

To Seamen. By George Garrett.

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Workers'  Dreadnought

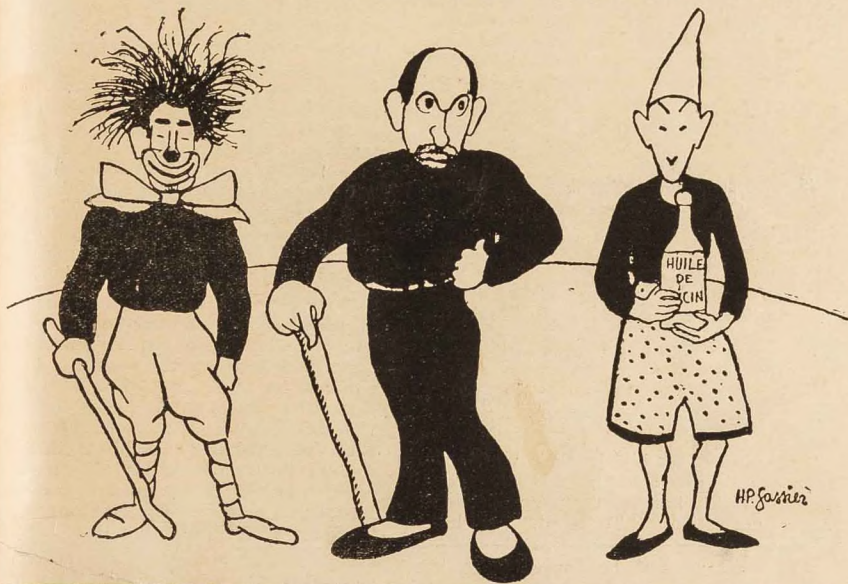
NOT KINGS AND PAUPERS. BUT EQUALITY.

VOL. IX. No. 53.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1923.

WEEKLY.

Mussolini with his Lieutenants—Bianchi and Babbo.

**The Origin of Fascismo.**By **Pietro Gualducci.**

Fascism is not of yesterday's growth; it was born in the "glorious days" of 1915, in the agitation for Italy's entry into the war.

The Beginning of Fascism.

The spiritual father of Fascismo was Deputy Bonomi, once a writer on the Socialist daily "Avanti," and now a Minister in the Cabinet of Salandra. Bonomi created Fascismo to bring about Italy's participation in the war on the side of the Allies.

Benito Mussolini, who had been expelled from the Socialist Party, became the leader of Fascism with other renegades of the same type, who used to achieve their aim all sorts of violence, insinuations and slander against whoever opposed that ruinous war.

Amongst the bourgeois politicians thus assailed and slandered was Giovanni Giolitti, who was accused of having sold himself to Germany and betrayed his country. This accusation appeared in the Fascist newspaper, the "Azione" of Rome, at that time edited by Deputy Bonomi. The slander was repeated in all the foreign newspapers, and Giolitti remained throughout the war under the odium of this charge, making no attempt to defend himself.

The war lasted too long, and ended badly for those who had idealised it; for it brought Italy to the verge of bankruptcy and caused a deficit of 300 milliards of liri, which she is still unable to pay.

Socialist Party's Pledge.

During the war the Italian Socialist Party held faithfully to its Socialist principles, and its conduct was greatly to be admired. It promised when the war should end the time

would come for a final settlement of accounts with the Capitalist classes, in which the Capitalists would be forced to surrender.

Unfortunately, when peace came, the Socialist Party made no attempt to fulfil this promise, although it had the full and enthusiastic support of the masses. The metal workers of Turin, soon after the military demobilisation, mobilised for their own proletarian war. The general strike spread to all the Piedmontre metal workers, who hoped that the Italian General Confederation of Labour would join in and declare a general strike of solidarity. This metal workers' movement, if assisted by the General Confederation at that time, could easily have brought about the downfall of Capitalism and caused the Social Revolution, since there was a fighting spirit in the masses and many workers were still armed. Both the Socialists, who had called themselves revolutionary, and the Reformist leaders of the Confederation of Labour, however, disliked the movement of the Turin metal workers. Therefore, instead of urging the working class to united action they preached desertion and sabotage of the metal workers' movement. Thus they secured the collapse of that movement.

Victories at the Polls.

Soon after this working-class disaster the Socialist Party met in congress at Bologna, where it issued a pompous manifesto, promising revolution should the Party triumph at the polls. The workers responded well, sending to the Chamber 156 Deputies and electing Socialist majorities to 31 Borough Councils, including ten principal cities, at the head of which was the greatest industrial city, Milan.

Metal Workers Seize Factories.

Even after this victory the leaders of the Socialist Party remained inert. They were not capable of securing reforms which the reformists had promised. They were incapable as revolutionaries of using their victory to bring about the revolution. They were unable even to maintain the positions they had conquered by legal methods. It followed that the workers were disgusted with these leaders, and decided to do battle on their own account, taking possession of the metal workshops, and soon extending the movement in other industries, whilst the peasants in many provinces took possession of the land.

Again, this movement was not to the liking of the leaders of the Socialist Party and General Confederation of Labour. The latter, on their return from Russia, at once put themselves at the disposal of the Government in breaking the back of the revolutionary movement, and caused the factories to be returned to their Capitalist owners.

The Betrayal.

The conversations in which this betrayal was arranged took place at the Hotel Bologne, in Turin. In the chair was the ex-Prime Minister, Giolitti, representing the Capitalists. D'Aragona and his compeers represented the betrayed, and to be betrayed, workers.

Giolitti promised to give the partial control of the factories and of the metal industry to the workers if the factories were evacuated and returned to the Capitalists.

D'Aragona and his friends accepted. The betrayal was then and there solemnly sealed.

In view of the obvious incapacity of the leaders and of the continuous unrest of the masses, Giolitti now thought fit to restore to life that Fascismo which had brought Italy into the war, forgetting the insults he had received at its hands. It is difficult to conceive a more Machiavellian move, which can only be explained by the strongly felt class solidarity of the Capitalists.

Fascism Returns.

Again Benito Mussolini was adopted as leader. As he had been a traitor to his Party, he was now to become the executioner of the Italian workers who had given him bread and support in the days of his youth. He can be fitly compared to Malatesta Baglioni, betrayer of the Florentine Republic in the middle ages. So low and powerless had the ruling class of Italy become, that it could only choose to save itself through a man of such ignominious quality as Mussolini. The Italian Capitalists, unable to hold their own against the Capitalists of other European States, could only find salvation in Fascism, which in its more active elements is but a band of mercenaries in the pay of landowners and big industrialists. Thus it came to pass that under the protection of the Italian Monarchic State, favoured by bourgeois justice, assisted by the armed police, and paid by the Capitalists, Fascism could carry on a campaign of crimes, ranging from murder to arson and robbery.

(Continued p. 8.)

THE SEVEN THAT WERE HANGED.

By Leonid Andreyev
(A Famous Russian Author).

(Part III. continued.)

When the terrorists were arrested, the whole prison learned of it. One day, when Yanson put his customary question, the guard answered him abruptly, in an irritated voice:

"It will be soon. In a week, I think."
Yanson turned pale; the gaze of his glassy eyes became so thick that he seemed as if asleep.

"You are joking?" he asked.
"Formerly you could not await the time, to-day you say that I am joking. No jokes are tolerated here. It is you who likes jokes, but we do not tolerate them," replied the guard with dignity; then he went out.

When evening came, Yanson had grown thin. His skin, which had become smooth again for a few days, was contracted into a thousand little wrinkles. He took no notice of anything; his movements were made slowly, as if every toss of the head, every gesture of the arm, every step, were a difficult undertaking, that must first be deeply studied. During the night Yanson lay on his camp-bed, but his eyes did not close; they remained open until morning.

"Ah!" exclaimed the guard, on seeing him the next day.

With the satisfaction of the savant who has made a new and a successful experiment, he examined the condemned man attentively and without haste; now everything was proceeding in the usual fashion. Satan was covered with shame, the sanctity of the prison and of the gallows was re-established. Indulgent, and even full of sincere pity, the old man asked:

"Do you want to see someone?"
"Why?"

"To say good-bye, of course . . . to your mother, for instance, or to your brother."

"I must not be hanged," said Yanson in a low voice, casting a glance sideways at the gaoler. "I do not want to be hanged."

The guard looked at him, without saying a word.

Yanson was a little calmer in the evening. The day was so ordinary, the cloudy winter sky shone in so usual a fashion, so familiar was the sound of steps and conversations in the corridor, that he ceased to believe in the execution. Formerly the night had been to him simply the moment of darkness, the time for sleep. But now he was conscious of a mysterious and menacing essence.

believe in death one must see and hear about one the customary course of life; steps, voices, light. And now everything seemed extraordinary to him; this silence, these shades, that seemed to be already the shades of death; already he felt the approach of inevitable death; in bewilderment he climbed the first steps of the gibbet.

The day, the night, brought him alternations of hope and fear; and so things went until the evening when he felt, or understood, that the inevitable death would come three days later, at sunrise.

He had never thought of death; for him it had no shape. But now he felt plainly that it had entered his cell, and was groping about in search of him. To escape it he began to run.

The room was so small that the corners seemed to push him back toward the centre. He could not hide himself anywhere. Several times he struck the walls with his body; once he hurled himself against the door. He staggered and fled, with his face upon the ground; he felt the grasp of death upon him. Glued to the floor, his face touching the dirty black asphalt, Yanson screamed with terror until help came. When they had lifted him up, seated him on his bed, and sprinkled him with cold water, he did not dare to open both eyes. He half opened one, perceived an empty and luminous corner of his cell, and began again to scream.

But the cold water had its effect. The guard, moreover, always the same old man, slapped Yanson several times on the head in a fatherly fashion. This sensation of life drove out the thought of death. Yanson slept deeply the rest of the night. He lay on his back, with mouth open, snoring loud and long. Between his half-closed eyelids appeared a whitish, flat, and dead eye, without a pupil.

Then day, night, voices, steps, the cabbage soup, everything became for him one continuous horror that plunged him into a state of wild astonishment. His weak mind could not reconcile the monstrous contradiction between, on the one hand, the bright light and the odour of the cabbage, and, on the other, the fact that three days later he must die. He thought of nothing; he did not even count the hours; he was simply the prey of a dumb terror in presence of this contradiction that bewildered his brain; to-day life, to-morrow death. He ate nothing, he slept no more; he sat timidly all night long on a stool, with his legs crossed under him, or else he walked up and down his cell with furtive steps. He appeared to be in a state of open-mouthed astonishment; before taking the most commonplace article into his hands he would examine it suspiciously.

The gaolers ceased to pay attention to him. His was the ordinary condition of the condemned man, resembling, according to his gaoler—who had not experienced it himself—that of an ox felled by a club.

"He is stunned; now he will feel nothing more until the moment of death," said the guard, examining him with his experienced eye. "Ivan, do you hear? Ho there, Ivan!"

"I must not be hanged!" answered Yanson, in a colourless voice; his lower jaw had dropped.

"If you had not killed, they would not hang you," reproachfully said the chief gaoler, a highly important young man, wearing a decoration. "To steal, you have killed, and you do not want to be hanged!"

"I do not want to be hanged!" replied Yanson.

"Well, you don't have to want to; that's your affair. But, instead of talking nonsense, you would do better to dispose of your possessions. You surely must have something."

"He has nothing at all! A shirt and a pair of pantaloons! And a fur cap!"

Thus time passed until Thursday. And Thursday, at midnight, a large number of people entered Yanson's cell; a man with cloth epaulets said to him:

"Get ready! It is time to start."

Always with the same slowness and the same indolence, Yanson dressed himself in all that he possessed, and tied his dirty shawl around his neck. While watching him dress, the man with the epaulets, who was smoking a cigarette, said to one of his assistants:

"How warm it is to-day! It is spring!"
Yanson's eyes closed; he was in a complete drowse. The guard shouted:

"Come, come! Make haste! You are going to sleep!"

Suddenly Yanson ceased to move.

"I must not be hanged," said he, with indolence.

He began to walk submissively, shrugging his shoulders. In the courtyard the moist spring air had a sudden effect upon him; his nose began to run; it was thawing; close by, drops of water were falling with a joyous sound. While the gendarmes were getting into the unlighted vehicle, bending over and rattling their swords, Yanson lazily passed his finger under his running nose, or arranged his badly tied shawl.

NEW IDEAS

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

Have you written one?

Do you propose to have it printed?

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

SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

By Isaac Vermont.

It is now proved that the remarkable letter in which Garnsworthy and the other men who were lying under sentence of death petitioned for reprieve and admitted that they had been deluded and misled, had been extracted from them by a Ministerial agent (Mr. Stallard, K.C.) before the Cabinet had decided upon the reprieve. The men who gave evidence were encouraged to give evidence against their associates, and those self-same witnesses were said to be equally guilty.

Here is the extracted letter in full, sent from the Central Prison, Pretoria, to Major-General, His Royal Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught:

"Pour Royal Highness,—Now that our trial is over we wish, as a last resort, to address Your Royal Highness and ask you to pardon us for what we have done. We are not murderers, as we understood the word; nor did any of us wish to take life for our own advantage or revenge, or a brutal lust for blood. We did want to keep as much of the good things of life for our families as possible. We struck work, and as hunger pressed, fell readily into the commando organisation prepared for us by others who were more far-seeing, and who, when it came to the point, left us to take the risk and bear the blame. The men who incited us by speech did so with impunity.

"We now see that we were wrong, and especially by taking arms or associating with others who did so; we foolishly allowed ourselves to drift into the position of having either to use these arms or be branded as cowards by those who were inciting us to violence. We are not men of experience or education, and really believed that the country was behind us in attempting a revolt, and that it was a patriotic part we were asked to play. The discovery of the truth has been bitter.

"As to the murders of the police and officials on the Brakpan mine after they were rendered defenceless, we wish to express our deep abhorrence of these crimes. We are thankful that our judges did not believe us guilty of them, and that in some cases they accepted our statements that we did our best to prevent them. We have now learned that the law holds us responsible for anything, however dreadful, done by any one of our temporary associates in furtherance of a common end. It is a lesson we can never forget, even should Your Royal Highness give us your pardon.

"We wish to say how deeply sorry we are for playing the part we did, for the loss of life involved, and for the sorrow brought to innocent homes; but we venture to urge that the making of more homes desolate cannot retrieve the past. Should life be spared us, it will be our resolute endeavour to show by our conduct our deep contrition, and to make the most of our opportunities in our own free country. In this spirit we approach Your Royal Highness and pray your pardon, even at this last hour. G. van Schalkwyk, D. Coetzee, P. T. van der Merwe, G. Gravett, G. B. Button, Jan J. du Foit, W. C. Koedyk, L. Potyictcr, A. H. de Lange, F. C. Naude.

A small, but ineffective, strike which is more than passing interest took place recently in the district of Berlin, Eastern Transvaal, where an afforestation scheme is being carried out by the Government. The man Ferreira, who turned King's evidence in Garnsworthy's trial, was given a job down there. The other men all downed tools, and refused to proceed with the work until Ferreira was removed. This was eventually done, and Ferreira was put on a job where he will not come in contact with men who decline to work with him.

Shop committees, job control, and organisation on the lines of Industrial Unionism are the stepping-stones to the Communist Republic.

TO SEAMEN.

By George Garrett.

"It has been hinted several times recently that wages must come down, and this is inevitable. The men must be prepared to make some sacrifice, and if they do so they will have the satisfaction of knowing that their employment will be more regular, and that work can be found for some of the many officers and seamen now walking about idle. . . ."

"In the coal trade sacrifices were made by the men, and also the coal-owners, so that the export coal trade of Great Britain should be regained. . . . With wages down and coal at a reasonable level, British ship-owners could put their ships into the world's markets, and take very low freights, without losing money. . . . this can only be accomplished by reducing working expenses to the very lowest level."—The Journal of Commerce, February 27th, 1928.

Fellow-seamen, when the rebellious element amongst you gave warning of impending wagers or attacks on your working conditions ashore and afloat, and pointed out that your present organisations were incapable of resisting the further encroachments of the ship-owners, you howled them down to the cries of "Bolshie" and "Revolutionary"! If rumour be correct, the next reduction will affect you some time this month; and the above extract from the "Journal of Commerce" may, perhaps, convince you that the "Bolshies" and "Revolutionaries" had some idea what they were talking about.

Representatives of various outfits are in the field competing for your contributions in the struggle to maintain their own jobs. They feed you with promises of the wonderful things that will happen as soon as "we have a trade revival." According to these persons; your organisation cannot be any use until the shipowners usher in a period of prosperity. How absurd! Surely you have discovered by now that the shipowners and seamen have nothing in common. The lousy forecasts, intolerable working conditions, and low wages testify this.

Your "leaders" have told you of the advantages you have gained through the National Maritime Board. They also admit that that body has been useful to the shipowners, although they assure you "the majority of shipowners are not out for wage-cutting."

Of course, fellow-seamen, if you have just over-gorged yourself with one meat-ball and a ship's biscuit, and are returning to the stokehold to do another "Duce" for love, you may not agree with your "leaders" on this point!

For those same "leaders" the class struggle has ceased to exist, and amidst the snug surroundings of the shipowners' dining apartments they chatter about co-operation and negotiation.

The bosses' paper tells you that the miners made sacrifices, but forgets to explain why the conditions of the miners became worse while the mine-owners and royalty drawers prospered as usual. You know from experience that despite the previous reductions you have suffered, and the abnormal amount of unemployment among seamen, that the dividends of the shipowners have not been affected much. Your conditions, on the other hand, are becoming worse each day.

The seamen's movement in this country has big potentialities owing to the geographical position of this "tight little isle" and its dependence on other countries for raw materials, particularly foodstuffs. These potentialities will never be an effective weapon against the boss class until harnessed in a Revolutionary Industrial Union having for its watchword "The abolition of the wage system."

You do not like the word "revolution"; yet the boss uses it quite regularly, with disastrous results to you and beneficial results measured in profits to himself.

Let us deal with some of the "revolutions" that have affected you in the past, and others that will affect you in the future. When sailing ships were displaced by steamships, large numbers of seamen were cast on the streets. Only some of those who were able to adapt themselves to the stokehold ever were taken back.

With each development in machinery crews were reduced, and speeding-up of the men retained in the ships. The change from natural-draught furnaces to forced-draught furnaces for coal burning, and the change from coal to oil brought in their train, further reductions in manning. The ships have grown from the 1,000 ton tramp steamer to the 50,000 ton flyer of the Western Ocean. The three Cunard leviathans, Aquitania, Mauretania, and Berengaria, when burning coal, carried an aggregate engine-room complement of about 1,200 men; but now these ships are oil burners the number of men employed is much nearer 250. The coal-burning firemen could not adapt themselves at a minute's notice to oil burning, and the bosses recruited oil firemen from the Navy, adding insult to injury of their late employees.

Triple expansion, self-lubricating, Diesel, turbine, motor, internal-combustion, electric, and other kinds of engines, each came in its turn; all assisted to swell the ranks of the displaced seamen. Each revolution in machinery meant a smaller amount of space required aboard the ships, thus increasing the cargo space, the speed, and efficiency of the ships, at a much reduced cost to the ship-owners.

The "Journal of Commerce" says: "The men must make some sacrifice. . . . This can only be accomplished by reducing working expenses to the very lowest level."

This may sound very nice to the Capitalist economist; but to the man in the dark, grim forecastle, with his 3 lbs. of bread per week and cracker hash, it spells torture of the very worst description.

British ships are discharging their crews in Germany and signing on crews there at a rate far below the amount paid at the present time in British ports. You cannot blame the German seamen for this, because they are signing for "trade union wages." With the mark in its low state, the shipowners could offer double wages to German seamen, and still obtain their labour for a lower rate than is paid in British ports.

You can also tell your pal the patriot that last October over a hundred British ships were being repaired in German shipyards. True you are affiliated to International organisations, but as these are only a reflection of the co-operation and negotiation outfits, no steps have been taken to prevent the bosses using the workers of one country against another. Do not forget, fellow-seamen, how you "scabbed" on the Belgians and American seamen during their disputes, and even on your own countrymen during the miners', ship joiners', and stewards' strikes.

Your present organisations, with their out-of-date structures, create this state of affairs by setting one section of workers against another section, and this is the principal reason why the British Empire Union and other anti-Communist bodies are so enthusiastic in their support of sane Trade Unionism.

Your conditions will go from bad to worse, unless you are determined to organise on revolutionary lines, and free yourself and your class by taking control of the means of production and distribution.

You can only succeed by Job action, and Job action cannot take place in a branch meeting; it must happen in the mills, mines, factories, and shops.

You know what happens aboard the ship when the grub is worse than usual. Following a great deal of growling from all hands in the fo'c'sle, one man who is a believer in action generally carries the "dixies" back to the galley and kicks up merry hell until there is some improvement.

Here you have a job committee in operation, and when that committee is organised

on a scientific basis and linked up with other job committees ashore and afloat, you can truthfully say that the real Big Union of the Workers is developing in the right direction.

The trade union fakirs do not favour this kind of organisation; it would mean that they would lose their cushy billets and be forced to return to the workshop. Their compromising attitude would thus change to a fighting outlook, because circumstances would compel them to fight on the job, in order to better their own conditions.

You remember the failures of the past, when you decided after the trip was finished you would make a complaint to your Union. On returning home, an official wrote a letter for you. It was followed by your many visits to the Union office. Days, months, aye, even years, passed; you were always told: "Nothing has come through yet."

This kind of thing will disappear for ever with the growth of "job action," and experience will teach the best methods for overcoming any difficulties connected with economic conditions. When electing your ship's committee, you will generally find that the person best fitted to act as job delegate is the fellow hated by your present officials, victimised by the shipowners, and usually referred to as the "sea lawyer."

Remember that the best results are obtained by "solidarity," and "solidarity" is absent where lines of demarcation exist. One ship's committee must link up with other ships' committees; these, in turn, being connected with shore job committees, locally, nationally, and internationally.

Perhaps no one is in a better position than you to see the need of international working-class solidarity. Visiting every part of the world you clearly understand that the conditions of the workers in each country are identical with your own, and the colour of the flag or the colour of the skin makes no difference under Capitalism. If you never realised this before, think it over, and instead of waiting for the overdue "trade revival," get busy immediately in the fight for emancipation. Never forget it is your fight, and some of the sacrifices should be yours also. Prove to the "Journal of Commerce" you are prepared to make your sacrifice, not for the benefit of the shipowner this time, but for the benefit of the working class. These sacrifices, fellow-seamen, will bring joys a million-fold when the workers enter triumphantly their historic Mecca, the Industrial Commonwealth.

"DREADNOUGHT" £500 FUND.

Brought forward: £454 9s.

J. Grove, 10/-; A. B. Rowie, 1/-; D. Paterson, 1/-; J. Graham, 1/-; A. Young, 6d.; J. Reinhart, 6d.; J. Nugent, 6d.; J. Docherty, 6d.; D. Boyle, 6d.; J. Kennedy, 2/-; S. H. Mayes, 6d.; J. Bernstein, 2/6; J. Leakey, £4 10s.; D. Jewson, 5/-; J. E. Keane, 2/-; E. Wright, 4/9 (1/- weekly); W. Carter, 10/-; F. J. Steed, 1/-; F. Brimley, 10/- (monthly); C. Hart, 3/- (monthly); A. L. Wylde Smyth, 1/6; I. A. Cahill, 10/- (monthly); G. R. Bacon, 1/-; Mrs. Wix, 2/6; G. Morris, 5/-; S. Cahill, £1; Mr. Taylor, 2/6; W. P., 10/-; Norwich Comrades, 5/- (monthly); Irene Smith, 2/- (1/- weekly); Per J. Bellamy, 5/-; J. Humphrey, 2/6; C. Drake, 2/7½; A. J. T., 5/-; E. Frisby, 4/-; F. Lawes, 10/-; Co. Ed., 2/6; F. Houghton, 3/6 (1/- weekly); E. Ballam, 7/-; E. Bairstow, 10/-; A. Symes, 1/- (weekly); J. Keane, 1/-; F. Coleman, 3/- (1/- weekly); J. E. Matthews, 2/9; G. F. Sadler, 5/-; N. Cooper, 10/-; J. L., 4d.; Collection, Woolwich Meeting, 3/6; J. Clarke, 2/-; W. B., 1/-; Liverpool Unemployed, 8d.; A. Friend, 3d.; A. Friend, 3d.; Bob Baxter, 1/-; Cutler, 3d.; C.P.G.B., 3d.; Out of Work, 3d.; A. Friend, 1d.; Anon., 6d.; Leigh, 6d.; D. Baxter, 6d.; Nixon, 6d.; Ryan, 3d.; Morgan, 6d.; K. Doherty, 2d.; A. Friend, 2d.; F. Howard, 3d.; W. Murphy, 1/-; H. J. Hall, 3d.; H. Smith, 6d.; A. Barlow, 10/-; D. Batten, 10/-; E. M. Brett, 10/-s. Total for fortnight, £15 19s. 9½d. Total, £470 8s. 9½d.

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Our View.

WHAT WOULD KEIR HARDIE SAY to his thrice - degenerate colleagues or the Labour Party, could he return to see Messrs. Snowden and Thomas dining, at Lord and Lady Astor's, in company with the King and Queen, and Mr. Macdonald the guest of the King at Buckingham Palace? We can well imagine his stern rebuke of their vanity and unfaithfulness. In the early part of 1906 the newly-elected Labour Party held its first congratulatory gathering in one of the dining-rooms of the House of Commons. Keir Hardie, the Chairman of the new Party, of which he had been the forerunner, revealed his distress that his colleagues had already begun to partake of the flesh-pots of Capitalist politics. He declared his intention of forming an "anti-guzzling" League, and appealed for a ring fence to be maintained around the Labour representatives, who, in his view, had gone into Parliament to fight the battles of the working class against the Capitalist system.

These Labour dinners with the King recall the banning of Keir Hardie from the King's garden party, to which all Members of Parliament are invited each year. Keir Hardie never attended such functions; and no specious talk about the constitutional position of the Sovereign could have affected him. He did not even know whether the invitation came regularly or not, so little did it interest him.

It happened that when the Alliance between the Governments of Britain and Czarist Russia was being concluded, and British help was being given to the Czar in crushing the revolution of 1905, a visit of the Czar to this country was proposed. Keir Hardie, in Parliament, protested against both the visit and the Alliance. The result was that King Edward VII. struck Keir Hardie off the Parliamentary garden-party list. Keir Hardie would not have noticed this, out for the fact that Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, who had seconded his protest, had been similarly treated, and brought the matter to his notice.

Keir Hardie raised the matter in the House of Commons, in order that it might be known how the Court endeavours to interfere with the political actions of those who are affected by its patronage.

It is sad, indeed, that those who are in the position of leading the largest working-class party in this country should be learning the manners of courtiers and dancing attendance upon the King.

That Easton Lodge should have been provided as a week-end meeting-place for these gentry, to counter-balance the fact that the Prime Minister runs down to "Checkers" is in keeping with their own view of the fitness of things. Yet the day will come when they will bow their heads before the reproaches of those who have placed them where they are.

THE RHENISH WESTPHALIAN SHOP Stewards' Committee of Twenty-three" has issued a call to the proletariat of Germany, France, Belgium, and Britain. It has limited that call to the proletariat organised in the Second, Two-and-a-Half, and

Third Internationals, and the Amsterdam and Red Internationals of Trade Unions. The appeal is issued, in fact, from the Third international Rightward. The Left is ignored: the Fourth Communist Workers' International, the Anarchist Communists, the revolutionary syndicalism, are left out.

THE SHOP STEWARDS' APPEAL states that the economic life of the Rhineland is paralysed:

The Result of Occupation. "Want and misery are the order of the day. Prices are rising enormously.

"Every new order issued by the German Government forces the workers to fresh acts of sabotage, and drives them nearer to ruin."

FROM THE EDITOR.

Dear Comrades,—

Some of you have responded readily to our appeal for regular weekly or monthly donations to cover the deficit on the paper. Some of you have also increased your orders, and so assisted in reducing the deficit in the most satisfactory way, by also increasing the propaganda.

Some, on the other hand, have written to say that unemployment or other misfortunes prevent you giving such assistance as you would wish. To you we say: Assist in increasing the sales. If you are unemployed, use your time to spread the propaganda.

We have not yet received promises to cover the weekly deficit, and there are liabilities resting upon us which have accumulated because of that deficit. We urgently appeal to those who have not yet responded to fall into line in order that the paper may be secured.

We ask you to take this matter seriously, and join us in making the necessary effort, and join us in making the necessary effort, for, as we stated last week, we cannot continue to bear the burden without further support. The "Workers' Dreadnought" propaganda reaches far beyond these shores.

Our readers are in every country. Kindred papers in India, South Africa, and other British Dominions, and in Germany, Bulgaria, and other foreign countries, reproduce the articles from its columns.

We ask your co-operation in carrying on this work.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

"Every new order of the French military authorities robs the proletarian masses of their liberty and works further havoc."

"It may last five years, says Poincaré. "A struggle to the death," answer the German nationalists.

"The French military is being further mobilised and reinforced. In the unoccupied regions the Fascist bands are continually arming.

"A Rhineland Republic," is Poincaré's slogan.

"A Fascist coup," is the slogan of the German nationalists.

The economic war threatens to develop into a military war, with hand-grenades, poison-gas, and bombs. The destruction of the Ruhr Basin will mean the destruction of Europe and the complete enslavement of the German and French proletarian masses.

In the meanwhile, negotiations are going on between the French and German industrial barons, at the expense of the proletariat. The representative of the Left French bloc, Herriot, announces his approval of the Hugo Stinnes programme. Stinnes and Loucheur are aiming at an "understanding." Should this "understanding" come about, and should the programme of Hugo Stinnes be adopted, then the working masses will be thrown on the street, production reduced, the incentive to work undermined, the economy ruined. Profits, however, will increase."

ANOTHER EUROPEAN IMPERIALIST war or a Capitalist, understanding, both of which spell disaster for the workers, are the two imminent alternatives, declare the Rhenish-West-phalian shop stewards, and

they ask: "Where are the strong Trade Unions, with their millions of workers? Where is the defensive action against German and French imperialism and militarism, and against the French and German Capitalist offensive?"

The disappointed masses are driven into the arms of the National Socialist agents provocateurs, because they see that large organisations refuse to fight."

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OCCUPATION of the Ruhr the Miners' Shop Stewards of the area met in conference and formulated the following demands, which the Committee of Twenty-three is now urging certain German, French, Belgian and British organisations to adopt:

1. Fight along the whole line against every nationalist war.
2. Withdrawal of the Allied occupation troops.
3. Overthrow of the Cuno Government; formation of a Workers' Government, which shall immediately conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with Soviet Russia and pursue a policy of proletarian reconstruction, together with the proletariat of the Entente countries.
4. Immediate introduction of the six-hour shift for the increase of production in the mines. No infringement of the eight-hour day in the remaining industries.
5. Immediate disarmament of counter-revolutionary bands throughout Germany, and the arming of the organised working class.
6. Adequate wages, and the immediate payment of the unpaid wages of the workers. The I.L.P.—if we may call it that—of its representatives as Mr. Macdonald and Messrs. Maxton, Kirkwood, and Wheatley, who recently visited the Rhineland—will prove equally unsatisfactory.
7. The abolition of the 10 per cent. wage tax.
8. The immediate release of all proletarian political prisoners in Germany and France.
9. Full payment for time lost through strikes.

This applies mainly to the internal affairs of Germany. It has only three international clauses: the first, the second, and the eighth, which is incomplete, for why should it not include proletarian political prisoners in Britain and Belgium, of which there would certainly be large numbers should any action of importance develop? The demands for Germany itself are reformist and ill-judged. They are, of course, formulated by Moscow and the Third International. One is constantly amazed by the confusionism emanating from that once hopeful source.

What is meant in clause 3 by the demand for the overthrow of the Cuno Government and the formation of a Workers' Government? The Third International has officially explained, through its mouthpiece, Zinoviev, that a Workers' Government is not the Soviets, but a Parliamentary Government.

How, then, is it proposed to overthrow the Cuno Government and substitute a Workers' Government? If it is to be by the method of the elections, what can a conference, much less an international conference, have to do with that? It is a question for the voters at the polls, and for the organisations which are promoting candidatures. If it were intended to overthrow the present Government of Germany by an international strike, or some other measure of compulsion, then it would be absurd to set up a Parliamentary Government which could not govern Parlia-

mentarily, unless it had a Parliamentary majority. The Fascist dictators could take Parliamentary office by violence, because the Capitalist parties, which held the majority of Parliamentary seats, were not prepared to oppose the Fascist coup; but even the Fascist Government found it wisest to suspend the functions of Parliament and to assume complete dictatorial powers. Should Capitalist Government be overthrown, either in Germany or any other country, it would be fatal to replace it by another Parliamentary Government, however it might be formed. Only through the industrial organisation of the Soviets could the building up of a Communist society be achieved.

The proposals for increasing production in the mines by six-hour shifts, for maintaining the eight-hour day in other industries, for wage increases, payment for strikes, bonuses, cheap food, and the abolition of the wage tax, show that no revolutionary action to overthrow the Capitalist system is intended. There is a complete absence of Communist propaganda and education in this programme.

WHAT, HOWEVER, ARE THE concrete proposals for action made by the Ruhr shop stewards in this Third International Manifesto? These are left entirely

to the projected conference to propose. No suggestion of any kind is made as to what shall be done. Mere resolutions can obviously achieve nothing, yet the Committee of Twenty-three merely calls upon the organisations named to send delegates to the Conference to take place on March 17th at Barmen, in Germany.

Nothing can possibly result from that Conference, because the majority at least of the organisations invited neither intend nor desire to interfere with the action of the Governments.

THE WORKERS OF THE RUHR must expect nothing, and less than nothing, from the British Labour Party, which they have invited to their Conference. The I.L.P.—if we may call it that—of its representatives as Mr. Macdonald and Messrs. Maxton, Kirkwood, and Wheatley, who recently visited the Rhineland—will prove equally unsatisfactory.

MR. WHEATLEY voiced his opinions with an Amazing amazing brutality in the Pro-Capitalist House of Commons on March 6th. He said:

"When you have to face a problem that is essentially economic, you cannot solve that problem by laying moral emphasis on certain national rights."

"There is the French desire for national safety. That must be satisfied, but I do not think it is anything like the main cause of the difficulty. The main trouble is to be found in the fact that a combination of the Ruhr coal and the Lorraine iron ore is desirable economically, but politically it would be disastrous. This is the root of the evil. There are peculiar qualities in the Ruhr coal which make it eminently suitable for use in the treatment of the ore found in the Lorraine district."

It is not through any accident that, immediately France set out to combine the Ruhr coal with the Lorraine iron, the friendship of Britain showed a distinct disposition to be cool. That was due to a realisation by our statesmen that France was becoming, not merely their great military rival, but their great industrial rival in every part of the world."

"You know, also, that, in modern warfare victory will invariably go to the engineer. You know that ownership of all these mineral deposits will make France unquestionably the military superior in Europe, and that having gained the military superiority, she will use that to get those concessions for her surplus capital you are exploiting to-day."

"I think you are perfectly justified in saying to France: 'We recognise that it

you get this power it is going to be bad for us, and before we allow you to be the military boss of Europe, or the industrial boss in the steel markets of the world, we are going to interfere and nip your imperialist career in the bud. We are going to lay down this big principle that, as the various nations have a vital interest in the possession of the Ruhr coal, we want a policy that will give us co-operation in that, and control over that which is essential to our national livelihood."

"It may be asked, if you are going to plead for that, why you should not agree to the internationalism, say, of the coal-fields of Lancashire or Lanarkshire? The fact of the situation is that Germany has lost in the war. She has been beaten to her knees, and according to the rules of war and the rules of competition, and by the admission of Germany herself, she is in debt to a certain extent to the people who beat her in the war."

"You should propose to co-operate with France and Germany and the other interested countries in temporarily, on the principles of internationalism, working the deposits of the Ruhr valley. Your international board of directors would work the Ruhr coalfield subject to the political Government of Germany in exactly the same way as a privately-owned profit-making company would operate it under the German Government. Then the coal in the Ruhr area would be for sale to the highest bidder, and you would get your national industrial safety by paying a higher price for the Ruhr coal than would be paid for it in Germany. I have no doubt that with the co-operation in the control of that economic interest in which we are rivals, we should be laying the foundations of peace for a long time to come."

And buttressing the foundations of Capitalism, it may be added. A pretty plan, indeed, for a "Socialist" to be found advocating! Germany, says Mr. Wheatley, was beaten to her knees in the war, therefore France will secure Germany's industrial wealth. It is not in the interest of British Capitalism that France should thus become its superior; but, says Mr. Wheatley, "we should not embarrass or lecture France"; we should merely insist on sharing the plunder on equal terms.

WHAT OF THE GERMAN WORKERS?

Mr. Wheatley admits they are suffering, though he told the Jingo Capitalist Press that they are better housed and clothed than the Glasgow Workers."

The Enslavement of the Workers. They are better housed and clothed than the Glasgow Workers. He admitted in the House of Commons that the German workers are much worse fed; but he does not consider the conditions in Central Europe are bad enough to justify his supporting a policy, which, in trying to improve those conditions might lead to war.

Mr. Wheatley sees no alternative between going to war with France and joining France in the plunder of Germany.

That the German people should be enslaved to a consortium of foreign Capitalists, with the armies of the Powers behind those Capitalists ready to punish with hideous severity any attempt at revolt appears to Mr. Wheatley a matter of small importance.

WHEN THE ASQUITHIAN LIBERALS

moved a resolution in Parliament that the Ruhr question should be submitted to the League of Nations, the Labour Party supported it in the Division Lobbies; but Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in the "New Leader," wrote that the Liberal resolution was worthless, and that only the Labour Party and the Government are realists in foreign policy.

The Labour Party had itself moved an amendment to the Address to the King, calling for an international Conference to discuss the Ruhr question. The Labour Party

spokesman stated at the time that they were not particularly wedded to the proposal, and now the Labour Party has made another, namely, that the House of Commons should appoint a representative committee from all its political sections to exchange information and views with similar committees to be appointed by the Chambers of France and Belgium. Again Mr. Macdonald and Mr. J. H. Thomas made it plain that they have no special belief in the proposal. Their main anxiety, it appeared, was to hit upon something which could secure a debate. They have not even the faith of Mr. Lloyd George in conferences. Mr. Macdonald went so far as to express sympathy with Mr. Bonar Law's view that "the situation for the moment could not be profitably interfered with." He declared, for his own part, that until there is a change in public opinion in the countries concerned, suggestions of arbitration or conciliation are of no immediate use. He specially emphasised the point that he had no intention of giving the proposed French, Belgian and British Parliamentary Committees the power to negotiate; they were merely to promote a "general indefinite goodwill" and to educate public opinion. "I want to encroach in nothing upon the Executive," he protested.

He was not anxious to press for "definite arrangements." Mr. Macdonald goes cautiously; he creates a vague platitudinous atmosphere that the Labour Party is the creator of better and more humane policies; but as far as he allows his own policy, which is presumably agreed to by his Party as a whole, to be disclosed, it is of precisely the same calibre as those of the Capitalist parties.

Mr. Macdonald suggested that Germany should be induced to declare what she would do, and what obligations she would accept as reasonable. He thought that no Government was in a better position than the British to induce the German Government to speak out. He went on to make an important statement, which shows how far he is from adopting a Socialist view of the International situation:

"So far as I am concerned, I would refer France's security to an all-inclusive League of Nations, and I should be willing to give a pledge, so far as a pledge could be given—and certainly it would be given without any reserve on my part—that when the League of Nations explored the problem of French security . . . and then came to a decision as to how France could best be secured, I should be willing to say, I will accept in substance such a report and such a recommendation from the League of Nations. On the question of reparations, the great point is an immediate payment. France wants an immediate payment. I think the important thing is an International Loan at the same time as a definite settlement is made regarding the amount of Germany's responsibilities."

Thus Mr. Macdonald, of the Union of Democratic Control, who knows so well that Germany was no more responsible for the war than were the Allied Powers, lines up with his Jingo contemporaries in the demand that Germany alone shall make reparation for the Great War crime.

He is a strange successor to Keir Hardie, who, in so many international conferences, pioneered the proposal for the international general strike of the workers against war.

So, if to a painter the question you push—"What's the first part of painting?" he'll say: "A paintbrush."

"And what is the second?" With most modest blush

He'll smile like a cherub, and say: "A paint-brush."

"And what is the third?" He'll bow like a rush,

With a leer in his eye, and reply: "A paint-brush."

Perhaps this is all a painter can want, But look yonder,—that house is the house of Rembrandt. —William Blake.

ESPERANTO.

LESSON 10.

Imperative Mood.

Haltu, halt, stop; **donu**, give; **tenu**, hold. Mi deziras ke vi parolu, I desire that you should speak (or, you to speak).

From the above examples it will be seen that the ending -u expresses a command (or order) or a desire (or wish).

(A desire or wish may be regarded as a command or order expressed in a more polite manner.)

(a) Mi ordonas (I order), ke vi kantu (that you should sing).

Here we have two sentences: (1) Mi ordonas, (2) ke vi kantu, joined together by the conjunction (or connecting word) ke (that). Mi ordonas ke vi kantu means: I order that you sing, or, in better English, I order you to sing.

(b) Li insistis (he insisted), ke mi kantu (that I should sing).

Here we have two similar sentences joined by the conjunction ke (that). Both the words ordonas and insistis imply a command or order; therefore we use after them the form of the verb in -u.

This form of the verb in -u is called the Imperative Mood. It does not express the idea of time (that is done by the endings -as, -is, -os); it conveys the idea of an order, command, desire, wish, or the like.

Haltu! really equals (vi) haltu! (you) halt, stop; but vi (you) is usually omitted in giving a command or order.

We can, however, use the form in -u with the other personal pronouns (mi, li, ni, etc.). The English equivalent is usually **let me, let him, let us, etc.**, thus:

Mi donu, let me give (or, that I may give).

Li donu, let him give (or, that he may give).

Si donu, let her give (or, that she may give).

Ĝi donu, let it give (or, that it may give).

Ni donu, let us give (or, that we may give).

(Vi) donu, (you) give (or, that you may give).

Ili donu, let them give (or, that they may give).

But what, the learner may ask, is a "Mood"? It is simply the mode or manner in which a verb is used. In Esperanto a verb has four moods:

(1) The Indicative Mood. This we use in making a statement or in asking a question; e.g., Mi parolas, I speak; Ĉu vi parolas? Do you speak?

(2) The Imperative Mood (ending in -u), as we have just seen, expresses a command or desire: Ĝi for! Mi deziras, ke vi iru, I desire that you should go (I want you to go).

The other two moods will be given in the next Lesson.

Vocabulary.

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| soldato | soldier |
| diris | said |
| aŭ | or |
| paŝos | shall fire, shoot |
| respondis | replied |
| malamiko | enemy |
| sed | but |
| rediris | said again |
| bone | well |
| do | then (therefore) |
| preter | by, beyond |
| -aĉ | expresses contempt |
| por ke | in order that |
| aŭdu | hear |

Translate: La soldato diris: "Haltu! parolu, aŭ mi paŝos!" Mi respondis: "Ne paŝu! Mi pasu (let me pass). Mi ne estas malamiko, sed amiko." La soldato rediris: "Pasu, amiko. Ĉio bone." Mi do preterpasis. Li ordonis, ke mi haltu; kaj mi haltis. Li deziris, ke mi parolu; kaj mi parolis. Li volis, ke ŝi kantu; do ŝi kantis. Ili kantu (let them sing); ili ne kantaĉu. Ili kantas, por ke mi aŭdu.

LESSONS FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM IN GREECE.

The Hellenes or Greeks, like the Hebrews, as we saw in the two previous lessons, and like all other peoples, passed through their period of primitive Communism. They were organised on the basis of blood relationship into gentes, phratries, and phylens.

Originally the Hellenes raised cattle and tilled the land, and knew nothing of private property or towns; but in the last half of the ninth century B.C., when the oldest Hellenic poetry that has come down to us, the Homeric Iliad or Odyssey, was composed, the Communist period was already passing away. War, trading and sea-faring had undermined the old Communist life; yet it was still looked back to, with longing, as the Golden Age, and the desire for it continued for many generations.

Hesiod, a small peasant of Askra, in Boetia, who lived more than a century later, lamented the disappearance of the Golden Age, "when work was still done for its own sake."

In his "Works and Days" Hesiod says: "Would that then I had not mingled with the fifth race of men, but had either died before or had been born afterwards. For now in truth is the iron race, neither will they ever cease by day nor at all by night from toil and wretchedness, corrupt as they are, but the gods will give them severe cares."

"Nor will sire be like-minded to sons, nor sons at all to parent, nor will brother be dear, even as it was aforetime to brother."

"Might is right, and one will sack the city of another; nor will there be any favour to the trusty nor the just, nor the good, but rather they will honour a man that doeth evil and is overbearing."

"But senseless is he who chooses to contend against them that are stronger, and he is robbed of victory, and suffers grief in addition to indignities."

Anacreon, who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C., declared money to be the source of all evil (see his poem in last week's "Dreadnought").

The Odyssey tells of the wanderings of Ulysses and of the property he collected during his travels. The thirst for wealth had become the passion of the ruling class. In Homeric times cattle served as a measure of value and a medium of exchange. Later came copper and iron coins. Gold and silver appeared in the eighth century.

The small land workers fell into debt, interest was high. Debtors who were unable to pay, fell with their families, into slavery. Craftsmen also lost their independence. Increased sheep-raising led to the breaking up of numerous small farmsteads and the creation of wide pastures, just as in England many centuries later.

At Megara, between Corinth and Athens, in the year 649 B.C. the starving disinherited masses fell upon the flocks of the large landlords and slaughtered them. There was increased social ferment in the ninth century. The Demos, as the Greeks called the enslaved workers, had not yet forgotten the old equality. The proper organisation of society, Communism, slavery, and theories of all kinds were constantly discussed by the Greeks.

Lycurgus, ruler of Sparta, as to whose actual date historians are at variance, is said to have introduced a species of Communism there between 825 and 371 B.C. Finding excessive inequality amongst the citizens and wealth centred in the hands of the few, possess an equal holding. He divided the land he re-divided the land in order that all might land of Sparta into 9,000 lots, and that of the rest of Laconia into 30,000 lots. To prevent the accumulation of much money by anyone he stopped the currency of gold and silver coin, and ordered that only iron money should be used, assigning but a small value to a very large quantity and weight of iron. To

accommodate 10 minae, worth about £31 10s., a whole room was required, and no less than a whole oxen could remove it. Stealing and bribery ceased in Laconia under these conditions. Lycurgus also put an end to unprofitable arts. Trade and shipping ceased. Meats were simple and taken in common. They consisted of soup, bread, cheese, wine, figs and vegetables, sometimes of game or meat. Physical culture and sports were given an important place. The youths, and also the maidens, took part in running, wrestling, quoits and dart throwing, singing and dancing. They appeared at the festivals nude. The healthy children were thus nurtured, the defective were cast aside. The citizens neither knew nor desired private life. They thirsted for honour and the public good. As a result of all this it was said: "Sparta is far above all other States, and in comparison with Athens it is like a meeting of men contrasted with the chattering of women in a boudoir." The Spartans, however, drew no such unfavourable distinction against women, for the women of Sparta shared with the men the deeds of bravery and honour.

The Communism of Lycurgus in Sparta applied, however, only to the citizens, and beneath the citizens were the slaves. Historians differ how far it was Communism even amongst the citizens. It seems to have been a having and enjoying goods in common, not a Communist production. There was, however, much equality, and education was free and compulsory for all citizens.

Plutarch says that in the system of Lycurgus there were three classes of citizens: first the governing, second the police or military, third the burgher or business class. The mechanics and land workers did not belong to these classes. They were deemed mean and unworthy. These workers were slaves known as Helots. They wore dogskin hats and sheepskin breeches, and went in gangs under brutal overseers. They were flogged once a day as a warning against revolt, and obliged to stoop and crawl in obsequious attitudes. All this was decreed by law.

Five magistrates, called "Ephori," were elected annually to strengthen the principles of democracy amongst the citizens, and to see to the complete subjection of the slaves. Periodically the ephori decreed a slaughter of the Helots, and then the young men who were citizens of Sparta went out armed with daggers into the fields and woodlands, lay in wait for slaves who were working there, and stabbed them suddenly.

(To be continued.)

IRISH DEPORTATIONS.

The right of political asylum, of which, in the days of our fathers, this country was proud to consider itself the upholder, received a mortal blow when 1914 placed the Defence of the Realm Act on the Statute Book, by consent of all parties in Parliament.

The deportation, without trial, of 110 Irish Republicans, some of whom happen to be British subjects, is a piece of very flagrant tyranny. It illuminates the fact that political liberty has all but vanished from the British Isles.

The affair is the more terrible because the men and women who have been deported will probably be murdered by the Free State Government as an act of reprisal for anything that may happen to take place in the Irish struggle.

The Labour Members of Parliament protested with some vigour against the deportations; but they did not protest when the Lloyd George Government forced the Free State Treaty upon the Republican negotiators under threat of a war of extermination. The Labour Party approved, and still defends, that Treaty of Coercion which is the cause of the still-continuing Republican war in Ireland. Those who support the Treaty should not be too nice about the manner of its enforcement, for the temper of the Republicans is such that they will not submit.

Parliament As We See It.

Every day the Parliamentary questions and answers throw light on the callousness of Capitalist Government.

HOW THEY PENSION THE POOR.

99,000 cases have been heard by the Pensions Appeal Tribunal, 72,000 cases have been decided against the unfortunate appellants who have gone empty away.

T. R. Heward, of York, whilst engaged in shunting on the railway, died from the effects of shrapnell embedded in the heart, received during war service. An x-ray examination would have revealed the shrapnell and shown that Heward ought not to have done manual work. Nevertheless, his pension was stopped last January, on the ground that he was cured.

HOW THEY PENSION THEMSELVES.
The ex-Cabinet Ministers and ex-Lord Chancellors now receiving pensions are as follows:
Lord George Hamilton, served 20 years 8 months as Minister, received £79,625 in salary, has since received £44,306 9s. 3d. in pension, at the rate of £2,000 a year.

Viscount Chaplin, served as Minister 8 years 4 months, received £16,667 in salary, and has since received £24,927 2s. 1d. in pension, at the rate of £1,200 a year.

Earl Loreburn, served as Lord Chancellor 6 years 6 months, received £65,019 14s. 2d. as salary in that office, and £6,000 a year as President of the Chancery Division of the High Court, and £4,000 a year as Speaker of the House of Lords, and extra remuneration as a Law Officer of the Crown, has received £46,396 4s. 6d. in pension at half-pay rate of £2,500 a year.

Viscount Haldane of Cloan, served as Lord Chancellor 2 years 11 months, receiving £29,587 18s. 2d. in salary, and £1,500 per month. He was also Secretary of State for War 6 years 6 months, and received £32,500 for that. He also got £6,000 a year as President of the Chancery Division of the High Court, and £4,000 a year as Speaker of the House of Lords, also further remuneration as a Law Officer of the Crown. He has received pension of £38,049 9s., at the rate of £5,000 a year.

Lord Buckmaster served as Chancellor only 1 year 6 1/2 months, for which service he was paid £15,392 7s. 8d., and has since received £30,353 5s. 3d. in pension, at the rate of £5,000 a year. He also has £6,000 a year as President of the Chancery Division of the High Court, and £4,000 a year as Speaker of the House of Lords. This does not include his remuneration as Law Officer of the Crown.

Earl Birkenhead served as Lord Chancellor for 3 years 9 months and got £37,794 1s. 8d. for his work during the period. He now gets £5,000 a year as pension, and he also served as President of the Chancery Division of the High Court, Speaker of the House of Lords, and got £10,000 a year for these offices. He also was paid as Law Officer of the Crown, the amount not being given.

NO DOLES FOR TEACHERS.

Teachers are unemployed because the authorities are economising at the expense of children's education. The teachers do not come under the National Insurance Acts. They can only go to the Guardians when out of work.

Mr. Will Thorne, no longer called "Colonel," the one-time "Red Flagger," demanded representation on the West Ham Pensions Committee for the potential White Guards of the South West Ham branch of the British Legion.

GRAFT!

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the Government will not disclose the prices obtained by it for the munitions depots and other war-time works it is

selling up, nor will it disclose the names of the purchasers.

An efficient method of concealing graft!

"A GOOD DOMESTIC SERVANT."

In the unemployment debate, Lady Astor said: "If you get a good domestic servant, someone who knows her job, your home life is made easier." Of course; but what about the working mother of a large family, living in a slum?

She added: "Whatever I have done, I can truthfully say that if I had not had some most willing and skilled domestics, I should never have been able to do it."

Quite so; but Lady Astor would not have been able to employ the army of domestic servants who attend on her various households had she not been possessed of considerable wealth. The question is whether Lady Astor's usefulness to society as an upholder of Tory Government is sufficient to justify a large number of people being employed solely in ministering to her comfort, her luxury and her grandeur. We think not.

Lady Astor declared that domestic service is another form of national service. Let her try it, then!

THE SCANDAL OF IT.

Lady Astor further observed that the unemployed girls must be trained before they can be received into the houses of their employers, for many of them "do not know how to lay a table." The Government has spent £20 a head in three months' training of these girls. Lady Astor was proud of that, she said. To us, however, it seems a scandal that the girls are first reared in such poverty that they cannot learn by experience how a comfortable home is managed; and then a little of the wealth wrung from productive labour is spared, in order that these poor girls may be taught how the well-to-do desire their abundant comforts to be served up to them.

IN AND OUT OF OFFICE.
The Labour Party moved to reduce the Civil Service Estimates by £100, as a protest against the inadequacy of the provision for unemployment.

Mr. Nevill Chamberlain, the New Minister of Health, admitted that before he took office he accompanied a deputation to the Prime Minister, urging that unemployment should be made a national charge, because the burden falls unfairly on the poorer districts. Now, however, he said that a national scheme would be difficult to apply, and no considerable change may be expected.

Capitalist politicians are all much the same, and nothing satisfactory will be organised within the Capitalist system.

THE COST OF THE WAR.

The British Empire sent 9,496,370 men to fight in the war; 946,023 were killed, 2,121,906 were wounded. Between April 1st, 1914, and March 31st, 1919, £9,590,000,000 was spent on the war. It was raised as follows:

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Direct taxation | £ 1,820,000,000 |
| Indirect taxation, etc. | 910,000,000 |
| Borrowed at home | 5,500,000,000 |
| Borrowed abroad | 1,360,000,000 |
| That £5,500,000,000 borrowed at home from the patriots who shouted for the war is a heavy drain on us all now. | |

Every man who fought in the war cost £1,000, including his keep, transport, and ammunition, etc.
The shareholders in War Loan will cost the country many, many times more than that before we are done with paying interest to them.
£750,000,000 worth of shipping was lost at sea by enemy action, and 22,000 civilian lives £470,000,000 was spent on war pensions between August 1st, 1914, and March 31st, 1923. The estimated capital liability for war pensions in the future is £832,000,000, making a total of £1,302,000,000.

Other important expenditure arising from the war is as follows:

| | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| Unemployment | £ 400,000,000 |
| Housing | 225,000,000 |
| Railway and Canal Agreements | 203,000,000 |
| Ministries of Munitions and Shipping | 36,500,000 |
| Compensation for damage by enemy | 5,000,000 |
| Coal Mines Deficiencies | 48,000,000 |
| Bread Subsidy | 101,500,000 |
| Liquidation of: War Loans to Allies and Dominions: Capital. Capital and Unpaid Interest to £ £ France 453,000,000 584,000,000 | |
| Italy | 382,000,000 503,000,000 |
| Other Allies | 659,000,000 48,000,000 |
| Dominions | 150,000,000 150,000,000 |
| Total | 1,644,000,000 2,078,000,000 |

Post War Loans 33,000,000
Occupation of Constantinople ... 20,000,000
Britain got £12,485,000 worth of shipping from Germany.

SNOWDEN ON DRINK AND CRIME.

On the Bill to prevent alcohol being served to children under 18, Mr. Philip Snowden quoted Justice Salter in saying that half the crime of the country is due to drink, and the other half is indirectly due to drink.

Our reply is that all the crime of the country is due to the Capitalist system and its customs, and the greater part of it is due to poverty.

The Bill was read a second time, but the Government offered no facilities for it.

ARMY COSTS INCREASE.

In 1913 the Director of Staff Duties was paid £1,500; he now gets £2,103. There were three first-grade Staff Officers getting £800 a year each. There are now six getting £1,335 a year each. There were nine second-grade General Staff Officers getting £650 a year each. There are now ten getting £900 a year each.

Why these increases?
Because militant imperialism is in the ascendant, and another war expected soon.

PATRIOTISM OF THE POCKET.

It was asserted that the French action in the Ruhr is enabling British firms to get higher prices for coal, coke, and pig iron in Germany than at home, and that the patriots concerned are therefore starving British industry in quest of higher profits.

'Twas ever so under the profit-making system.

IRELAND.

With British Government sanction, the Free State Government is collecting for itself arrears of income tax due to the British Treasury. This shows the kindly bond of friendship between the two Governments.

The British Government gave £2,850,000 as a grant in aid for the Special Constabulary of Northern Ireland last year, and will give £1,500,000 for next year.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

The Labour Party Mothers' Pensions Bill lost the Second Reading by 184 votes to 248.

SHINWELL'S SOLIDARITY WITH SHIPOWNERS.

On the Fees (Increase) Bill, which provides for charging higher fees to shipowners for various Government services, Mr. Shinwell (Lab.) got up and defended the interests of the shipowners. He followed in the footsteps of Mr. J. H. Thomas, who always defends the interests of the railway magnates.

Where are the Big Trade-Unions?

"Where are the great Trade Unions?" ask the shop stewards of the Ruhr. They may well ask that question, fellow-worker. The great Trade Unions, both nationally and internationally, have passed resolutions against the French occupation of the Ruhr, but they have taken no action to stop it.

French Trade Unionists went into the Ruhr to operate the railways and telegraphs some weeks ago. Now French Trade Unionists have actually gone to the German mines to fetch the coal away. They are escorted by French troops, all well armed, in case the German Trade Unionists should object to such infamous blacklegging.

The French Trade Unions have placed no embargo upon such action by their members. Their officials have spoken on platforms against the action of the French Government, but they have given their members the word to help the Government in every way. What about the British Labour Party?

To be sure, it has passed resolutions as usual, fellow-workers, but it has made no attempt to back up those resolutions.

It might have placed an embargo upon goods intended for France until France comes out of the Ruhr. It has not done that.

Indeed no, fellow-worker. So far from that, three of the Labour M.P.s—Messrs. Maxton, Kirkwood, and Wheatley—who went to the Ruhr, came back and made a public announcement that French Capitalists should be encouraged to carry on in the Ruhr, provided the British Capitalists are given a share of the plunder. In the House of Commons Mr. Wheatley explained very fully that if British Capitalists are given a share he has no objection to the French action.

Nevertheless, Mr. Wheatley will have no objection to going up to a demonstration on Glasgow Green to pass a resolution against the occupation of the Ruhr, or anything else which happens to be the topic of the hour.

"Where, indeed, are the great Trade Unions?"

Of course, fellow-worker, they are just where they were on Black Friday in this country and in every other country at every other critical moment in the history of the world and the workers for these many years past.

Indeed, fellow-worker, it is not in foreign affairs only that the great Trade Unions are found wanting.

Have you forgotten the wages cuts of the last two years? Have you forgotten the unemployed? Have you forgotten the widows and orphans and the disabled soldiers? Have you forgotten Conscription, D.O.R.A., and the Munitions Act? Have you forgotten the Treasury Agreement between the Government and the Trade Union leaders, and the fact that the shop stewards' movement grew up like a mushroom to protect the workers, because the Trade Union leaders had made an alliance with the Government and the employers and the workers had no power over the Trade Unions?

Remember that lesson, fellow-workers. Act on that lesson; build your Workshop Councils as you did in the Capitalist war. Every day they become more necessary to you. Your leaders are working in friendly alliance with the Government and the employers. If that were not the case they would certainly not be invited to dine in Buckingham Palace with the King.

Koir Hardie was not thus complimented when he denounced the alliance with Czarist Russia and the preparations he already saw being made for the Great Capitalist War which broke out in 1914.

Build your Workshop Councils, fellow-workers; they are essential to your struggle with Capitalism. Build your Workshop Councils with the object of changing the system and hoisting the Red Flag of the International Confederation of Workers' Republics in every part of the world.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Other Meetings.

South London Socialist Club, 131-3 Newington Causeway, S.E.1. Sunday, March 25th, 6 p.m. Discussion on "The Money Question and Communism," opened by Sylvia Pankhurst. Admission free. Refreshments at moderate prices.

Willesden Green, Hamilton Hall, 375 High Road, Wednesday, March 21st, 7.30 p.m. Debate, S. P. Viant and Sylvia Pankhurst, on "Can the workers emancipate themselves through Parliament?"

Parliament as We See It.

WAGES.

Agricultural labourers of Ludlow and Wrestlingworth are on strike against wages of 21/3 per week. The rent of Council houses in the locality, in which some of them live, is 10/4 a week.

A lad of 17, employed at Weir's, of Cathcart, Rutherglen, as a machinist, is paid 11/6 a week for 47 hours, with 1/- deducted for insurance and 1/6 car fares.

RHINELAND RAILWAYS.

In Rhineland High Commission, on which the British representative does not vote, has transferred the control of all Rhineland railways, except those in the British zone, to a Franco-Belgian Commission. The British can no longer get to Berlin except by passing through the French and Belgian armies.

MINIMUM WAGE.

Dr. Salter (Lab.) moved a resolution asking for a Government Commission of Inquiry into the possibility of re-establishing a minimum wage. The motion was defeated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A. B. Dunbar writes from Johannesburg:

"During the trials and executions, we of the Fourth International arranged to have joint meetings with the Third Section, but these are drawing to a close. To preach against Parliamentary action and at the same time to justify it is too absurd. To tell the workers the Trade Unions are obsolete, and then advise the workers to join them, is also absurd.

Parliament is a Capitalist machine pure and simple. Trade Unions are Capitalist machines simple and pure (?). The Third Section says you cannot reform Parliament and you cannot reform Capitalist Society. I agree with that. I take it that the Capitalist State must die before we have Communism. The Trade Unions are part of the State, perhaps unconsciously, but part nevertheless.

Enteric has broken out in the slums of Johannesburg. The Medical Officer has issued instructions to the people to boil the water. He should have added some meat and vegetables to boil in the water. Hungry children are sent to school, smallpox breaks out, and the doctors get busy with lance and vaccine—a poor substitute for food."

Dear Editor,—

The social arrangement in which we live now is not a "Capitalist" or "Competitive" system, but is a "Property" system. It is based on the idea of owning things. It evolves Capitalists, competition, and every other unhappy, unwholesome feature of life as we know it in the world to-day.

This idea leads inevitably to:

Slavery, either to property or a master.
Selfish activity, necessary in order to live.
Selfish factions, endlessly, everywhere.
Selfish contention between and among these factions.

Centralisation of ownership.
Centralisation of populations.
Vice, crime, and disease.

Final intensification of contention to such a point that violence develops, destroys the structure finally, and the Haves got away with the property involved and the Have Nots go away empty.

That is the basic law of all economics, in outline. Again, it is the life history of every organisation of men based on that idea of owning things.

That is what is the matter with you, brother; you are a Have Not. If you are poor and "hard up," you are a loser at the get game, the property game. Hence you are a bonehead and a fool if you go on for ever playing that game.

game at which you are a "failure."

Instead of wasting time trying to get "office" or to get some "good" laws or to get more wages, join with your fellows in building a Universal Industrial Union of Propertyless people, in which the first stipulation is that you do not own anything, and the next that you will for ever give up the idea of owning anything and the activities that grow out of that idea.

Join hands now, to-day, with any one, two or more of your fellows of like mind, in establishing a common eating table and common dwelling for the group. Henceforth such "jobs" as you may have belong to the group and the pay cheques are brought home to a common fund. From this fund food, clothing, and shelter for the group are provided on as economical terms as possible. Whatever possible is always saved for future development. Anyone idle for the moment, or an older member incapacitated for outside work, may be the home keeper, the business agent, as it were, the "father," and manage the necessary "business" of the group for the time being.

GERALD GERALDSON.

New York City, U.S.A.

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