to work hard, and promises to give her so much in the pound extra on her takings.

A number of catering trade employers said, after inspecting the L.C.C. training school for waitresses:

"We are highly delighted, and appreciate the 'good work' of the L.C.C., and in future we shall obtain our waitresses from this training school."

Under the Stars and Stripes

The late President Harding, on July 19th, 1922, promised to review the cases of U.S. political prisoners within sixty days and to release those not convicted for advocating the overthrow of the Government by force.

After reviewing both the Chicago and the Wichita cases of I.W.W. prisoners, he offered to release the entire Chicago group, and all but one, Frank Gallager, of the Wichita group.

The press reported Attorney General Daugherty as saying that the reason Frank Gallager was not offered release from prison last June, when commutation of sentence was tendered all others of the Chicago and Wichita groups, was that Gallager had been active in the organisation of several strikes in Oklahoma during the war. Frank Gallager is officially supposed to be serving time in prison for alleged violation of the Espionage Act. If he is being held in prison for any other alleged offence, his case is of peculiar importance. To send a man to prison for one thing and to keep him there for something else, is inconsistent with every modern conception of law and justice. As a matter of fact not a single strike occurred in Oklahoma during 1917 while Frank Gallager was active in organisation work there. The Secretary-Treasurer of the Oil Workers' Industrial Union, No. 450, during the year of 1917, and up until September 28th, of that year, was Forrest Edwards, who was sentenced to serve twenty years in Leavenworth. Edwards was released on a commutation of sentence on June 25th, 1923. He directed Gallager's activities up till the time of his own arrest. C. W. Anderson, Edward's successor in office, and who was convicted and sentenced to serve nine years in Leavenworth, also directed Gallager's activities until the time of his arrest. Anderson, also, was released from prison on a commutation of sentence on June 25th, 1923. If strike agitation and organisation work was engaged in by Frank Gallager, and that was sufficient reason for keeping him in prison, then why were Edwards and Anderson released.

CHICAGO.

The general convention of the Marine Transport Workers' Union, No. 510, of the I.W.W., which has just concluded its sessions here, pledged the support of the seamen, harbour and dock workers to the I.W.W. in resisting the California Criminal Syndicalist law, and demanded the release of those workers who have been convicted and imprisoned under its provisions.

Upon the case of the prisoners convicted in Centralia, whose sentences run from 25 to 40 years, the convention emphatically resolved: "We pledge ourselves to use our economic and all other power and resources to secure the release of the victims of the Centralia conspiracy, and further pledge ourselves to get the facts of their case before the world, so that the hideous injustice can be righted and the real criminals punished."

The Agricultural Workers' Union Bulletin, of November 7th, commenting upon the permanent injunction issued by Judge Busick, of the California Superior Court, says:

"The I.W.W. is only the starting point from which the judiciary in California will move forward to the suppression of all Labour organisations, A.F. of L. and independent, craft and industrial unions. Indeed, combinations of working people that might engage in demanding outright social changes, as, for instance, the regulation of the employment of women and children, a question which does not pertain particularly to any individual employer or employment, but, realising the industrial relationship as social in character aims at its modification in the interest of exploited labour as a class, would come under Judge Busick's injunction ban—something that ought to be extremely interesting to the Socialist Party, Women's Trade Union Label League, and other such bodies. . . .

"The real issue in this fight is whether labour unions shall be run by judges or by the organised workers. This fight is of interest to workers in every union fold, not the I.W.W. alone. . . . California labour should select a day upon which every wheel in industry and every function in commerce would stop at a certain hour. If the judges will issue injunctions labour should meet them with such a suspension of production as will impress them with its power. Action of this kind upon a State-wide scale would begin the end of injunctions and start labour to recognising that solidarity is a power which never fails."

AMNESTY DAY.

The I.W.W. is holding Sunday, Dec. 23rd, as Amnesty Day to work for the release of political prisoners. It calls upon all proletarian organisations to join in the effort. It asks not merely for meetings but for a house to house canvass and distribution of literature. Now comrades, such educational work will bring more fruit than the vote-catching superficialities of the elections.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS

AN OUTLINE OF ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY. Plebs Text Books. No. 4. 2s. 6d.

This book, written by J. F. Horrabin and revised by the Plebs Committee, contains some really excellent maps. It also comes to generally sound conclusions, though the author has been a little previous; events may prove him a little too previous in putting Germany and Austria into the French group, although it is true France has at present a hold on German coal and iron. The struggle for permanent possession of those forces has still to be waged, and the conclusion belongs as yet rather to the realm of prophecy than of geography. Some other conclusions may also seem a little strained, and the book, as a whole, may appear somewhat scrappy and superficial, but the latter fault is largely due to the small compass into which the work has been compressed.

The following passages are decidedly contradictory. They lead off with that hard-faced coldness which the Plebs describe as Marxian and end up with a run in the camp of the U.D.C.:

"Nationalism and national ideals are irreconcilable with such an aim. National liberty, like individual liberty, will have to be subordinated to international needs; and the resources of any one area will have to be used, not as the inhabitants of that area decide, but as the needs of the world's peoples dictate.

"But this does not mean that the workers are to support Imperialism when, as often happens, Imperialists appear to be acting in accordance with this view. American Imperialists may, and do, plead that the needs of the modern world justify them in gaining control of the mineral resources of the Caribbean area, inhabited by backward peoples. French Imperialists may plead—as we have ourselves pleaded in this book—that the existence of a frontier line separating Ruhr coke from Lorraine iron is an anachronism in the world of to-day. British and Japanese Imperialists may point to the world's need for the unexploited resources of China in justification of their interference in Chinese affairs. The workers will oppose every one of these activities, not because it is wrong to ignore the national feelings of Mexicans, Germans or Chinamen, but because every such activity is a manifestation of aggressive Capitalism, and its success would still further strengthen the oppressors of Americans, French, British and Japanese workers, and prolong the existence of Imperialism and its destructive effects."

(Continued from page 2, first column.)

satisfactory, and our members are wanting the co-operation of other committees who have broken away from the N.U.W.C.M.

We want, and are determined to have, a strong rank-and-file unemployed workers' organisation during this winter.

It is only by the united effort of the class-conscious unemployed that this can be possible.

It is up to you to do your duty to yourself, your class and mankind. Get into the organisation. Further information may be had upon application to the Secretary, U.W.O., Town Hall, Poplar, E.

J. T. BELLAMY,
Area Organiser.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

✤ ✤ ✤

All Matter for Publication — To THE EDITOR
Business Communications — To THE MANAGER.
WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,
152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4.

SUBSCRIPTIONS. Post free.

Three months (13 weeks) ..... 1s. 7½d.
Six months (26 weeks) ..... 3s. 3d.
One year (52 weeks) ..... 6s. 6d.

Subscriptions can start from any week.

Vol. X. No. 37. Saturday, December 1st, 1923.

Our View.

THE FALLACY that participation in Parliamentary elections renders a party immune from persecution is exploded by the present action of the German Government. General Von Seeckt, the dictator appointed by the Stresemann Government, who remains in command now that Stresemann has resigned has decreed illegal the Communist and Nationalist Parties of Germany, although the Communists have eleven members of the Reichstag and the Nationalists are also represented. The Decree is of such a sweeping character that not only are the party funds confiscated, and the party newspaper suppressed, but anyone giving them money, letting them rooms, displaying their badges, or helping them in any way is guilty of an offence. The penalty for breaking any of these regulations is a fine; if life is endangered by any act in breach of the regulations the penalty is penal servitude for life; if life is lost the penalty is death.

The Supposed Parliamentary Safeguard

For the moment the actual members of the lagislature are immune, but their immunity vanishes if the Reichstag is dissolved.

* * *

A PLOT TO OUST POOR MR. BALDWIN on the part of Messrs. Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Austen Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead is announced by the "Daily Herald." The object, according to the "Herald," was to form a coalition against the Labour Party. We do not think the "Herald" version of the situation quite hits the nail on the head; for in spite of the "Herald's" sometime flattery of Mr. Baldwin, we believe him to be quite as much opposed to the Labour Party as any of the others.

Daily Hera'd Unearths a Political Plot

The personally motived intrigue of the professional politician to get himself and his clique into office must not be forgotten. At the same time another important point must be borne in mind. Lord Rothermere is stated by the Labour daily to be one of the prime movers in the plot to secure a Churchill—Lloyd George—Chamberlain—Birkenhead Coalition, and he is quoted as saying that he is a Protectionist but wants to give Free Trade another chance.

A striking point to observe, however, is that the most outstanding feature of Lord Rothermere's propaganda is that it is pro-French. Whilst foreign politics are the last to be dealt with openly and frankly in this or any election, foreign politics are nevertheless bulking very largely in it, and are at the root of its being called at this particular moment.

* * *

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT having obtained the upper hand in Europe and being disposed to let all the world, including the British Government know it, the British lion, at the bidding of his capitalist masters, has taken to lashing his tail.

British Government's Sa'ba'd Rattling

Ostensibly to impress the Imperial Premiers, who were used as a convenient stalking horse, for the purpose of doing things gracefully, the British Government held the greatest naval review it has had since a similar display, with a similar object, in 1914. The air arm was also paraded. Thus, in the time-honoured diplomatic fashion, did the lion observe:

"We are not to be trifled with."

France, nevertheless, continued unmoved.

Mr. Baldwin then declared a General Election, with Tariff Reform as the issue, picturesquely disguised as Imperial Preference and Empire Development.

The threat of the election is a tariff wall against French goods.

* * *

A POINT OF GREAT INTEREST must now be observed: the Party of all others which, by its utterances, declares itself anti-French is the MacDonald faction of the Labour Party and the Right Wing of the Labour Party in general. The Baldwin faction of the Tory Party, which is the faction that was led by Bonar Law, who came to power on this issue, is also supposed to be anti-French. This is the Party which threatens to introduce the anti-French tariff. The Labour Party, which accuses Mr. Baldwin of not being aggressive enough in his opposition to French policy, opposes the tariff. Labour Party resolutions might sound more bellicose, but the Labour Party is used to contenting itself with resolutions. The Baldwin Party is moving towards war with France, quite methodically, and neither the Asquithians, nor the Lloyd Georgians, have the dove of peace in their bag of tricks.

The Anti- and Pro-French Parties

As to the Labour Party, it is only too clear that it lacks the power to withstand the imperialist current making for war.

* * *

THE PLEDGE by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that the capital levy would only be imposed once and could only be imposed once may be reassuring to the capitalist. To the worker who believes that the Labour Party is really for an equalitarian society the pledge must be disappointing. We do not believe in the practicability of dispossessing the capitalist by piecemeal levies. If we did we should suggest a frequent succession of such levies; we certainly should not pledge ourselves only to perform the experiment once.

Only One Capital Levy

* * *

WE CONGRATULATE the anti-Parliamentary Communists of Paisley on making themselves heard during the elections. Their running fire of heckling at Mr. Asquith's meeting and final capture of the platform no doubt had its propaganda effect in bringing before thousands of people the question of Communism and the Workers' Councils as the alternative to Capitalism and Parliament. The Paisley comrades made it clear that they were not part of the Labour Party. It seems to us that the one point in which their propaganda was apt to be misleading was the unfurling of a banner "Hail Bolshevik Russia!" Bolshevik Russia is not Communist: it has adopted the new economic policy, and the Bolshevist Party advocates Parliamentarism and affiliation to the Labour Party. The banner of our Paisley comrades would have seemed appropriate enough in 1917—18: it is inappropriate now. Nevertheless, we cordially appreciate their demonstration. We hope they will repeat it at the meetings of the Tory and Labour parties also, and that other comrades will follow their example throughout the country. This is an excellent means of bringing before the people the fact that there is an alternative policy to that of the reformers.

Anti-Parliamentary Communists at Paisley

Keep it up, comrades! The movement is bound to grow.

* * *

ON THE LEGAL ASPECT of the case in which the New Tabernacle Congregational Society attempted to expel and deprive of benefit an unmarried mother we do not desire to comment. The human aspect alone interests us. The case reveals, firstly, the hypocrisy of a religious body which professes to worship Christ for his comforting of a prostitute and yet attempts to deprive a woman who has merely disregarded the marriage law of the benefits for which she has paid contributions. Secondly it shows the narrow tyranny of a legal system in which such a case can be argued in Court at all. Thirdly it is a reminder of the plight of uncertainty in which the mass of people live under the private property system.

The Expulsion of a Mother

* * *

MR. OLIVER BALDWIN, son of the Prime Minister, is boomed as a supporter of the Labour Party; but what is the first of his utterances reported in the "Daily Herald" from a speech in support of a Labour candidate? Here it is:

"Abroad the Baldwin Government has given Turkey more than she had before the war, and more than she expected under the Treaty of Lausanne."

Is this Labourism?

Is this Labour Party-ism? It is certainly not Socialism, but jingoism.

* * *

THE PRISON COMMISSIONERS admit that unemployment is one of the chief contributory factors to the prison population to-day.

It is of course obvious that when people have no means of existence save by stealing they are driven to steal. As we have often pointed out, the main purpose of the penal system is to prevent those who have not enough from taking from those who have something to spare. The number of receptions of prisoners under sentence during the year was 60,832, as compared with 56,922 for the preceding twelve months, an increase of 3,910. Of this increase no fewer than 3,728 were debtors, although many comfortable people believe that imprisonment for debt has been abolished.

Unemployment and Crime

* * *

IN BROODING DEPTHS OF NIGHT, when all the air
Is teeming close with thought,
a cry arose,
And we in voiceless agony did move,
Echoing in tears what seemed our own heart's pain.
What is this cry that pierceth with afright;
What grief unbearable, no rest allowing
The burdened soul that sends it wildly forth:
This that hath waked the dark and banished sleep?
Eight years of prison life behind her lie,
A month of freedom nestles in between,
Ten further captive years stretch out before.
She that had nothing, born of the "Have Nots,"
Those numerous hordes who toil no wealth to win,
She from the "Haves" had taken something back.

In Brooding Depths of Night

* * *

THE USELESSNESS of the German Social-Democratic compromises, in entering Coalition Governments with the bourgeois parties, in supporting capitalist measures, in helping to suppress revolutionary elements, is now fully apparent, for the Social-Democrats are out of the Government, which daily grows more completely reactionary, whilst Parliamentary Government is virtually suspended and Germany bears the heavy yoke of a dictatorship.

The German Situation

The compromises, "boring-from-within" and political manœuvring of the Third Internationalists have proved equally futile. They now find themselves with their backs to the wall, compelled to fight to save themselves from the White Terror. Even abandonment of the struggle for general betterment would no longer save them from persecution.

What will happen?

In so far as the Third Internationalists have relied on Parliamentarism and boring from within the Trade Unions, they are utterly powerless; and that applies to every other movement.

They can succeed only in so far as they have prepared a body of people able to carry on production, distribution and transport, independently of, and in opposition to Capitalism; only in so far as they have prepared a body of persons able to repel the force which the reaction will use to crush them and to maintain itself.

If the proletarian revolution of Germany is not made now; if it should be made and fail; the delay or the failure will be due to the fact that the independent revolutionary movement, the workers' council movement, is not yet strong enough to be effective in industry, agriculture, transport, distribution, army, navy, and so on. If there should be failure it will also be due to lack of Communist teaching, lack of understanding and faith in Communism.

If there be failure it will be the failure not of the advance guard which has stood firm for clear-cut Communism and the Workers' Councils. It will be the failure of the parties of compromise, which have failed to do the necessary propaganda and organising work and have thrown difficulties in the way of the advance guard which has attempted it.

The worth of the various German proletarian parties is now being tested. Have they prepared the masses to throw off Capitalism? Have they prepared the understanding of the masses for Communism?

All the stunts and the intrigues have failed. Cold realities rule and only the work that went to the root will count in Germany to-day.

CUTTING OFF RELIEF.

WORKLESS CONDEMNED TO WORKHOUSE IMPRISONMENT WITH THE OPTION OF STARVATION.

Camberwell Guardians have decided to enforce the "Modified Workhouse Test" in the following cases, the Guardians acting as prosecutor, judge, and jury in all cases:

1.—Men who are not putting forth reasonable efforts to obtain employment.

2.—Men who have been receiving relief for two years or more with short intervals.

3.—Men who have been receiving relief for one year continuously.

4.—Workers whose income is uncertain, but with no prospect of verification.

5.—Undesirables who rarely do any work and do not admit earnings.

SUBSCRIBERS.

A certain number of subscribers have fallen into arrears with their payments, and as we need funds very urgently we urge them to pay up at once. Their papers are marked each week with the date when their subscription expired. Rates: 1s. 7½d. three months, 3s. 3d. six months, 6s. 6d. twelve months.

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

Election time is the time to push the "Dreadnought" and anti-Parliamentary literature at all meetings. Send for a 3s. bundle at once. Do not forget "Communism and Christianism," 4 copies for 1s. during the election.—Norah Smyth.

"DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £148 7s. 5d. J. A. Kershaw, 5s.; G. Sargent, 5s.; S. N. Ghose, 1s. 9d.; G. Sear, 3s. 1d.; per Miss Hodson, 5s.; M. Powell, 10s.; total for week, £1 9s. 10d. Total, £149 17s. 3d.

PROLETCULT.

A monthly magazine for boys and girls, edited by TOM ANDERSON and published by the Proletarian Bookstall. 39, Shuttle Street, Glasgow.

ONE PENNY.

Lessons for Young Proletarians

GEORGE STEPHENSON.—III.

Trevethick had already experimented with the first railway locomotive on the Merthyr Tydvil tramway in 1804. He was discouraged by the breakage of the cast-iron plates of which the road was formed, which were crushed under the load of the engine.

Money stood in the way of further development and experiment. The owners of the line would not re-lay it with better material to give the locomotive a fair trial.

The inventor depended on the capitalist, and the capitalist being reluctant to come to his aid, the invention made no progress.

It was mistakenly believed also that a heavy weight behind the engine, the "grip" or "bite" of its smooth wheels on the smooth iron rail, must be so slight that the wheels would whirl round upon it and make no progress. The wheels of Trevethick's engine were therefore made rough by projecting bolts or cross grooves, so that their adhesion to the road might be better secured.

About 1820 Rastrick, of Liverpool, built an engine for Trevethick which was exhibited in London. A circular track was laid down and the engine was run in competition with a horse: whichever made the longest mileage was to win.

Blackett, a colliery owner of Wylam, became interested in Trevethick's locomotive. Blackett's coal was transported by horses on a wooden wagon-way between the colliery where old Robert Stephenson worked, past the college where George was born to Lemington, where the coal was embarked for Newcastle or London. Five wagon loads only were transported by a horse and man in two days. In 1804 Blackett got a copy of Trevethick's patent and had it made by a Gateshead firm who employed John Steele, a clever mechanic, to superintend the work. The engine was, however, considered too light for drawing coal and was never put to the test: it never left the foundry.

In 1811 Blenkinsop, of the Middleton Colliery, Leeds, aided by Mathew Murray, a Leeds mechanic, made another patent locomotive. It weighed five tons and consumed two-thirds of a hundredweight of coal and 50 gallons of water an hour. It drew 27 wagons weighing 94 tons on level ground at 3½ miles an hour, or 15 tons up an ascent of 2 inches per yard. When lightly loaded it did ten miles an hour. It cost £400.

It was employed for twenty years and was the first locomotive engine regularly employed at useful work.

The idea that the smooth wheels could not adhere to the rails and progress was still current. Blenkinsop's engine had a toothed driving wheel which worked into a rack on the side of the railway—a cumbrous expedient. Brunton, of Butterley Works, Derbyshire, patented a "Mechanical Traveller" in 1813; this went upon legs, working alternately like those of a horse. The boiler burst on its first journey, killing a number of people. Chapmans, of Newcastle, tried stretching a chain from one end of the locomotive to the other to overcome the same imaginary trouble, but it proved expensive and difficult to repair. Blackett, of Wylam, made another attempt at a locomotive in 1812, but on its first journey it blew up and "flew all to pieces." Blackett directed his engine-wright to make him a third engine. This travelled at little more than a mile an hour and frequently went out of order so that the driver said: "We don't get on: we only get off." Horses were generally sent after it to drag it along when it gave up, the neighbours laughed, and the workmen called it a "perfect plague."

Blackett decided to make a fourth attempt and got Foster, his engine-wright, and William Hedley, the viewer at the colliery, to make him another.

Hedley discovered that a smooth wheel could work on a smooth rail, and by thus exploding the fallacy which had handicapped all previous experiments and baffled the civil engineers, this workman advanced the task of making locomotives an important stage. The distrust of a smooth wheel on a smooth rail had been so general that men had even been sent to walk before the engine, scattering ashes on the track. How ludicrous that seems in these days of rapid travel.

The new engine was soon on the Wylam road, but the jets of steam from the piston, blowing off when the engine was in motion terrified passing horses. So much complaint was made that the owner of the engine gave orders to stop whenever a horse-drawn vehicle came in sight. To the workmen this was most troublesome. Therefore the clever men who had designed the machine constructed a reservoir behind the chimney, into which the waste steam might pass after performing its office in the cylinder. From this reservoir the steam escaped gradually without noise.

This invention was to prove of great importance when adapted by George Stephenson, not to prevent the steam blast as at first intended, but, on the contrary, to increase its power.

George Stephenson went over from Killingworth to see Blackett's engines working. He also watched one of Blenkinsop's Leeds engines introduced at Coxlodge in 1813.

On seeing the locomotive constructed by others, Stephenson had observed that he thought a better engine could be made.

In 1813 he approached his employers at Killingworth colliery with a view to getting from them authority to build a locomotive. He had made such improvements in the engine above and below ground that Lord Ravensworth, the principal partner, readily advanced the money required.

Stephenson's chief difficulty was in finding workmen skilled enough to assist him in the work and obtaining the requisite tools. The tools then in use about the collieries were rude and clumsy, and there were not then the present facilities for turning out machinery of an entirely new character. John Thirlwall, the colliery blacksmith, was Stephenson's principal assistant. The engine took about ten months to build and was tried on July 25th, 1814. Its wheels were all smooth, Stephenson, like Hedley, having satisfied himself by independent experiment that the adhesion between the rail and the wheels of a loaded engine would be sufficient for traction. The engine drew eight loaded wagons of 30 tons weight up an ascending gradient of 1 in 450 at about four miles an hour. The want of springs was seriously felt, and at the end of a year the steam power required for this engine and the horse power which would otherwise have been employed were found to be equal in cost.

Stephenson, however, commenced work on another engine, and on February 28th, 1815, he had already taken out a patent for it. Writing of this engine in 1856 Robert Stephenson said:

> "In 1815 my father had succeeded in manufacturing an engine which included the following improvements on all previous attempts in the same direction: simple and direct communication between cylinder and wheels, the wheels rolling upon rails; joint adhesion of all the wheels, attained by the use of horizontal connecting-rods; and, finally, a beautiful method of exciting the combustion fuel by employing the waste steam which had formerly been allowed uselessly to escape. It is perhaps not too much to say that this engine as a mechanical contrivance contained the germ of all that has since been effected. It may be regarded, in fact, as a type of the present locomotive engine."

(To be continued.)

GOOD BUSINESS WITH GERMANY.

London bankers are negotiating a credit of £750,000 for the Deutsch Vekhr and Credit Bank for the purchase of half a million tons of coal. Nominally the credit will be £3,000,000, but only £750,000 will be available.

Terrorism has given a majority to the Government parties of 185 seats to 62 for the opposition.

"The Dreadnought" may be obtained from Oliver Morgan, 22, Main Street, Sirhowy, for Tredegar and district.

DOWN WITH THE SPANISH INQUISITION.

(From the I.W.M.A.)

The terror carried out under the savage dictatorship of Dato has driven one of the persecuted to take revenge upon the man directly responsible. Dato was killed by the revolutionist Casanellas, who has admitted the deed, and is now in Russia.

In spite of this two revolutionary syndicalists, Pedro Mateu and Luis Nicolau, are being accused of the act. Their trial was conducted by a drum court martial, and even though many a capitalist paper admitted that the two accused were quite innocent of the deed imputed to them, the Spanish hangmen condemned our two innocent comrades to death.

An injustice committed against one is a threat against all.

Sacco and Vanzetti

The Sacco-Vanzetti defence news service reports that charges that some one had tampered with the exhibits in the Sacco-Vanzetti case marked the third week of argument on motions for a new trial. A photograph of Vanzetti's revolver had been made to show that a certain screw had never been taken out of the gun. The photograph showed the screw fitted in place, and unscratched. The gun, when brought into court this week, showed the screw slightly raised from the level of the revolver handle and scratched with a screw-driver. The photograph was made to show that the gun had never been taken apart to put in a new hammer. The scratch on the screw would prove it had. The District Attorney resented the imputation of tampering. Unfortunately he resented it before it was made, which seemed serious to the court. The court immediately ordered the exhibits to be removed from the custody of the Sheriff and put into the hands of the Clerk. The Clerk was ordered to let no one see or touch them without a court order.

Three days of hammering on the photographic and microscopic evidence has given the defence so much confidence that they believe firmly they will get a new trial. For three days the judge and defence attorney stood on the bench and were shown the numerous file marks, defects and scratches that proved the mortal bullet and Fraher shell were not fired from Sacco's gun, as the State claimed. The Fraher shell was found at the scene of the crime.

The fact that the judge and jury had been deceived by some of the expert testimony in the original trial is held to be a strong argument for a new trial. The judge himself seemed to attach great importance to it. He asked several questions which indicated that he thought the action of his District Attorney and his expert knowledge in formulating pre-arranged questions and answers to deceive the jury were near perjury and subornation. The defence claimed that such deception was responsible for the verdict of guilty, and that without it the two Italian workers would have been freed. William G. Thompson, arguing for the defence, said the jury which tried Sacco and Vanzetti had the right to know the true opinion of this expert, Captain Proctor of the State Police, and demanded a new trial on those grounds.

Fred H. Moore took up the argument after the expert evidence had been completed. He argued on the motions based on the perjury of three witnesses at the trial. He said that if it had been but one it would be a small affair, but here we had three of the Government's most important witnesses convicted of perjury by their own statements. He intimated that psychological pressure from the District Attorney's office was responsible for their perjury. He showed what the witnesses had to gain by standing with the State Attorneys, and that they had yielded to this pressure, without any direct coercion being used. His argument was that such witnesses should not be allowed to appear at a murder trial, and demanded a new trial that they might be shown to the jury for what they were.

From the Fourth International

A PROTEST.

The Russian Communist Workers' Party (Revolutionary Opposition of the Workers) protests that the following old Worker-Communists, who have been excluded at different times from the Russian Communist Party on account of their opposition, have now been arrested and some have been exiled:—

G. Mjashikow,
N. Kuznezow,
P. Ssorwin,
Demidow,
Mjasnikowa.

The Russian C.W.P. protests and demands, in the name of the world proletariat, the immediate liberation of these comrades.

* * *

RUSSIAN COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

The comrades of the Revolutionary Workers' Opposition in Russia, who are in contact with the Communist Workers' (Fourth) International, have sent to the Fourth International a manifesto of the workers' group of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), typewritten copies of which at the beginning of the year were circulated all over Russia.

The manifesto shows that the opposition of the workers in Russia lives, develops and moves ahead towards the formation of a large Communist Workers' Party. The manifesto is in some respects halting and unclear, but it proves that the revolutionary spirit is growing.

The manifesto recognises the C.W.P., and Fourth International as real, true revolutionary workers' organisations, and demands that the Moscow leaders cease to build a united front with the social-democratic traitors, but with revolutionary organisations.

* * *

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS' GROUP OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIK).

Every thinking worker, who knows the suffering and misery of his class and its titanic struggle, has surely more than once considered the fate of our revolution in all its stages of development.

Everyone knows that its fate is closely connected with the world-proletarian movement.

When the anxious question as to the fate of the results of the October revolution is put, the workers' eye traverses other countries, where the objective conditions for a revolution are already existent, but the revolution still does not come.

The proletariat asks what is to be done that the revolution may come.

Turning again to his own country, he sees the Russian working-class, which has made the Social Revolution. He sees that the Government here has decided to go over to the "Nep" (new economic policy). The Russian (looking apprehensively at the early stouter-growing heroes of the "Nep," whose situation they compare with their own) says: "Where are we going?"

Bitter thoughts awake in the Russian worker who has borne the whole burden of the bourgeois and imperialist wars; he, who is celebrated in all Russian papers as the hero, who sacrificed his blood in this struggle, he lives miserably on bread and water.

On the other hand, they who sowed frightfulness and misery; they who have only just laid down the arms with which they fought against the worker; they are welcomed by the Government; they live in plenty, comfort and elegance.

Where are we going? What will be the final outcome?

Is it in reality possible, that the "Nep" (new economic policy) is changing into the "N.E.P." (new exploitation of the proletariat)?

What are we to do, to prevent this danger?

When these questions arise before the worker, he looks reluctantly backward, to find the connection between the present and the past; to understand how he could have come to this pass.

But, bitter and instructive as these experiences are, every worker has not learnt to find a way out through the multi-coloured net of historical events, which have passed before his eyes.

SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

A petition had been organised throughout South Africa by the Communist Party, for the reprieve of the nine men who are still in gaol in Pretoria as the result of last year's Rand strike.

"Communism is much more active among us than people think," said Sir Julius Jeppe, in support of the candidature of the Rev. W. McCulloch, South African Party Provincial Council candidate for Springs. Sir Julius Jeppe added that recently a cotton farmer in the Rustenburg district, approached a native chief for labour. "We are just busy forming a Native Union," was the chief's reply to the request, "and when it is finished, you can apply to the Secretary, who will tell you on what terms labour can be obtained!"

Another speaker said that he had repeatedly referred to the dangerous character of the propaganda of the unpatriotic Communists, who know no nationality, honour, or patriotism. "Their operations," he said, "have become particularly sinister in institutions owned by the Government, connected directly or indirectly with the Natives." He hoped that the Government would put a stop to this dangerous organisation.

FROM OUR BOOKSHOP.

Peter Kropotkin.—Conquest of Bread, 2s.; Fields, Factories and Workshops, 2s.; Mutual Aid, 2s.; War, 2d.; Modern Science and Anarchism, 1s.; Appeal to the Young, 2d.; Expropriation, 2d.; The Wage System, 2d.

De Leon.—As to Politics, 9d.; Two Pages from Roman History, 4d.; Socialism v. Anarchism, 3d.; Who Pays the Taxes? 2d.; Burning Question of Trade Unionism, 2d.; Marx on Malthus, 2d.; Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, 2d.; What Means This Strike? 2d.; Berger's Hit and Misses, 9d.; Fifteen Questions, 1s. 6d.

Wilhelm Liebknecht.—No Compromise, 8d.; Memoirs of Marx, 3s. 6d.

E. Lipson.—Economic History, Middle Ages, 15s.

Lissagarry.—History of the Commune, 1871 (translated by Eleanor Marx Aveling), 4s. 6d.

Jack London.—Michael, Brother of Jerry, 2s.; Mutiny of the Elsinore, 2s.; Revolution, 2s.; The Human Drift, 2s.; John Barleycorn, 2s.; The Jacket, 2s.; The Red One, 2s.; War of the Classes, 2s.; The Night Born, 1s. 6d.; When God Laughs, 1s. 6d.; The Road, 1s. 6d.; The Scarlet Plague, 1s. 6d.; The Strength of the Strong, 1s. 6d.; Before Adam, 1s. 6d.; The House of Pride, 1s. 6d.; Love and Life, 1s. 6d.; Children of the Frost, 1s. 6d.; The Valley of the Moon, 2s. and 6d.; He Renounced the Faith, 1s.

Karl Marx.—Capital (Vols. I., II., III.), each 12s. 6d.; The Paris Commune, 2s. 6d.; Value, Price and Profit, 6d.; Wage Labour and Capital, 3d.; The Gotha Programme, 3d.; Critique of Political Economy, 6s. 6d.; Poverty of Philosophy, 6s. 6d.; Revolution and Counter-Revolution, 2s. 6d.; Civil War in France, 3s.; Civil War in France (Kerr's edition), 1s. 6d.

Marx and Engels.—Communist Manifesto, 3d.

Olive Schreiner.—Woman and Labour, 4s. 6d.; Woman and War, 6d.; Dream Life and Real Life, 1s.; Dreams, 2s.; The Sunlight Lay Across My Bed, 6d.; Trooper Peter Halkett, 1s.; Story of an African Farm, 3s. 6d.

From "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 152, Fleet St., E.C. 4.

Read EIRE The Irish Nation
Weekly Review of Irish Republican Opinion
PRICE TWOPENCE
On Sale Saturdays

Unemployment in U.S.A.

AN ANSWER TO MR. FRANK HODGES.

Mr. Frank Hodges, in a recent "Daily Herald" article, amazed all students of United States industrial affairs by declaring that a trade slump and unemployment in America had been prevented by raising wages. Some of us had heard of considerable wage reductions in the period indicated by Mr. Hodges, and now comes evidence that the trade slump he thought America had avoided is on its way. The New York "Freeman" puts the position pointedly:

"In an article published in the 'Magazine of Wall Street,' Dr. Julius Klein, director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, points out that the productive capacity of the country is so great that even an abnormal demand can hardly remain long unsatisfied. The makers of pig-iron can turn out ten million tons per year in excess of the maximum consumption recorded since 1916. The boot-and-shoe factories have a capacity of 400,000,000 pairs per annum, but the American people have never yet purchased more than 300,000,000 pairs. The automobile factories are now producing at the rate of 300,000 cars a month, but Dr. Klein doubts if any one expects that the country will buy another three million cars in 1924. With such capacity available, Dr. Klein is of the opinion that production in many lines is now running so far ahead of current consumption that the domestic market will presently be saturated. In this situation, one is naturally moved to ask, what next?

"The answer, according to Dr. Klein, is simply this: either the export trade must be developed, or else we shall have idle factories, unemployment and hard times. If we may depend upon the judgment of Wall Street, as expressed in the general trend of stock-and-bond prices for the last six months, it is the second alternative rather than the first that is to be faced. From midsummer, 1921, to March of the present year, the stock-market rose steadily on the crest of increasing production; but since March there has been an equally steady decline. From this movement of prices one gets the notion that 'the street' is already tolerably well satisfied that we are approaching a condition of surfeit from which we cannot hope to escape by calling in the Old World to redress the balance of the New."

The following statement, published by the Fall River Cotton Manufacturers' Association of Massachusetts, shows how far the employers of U.S.A. are at one with Mr. Frank Hodges on the subject of high wages:

"Fifty years ago little or no cotton manufacturing was done in the south. Thirty years ago Fall River had more cotton spindles than all the southern States combined. At the present time Fall River still remains with about 4,000,000 spindles and the south have over 16,000,000 spindles.

"The following table shows why some corporations find it to their advantage to move to the south:

Occupation.	S. Carolina.	Fall River.	Fall River
	—Av. hourly rate—		Excess
	$	$	
Card Room	0.260	0.414	59 %
Spinning room ...	.219	.390	78 %
Dressing room	.237	.410	73 %
Loom fixers	.360	.558	55 %
Weavers	.273	.378	36 %
Trimrs & insp'rs	.176	.257	40 %
Other employees ...	.176	.357	103 %

"Southern mills are not 'hampered' by the forty-eight hour week, which is 'hampered' by the 48-hour week, which is the maximum in Massachusetts. Women and children can work longer hours in the southern mills."

It all looks very lovely—for the mill manufacturer. That is, should the southern workers continue to submit. Southern capitalists have been made to feel the results of rebellious labour—there was the negro exodus. . . . . .

Letter from Holland

Some folks are constantly preaching the gospel of leadership and declaring leaders are necessary. Whenever the man in the street seems to lose his belief in the modern saviours they ask him: "Do you imagine everything would go on smoothly without leaders, managers, and authorities? Just fancy what would happen if all the leading personalities were taken away!"

They seem absolutely unable to imagine themselves in a society quite different from the present one, and firmly believe in the perpetual continuance of capitalist society, although they are willing to accept some fundamental change.

Here in Holland we are just now deprived of our political leaders, the Cabinet Ministers. Even the Prime Minister has failed. Nevertheless things go on without a single interruption. We are being exploited just as before, we must pay taxes just the same, and those who are unemployed continue to receive their insignificant dole.

Nevertheless, the Queen of Holland is now eagerly looking for the most eminent men in the country, ready and capable to take the empty seats in her High Political Body. A very strong man is specially wanted as a Prime Minister just now, because you know the Marine Act was condemned to disappear from the Government's "programme" for the time being.

This was considered a victory for Mr. Troelstra, one of the well-known Second Internationalists. Her Majesty, of course, applied also to him. We do not know what they agreed upon, but Mr. Troelstra proudly proclaims in his paper that "we" are prepared to take the empty places, but that he has no bananas. Which means that things are not ripe yet, although the whole machinery is ripe to disappear for ever from the world's surface. For many years Mr. Troelstra and his staff have been urging: "You send us to Parliament, and we shall make the sun shine bright so that it will ripen the fruits; and now and then, when we give you a hint, you firmly shake the tree in order to make the nice fruits fall down on you, like the blessings of Socialism."

We have got now all kinds of fruit, such as the eight hours' day; but one after the other they are disappearing again, on account of "these rotten times." I am very sorry for Mr. Troelstra, but I fear that he will never sit down in one of the empty Cabinet seats for which he is longing so badly. It is a peculiar characteristic of this gentleman that he is often near his goal and then gets nervous, so that he misses just when he is eager to hit.

There is another gentleman in the Low Countries who declares that he has the bananas. This is Mr. Verviers, who has just returned from Italy, where he consulted Mussolini. He wrote to the Queen: "Don't mind those fellows in Parliament. Send them home rather than ask their advice. Seek for the right men to put in the right place; appoint a strong man as their leader and things will change for the better."

If this is the way to put matters straight the arrangements need only be a question of a few days, for it is obvious that Mr. Verviers is the man the Queen is looking for. However, we do not believe that her Majesty will avail herself of his services, simply because capitalism in Holland prefers to use its mask than to show its pretty face.

So let us wait a little while, gentlemen; we want a strong man here, but it is not your turn yet.—T.W.

If this Civilisation Collapsed

". . . If the whole of our Banking and Financial system collapsed and fell in, if world-wide Commerce came to a standstill, if the Capital necessary for huge armaments and general ironworks were not forthcoming, if law and government were paralysed, old-age insurance ceased to be paid, and Landlords were unable to collect their rents—if all this and much more happened, my friend who ploughs his fields near his cottage would go out next morning with his team to his usual work, and scarcely know the difference. *If anything, he would decidedly feel more cheerful and hopeful.* Some other friend who forges and tempers table-knives by the score would continue to forge and temper them. The knives would still be wanted. The power to make them would still be there. And if at any point combined labour were needed, as to build a workshop or carry through a steel-making process, the men who do these things now in forced and servile toil under the Capitalist system would do them ten times better and more heartily in free co-operation. No, if all this jerry-built cheapjack commercial civilisation collapsed it would not much matter. The longer I live the more I am convinced of its essential pettiness and unimportance. The great foundational types, the real workers of the world—whether in England, or Germany, or France, or Turkey, or Bulgaria, or Egypt—will remain, and indeed must remain because the primal facts of Nature, the sun and the earth and the needs of human life continually generate them. They will remain, and once freed (as one may hope) from the burden of the futile and idiotic superstructure which they have to support, will rise to a far finer standard of being than they can now realise. The cheap and aimless types belonging to the mercantile and middle classes will disappear with the world to which they belong."—Edward Carpenter, "My Life and Dreams."

Spice

ASK YOUR LABOUR CANDIDATE

Will he introduce a Bill to abolish the monarchy, the Privy Council, the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and to summon the Workers' Councils?

* * * *

"MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING."

"Every one was very much in earnest, but many speakers, and most of the audience were at times uncertain as to what they ought to be in earnest about."—Anglican correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" on "The House of Clergy At It's Best."

* * * *

THE VALUE OF A PROFESSIONAL JOURNALIST.

Mr. Dilnot, late editor of the late Labour Party organ, the "Daily Citizen," is writing Liberal election puffs for the "Daily Chronicle," and helping to smash the Labour Party at the poll's.

* * * *

Conservative posters show a workman with hands outstretched in pleading: "Give me work!" Underneath the legend: "Vote Conservative."

So they would always wish to see you, fellow workers.

Crown Hall Dancing Academy
40, Redmans Road, Mile End, E. 1.
SOIREE & DANCE
In aid of the
"Workers' Friend"
Saturday December 8th 1923.
Good Band in Attendance
DANCING 7 p.m. ——— to 1 a.m.

Work for Men and Women

Some months ago, fellow worker, the "Dreadnought" office was disturbed by the fact that one of two men, whom it was easy to recognise, had been seen for some days always loitering about at the corner of Bolt Court and Fleet Street, where everyone going to and from the office must pass.

Several persons observed that the "Dreadnought" office was being watched by police spies.

At last the editor, irritated by the daily presence of the supposed spies, abruptly asked one of them: "Who are you keeping under observation?"

It happens that next door to the building in which is the "Dreadnought" office, a tailor's shop had been recently opened. When the "Dreadnought" editor spoke thus to the loiterer on the curb, he darted to the door of the tailor's shop, and calling out one of the assistants from inside, cried:

"Mr. ——, tell this lady I am not a spy?"

The assistant answered: "Madam, this is our outside representative."

Of course, fellow worker, the editor of the "Dreadnought" apologised profusely.

When I heard of the incident, I observed: "Under a proper state of society no one would be content to be a spy; no one would consent to be a tailor's tout, standing on the pavement all day, in the hope of persuading customers into his employer's shop.

At nine o'clock the other night, fellow worker, I was entering the "Dreadnought" offices, and I turned to look at that brightly-lit tailor's shop next door. I observed the blaze of electric light displayed there unnecessarily; but something else caused the thought again to surge within me in protest:

"Under a proper state of society this would never be."

On the polished parquet floor of the shop window two men were kneeling, elaborately arranging folds of clothing material upon it. When they had finished their foldings and flutings, they carefully proceeded to dress a number of tailor's blocks.

Thus until late in the evening they were wasting their lives in useless toil; their precious lives, all they had of value; their lives that speed away so swiftly towards the grave. They were arranging folds of stuff for the curious to gape at, for the indifferent to pass by unnoticed.

Should not the human race be able to clothe itself, fellow worker, without such senseless waste of human effort? The civilisation which finds such follies necessary should be doomed indeed!

It is work, this window dressing at night; work by means of which the slaves of the shop gain bread and shelter.

Is it work for men and women, fellow worker?

Is it a fitting manner in which to employ human hands and human brains, night after night, month after month, year after year?

On the polling day, fellow worker, men and women will stand by the polling booths, waiting to take from the voters the mock polling-cards of the rival candidates. They are paid by the rival parties to stand there, as an advertisement, and in the hope of ascertaining in which manner the majority of the votes have been cast before the poll has actually been declared.

The men and women who take the mock polling cards are glad to stand there, in order to gain the paltry shillings they are paid for their senseless vigil. They will be glad to do some other equally useless task next day.

When the poll is declared the candidates will come to the window; the mob will cheer them—the victors and the vanquished. The victor has won, the vanquished has scored a "moral victory." Those men of the hour shake hands and tell the crowd, as gentlemen do, how fairly each has fought the other.

They speak in exalted tones: their words flow on in such a manner as this:

> "It is always a source of great pride and great contentment to feel that the Party you are associated with is lifting up the reputation of your nation, not for power and not for wealth, but for those intangible qualities which come from heaven, and which distinguish the men and women of great heart from the men and women of gross soul."

Then those who earned their paltry pennies at the polls, with the rest of the disinherited, raise a cheer.

The motor-cars drive the candidates away.

And the poor go home. So it was: so it will be, fellow worker, but some day the Workers' Councils will be sitting, and the great and eloquent of to-day will be waiting anxiously at thy gate.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Germinal

ASK for No 2. at your Newsagent.

A Complete play by Toller. Stories by Marsden, Gorky, Grant, and others.

32 Pages—Sixpence

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

W. McCARTNEY, 26, Pasley Road, Manor Place, Walworth Road, S.E.17, is starting a group of the Communist Workers' Movement. Those desirous of joining should communicate with him.

SYLVIA PANKHURST is booking provincial lecturing engagements.—Apply for dates to "Dreadnought" office, 152, Fleet Street.

To get the address of a good DENTIST apply to the undersigned, who discovered him through the "Dreadnought," and wants to pass on his discovery to other comrades. You will all need a dentist SOME DAY, so write a postcard NOW to R. Scott, Wayside, Capel, Surrey.

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

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

RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New

HEAD READING, by an expert phrenologist.—Proceeds to "Workers' Dreadnought."—Apply, H., Box 20.

ENGINEER, married, experienced in I. C., Steam and General Machine Repairs, seeks employment or will undertake auto or mechanical repairs; 17 years experience States and Canada; 2 years proprietor of machine-equipped garage; estimates on reconditioning.—Box 76.

THE RED COTTAGE.

Woodford Wells.

For Outings and Week-ends.

Parties catered for.

126 Woodford High Road.

'Buses 34, 40a, 10a pass the door.

Opposite "Horse and Well."

BROMLEY PUBLIC HALL,

29th NOVEMBER,

2.30—4.

The Inauguration of the Women's Section of the Unemployed Workers' Organisation. All Ticket Holders are asked to be present.

THE "ONE BIG UNION BULLETIN"

(Canada's Foremost Labour Paper).

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

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

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

Plebs Buildings, 54 Adelaide Street, Winnipeg, Canada.

FOR SALE.—Bound Volume of "The Commonweal," No. 4, 1888, Official Journal of the Socialist League, edited by William Morris. Very rare. Good condition. What offers?—Box 76.

THE "GERMINAL CIRCLE."

152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

The "Germinal Circle" exists to assist in promoting the expression of modern ideas and aspirations through the medium of the arts.

To the Secretary, "Germinal Circle."

I wish to join the "Germinal Circle," and enclose one shilling to cover the annual subscription.

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

To the readers of

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

All you have to do is to cut this coupon out and write your name and address in ink and send it to the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4., when you get 24 coupons.

Name:

Address:

14

WATCH THE "DREADNOUGHT"

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

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

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

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by the Agenda Press, Ltd. (T.U.), at 10, Wine Office Court, London, E.C. 4.