

Newcastle Baton Charges.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. VIII. No. 52.

SATURDAY MARCH 11TH, 1922.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR STRUGGLE.

By L. A. Motler,

The gold and coal strike takes up all the column headings of the *Rand Daily Mail*, the only Daily since it amalgamated with the *Transvaal Leader*. Of course, the strike is much like any other—the leaders play a great part and make all the noise. They are called hot-headed extremists, or statesmen-like politicians, according as they please the papers.

It is said here that Sir Abe Bailey owns the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Johannesburg Sunday Times*, and that the *Star*—the evening paper here—is run, or controlled by the Chamber of Mines; but I do not know whether this is true.

The Colour Bar.

There are still some "loyalists" at work, and the "essential services" are kept running. You know, of course, that the mining here is done by blacks under the supervision of whites, the latter doing all the skilled work. There is a certain fixed proportion of blacks to whites, and this is termed the "colour bar." The present strike revolves round this colour bar, the dismissal of 2,000 whites being admitted as a possibility by the Chamber of Mines, if the employers should have things their own way. The Chamber asserts, however, that it would not interfere with the "legal colour bar"—which is quite possible, since we know who makes these legal definitions.

The "Commandoes."

A novelty has been introduced into this strike. At first it amused the daily press, but, as it developed, the press suddenly discovered that "public opinion was growing uneasy," and that "the authorities were contemplating certain steps in view of eventualities." I am referring to the *commando* system. As you will perhaps be aware, the Boers used to raise commandoes, in each town or burg, the burghers being "commandeered" for active service. In certain respects this may have savoured of conscription. But apparently the Boers did not meet with any conscientious objections.

Revenons a nos commandos. I believe the commandoes raised among the strikers were, in the first place, voluntary. Probably it was an idea mooted by the Dutch section of the white miners. (I should have said that the blacks were sent in trainloads back to their kraals in native territories or reservations whence they were recruited for mine work here. This is a precaution of the authorities against a race war or a native riot, or possibly a native strike—the latter is not probable in view of the "colour bar" question raised, any increase of the natives of the mines being stated to be a danger to the white community.)

The Reef (or Rand, which is short for Witwatersrand—the Reef of White Waters), as you know, extends east and west of South Johannesburg. Seventy miles in length it is, I believe. At certain spots on the Reef, towns have sprung up, inhabited mostly by the miners, with "locations" of tin huts for the natives. It is among these Reef towns that the "Commando Bacillus" has been busy.

The strikers form into bodies and go through "physical jerks" and marching evolutions. At first, as I said, the press treated this with amused tolerance. The strikers said it was a way of keeping fit. The leaders said it was a way of keeping the men orderly. Very good. The press was satisfied. The public—according to the press—was amused. There was no real military formation. The instructors evidently had no Army experience. The commandoes were



"LESS WE FORGET."

Society Disowns Us! Therefore We Disown Society.

pet-bugs of the Dutch section, and the British ex-Service strikers were holding aloof.

Then the commandoes took to marching *en masse* on mines and interviewing "essential men" and managers. The leaders also talked about "pulling out scabs." The press began to hint at violence. The police had been very patient so far. They had met, body to body, each commando as it turned up near the mines, and usually the commando "eventually dispersed." But . . .

Bob Waterston's Army.

The attention of the press then became focussed on "Bob Waterston's Army." Photos were shown of the commandoes in training, throwing mounted men. As the police here are, for the most part, mounted and armed, the inference was obvious. Then a Red Cross organisation was discovered marching behind the commando, with waggons on which the Red Cross was dis-

played. The leaders explained this by saying the men sometimes fell when marching, met with minor accidents at drill, etc. The press then discovered that the use of the Red Cross by amateurs was illegal. The leaders triumphantly pointed out that their Red Cross instructor was a fully qualified man, entitled to all Red Cross privileges and insignia. The press is now hunting for a new reason. In the meantime it has its attention focussed on Bob Waterston's Army. Bob, I may say, being a Labour leader in a

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practically new country, has the press sized up, and so has a few tricks of his own. He calls the commandos out for next morning at 7 a.m. to receive orders.

At 7 a.m. he meets them accordingly, but gets upon a waggon and explains that the idea of "taking Brakpan" is off. We might take it, but could not hold it; and if we could, it would not be worth holding. He believed in a revolution, but not in anything that would simply mean a fiasco. The Chamber of Mines was only waiting for an excuse of individual violence to turn the police on them as they had done in 1913. The police were being well fed by the Citizens' Protection Association—and this was supported by firms in the Rand who had made fortunes out of the workers by selling them imported goods at 100 to 500 per cent. over home prices. Appeals were being made for papers and comforts for the poor police (laughter), but none for the strikers or their wives and children.

The Citizens' League.

When the workers stopped the trams in 1913, the Citizens' League, in conjunction with the automobile clubs, rushed motor cars to the town and carried passengers free. Last week, when the Municipal Council stopped the trams for a few days, the press inveighed against the gold miners as the cause, but the Citizens' League rushed no cars to the front. Their intention was to get the tram-travelling public turned against the strikers. But since the trams had resumed, it must be taken that this policy had failed. It had only exasperated the public against the Municipal Council. This Council was now reactionary, as the Labour majority had been reduced at the recent elections. This proved that the Chamber of Mines had only been waiting for the "Labs" to be turned out of the Council, in order to start its wage reduction, staff reduction and abolition of the colour bar. In the meantime the programme was: reassemble at 9 a.m. to pull out "scabs." Trust your leaders. The Executive were holding an important meeting; details would be issued to the commandos at next meeting.

The strikers have been having the Town Hall here (Johannesburg) for meetings practically every morning. Nationalist political leaders have sometimes spoken—men like Telman Roos have told the strikers that the Boer farmers were behind them: they were sending food for the distressed; but, of course, it was understood that there would be no violence.

There is a great deal of talk about dislike of violence; the police crouching, ready to spring as soon as a window was broken.

Blowing Up Railway.

There has been a bit of railway blowing-up at Springs and Anzac Halt. It has been pretty darkly hinted who are responsible. The South African State Railways has offered a reward of £300 for the offender, or for the conviction of anyone about to blow up the railway.

THE ABOVE IN ITALICS SHOULD BE TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE FACT THAT WHERE THE RAILS HAVE BEEN BLOWN UP, THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN ON THE SPOT BEFORE A TRAIN HAS PASSED. This seems to point out that American methods of "frame-ups" and "planting dynamite" are not unknown here. If anyone wanted to derail a train carrying, say, "scab coal," the S.A. Railway has plenty of isolated parts where a blow-up would first be noticed by a train that hit it. A miner, I may add, is an expert dynamiter, and has, indeed, to have a certificate to that effect, called a Blasting Certificate.

Nationalist "Republicans."

I have already referred to certain Nationalists supporting the strikers. The Nationalists are to a certain extent Republicans—that is to say, if they got a Parliamentary majority, they would still talk of a Republic, but would probably do nothing effective. The point, however, is that they seemed to have joined with the "abs." in trying to make some political capital out of the strike. This can be seen from to-day's *Rand*

Daily Mail column headings:—

"A Revolt Proposed." "Strikers Vote in Favour of S.A. Republic." "Strike in Brief." "Demand for Republic." "Dramatic Move At Town Hall Meeting." "Commandos Move."

The above seem to be rather startling. But take a look at the adjoining columns:—

"Pulling Out To-day." "Commandos to Meet." "Movement to be Perfectly Peaceful." "Revolutionary Strike." "Kentrige and Bolshevism." "Reply to Sir Abe Bailey." "Commission Advocated."

"Must Have Security." "Men's Views at Town Hall." "Determined to See Things Through." "Confident Speeches."

You can see then that nothing drastic is really proposed. It is merely being talked about. The "revolt proposed" seems to be nothing more than an assemblage of M.L.A.s (M.P.s) at Pretoria. As you know, Parliament was to meet this month, but it had been prorogued to a later date. Nationalist and Labour M.P.s have been calling for the assemblage of Parliament in Johannesburg. Cape Town is, however, the Parliamentary capital, so legal difficulties are in the way. The Nationalists and Labourists say this can be covered by an Indemnity Act, such as the Government passed to indemnify itself after its deportation of the Labour leaders in 1914.

It would seem, then, that since Smuts, the Premier, refused to convoke Parliament, either at Pretoria or Johannesburg (Smuts is himself at Pretoria, 30 miles from here, an hour's journey by car, or a little more by train) the idea of the Nationalists and Labourists is to assemble themselves, proclaim a Provisional Government, and proceed to settle the strike—without violence, of course. Probably Smuts will disperse the "Provisional Government" and proceed to settle the strike on his own lines, in conjunction with the Chamber of Mines.

Parliament Asked to Meet.

The resolution proposed by Bob Waterston, M.L.A., and passed at the Town Hall, is as follows:—

"That this mass meeting of citizens is of opinion that the time has arrived when the domination of the Chamber of Mines and other financiers in South Africa should cease, and to that end we ask the members of Parliament assembled in Pretoria to-morrow to proclaim a South African Republic, and immediately to form a Provisional Government for this country."

Carried, with but two dissentients, the resolution was sent to Pretoria.

The Editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* has this to say of the resolution:—

"... We do not imagine for a moment that the request will be acceded to. The Members of the House of Assembly who take the trouble to attend in Pretoria to-day will, of course, be strong opponents of the Government; but we doubt if any considerable number of them will be prepared to embark upon high treason, followed by civil war. . . . However, we do not think for a moment that the Provisional Government will ever be formed, for every level-headed Nationalist will promptly repudiate the whole business."

He then goes on in the old strain, about the Government having been very patient so far (presumably Smuts and his few colleagues are supposed to be THE Government); but when we are menaced by revolt and civil war . . . etc.

So you will see that nothing serious need be anticipated. The strike will probably go the usual way of all strikes without a definite revolutionary and economically social tendency.

The Life of the Native.

A word may be added here about the natives. They are paid, roughly, 3/6 a day, and live in "locations" formed of ramshackle tin roofed huts. They are imported from native reservations for a certain period. Then they return to their kraals. The natives have to pay certain taxes to their chief as well as a poll tax. To get this money they leave the kraal for a period and hire themselves out in industrial or domestic service. (Our house here employs four natives:

a cook at £5 per mth; a houseboy at £4; two garden boys at £3 10s., food and lodging thrown in.)

The natives have to have passes, and native constables roam about, asking to see the passes as they think fit. Native convicts wear red shirts or jerseys, and, under an armed white guard and a native policeman armed with a long-bladed spear (assegai), perform road work, or they can be hired to work on gardens, tennis courts, etc. Natives never do skilled work; in the same way, whites are not allowed to do labouring work. A native can usually find employment where his white brother cannot. Hence we have 120,000 "poor whites" in the Union of South Africa.

Employers of natives have to have a monthly licence, and the native has a paper on which are detailed the name of his employer, wages, and his own description, with chief's name and native kraal. The passes for going from one place to another are signed by the employer—when for leave in town, or any other place during employment—and by the Native Pass Office in other cases.

It will be seen, then, that since the natives mostly seek work to pay off taxes and then return to their kraals till the next tax has to be earned, it is not easy to organise them. The state of the locations does not encourage them to settle outside the kraals (which are in the open country, and composed of grass and mud huts). Their education is poor, their morals are bad when beyond control of their kraal-chief, but they are most orderly and lead a happy-go-lucky life at the kraals.

I must add that money earned above what is due for taxes they use to buy cattle with when they return to the kraals.

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THE WAGE SYSTEM.

III.

We have said that most Collectivist writers demand that in a Socialist society, remuneration should be based upon a distinction between qualified or professional labour and simple labour. They assert that an hour of the engineer's, the architect's or the doctor's work should be counted as two or three hours' work from the blacksmith, the mason or the nurse. And the same distinction, say they, ought to be established between workers whose trades require a longer or shorter apprenticeship and those who are merely day-labourers.

This is the case in the present middle-class society; it must be the case in the future society of Collectivism.

Yes, but to establish this distinction is to maintain all the inequalities of our existing society. It is to trace out beforehand a demarcation between the worker and those who claim to rule him. It is still to divide society into two clearly-defined classes: an aristocracy of knowledge above, a property-handed democracy below; one class devoted to the service of the other; one class toiling with its hands to nourish and clothe the other, whilst that other profits by its leisure to learn how to dominate those who toil for it.

This is to take the distinctive features of middle-class society, and sanction them by a social revolution. It is to erect into principle an abuse which is to-day condemned in the society which is breaking up.

We know very well what will be said in answer. We shall be told about "Scientific Socialism." The middle-class economists, and Marx, too, will be cited to prove that there is a good reason for a scale of wages, for the "labour force" of the engineer costs society more than the "labour force" of the navy. And, indeed, have not the economists striven to prove that, if the engineer is paid twenty times more than the navy, it is because the cost necessary to produce an engineer is more considerable than that necessary to produce a navy? And has not Marx maintained that the like distinction between various sorts of manual labour is of equal logical necessity? He could come to no other conclusion, since he took up Ricardo's theory of value and insisted that products exchange in proportion to the quantity of the work socially necessary to produce them.

But we know also how much of this to believe. We know that if the engineer, the scientist and the doctor are paid to-day ten or a hundred times more than the labourer, and the weaver earns three times as much as the toiler in the fields and ten times as much as the match girl, it is not because what they receive is in proportion to their various costs of production. Rather it is in proportion to the extent of monopoly in education and in industry. The engineer, the scientist and the doctor simply draw their profits from their own sort of capital—their degree, their certificates—just as the manufacturer draws a profit from the mill, or as a nobleman used to do from his birth and title.

When the employer pays the engineer twenty times more than the workman, he makes this very simple calculation: if an engineer can save him £4,000 a year in cost of production, he will pay him £800 a year to do it. And if he sees a workman is a clever sweater and can save him £400 in handicraft he at once offers him £90 a year. He expends £100 where he counts upon gaining £1,000; that is the essence of the capitalist system. And the like holds good of the differences in the various trades.

Where, then, is the sense of talking of the cost of production of labour force, and saying that a student who passes a merry month at the University has a right to ten times higher wages than the son of a miner who has pined in a pit since he was eleven? Or that a weaver has a right to wages three or four times as high as those of an agricultural labourer? The expenditure needed to produce a weaver is not four times as great as the necessary cost of producing a field worker. The weaver simply benefits by the advantageous position which industry enjoys in Europe as compared with parts of the world where at present there is no industrial development.

No one has ever estimated the real cost of production of labour force. And if an idler costs society much more than an honest workman, it still remains to be known if, when all is told (infant mortality amongst the workers, the ravages of anæmia, the premature deaths), a sturdy day labourer does not cost society more than an artisan.

Are we to be told that, for example, the 1s. a day of a London workwoman, and the 3d. a day of the Auvergne peasant who blinds herself over lace-making, represent the cost of production of these women? We are perfectly aware that they often work for even less, but we know, also, that they do it entirely because, thanks to our splendid social organisation, they would die of hunger without these ridiculous wages.

The existing scale of wages seems to us a highly complex product of taxation, Government interference, monopoly and capitalistic greed—in a word—of the State and the capitalist system. In our opinion, all the theories made by economists about the scale of wages, have been invented after the event, to justify existing injustices. It is needless to regard them.

We are, however, certain to be informed that the Collectivist wage scale will, at all events, be an improvement. "You must admit," we shall be told, "that it will, at least, be better to have a class of workers paid at twice or three times the ordinary rate, than to have Rothschilds, who put into their pockets, in one day, more than a workman can in a year. It will be a step towards equality."

To us it seems a step away from it. To introduce into a Socialist society the distinction between ordinary and professional labour would be to sanction by the Revolution and erect into a principle, a brutal fact, to which we merely submit to-day, considering it all the while as unjust. It would be acting after the manner of those gentlemen of the Fourth of August, 1789, who proclaimed, in high-sounding phraseology, the abolition of feudal rights and on the Eighth of August sanctioned those very rights by imposing upon the peasants the dues by which they were to be redeemed from the nobles. Or, again, like the Russian Government, at the time of the emancipation of the serfs, when it proclaimed that the land henceforth belonged to the nobility, whereas previously it was considered an abuse that the land which belonged to the peasants should be bought and sold by private persons.

Or, to take a better known example, when the Commune of 1871 decided to pay the members of the Communal Council 12s. 6d. a day, whilst the National Guards on the ramparts had only 1s. 3d., certain persons applauded this decision as an act of grand democratic equality. But, in reality, the Commune did nothing thereby but sanction the ancient inequality between officials and soldiers, governors and governed. For an opportunist Parliament, such a decision might have been splendid, but for the Commune it was a negation of its own principles. The Commune was false to its own revolutionary principle, and by that very fact condemned it.

In the present state of society, when we see Cabinet Ministers paying themselves thousands a year, whilst the workman has to content himself with less than a hundred; when we see the foreman paid twice or three times as much as the ordinary hand, and when amongst the workers themselves there are all sorts of gradations, from 7s. or 8s. a day, down to the 3d. of the sempstress, we disapprove of the large salary of the minister, and also the difference between the artisan's eight shillings and the sempstress' three-pence. And we say: "Let us have done with privileges of education as well as of birth." We are Anarchists just because such privileges disgust us.

How can we, then, raise these privileges into a principle? How can we proclaim that privileges of education are to be the basis of an equal Society, without striking a blow at that very Society? What is submitted to to-day will be submitted to no longer in a society based on equality. The general above the soldier, the rich engineer above the workman, the doctor above the nurse, already disgust us. Can we suffer them in a society which starts by proclaiming equality?

By Peter Kropotkin.

Evidently not. The popular conscience, inspired by the idea of equality, will revolt against such an injustice, it will not tolerate it. It is not worth while to make the attempt.

That is why certain Collectivists, understanding the impossibility of maintaining a scale of wages in a society inspired by the influence of the Revolution, zealously advocate equality in wages. But they only stumble against fresh difficulties, and their equality of wages becomes a Utopia, as incapable of realisation as the wage scale of the others.

A society that has seized upon all the social wealth, and has plainly announced that all have a right to this wealth, whatever may have been the part they have taken in creating it in the past, will be obliged to give up all idea of wages, either in money or in labour notes.

A STARVING SOLDIER'S PRAYER.

By Jim Galway.

Whilst thousands starve, the princess in her state, Drives to her wedding; she that is most great; Yet Europe's workers, from their bondage long, Will rise to chant the revolution's song, And onward march in all their hope and pride, In the bold sweep of their on-coming tide, They leave behind the burden of those sighs Heaved in their sad captivity. The skies Hold the brave castles fair, those dreams of gold, Built by the pioneers. O system old, Of cruel wagedom, may thy gyves be riven And all thy legions and thy fleets be driven High on the rocks. Comrades, unto the goal, The straight path keep. May courage fill thy soul!

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(LEFT-WING ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Vol. VIII. No. 52. Saturday, March 11, 1922.

TO-DAY'S LABOUR STRUGGLE. The Rand Strikes.

Very grim is the struggle of Labour and Capital now proceeding on the Rand: the coal strike began on January 18th, the gold strike nine days later, and the strikers are talking of holding out another three months yet. The strikers have their commandos to prevent black-legging; the Government, which has provided the employers with the assistance of armed guards to insure the safety of any men whom they can induce to be strike-breakers. General Smuts issued an appeal to the strikers to return to work, which was virtually a command. He declared that Parliament must decide the final terms of settlement and that work must be resumed meanwhile. There have been many arrests: there have been conflicts with the police, who have fired on the crowds and killed and wounded several persons. There have been several alleged attempts at dynamiting on the railways, which the authorities attribute to the strikers; but the strikers retort that the employers or the police are the authors of these plots, which, in American parlance, have been merely "framed-up."

There has been talk of joining with the Boer Nationalist politicians to form a South African Republic; but it has been only talk: the Nationalists have explained that they desire to proceed on constitutional lines. All this is explained by our correspondent, L. A. Motter, well-known to *Workers' Dreadnought* readers, from whom we shall publish another strike article next week.

The Boer farmers have said that they are behind the miners in their struggle; but they have done nothing to prove it. A general strike has now been declared. The occupation of the mines, the seizure of the railways and means of production by the workers who operate them has not yet been attempted. Is it contemplated?

The Chamber of Mines has been circulating untruthful pamphlets on the strike with the object of deluding the workers into the belief that these have been issued from workers' organisations, and to cause division amongst the strikers. The newspapers have, of course, published misleading and hostile reports. There has been talk of boycotting the press and setting up a press Soviet, but so far the only outcome has been the refusal of the typographical association to print the bogus pamphlets, a refusal only tardily announced in response to protests of other workers that the printers were thus aiding the employers.

For six weeks the strikers possessed no newspaper of their own. A copy of the *Transvaal Post*, the first issue of which appeared on February 13th, has now reached us. It is apparently issued in the interests of the strikers, though by whom it is not clear. It calls itself "The Champion of an economically free South Africa," and declares that it is fighting for "the supremacy of the White Race." It contains only strike news, and is printed in English and Dutch. It reports a march of the Brakpan strikers' commando, numbering 1,500, including 150 horsemen, 300 cyclists, and a large number of women, amongst whom were Red Cross nurses in full uniform. This in spite of the fact that the Commissioner of the police, on February 7th, issued the following notice:—

OFFICIAL WARNING.

The following official warning has been issued—
THE USE OF BODIES OF MEN.
SUCH AS COMMANDOS, TO PULL

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

March 11, 1922.

OUT OFFICIALS WORKING ON ESSENTIAL SERVICES CONSTITUTE A CRIME OF PUBLIC VIOLENCE, AND EVERY PERSON WHO FORMS A UNIT OF SUCH BODY OR COMMANDO, OR WHO COUNSELS, INSTIGATES OR INCITES TO THE COMMISSION OF SUCH ACT IS GUILTY OF THE CRIME OF PUBLIC VIOLENCE, AND WOULD, IF CONVICTED BY THE COURTS, BE SUBJECT TO HEAVY PUNISHMENT. THE POLICE HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO TAKE ACTION IN ALL SUCH CASES.
THEO. G. TRUTER,

COLONEL, COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.
JOHANNESBURG,

February 7th, 1922.

A TIPPERARY SOVIET.

More significant than the struggle between the Treatyists and the Republicans, than the struggle of Ulster and Sinn Féin, is the growing independence of Irish workers. From Tipperary comes the news that the gasworks' employees took possession of the plant and installed as manager a worker whom the employers had dismissed. The local officials of the Irish Transport and General Workers constantly take part in such manifestations which the Union's officials in Dublin use as a lever in bargaining with the employers. The workers' occupation of the factories and hoisting of the Soviet flag is the means by which the workers will one day seek to achieve permanent results.

THE HONG KONG GENERAL STRIKE.

The Hong Kong general strike has just closed with an increase of wage to the seamen of 15 to 30 per cent. The seamen began with a demand for 40 per cent, and refused an offer by the owners of 7½ to 25 per cent. The British Government refused to arbitrate and declared the Seamen's Union illegal. O benignant British rule! The strike became general: it spread to butchers, printers, engineers, bakers, and domestic servants. The British Government of Hong Kong issued proclamations prohibiting anyone from leaving the colony without a permit, and, as Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons on March 7, "authorising compulsory labour for public purposes, and appropriation of goods and premises, and dealing with other matters necessary to maintain the life of the colony."

Mr. Churchill thought it quite proper that compulsion to labour and other drastic coercion should be applied to force propertyless people to work for a wage they considered too low. Mr. Churchill and his friends would apply the same tactics here if they thought it necessary and wise to do so. Mr. Churchill, however, regarded all coercion of propertyless people in Russia as wholly barbarous.

COERCION IN INDIA.

The beneficent British Government in India is imprisoning Indian soldiers for wearing daggers which are not of regulation length, and also for wearing black instead of khaki puggarees; for the wearing of black is taken to be a sign of mourning that India still rests under the rule of Capitalist-Imperialism. Such insults our patriotic rulers do not allow to pass.

THE LOCK-OUT.

From all around the Empire comes news of revolt; only here in Britain a heavy apathy holds the oppressed masses.

"Will there be a Lock-Out of engineers and shipbuilders?" the members of the Unions actually concerned are asking: an unco-ordinated herd, they are waiting to know what their officials will decide.

THE DOWNING STREET RUMOURS.

The intrigues surrounding the Premiership, to which the Press devotes its posters and headlines, arouse not a flutter of excitement except in political circles. Lloyd George's offer to resign, if the Unionist Party believes it to be in the interest of the country or of their Party that he should do so,

are regarded with indifference. How plainly they show that the Liberals and Tories have arranged together behind the scenes all questions of real importance. As to the Labour Party, it is only partially an outsider to these arrangements: it, too, joins in the agreement to maintain the established social order. Let the Labour Party win a few more seats, and it will be taken still more closely into the confidence of the gentlemanly parties that have ruled over us for so long.

Those who would build the city of the future must stand clear of the intrigues and understandings which maintain the old machine.

S. O. S.

SEND A DONATION
TO THE
"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT"
£500 FUND
TO-DAY.

ESPERANTO.

The next International Esperanto Congress will take place at Helsingfors, next August.

The Senate of the Free City of Danzig has made a grant of one thousand marks to the local Esperanto Association towards the Secretary's salary, besides giving the Association a typewriting machine.

The French Seafarers' and Colonial League has issued a recommendation to all shipping companies to encourage officials of steamers to practice Esperanto.

The following extract from General Cora's translation from the "Arabian Nights" will probably induce some Esperantists to get the little sixpenny book for their children.

ADVENTUROJ DE HARUN ALRAŜID.

Kiam la Kalifo Harun Alraŝid (la plej granda monarĥo de la Oriento), kune kun sia ĉefveziro en unu tago promenadis, maskevestite, en la urbo Bagdado, li renkontis maljunan blindulon, kiu petis de li almozon. La Kalifo sin turnis kaj metis ormoneron en lian manon. La blindulo tuj ekkaptis la manon de la Kalifo kaj ĉirkaŭ ĝi haltigis. "Bonfaremulo!" diris la almozonulo. "Kiu ajn vi estas, kiun inspiris Dio almozodon al mi, ne rifazu la favoron, kiun mi petas, ĉar estas, faru al mi vangofrapon."

La Kalifo, mirigite de la peto kaj konduto de la blindulo, diris, "Mi ne povas konsenti per via peto"—kaj post tiuj vortoj, klopodinte liberigi sin de la stranga almozulo. Sed tiam, kiu, pro sia longa sperto pri tia afero, atendis malinklinon de la flanko de sia bonfaranto, persio alprokuri al la Kalifo. "Sinjoro!" diris, "pardonu mian malmiron kaj trudecon: mi petas ke vi aŭ faru al mi vangofrapon, aŭ reprenu vian almozon; ĉar mi ne povas—ne repante ĵuron, kiun mi al Dio ĵuris—akcepti la monon, krom sub tiu kondiĉo; kaj se vi scias la kaŭzon pri tio, vi konsentus kun mi, ke la puno estas tre triviala."

La Kalifo, ne dizirante pli longe detendiĝi, faris al li tre malpezan frapon; sekve de kio la blindulo tuj lin delasis, kaj lin dankis kaj benis.

Kiam la Kalifo kaj la veziro iom malproksimiĝis de la blindulo, la Kalifo diris, "Tio almozulo certe devas havi ian fortan motivon por konduti tiamaniere kontraŭ ĉiuj, kiuj donas al li almozon. Mi tre kontentigis, se mi scias lian motivon; reiru do, kaj diru al li, kiun estas, kaj ordonu, ke li venu al la palaco morgaŭ ĉirkaŭ la preĝhora posttagmezo, por ke mi la paroli kun li."

La ĉefveziro iris returne, donis almozon al la blindulo, kaj, farinte al li vangofrapon, rakontis al li la ordonon de la Kalifo kaj poste revenis al sia imperia majstro.

Kiam ili iris pluen en la urbon, ili trovis, en placo, grandan amason da homoj, rigardantaj belan, belstalan junulon, kiu, rajdante sur ĉevalino galopadis plenrapidecde ronde en la plocio, spronpikante kaj vipante la kompatindan beston tiel kruele, ke ĝi estis kovrita per sango.

March 11, 1922.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

The great task of the Communist revolution is ideologic. Communism entails the creation of an altogether new attitude of mind towards all social relationships, and the development of a host of new habits and impulses. In discarding our purse and our financial anxieties and calculations, in removing the dependence of the propertyless upon the propertied, we shall change the entire configuration of life. Communism will create for us a great fraternity, a great trustfulness, arising from a great security, an abundant enthusiasm for productive labour, because such labour will benefit all, and all will share responsibility for it.

Communism necessitates the creation of a great initiative, which shall animate the entire people. Under Capitalism the masses are as a flock of sheep driven by their owners. Under Communism, on the contrary, they will be free co-operators, producing, inventing, studying, not under the compulsion of law, or poverty, or the incentive of individual gain, but from deliberate choice and with an eager zest for achievement. Communism will provide the material and spiritual conditions which will make voluntary co-operative labour possible. Only by willing service and intelligent initiative can true Communism develop.

The establishment of the Communist life entails a complete breach, both in practice and in ideas, with Capitalism and its machinery. The Parliamentary system is the characteristic machinery of the capitalist State; it has grown up with great similarity in all the countries which have built up their own capitalism. In countries where an alien Capitalism dominates the native populace, the Parliamentary system of the dominant aliens extends the tentacles of its power to the subject country. It sends its officials overseas to rule the natives, entirely discarding its pretended dependence on the consent of the governed and its boasted representative character.

Parliament has been in large measure the co-operative society of the landlords and capitalists, through which they have policed the proletariat at home and maintained their power abroad.

The great landlords originally used lawless force and violence for seizing their estates. In the latter half of the fifteenth century they, as feudal lords, drove the peasants, who had the same feudal right to the land as they, from their holdings. The feudal lords usurped the lands which were held and used in common. These things they did in defiance of law and custom, and without waiting to obtain the assent or assistance of Parliament.

Later on, however, the feudal lords found it convenient to give Parliamentary sanction to their robbery of the peasants, and to enact legislation to complete their usurpation of the land. Sitting in Parliament, the lords proceeded thereafter to abolish their own merely feudal tenure of the land, and by creating the modern right of private property in land, they made themselves its absolute owners.

Before they had legalised the expropriation of the peasants, the lords in Parliament enacted legislation to force the peasants they were driving from the land to become their wage-slaves. From the reign of Henry VII, legislation began for the coercion of the dispossessed. We all know that for begging, or wandering without means of subsistence, the landless people were whipped and branded, their ears were sliced, and on a third arrest they were executed. An Act of Edward VI condemned the idler to be the slave of whoever denounced him. He could be sold, bequeathed, or hired as a slave. Any one might make slaves of his children. Vagabonds, as the dispossessed were called, might be made into parish slaves, condemned to labour for the inhabitants. Only in the reign of Anne, when an industrial proletariat sufficient for the needs of farms and manufacturers had been developed, were such statutes repealed. So long ago as 1349, Parliament, in the Statute of Labourers, fixed maximum wages to prevent the proletariat from asserting itself to the inconvenience of the employing classes. Maximum wage legislation was maintained thereafter as long as any serious

tendency to labour scarcity could give the workers a powerful lever in forcing up their wages.

Parliament has remained the employers' co-operative society for dragging the workers, in spite of all the extensions of the franchise which have taken place. When a serious labour scarcity arose in our time, during the great European war of 1914-19, Parliament enacted the Munitions Act, to prevent the workers taking advantage of the situation.

Neither in this present period of great unemployment, nor at any other time in history, has Parliament fixed maximum wages to protect the workers when the employers have been taking advantage of a Labour surplus to depress the wages of their employees below the subsistence level. The rates of wages fixed by the Agricultural Wages Boards during the war, were, in reality, a method of attaining by subtle means, the object which the Munitions Act achieved in other industries: namely, a check on the bargaining power of Labour during a period of unexampled labour scarcity.

From the early laws against the industrial combination of the workers (maintained by the coercive power of the State as long as the ruling classes considered them necessary), down to our modern D.O.R.A. and E.P.A. and the strike-breaking machinery employed by the Government in the last railway and mining strikes, Parliamentary Government has never failed to protect the possessions of the landlords and capitalists, and to employ whatever coercive measures have been necessary to provide the landlords and capitalists with disciplined workers.

Parliament and its accessories have been fashioned by the ruling classes for their service. The Courts of Law are strongholds of tradition and privilege, and appointment to the judicial Bench is made obscurely and arbitrarily by the Government.

In case of dispute, the Government-appointed, irremovable judges interpret the Parliament-made law. The Government-hired prosecutor—who may even be a member of the Government, is leagued with the Government-appointed judge against the accused. All the force of the Government police assists the prosecution. In political trials, acquittals are remarkably rare. The judges, drawn from the privileged class, almost invariably decide against the popular cause.

The local governing bodies have no power to legislate or initiate: they merely administer the Acts of Parliament under the cramping supervision of Government Departments, which make rules interpreting the Acts of Parliament. Either with, or without Parliamentary sanction, Government departments determine what the local authorities shall spend, by limiting their power to levy Rates and to contract loans, and by prohibiting them from trading, except by special permission of the Government.

As to Parliament itself, its powers have been almost all annexed by the Cabinet.

The King, who is supposed to obey the Government, decides when Parliament shall assemble. The Government decides what subjects Parliament shall discuss, and on what it shall legislate. The Government drafts the legislation. If a measure be amended in a manner displeasing to the Government, the Government withdraws the measure, and either drops it altogether, or re-introduces it in another form. Parliament cannot proceed with any measure unless the Government desire it.

The Speaker and Chairman of Committee appointed by the Government, control the debate and interpret the rules of procedure. Parliamentary discipline is exceedingly strict. No one may speak until called upon by the Speaker, or Chairman of Committee, and the Speaker, or Chairman, may stop any speech, and even prevent the asking of a question, on the ground, either that it is out of order, or "it is not in the public interest" that a reply be given. There is no appeal from the ruling of the Chair, which is enforced by the officials of the House, who at once eject any Member failing to obey the Chair.

The Government must have a majority in the House of Commons, or it cannot remain in power. That majority is composed of Party hacks with no chance of being returned to Parliament, except by the aid of the Party machinery and funds. They will not vote against the Government, because to do so would be to incur the ostracism of the Party leaders, and consequently of the Party; such ostracism would inevitably mean the loss of their Parliamentary seats at the next election. The Party man who disobeys his Party must either retire from politics, or become a candidate of the opposite Party (if it will have him, which may not be the case). Many years have passed since a Government was turned out by a hostile Parliamentary vote of its supporters. Even its political opponents are apt to shrink from defeating a Government on a critical issue, which would mean its designation, for that in most cases entails a General Election. A General Election is of all things that which is most detested by the average Member of Parliament. It means for him an election campaign of tremendous exertion, in which he is compelled to speak at an extraordinary number of meetings, beside canvassing voters and calling on people of influence. Moreover, he may lose his seat, and thus suffer the defeat of many of his ambitions, as well as the loss of an income of four hundred pounds a year. The Member of Parliament prepared to take a line independent of his Party on any subject of importance is exceedingly rare. He is soon eliminated from Parliament.

The Prime Minister is chosen by the Sovereign from amongst the most prominent leaders of the Party which gains the majority of the Parliamentary seats in the General Election. Persons of powerful influence, of course, make representations to the Sovereign, and the Party caucus and its rival big-wigs all put in their word. What private understandings and guarantees are exacted the people do not know. The Sovereign appoints the rest of the Cabinet on the advice of the Prime Minister, who is influenced, of course, by the powerful personages who provide Party funds, who control Party newspapers, and who are powerful in banking and other circles able to sabotage the Government activities. The wire-pulling and intrigue that surround the making of Cabinets have only been slightly revealed in the memoirs of some of the privileged few who have been behind the scenes.

The policies of Government Departments are supposed to be controlled in general outline by the Cabinet as a whole, and in fuller detail by the Minister at the head of each Department, who is appointed by the Prime Minister. The Departments are vast, and deal with vast work; the Cabinet of Party hacks and political adventurers knows little of the Departments. The responsible Minister, who usually remains in a particular Department no more than a year or two at most, and often no more than a few months, rarely learns much about his work; the permanent officials are the real masters of the administrative detail, and their policy is broadly that of the prevailing capitalist opinion current at the time. Lavish extravagance on Departmental expenditure, and ruthless parsimony towards the people, the great unofficial, unprivileged masses, who are treated as tiresome mendicants, is the outstanding characteristic of administration by Government Departments.

Members of Parliament know little of the doings of Government Departments. The debates, held twice or thrice a year, and the questions, to which cursory answers are given and on which no discussion is permitted, are the only opportunities by which Members may acquire information. Ministers in charge of Departments report once or twice a year what they choose of what their Departments have done.

Members of Parliament may move to reduce the amount Parliament is to vote for the Department in question, as a protest against something that displeases them, or as a matter of political form. Such motions are usually defeated or withdrawn.

If, however, such a motion be carried, the Government may resign, if the question involved be important. Generally, in such rare cases, the Government brings the vote up again another day, and, by rallying its supporters, it defeats the motion. Perhaps as a result of the incident the Minister whose Department has been criticised, moves on to another Department. His old place is taken by one whose policy differs but little from his own.

The House of Commons has no effective check on the doings of the Cabinet: it knows very little of what the Cabinet is actually about; the Press is given more information on questions of State than are the ordinary Members of Parliament.

The House of Lords, with its hereditary members, can check and thwart the doings of the Government more effectively than can the House of Commons, although its power is specifically limited. Its Members are not dependent on the machinery of the Party to secure their election. Their Parliamentary seats are theirs for life: no one can dislodge them. The older Lords, at least, are probably no longer seeking the favour of Party leaders and Members of the Government to assist their personal fortunes. Though, perhaps, less open to personal corruption than the ambitious political hacks of the House of Commons, the Members of the House of Lords are, of course, even more surely lined up as one man against the emancipation of the proletariat and in defence of the present system.

In all this the electors are remote outsiders. They have no hold on the Members of the House of Commons, who are supposed to represent them. They must decide for which candidate to vote on the general programme of the Party promoting the candidature, for, if returned, the Member will have no power except through his Party. No item of the Party programme is binding, no pledge given by the candidate or his Party can be relied on. The programme is enunciated during the election in vaguely-worded speeches and manifestoes, every point in which will probably be discarded. Not until the next election will the elector have another chance to pass judgment on the actions of the candidate who won the seat in his local constituency, or on those of the Government in power. The Member, meanwhile, has probably been merely a cipher in Parliament; the Government has done nothing pleasing to the elector; but the opposing Party, in the vague compound of catch-cries called its programme, offers nothing that promises satisfaction. The constituency is vast: the electors have no personal knowledge of either candidate. The election is decided by such questions as which Party machine has most systematically traced the absent voters and made the best arrangements to bring them to the poll, which Party has the most motor cars lent to it for taking voters on free rides to the polling booth, which Party is served by the local paper having the largest circulation in the district.

Even were it possible to democratise the machinery of Parliament, its inherently anti-Communist character would still remain. The King might be replaced by a President, or all trace of the office abolished. The House of Lords might disappear, or be transformed into a Senate. The Prime Minister might be chosen by a majority vote of Parliament, or elected by referendum of the people. The Cabinet might be chosen by referendum, or become an Executive Committee elected by Parliament. The doings of Parliament might be checked by Referendum.

Nevertheless, Parliament would still be a non-Communist institution. Under Communism we shall have no such machinery of legislation and coercion. The business of the Soviets will be to organise the production and supply of the common services; they can have no other lasting function.

COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTIONS.

The County Council Elections have come and gone. They have cost much energy, but nothing will result from them.

J. H. Thomas declares that Labour had a "set-back" in London and that it was due to the Poplar Councillors who, instead of cutting down the doles to the unemployed, or increas-

ing the Rates of working people, preferred to go to prison for not paying the General Rates to the L.C.C., M.A.B., etc.

The fact is that the Labour Party has neither gained nor lost in the elections. It held previously, and still holds, 16 seats. It is the Liberals who lost seats: the Liberals to whom Clynes, Henderson, and Thomas (if he is anything) belong, though they are labelled Labour. The Tory Party was the only gainer. It is interesting that the Poplar Labour Party secured all the four L.C.C. seats in its area.

Poplarism seems the most popularism in Labour politics to-day; but Poplarism is only mildly palliative. It effects no bed-rock solutions. Thomasism is not even so good as Liberalism. It has much less backbone and fidelity to principle than the advanced Radical displays. Thomasism is, in fact, flunkeyism. It is notorious that Thomas has been "Lloyd George's Man"; but if Lloyd George were to fall from power, Thomas would be the "man" of some other Premier.

The Hammersmith Branch of the Right-Wing Parliamentary Communists perpetrated a funny little election joke, but whether the humour of it was conscious or unconscious we do not know.

They reprinted a cartoon from the *Communist* in which J. H. Thomas is shown as a portly Bill Sikes, complaining to Justice Darling: "Please Sir! he called me Jimmy," whilst McManus, somewhere down below, looks like that funny little insect called a cuckoo-spit, when it has hopped out of its surrounding froth. Why the *Communist* cartoonist was so ungracious to his chairman we do not know. On the other side of this curious cartoon appeared these words:—

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.
(Hammersmith Branch).
L.C.C. ELECTIONS.

WORKERS OF HAMMERSMITH—
Unemployment, bad housing, very limited education facilities, and many other things, are your burden to-day.

Your Prospective LABOUR Candidates have pledged themselves to put up a fight on these issues. Give them the opportunity! The Communist Party (whilst reserving the right to criticise treacherous leaders) calls upon the workers to present a *United Front* against their class enemies. Let your slogan be: "Unity in Action."

VOTE for the LABOUR CANDIDATES.
Join the Communist Party.

What the Star Said.
The Liberals are saying just what J. H. Thomas says about the L.C.C. Elections. It is not the Labour Party which has lost seats: it is the Liberals, or Progressives, as they call themselves in London Municipal politics. Yet they pretend that it is the Poplar Labour Party doings which have caused the Tories to gain seats. Hear the Liberal evening paper, the *Star*, on the subject:

	NEW	OLD
	COUNCIL.	COUNCIL.
Moderates	82	68
Progressives	26	39
Labour	16	16

"There is no possibility of evading the meaning of these figures. Mr. J. H. Thomas, who is far more courageous than the other Labour leaders, frankly admitted the cause of this disaster, which has given the Moderates 82 seats, against 42, to the other two parties—very nearly two to one. 'It is a revolt,' he said, 'against the Poplar method of administration, which certainly alarmed people. We must shape our policy and method so as to impress all sections and not to frighten the people from our banner.' The diagnosis is good and the prescription better. . . ."

"With regard to the London Labour Party generally, they suffered from an overloaded programme. There ought to be a Pimsoll mark in politics to prohibit deck-loading. . . ."

For instance, the proposal to municipalise the supply of coal, bread, fish, meat, and milk, brings into the field all the coal merchants and dealers, the bakers, the fishmongers, butchers and milkmen, together with a large proportion of their employees. . . . We hope that before 1925 the Labour Party will adopt a practical, possible programme, and that it will decide on

an allocation of seats with the Progressives. Then we may hope to slay the Dragon at last."

The *Star* is certainly making itself ridiculous: it betrays the craving of the Liberal politicians to be in office at any price. How naïvely it assumes that programmes must be drafted, not according to principles, but according to the possibility of obtaining votes! Of such is the arid stuff of Parliamentary politics.

At the birth of any ideal that may threaten to trespass upon the field of politics, the Parliamentary politicians stand, like executioners and undertakers, ready to smother it and to bury it, on the plea that this young ideal would not obtain the support necessary to secure electoral majorities.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By TOM ANDERSON.

THE BIG HOUSE ON THE HILL.

It was a magnificent house; it was a big house, and it stood on the top of the hill, as the sentinel of superiority over all the land for miles around. There were little houses at the bottom of the hill, "butts and benns," in which the cottars lived. It would take hundreds of these little houses to make up the room space of the "big house" on the hill.

We were on a ramble, and the girls and boys saw the "big house" on the hill and they looked. "Oh, what a 'big house'!" they exclaimed, and one little girl said to me: "Why did they build such a big house?"

I gathered the children round me and said: "Look, children, at the 'big house' on the hill; it contains more than a hundred rooms, and some of the rooms are very large. How large do you think—twenty, thirty, or forty feet? You give it up? Well, the main dining-room is sixty feet by thirty feet. I worked at the 'big house' when it was being built."

"But why have such a big house?" asked little Nan.

"That's a good question, Nan, why? Well, it's to overawe the poor people who live in the small houses. If the poor people lived in a house as big as the one on the hill, they would not be slaves."

"The 'big house' on the hill, then, is the power that crushes the mentality of the young children who are living in the little white houses. When they grow up, they grow with the 'big house' on their brain, and it must be so, they say when they get old. You will hear them say: 'The House was there when I was a child.' So that is the principal reason why the 'big house' was built on the hill. To keep you from growing up. If the house you lived in were equal in size, what, then, would you think?"

"What do you say, John?"

"There would be no slaves, Comrade." "Right you are, John. The man who lives in the 'big house' does not work, does not plough or sow. He does not fence the land or drain it, or manure it. He does not do anything. He is the master of slaves, and the slaves are very pleased when they are allowed to work for him. The man in the 'big house' gets the priest to tell the poor slaves it is God's will there should be big houses and small ones. Has not Jesus said: 'The poor ye shall always have with ye?' Jesus died for the poor, and the one consolation the poor have got is that when they die they will go and be with Jesus, and the priest and the man in the 'big house' smile."

"That, girls and boys, explains why your fathers and mothers, your uncles and aunts tell you the stories they do. It is not that the stories are true. It is because the priest and the parson, the lawyer and the doctor, the schoolmaster and the artist, and all the people who live on the labour of the people, tell the workers these stories so that they may never grow up."

"Nearly all our Labour M.P.s, our Labour leaders, and all our respectable Socialists are still children in their mentality, because the stories of the 'big house' on the hill has kept them from growing up."

THE GLORIFICATION OF ROYALISM. By Peter Plainspeech.

They are going through the farce of economy in the House of Commons, and the King, in his speech at the ceremony of opening the present session, read a number of platitudes about the need for cutting down expenditure.

Three "big pots," including that super-twister, H. H. Asquith, were appointed to consider economy in the Civil Service, and they decided to recommend an increase in the salaries of 20 Chief Officials, from £2,000 to £3,000 per year each. Mr. H.H.A. said they were being paid too little.

In the *Dreadnought* of Feb. 18th, we were told of a distressing case of a girl, 17 years of age, who committed suicide, because she was unable to obtain employment. She said it was either death or an easy way on the streets.

And yet, in spite of the preaching of economy for others to practice, Royalism has been engaged, a few days ago, upon an orgy of ostentatious waste and luxury, and the aristocracy of parasitical idle classes have vied with each other in their display of wealth, dress, and expensive jewels.

One asks what have these persons done to merit these good things? What have they done to deserve these rewards?

I have perused the press very carefully to discover if the Viscount or Princess do any useful honest work. We are told that their lives consist of a surfeit of pleasure and enjoyment, with lackies to wait upon them, and they are not even allowed to dress themselves. They are going to spend their lives motoring, hunting, shooting, fishing, etc. Why all this pomp and waste, while eight millions of the populace are in dire need and poverty?

The housing conditions of millions of the people are appalling. We have thousands of families living three and four families in a house, in some cases 10, 12, and 14 persons, of both sexes, sleeping in one, or two rooms. While hundreds of thousands are homeless, the recently married pair are spending their honeymoon in a mansion in which there are 24 front windows, and there are about 70 front windows in Buckingham Palace, one of the recent homes of the Princess.

How long are the people going to allow this humbug and tomfoolery to go on? Several Members of the Parliamentary Labour Party were at Westminster on February 28th, "aping" the snobs and "Lord Knows Who," amongst the grounds of Traders, Flunkeys and Lackeys. Shades of Keir Hardie! He would not have idled his time there, forgetful of all the want and poverty and unemployment in the East End of London. We are told that one Labour M.P. overslept himself, and was late for the ceremony.

How could they find time to attend the show, amidst their duties, as Trade Union officials, and Members of the House of Commons? They have made their membership of the Commons a spare-time job at £8 per week, while they pretend to express upon the wage slaves the importance of the "Talking Shop."

It is said that a rich great-uncle left the Viscount about two millions, with an income of £50,000 a year. The Princess is to receive £6,000 a year, or £120 per week, out-door Relief, or unemployment dole, while the reward of the toiler is "ten bob a week," when he reaches the allotted span.

CORRESPONDENCE.

60, Limes Grove,
Lewisham, S.E.13.

DEAR COMRADE—
Much is said about the class struggle and the rule of the capitalist system; but comparatively little attention is given to the goal towards which we are striving—the new life which is to replace the most imperfect one of Capitalism.

Most of us in the working-class movement want, I think, to do away with masters and servants, money, the wage system, and all buying and selling. We want production for use, not for profit. We desire plenty for all. We want people to have what they need and like, not according to

measure; but as and when they please, just because they are human beings, because we can produce enough and more than enough for all, and because in that way we shall establish the universal brotherhood.

We want these beautiful things; but we say too little about them. I think. I believe if we told people more what life would be under our ideal, we should make more converts.

I believe, too, that we ought to make more efforts to practice our belief. Example is always better than precept and we should learn a great deal by such efforts.

Much may be done, even to-day, to live as Communists, by mutual service and co-operation, without any taint of money.

It seems to me that an association for Communist Life is needed and has a great work before it.

I should be glad to hear from any of your readers who share this view.

Yours fraternally.

S. CAHILL.

NEWCASTLE BATON CHARGES.

DEAR COMRADE—

As you will have seen by the Press, there were baton charges on the unemployed in Newcastle, last Friday night, March 3rd. I was an eye-witness of the whole proceedings, and can prove that the action of the police was tantamount to inciting the crowd to violence.

The first occurrence was at 8.30 p.m., when several policemen ran their batons along some railings behind which the unemployed were stationed, with the result that several fingers and two or three wrists were broken. It seems likely that the person who threw the first stone at the window of the Guardians' offices is an agent of the police. He certainly was not one of the unemployed—there is no doubt about that.

Reinforcements of police were sent for, and they, assisted by mounted men, made a charge upon an orderly and peaceful demonstration.

The words of the superintendent in charge, "Come on, you bloody swine, we'll put an end to this," shows that the police had organised to make an attack, whether the demonstration was peaceful and orderly or otherwise. Members of the unemployed committee were batoned down as they were leaving the Guardians' offices, where they had been in attendance as a deputation. Pedestrians who had nothing to do with the demonstration were ruthlessly cut down, and one man, a business man in Newcastle, who was certainly against the unemployed, was arrested and locked in jail all night for doing nothing but walk to his shop.

When the streets had been cleared, a woman carrying a child in her arms, came up and asked the police to let her pass to see her husband who had been injured in the first charge. She was ruthlessly batoned down, and this was the signal for another charge.

The statement of Supt. J. Potts, that "from now on, the police are going to take the gloves off," shows that what has occurred is merely a beginning.

Yours fraternally,

FREDK. R. PALFRAMAN.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

THE MINING CRISIS, and Its History and Meaning for All Workers. By W. Livesey, Chief Clerk to the M.F.G.B. Simpkin, Marshall, 2s. 6d.

The book is an attack on what it calls the "extremist" leaders in the Labour movement. The writer resigned his position because of his disagreement with the policy of those leaders. He shows that whilst Frank Hodges was at the M.F.G.B. Conference in June 1920, he said: "We are going to create a first-class economic crisis which will reduce the nation to chaos."

Later on, when the workers had borne the heat and burden of the strike and had lost the savings of years, the same Mr. Hodges came out as an advocate of industrial peace, and hustled the workers into an unsatisfactory settlement, in flagrant defiance of the ballot vote to continue striking for better terms.

The author is frankly conservative and greatly opposed to revolution. He is altogether tolerant of Capitalism. In many respects he is like the old-fashioned pre-Labour Party Trade Unionists. He says:

"Trade Unions, as organisations, must drop all political aims and must discountenance any political activities by their officials as such."

He quotes Mr. Clynes with approval: "Wages must be dealt with on their merits and according to the possibilities of the market."

Yet the author is not altogether blind: he realises the impossibility of securing the well-being of the worker through strikes for increased wages. The present trade depression, so largely caused by the determination of the buying capitalists to hang back and place no orders till prices, and with them the workers' wages, come tumbling down, shows him the terrible inherent weakness of the strike weapon. He says:

"Wages questions cannot in the future be the main line of activity of the Trade Unions. The irresistible play of world economic forces will for some time to come render impossible any strike action for increased wages, and may even render ineffective any attempts to resist further reductions."

He urges that the Trade Unions should work rather to secure for their members better conditions of employment and a share of control or management of the undertakings where they are employed. He says that the Trade Unions must be decentralised, and the "autocracies," by which he submits they are governed, destroyed. They must be re-organised, he says, on a workshop basis of federated units.

The author is a man who sees the unsatisfactory nature of the present state of affairs, but not the way out—which is Communism.

BLASPHEMY: A Plea for Religious Equality. By Chapman Cohen. The Pioneer Press, Threepence.

THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Its Aims and Methods. By James Clunie. S.L.P. Press. Sixpence.

LA REVOLUTION OU LA MORT. By Raymond Lefebvre. Clarté, Paris. Price Sixpence.

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—SATYAKANTHA IN *United India and the Indian States*.

THE COMING? LOCK-OUT.

Are you in the engineering and shipbuilding industries, fellow worker? Are you one of the few in the know? Or are you one of the dumb, driven herd that is manipulated by the Trade Union bosses and the capitalist bosses? No doubt you voted like the rest against 'the employers' terms; but what is to happen next? Are your Trade Union officials going to accept the 26/- reduction and the other terms of the employers on your behalf, although you said you would not accept them? Or are your leaders going to let you drift into a Lock-Out, as the miners drifted, and will your leaders then betray you, as the miners were betrayed? "Did the miners' officials betray them?"

They did, fellow worker; have you been slumbering for a year, that you do not know that? The miners officials refused to take the only steps which could give the miners a chance of success in the trial of strength with the coal-owners. They let the Lock-Out continue till the miners had spent their savings, well knowing that, conducted as it was, the miners' struggle must fail. When the men from the pits were brought down to a low ebb, the officials, whose salaries had been going on as before, defied the ballot vote of their members and hastily concluded an agreement with the coal-owners, which failed to protect the men from victimisation, and brought their wages down to starvation level. Remember those tactics, fellow worker: they may also be tried on you.

"What could the officials have done to conduct the miners' struggle more successfully?" First of all they should have used all their efforts to bring about a general sympathetic strike in support of the miners, or, at least, a Triple Alliance strike.

If that were not enough, they should have led the men to occupy the mines, and used their influence to induce the workers in other industries to take a similar step.

"That would be something new."

Not at all, fellow worker; the Irish workers are using these tactics every day, and are constantly winning their battles by those means. Better still, they are learning how to act when at last they take control altogether, and set up their Soviet Republic.

The Irish have found out that they cannot win by merely staying at home to starve, whilst their employer takes a holiday, and draws on his banking account. Whenever the strike is prolonged, therefore, the Irish workers rush in and seize the works and carry on as before. They produce for themselves what the other day they were producing for their employer. They use what they require of their products, and sell the rest. The Irish workers developed those tactics because they had only small Union funds to draw on, because their wages were always so low, that they could not manage to save, and because they possess a valiant fighting spirit.

You are in the Irishman's position to-day, fellow worker. Your Union funds are low; your savings are not much to rely on. You can only hold your own by resorting to the tactics that the Irish workers have adopted and found successful. It requires some courage, of course; but is there no courage amongst the workers on this side of the Irish Channel, "boys of the bulldog breed," as the newspapers choose to call you when they want you to fight the battles of the boss?

Mr. Brownlie is one of our leaders, fellow worker; he is one of those leaders our fellow workers have singled out for positions of special privilege. Mr. Brownlie is begging the employers to find a way for the Trade Union bosses to emerge from their present difficult position. Mr. Brownlie assures the employing bosses that he and his colleagues do not want to fight them. It is very awkward, he thinks, that the workers have voted against the bosses' terms. Mr. Brownlie begs the bosses to alter their terms, if only by some little fraction, or even to deal out a plentiful measure of soft soap, in order to provide the Trade Union bosses with an excuse for turning down the workers' vote. If the employers will not do something to smooth the path of the Trade Union bosses, Mr. Brownlie appeals to the Government to find "a way out." Mr. Brownlie does not ask the Government to support the workers in their determination not to suffer further depression of their wages and conditions. Indeed, no! Mr. Brownlie is a practical politician. He only asks the Government to save the faces of the Trade Union bosses. Suppose you go drifting into a Lock-Out, fellow worker: are you organised for the struggle?

"The unemployed are organised: they won't blackleg. I heard that from a man I know."

Let us hope that is true, fellow worker; but even if the resistance of the workers and workless is really blackleg-proof, do you believe that the locked-out workers can starve as long as the employers are willing to starve them?

You do not answer, because you know they cannot, fellow worker. The fact is that, until the workers are prepared to seize and work the industrial machinery, we are not prepared to fight a serious Lock-Out by the employers in these days of trade slump and iron heel methods.

"Does that mean we should just accept whatever the boss may choose to give us?"

On the contrary, fellow worker: it means that we must set to work at once to organise for the struggle. We must make ourselves competent to superannuate the boss.

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