

What is Socialism ?

Workers' Dreadnought

NOT KINGS AND PAUPERS. BUT EQUALITY.

VOL. X. No. 1.

SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1923.

WEEKLY.

THE VOICE OF TOIL.

By William Morris.

I heard men saying, Leave hope and praying,
All days shall be as all have been;
To-day and to-morrow bring fear and sorrow,
The never-ending toil between.

When Earth was younger mid toil and
hunger,
In hope we strove, and our hands were
strong;
Then great men led us, with words they
fed us,
And bade us right the earthly wrong.

Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amidst the nameless dead;
Turn then from lying to us slow-dying
In that good world to which they led;

Where faster and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, for ever drives,
Bids us grind treasure and fashion pleasure
For other hopes and other lives.

Where home is a hovel and dull we grovel,
Forgetting that the world is fair;
Where no babe we cherish, lest its very soul
perish,
Where mirth is crime and love a snare.

Who now shall lead us, what god shall heed
us
As we lie in the hell our hands have won?
For us are no rulers but fools and befoolers,
The great are fallen, the wise men gone.

I heard men saying, Leave tears and praying,
The sharp knife heedeth not the sheep;
Are we not stronger than the rich and the
wronger,
When day breaks our dreams and sleep?

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere the world
grows older!
Help lies in nought but thee and me;
Hope is before us, the long years that bore us
Bore leaders more than men may be.

Let dread hearts tarry and trade and marry,
And trembling nurse their dreams of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
To bring the bright new world to birth.

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere earth grows
older!
The Cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

"The Workers and Peasants of Soviet Russia
—How They Live."

By Augustine Souhy.

From the "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 2/-.
The best all-round work on Russia.

The Fascisti and Trade Unions.

HOW THE LEADERS OF THE ITALIAN
CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR AND
SOCIALIST PARTY MADE PEACE WITH
FASCISMO.

In August and September 1920 the Italian metal workers, who were locked out, seized the metal factories, and protected them with machine-guns. The movement began to spread rapidly in other industries.

On September 9th the Executive Bureau of the Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labour met in Milan, and, unable to decide on a policy, referred the question of the industrial revolution which was developing to the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labour, composed of delegates from affiliated national unions and central labour councils. Representatives of the Socialist Party were also invited to attend.

Two resolutions were laid before the Conference:

1. In the name of D'Aragona, general secretary of the General Confederation of Labour:

"The Conference decides that the objective of the movement shall be the recognition by the employers of the principle of the workers' control in the factories." By this it is intended to open a way to those greater conquests which must inevitably lead to collective direction and socialisation, thus settling fundamentally the question of production. The workers' control will give to the working class the possibility of preparing itself technically, and will enable it to substitute (with the help of the technical and intellectual forces, which cannot refuse their co-operation in this highly necessary task) their own new authority for that of the employers which is now passing away."

2. In the name of Bucco:

"Considering that the situation created in the country in consequence of the agitation of the metal workers does not admit of a solution of a purely economic character, and as it has created a state of mind in the working class which, rising far above craft interests, has developed high aspirations of a political character,

"The National Council of the General Confederation of Labour requests the Executive of the Party to take charge of the movement and to direct it to the realisation of the maximum solution of the Socialist programme—viz., the socialisation of the means of production and distribution."

D'Aragona's resolution was obviously one to damp down the revolution and to allow Capitalism to continue in return for some minor reforms.

D'Aragona's resolution was nevertheless carried by 591,245 votes to 409,569.

In accordance with this resolution D'Aragona and his colleagues met the employers and the Prime Minister Giolitti on September 15th, and agreed that the workers should evacuate the factories, as the price of some small concessions and the establishment of joint control boards, which the workers soon found prejudicial to them, and refused to operate. The rank and file

were then manoeuvred into accepting the agreement made by their representatives. The factories were returned to their owners after three and a-half weeks' occupation.

The Fascisti organisation was already in being, and now plentifully supplied with money by the industrial Capitalists, it was used to chastise the workers for having dared to endanger the private property system. The Fascisti carried on a campaign of murder, rape, kidnapping, arson, and all sorts of violence and terrorism. Finally these terrorists, though they had no Parliamentary majority, were called upon by the King to form a Government.

In the meantime, on August 3rd, 1921, the leaders of the Italian Confederation of Labour and of the Socialist Party of Italy formed a peace pact with the Fascisti at a joint conference in Rome. Here is the infamous document:

"For the purpose of restoring the normal life in Italy between political parties and economic organisations, the following have assembled—under the presidency of Hon. Enrico De Nicola, President of the Chamber of Deputies—the representatives of the National Council of the Fascisti, the Fascisti Parliamentary group, the Socialist Party Executive Committee, the Socialist Parliamentary group, and the General Confederation of Labour.

"There were also invited: The leader of the Communist Parliamentary group, the representatives of the People's Party Parliamentary group, and the Republican Deputies. The leader of the Communist Parliamentary group stated verbally to the President of the Chamber that the Communist Parliamentary group, in conformity and in harmony with the declarations published by the Executive Committee of the Italian Communist Party, would not participate in the conference. The representatives of the People's Party Parliamentary group, Hon. De Gasperi and Cingolani, responded, thanking us for the invitation and expressing wishes that the result of the conference would be the much-desired pacification. But they felt that the intervention of parties which do not find themselves in the same situation and the same struggle as the contestants might diminish the value of the agreement that was to be concluded between the two parties at issue. The group preferred to renounce its claim to official recognition, and to contribute to the success of the noble purposes of the President by persevering, in the Chamber and out of it, in its attitude of rigid legality and impartiality towards the social forces.

"For the Republican Deputies the Hon. Chiesa, Mazzolani, Conti, and Macrelli replied, likewise thanking us and expressing fervid hopes for the pacification so necessary for the welfare of our country, but stating their belief that the intervention of the Republican Party would be inopportune because it has tried to remain neutral in the unfortunate contests between the factions, even when its own organisations suffered heavily.

(Continued on p. 8.)

THE SEVEN THAT WERE HANGED.

By Leonid Andreyev
(A Famous Russian Author).

IV.

WE OF OREL.

The Court that had tried Yanson sentenced to death at the same session Michael Goloubetz, known as Michka the Tzigane, a peasant of the department of Orel, district of Eletz. The last crime of which they accused him, with evidence in support of the charge, was robbery, followed by the assassination of three persons. As for his part, it was unknown. There were vague indications to warrant the belief that the Tzigane had taken part in a whole series of other murders. With absolute sincerity and frankness he termed himself a brigand, and overwhelmed with his irony those who, to follow the fashion, pompously styled themselves "expatriators"; his last crime he described willingly in all its details. But, at the slightest reference to the past, he answered:

"Go ask the wind that blows over the fields!"

And, if they persisted in questioning him, the Tzigane assumed a dignified and serious air.

"We of Orel are all hot-heads, the fathers of all the robbers of the world," said he, in a sedate and judicial tone.

They had nicknamed him Tzigane because of his physiognomy and his thieving habits. He was thin and strangely dark; yellow spots outlined themselves upon his cheek-bones, which were as prominent as those of a Tartar. He had a way of rolling the whites of his eyes, that reminded one of a horse. His gaze was quick and keen, full of curiosity, terrifying. The things over which his swift glance passed seemed to lose something or other, and to become transformed by surrendering to him part of themselves. One hesitated to take a cigarette that he had looked at, as if it had already been in his mouth. His extraordinarily mobile nature made him seem now to coil and concentrate himself like a twisted handkerchief, now to scatter himself like a sheaf of sparks. He drank water almost by the pailful, like a horse.

When the judges questioned him, he raised his head quickly, and answered without hesitation, even with satisfaction:

"It is true!"

Sometimes, to lend emphasis, he rolled his eyes vigorously.

Suddenly he jumped to his feet, and said to the presiding judge:

"Permit me to whistle?"

"Why?" exclaimed the judge, in astonishment.

"The witnesses say that I gave the signal to my comrades; I will show you how I did it. It is very interesting."

A little disconcerted, the judge granted the desired permission. The Tzigane quickly placed four fingers in his mouth, two of each hand; he rolled his eyes furiously. And the inanimate air of the court-room was rent by a truly savage whistle. There was everything in the piercing sound, partly human, partly animal; the mortal anguish of the victim, and the savage joy of the assassin; a threat, a call, and the tragic solitude, the darkness, of a rainy autumn night.

The judge shook his hand; with docility the Tzigane stopped. Like an artist who has just played a difficult air with assured success, he sat down, wiped his wet fingers on his cloak, and looked at the spectators with a satisfied air.

"What a brigand!" exclaimed one of the judges, rubbing his ear. But another, who had Tartar eyes, like the Tzigane's, was looking dreamily into the distance, over the brigand's head; he smiled, and replied:

"It was really interesting."

Without remorse, the judges sentenced the Tzigane to death.

"It is just!" said the Tzigane, when the

sentence had been pronounced.

And, turning to a soldier of the guard, he added with an air of bravado:

"Well, let us be off, imbecile! And keep a good hold of your gun, lest a snatch it from you!"

The soldier looked at him seriously and timidly; he exchanged a glance with his comrade, and tested his weapon to see if it was in working order. The other did the same. And all the way to the prison it seemed to the soldiers that they did not walk, but flew; they were so absorbed by the condemned man that they were unconscious of the route, of the weather, and of themselves.

Like Yanson, Michka the Tzigane remained seventeen days in prison before being executed. And the seventeen days passed as rapidly as a single day, filled with a single thought, that of flight, of liberty, of life. The turbulent and incoercible spirit of the Tzigane, stifled by the walls, the gratings, and the opaque window through which nothing could be seen, employed all its force in setting Michka's brain on fire. As in a vapour of intoxication, bright but incomplete images whirled, clashed, and mingled in his head; they passed with a blinding and irresistible rapidity, and they all tended to the same end: flight, liberty, life.

For entire hours, with nostrils distended like those of a horse, the Tzigane sniffed the air; it seemed to him that he inhaled the odour of hemp and flame, of dense smoke. Or else he turned in his cell like a top, examining the walls, feeling them with his fingers, measuring them, piercing the ceiling with his gaze, sawing the bars in his mind. His agitation was a source of torture to the soldier who watched him through the window; several times he threatened to fire on him.

During the night the Tzigane slept deeply, almost without stirring, in an invariable but living immobility, like a temporarily inactive spring. But as soon as he jumped to his feet he began to plan, to grope, to study. Sometimes his heart suddenly congealed, as if they had placed in his breast a new block of ice which did not melt, and which caused a continuous shiver to run over his skin. At these times his naturally dark complexion became darker still, taking on the blue-black shade of bronze. Then a queer tic seized him; he constantly licked his lips, as if he had eaten a dish that was much too sweet; then, with a hiss, and with set teeth, he spat upon the ground the saliva that had thus accumulated in his mouth. He left his words unfinished; his thoughts ran so fast that his tongue could no longer keep up with them.

One day the chief of the guards entered his cell, accompanied by a soldier. He shouted at the spittle with which the ground was spattered, and said rudely:

"See how he has dirtied his cell!"

The Tzigane replied quickly:

"And you, you ugly mug, you have soiled the whole earth, and I haven't said a word to you. Why do you annoy me?"

With the same rudeness the chief of the guards offered him the post of hangman. The Tzigane showed his teeth, and began to laugh:

"So they can find none! That's not bad! Go on, then, hanging people. Ah! Ah! There are necks and ropes, and nobody to do the hanging! My God, that's not bad."

"They will give your life as a reward!"

"I should say so: I could hardly play the hangman after I am dead!"

"Well, what do you say, yes or no?"

"And how do they hang here? They probably choke people secretly."

"No, they hang them to music!" retorted the chief.

"Imbecile! Of course there must be music... like this..."

And he began to sing a captivating air.

"You have gone completely mad, my friend!" said the guard. "Come, speak seriously, what is your decision?"

The Tzigane showed his teeth.

"Are you in a hurry? Come back later, and I will tell you!"

And to the chaos of unfinished images which overwhelmed the Tzigane was added a new idea: how agreeable it would be to be the headman! He clearly pictured to himself the square black with people, and the scaffold on which he, the Tzigane, walked back and forth, in a red shirt, with axe in hand. The sun illuminates the heads, plays gaily on the axe blade; everything is so joyous, so sumptuous, that even he whose head is to be cut off smiles. Behind the crowd are to be seen the carts and the noses of the horses; the peasants have come to town for the occasion. Still farther away fields. The Tzigane licked his lips, and spat upon the ground. Suddenly it seemed to him that his fur cap had just been pulled down over his mouth; everything became dark; he gasped for breath; and his heart changed into a block of ice, while little shivers ran through his body.

Twice more the chief came back; the Tzigane, showing his teeth again, answered:

"What a hurry you are in! Come back another time!"

Finally, one day, the gaoler cried to him, as he was passing by the window:

"You have lost your chance, my ill-favoured raven. They have found another."

"The devil take you! Go, be the hangman yourself!" replied the Tzigane. And he ceased to dream of the splendours of his trade.

But toward the end, the nearer drew the day of execution, the more intolerable became the impetuosity of the torn images. The Tzigane would have liked to wait, to halt, but the furious torrent carried him on, giving him no chance to get a hold on anything; for everything was in a whirl. And his sleep became agitated; he had new and shapeless visions, as badly squared as painted blocks, and even more impetuous than his thoughts had been. It was no longer a torrent, but a continual fall from an infinite height, a whirling flight through the whole world of colours. Formerly the Tzigane had worn only a moustache tolerably well cared for; in prison he had been obliged to grow his beard, which was short, black, and stubby, giving him a crazy look. There were moments, in fact, when the Tzigane lost his mind. He turned about in his cell all unconscious of his movements, continuing to feel for the rough and uneven walls. And he always drank great quantities of water, like a horse.

One evening, when they were lighting the lamps, the Tzigane dropped on all fours in the middle of his cell, and began to howl like a wolf. He did this very seriously, as if performing an indispensable and important act. He filled his lungs with air, and then expelled it slowly in a prolonged and trembling howl. With knit brows, he listened to himself attentively. The very trembling of the voice seemed a little affected; he did not shout indistinctly; he made each note in this wild beast's cry sound separately, full of unspeakable suffering and terror.

Suddenly he stopped, and remained silent for a few minutes, without getting up. He began to whisper, as if speaking to the ground:

"Dear friends, good friends... dear friends... good friends... have pity... friends! My friends!"

He said a word, and listened to it.

He jumped to his feet, and for a whole hour poured forth a stream of the worst curses.

"Go to the devil, you scoundrels!" he screamed, rolling his bloodshot eyes. "If I must be hanged, hang me, instead of... Ah, you blackguards!"

The soldier on guard, as white as chalk, wept with anguish and fear; he pounded the door with the muzzle of his gun, and cried in a lamentable voice:

"I will shoot you! By God, do you hear? I will shoot you!"

But he did not dare to fire; they never fire on prisoners sentenced to death, except in case of revolt. And the Tzigane ground his teeth, swore, and spat. His brain, placed on the narrow frontier that separates life from death, crumbled like a lump of dried clay.

When they came, during the night, to take him to the gallows, he regained a little of his animation. His cheeks took on some colour; in his eyes the usual strategy, a little savage, sparkled again, and he asked of one of the functionaries:

"Who will hang us? The new one? Is he accustomed to it yet?"

"You needn't disturb yourself about that," answered the personage thus appealed to.

"What? Not disturb myself? It is not your Highness that is going to be hanged, but I! At least don't spare the soap on the slip-noose; the State pays for it!"

"I beg you to hold your tongue!"

"This fellow, you see, consumes all the soap in the prison; see how his face shines," continued the Tzigane, pointing to the chief of the guards.

"Silence!"

"Don't spare the soap!"

Suddenly he began to laugh, and his legs became numb. Yet, when he arrived in the courtyard he could still cry:

"Say, there! you fellows yonder, come forward with my carriage!"

FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

Vasilisa the Wise, by A. V. Lunacharski, translated from the Russian by Leonard A. Magnus. (Kegan Paul, French Trubner and Co., 3/6.) This little play has for its moral the following words on Vasilisa, its principal character:

"We must live for children! We must love for children! The race of man will be wise and happy when children live for joy and the elders live for children. Then we shall go forward! At the height of my earthly wisdom I understand this..."

"The man's divinity on earth shall be the child..."

The propaganda in this play—for it is a propaganda play—is mainly directed towards sexual and family relationships.

The Railroaders' Next Step—Amalgamation, by W. Z. Foster, 25 cents. (Trade Union Education League, Chicago, U.S.A.) The intention of this pamphlet, which is not a very advanced document, may be judged from the following quotation:

"But while we are working for the amalgamation of the railroad unions into one industrial organisation... we cannot stop with that measure... Next we must form alliance with the miners and transport workers, as the British railroaders have done in the Triple Alliance, but more effective and militant. And then, with that accomplished, we will go on and on, building up still greater combinations, until finally we have the whole working class solidly united in one militant organisation."

The pamphlet goes on to say that the Trade Unions are "weak in numbers and discipline," and that "when they will have the great masses of workers organised and instructed in their true interests, that hour will sound the death-knell of Capitalism."

That is the sort of thing that might have been said many years ago in this country, when the Trade Unions had only enrolled a minority of workers, as is still the case in the United States to-day. In this country at this time, however, we have seen the great masses organised in the Trade Unions and instructed according to the doctrines of the Trade Union officials. We have therefore learnt what Mr. W. Z. Foster failed, unfortunately, to learn when he was in Europe, that something more than Trade Unionism is required to end Capitalism. That something is twofold—first the will, then the organisation.

tion, which latter is the all-workers' revolutionary inter-industrial union, built up from the Workers' Council basis, taking in all workers, regardless of sex, race, craft, or grade, who are prepared to work for the sovietisation of industry and the ending of Capitalism.

This building on and on with amalgamations of the old craft unions which Mr. Foster advocates, is a side-tracking of the movement to build on a new foundation.

The Revolutionary Crisis of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France, by W. Z. Foster, 25 cents. (Trade Union Education League, Chicago.) This pamphlet contains some useful information and documents, but the conclusions of the author are mistaken. He fails to see that the policy of working within old organisations was the one which failed to bring success during the last revolutionary opportunities, and that the new method of building an organisation capable of seizing those opportunities is necessary. He also fails to realise the need for a clear-cut Communist propaganda.

He gives the following agreement between the German employers' organisations and Trade Unions entered on November 15th, 1918, six days after the fall of the Kaiser. He points out that this agreement, by which the Trade Union leaders sold Socialism for some paltry reforms, sounded the death-knell of German Communism, for the time at least:

The Agreement Between the Employers' and Workers' Organisations, November 15th, 1918.

The large employers' organisations and the Trade Unions agree to the following:

1. The Trade Unions are recognised as the industrial representatives of the working class.

2. Any limitation of the workers' right to organise is not permissible.

3. The employers and employers' organisations will give up fully the "yellow" unions (organised strike-breakers), and will not support them directly or indirectly.

4. All returning worker-soldiers will have the positions they held before the war. The participating employers' and workers' organisations will so strive, through the production of raw materials, etc., that this obligation may be entirely fulfilled.

5. Joint management and control of the employment of all labour.

6. Labour conditions for all workers will be established, according to the conditions of the various industries, by collective agreements, with employers' organisations. The negotiations will be undertaken and completed as quickly as possible.

7. In every plant with a working force of at least 50 employees there will be a workers' committee established, whose duty it will be, in co-operation with the employer, to see to it that the working conditions of the plant are kept in conformity with the collective agreements.

8. In the collective agreements provision will be made for arbitration committees, consisting of an equal number of worker and employer representatives.

9. For all industries the maximum daily working time will be eight hours. No wage reductions are permitted because of this decrease in working hours.

10. For the purpose of carrying out these agreements and the future measures to be adopted regarding demobilisation of the army, the maintenance of industrial life, the assurance of an existence to the workers, and especially regarding the war wounded, the participating employers' and workers' organisations will organise a central committee based upon joint representation and with proper industrial branches.

11. The central committee will also decide fundamental questions, in so far as such arise out of the collective regulation of wage and working conditions. It will also arbitrate disputes which affect several industrial groups. Its decisions will be binding upon both employers and workers, unless they are

contested within a week by one of the organisations involved.

12. These agreements enter into force the date of their signing, and will remain as the legal regulation until a three months' notification of a desire to change has been given by either side.

This agreement shall also apply strictly to the relations between the employers' organisations and the office workers (Angestellten) unions.

Says Mr. Foster:

"This agreement 'settled' the German Revolution. It determined just what the workers should get from the revolutionary upheaval upon exactly the same principles as an ordinary Trade Union contract. The workers' leaders agreed, by the very fact that they helped draw up the document that the Capitalist system should continue in Germany."

Mr. Foster's conclusion is quite correct and aptly presented. What he fails to see is that the Third International in Germany at this very moment is working towards a similar debacle in two ways:

1. In putting forward a reformist programme in the present crisis; a crisis which may lead to a revolutionary outbreak.

2. By placing itself behind the old Trade Unions, which are led by reactionaries, and by discountenancing the growth of any rival industrial organisations, which, in a crisis, might wrest control of the situation from the old leaders, or at the least place a check on their reformist tendencies.

The Bankruptcy of the American Labour Movement is caused, says W. Z. Foster, the author of this 25 cent pamphlet, by what he calls dualism in the industrial organisations; in other words, by the enlightened workers leaving the old craft unions and forming more advanced unions like the I.W.W. It does not occur to Mr. Foster that the bankruptcy is caused by the opposite factor—the failure of the backward elements to follow the advanced. Mr. Foster is contributing to the bankruptcy by trying to deter the advanced workers from moving on.

MINE AND THINE.

By William Morris.

(From a Flemish Poem of the Fourteenth Century.)

Two words about the world we see,
And nought but Mine and Thine they be.
Ah! might we drive them forth and wide
With us should rest and peace abide;
All free, nought owned of goods and gear,
By men and women though it were.
Common to all all wheat and wine
Over the seas and up the Rhine.
No manslayer then the wide world o'er
When Mine and Thine are known no more.
Yea, God, well counselled for our health,
Gave all this fleeting earthly wealth
A common heritage to all,
That men might feed them therewithal,
And clothe their limbs and shoe their feet
And live a simple life and sweet.
But now so rageth greediness
That each desireth nothing less
Than all the world, and all his own;
And all for him, and him alone.

SPICE.

She stood on the pavement, the heir of the ages, with broken boots and two quaint jugs in her hand. Her face was distorted with care, and her nervous fingers sought her lip. Bareheaded she was, and her unbrushed hair was twisted in last night's scanty plait.

She stood on the edge of the pavement, on the brink of the muddy road, and counted whether the money she clutched would fill the jugs. The carman jolted past her, seated above the planks on the high piled lorry, dozing hunched in his place. The motor-bus sped by her and splashed with mud her dingy worn old clothes.

The anxious women crowded about the stalls in the gutter and fingered the blemished wares.

Workers' Dreadnought

Founded 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

Three Months (13 weeks) ...	Post Free 1/7
Six Months (26 weeks) ...	3/3
One Year (52 weeks) ...	6/6

Vol. X. No. 1. Saturday, March 24, 1923.

Our View.

MR. J. H. THOMAS, in defending the position of Labour Members of Parliament who accept invitations to dine with the King, the Other Side, clearly revealed his own most reactionary views. He performed a service, however, in putting the matter in a clear-cut form. When Mr. George Lansbury lunched with the King some time ago his noted benevolence obscured the issue. "He is such a good man: he must have gone there to plead the cause of the disinherited," was the general verdict; for who could imagine the virtuous George Lansbury desiring to partake of the fleshpots?

Mr. Thomas, however, has cleared the position. The Labour Party, he says, is not republican. If it were, the critics would have the right to complain of its representatives paying their court to royalty.

If, however, the Labour Party be not republican, how can it stand for Socialism and the emancipation of the workers? Kingship is incompatible with Socialism and the emancipation of the workers cannot take place within a class society. Mr. Thomas is not a Socialist; he has definitely stated so; but what is the position of Mr. Snowden and Mr. Macdonald? Are they so childish as to suggest that a Socialist can be a supporter of monarchy and the hereditary right of kings?

Mr. Thomas has made also another observation which shows how deep-seated is the dry rot which has eaten away the very fibre of Trade Unionism. He protests that it is "mean and dangerous" to argue that

"We are neither to associate with nor include amongst our friends anybody who either happens to be wealthy or whose political views differ from our own. . . . Carry this argument to a logical conclusion, am I to say to the general managers, many of whom, it is well known, are close friends of my own: 'Because you are on the other side you are to be treated as lepers, as far as the Labour Party are concerned.'"

It is hardly becoming that Mr. Thomas should choose his personal friend from those against whom he has to contend in the interests of the workers who employ him.

THE DEPORTATIONS to Ireland by the Home Secretary prove conclusively that the Free State Governed from Treaty has only given to Ireland a partial system of local Government, and that in all essential matters Ireland is still controlled by the British Government. The deportations to Ireland, and internments there, as explained by the Home Secretary, are carried out under regulations issued by Order in Council under the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, 1920. This Act was passed whilst Ireland was still admittedly governed from Westminster, as, of course, Ireland still is.

The Labour Members of Parliament, who protested against the deportations, made it clear that they stand for the Free State Government. Mr. George Lansbury said: "We want, just as much as they (the Tories) want, to maintain the present Irish Free State Government."

The Labour Members further explained that their protest was only against illegal deportations, and that they had no intention

of defending those who were attacking the Free State.

Mr. Jack Jones said: "If this man has been guilty of any offence against the State, I am not here to defend him; but I am asking, are not the ordinary Courts available?"

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said: "We do not associate ourselves in any way with any action of a hostile character against the Irish Free State."

The point is, however, that republican feeling and republican determination remains so strong in Ireland that the Free State can only be maintained by coercion. Some people are prepared that the Free State shall be maintained by as much coercion in as extreme a form as may be necessary to prevent its overthrow. Other people desire the Free State to stand, but shrink from the required coercion. A choice must, however, be made: who will the Free State must will the means necessary to maintain it; who does not will the means must abandon also the end.

Communism and National Defence.

IN THIS COUNTRY, unfortunately, the mass of the workers have still to be converted to Communism—a free socialism, in which there shall be no social classes, no masters and servants, no buying and selling, no money nor wages, in which property shall be held in common, and the community being able to produce more than its members can consume, all will use what they desire of the common product without rationing or stint.

That the mass of people do not yet understand this essentially simple thing is to the discredit of those who have taken upon themselves to preach it. Since the masses are as yet but vaguely aware of the idea of Communism, its advocates should be ever vigilant and active in presenting it in a comprehensible form.

Thus it is regrettable that Mr. Walton Newbold, who has entered Parliament with the express purpose of using it as a sounding-board for Communist propaganda, should, by loosely worded sparring with the Capitalist politicians there, offer a totally erroneous view of Communism to the masses outside.

In the debate on the Navy Estimates, Mr. Newbold said:

"I do not want anyone to think that I oppose these Estimates having the view that if this country were under a bona-fide working-class Government we should take the position of disarmament. I quite echo, from the standpoint of one who hopes to see the working class rule in this country, the kind of sentiments to which the hon. and gallant Member for the West Derby Division (Sir R. Hall) gave expression, in regard to the necessity for defending the sea routes by which food comes to this country, and in the event of this country going revolutionary, we should not hesitate for a single minute to defend the country with a Red Army and a Red Navy to the uttermost of our power. I want it to be clearly understood that we do not take the view of yielding once the country becomes our own; but we do object to defending someone else's country."

MR. NEWBOLD undoubtedly meant that should Capitalism be overthrown in this country, and should the Capitalist Governments of other countries then attack and blockade the Communist community here, the Red Army and Navy would endeavour to repel invasion and to maintain the food supplies of the country. The invasion of and blockade of Soviet Russia by the British, French, American and Japanese Governments, for the sole reason that Russia had established the Soviets, is sufficient proof that the contingency indicated by Mr. Newbold is only too likely to be faced by the next country which attempts to become Communist.

Every Communist understands that. All the world, however, is not, as yet, Com-

munist; otherwise there would be no occasion for the speeches of Mr. Newbold. To the masses who do not understand Communism it is necessary to explain that whilst a Communist community may be compelled to resist attacks from aggressive Capitalism, when all nations are Communist there will be no such attacks; war, which is inherent in the private property system, will altogether cease; armies and navies, both Red and otherwise, will disappear. This is the most important thing which can be said in connection with estimates for the fighting services. Nevertheless, Mr. Newbold did not say it. Probably he felt it to be too far remote from the ideology of the Members of Parliament. Probably, being submerged in the House of Commons atmosphere, he felt himself too remote from the masses outside to remember that his object in going to Parliament was professedly to address the masses.

Whilst it failed to explain the Communist position, Mr. Newbold's speech lent itself to an entirely opposite interpretation—an interpretation which, in fact, has been widely placed upon it by non-Communists. Such persons have taken Mr. Newbold to mean that if a Labour Party Government, or any Government that Mr. Newbold would recognise as working class should take office in the ordinary Parliamentary way, such a Government would not be pacifist, but would maintain a strong army and navy. That Mr. Newbold qualified his observations thus:

"In so far as the Navy exists for the defence of the interests of the working class within the country, it is assured of my support; in so far as it is an instrument of British Imperialism, the Navy, in this House and outside the House, is assured of the opposition of the Communist Party."

That statement does not sufficiently clarify Mr. Newbold's position in the ears of those who hate war. The Hendersons and Thomases, the Tilletts and Havelock Wilsons, the Hyndmans and Blatchfords, the Scheidmans and Renaudels have taught them, but too surely, that the most blatant jingoes are apt to denounce imperialism whilst exalting an imperialist war as a holy war of defence. Therefore, the people whose confidence has been betrayed by the social-patriotic jingoes are coming to judge the attitude of a politician towards war by his attitude towards the means of making war. The man who desires a big army, navy and air force, is rated a jingo imperialist, however much he may cry peace. The Socialist Movement of this country has not forgotten another young Socialist politician who came from Owen's College and went into Parliament, Victor Grayson, whose memory is lost in a mist of jingoism. If Mr. Newbold would be taken seriously, he must beware of being mistaken for one of the social patriots from which the movement has suffered so much. He must remember that most people do not read the verbatim reports of the Parliamentary debates, and that he will be judged by those few stray utterances of his which are reported in the Capitalist Press; those least wise, least coherent sentences from his speeches which the Press chooses to select just because they are most provocative and least likely to convert.

WE HAVE REPEATEDLY emphasised our view that the propaganda for Parliamentary Communism which can be done through Parliament is very small. Its value is far outweighed by the fact that it continues to direct the attention of the masses towards Parliament as the institution which can emancipate them. We, on the other hand, would impress upon the people that the power to create the Communist society is within themselves, and that it will never be created except by their will and their effort. We would have the masses look, not to Parliament, but to their own Soviets. What is required to-day is not the Parliamentary leader threatening the Capitalist Parties with empty threats and dragging his followers by the thought-stultifying discipline, which is so much vaunted by Mr. Newbold. What are

needed are they who can liberate thought and stimulate ideal, the patient organisers, the steadfast toilers, the pioneers, too truthful to echo the popular catch-cries, who do not fear to stand alone.

ONLY 38 PER CENT. of London's families occupy a house to themselves, the vast majority of London's families. flats for family use not being widely popular in this country. 32 per cent. of London's families occupy half a house, 30 per cent. occupy only a third or smaller portion of a house, 100,000 families have less than half a room per person, and in 616 families six persons eat, live and sleep in one room. In 49 families eight persons possess one room only.

THE DECISION of the Russian Social Revolutionaries to cease both their secret and open opposition to the Russian Communist Party, is but the natural outcome of the unfortunate "New Economic Policy," which is leading Russia so swiftly back to Capitalism. They fought the Russian Communist Party when that party sought to destroy Capitalism. Now that the Russian Communist Party has made peace with Capitalism, the Social Revolutionary Party has no reason for continuing the struggle.

LENIN is again seriously ill. There seems, indeed, little hope for him of any prolonged recovery. The great revolutionary leader is passing away with the revolution of which he was the central figure. How far the rapid decline of the Russian Revolution and its Communism, and the no less marked decline in the policies of the Russian Communist Party, and its creation, the Third International, may be attributed to the declining powers of Lenin, cannot be known except to his immediate associates and colleagues, and even by them will only be clearly realised after he has passed from the stage of life.

We believe that posterity will regard Lenin rather as a courageous and able tactician in the struggle to overthrow Capitalism, than as an originator in the building of Communist ideology and practice. However we may disagree with his present policy, we must nevertheless recognise that in 1917-18 he displayed tremendous courage, both moral and physical. We must acknowledge that he had the faculty of rising to a great conception of world events, and even though the part he actually played may have been exaggerated, it is obvious that he had the capacity to dominate an immense and supremely difficult situation. The first conception of the Third International was also a bold one: a revolutionary international, preaching no compromises, no political trading; to use Wilhelm Liebknecht's phrase, built on the Workers' Industrial Councils in all countries. Whether the original broad and bold conception was that of Lenin we do not know: only that he was believed to stand for that throughout the world. Let him be remembered in after years in association with the policies of the early heroic days of the Russian Revolution; let him be remembered for what he did and for what he stood for then—not for the confused and conflicting policies that arose about him when his faculties were dimmed and his great powers had waned.

WHEN THE FRENCH invaded the Ruhr the German industrial Capitalists were willing to provide them with coal, provided the French would pay them a price which would ensure them ample profits. The French refused. They desired, not to buy coal, but to possess the mines. Thereupon

the German Capitalists caused the German Government and workers to refuse coal to the French.

Nothing could have suited the French plans better; they desired to annex the Rhineland, and they proceeded to carry out their plan to do so.

The German Capitalists are now growing nervous; and, fearing to lose all, they have offered to present to the Allied Capitalists 25 per cent. of the shares in the Rhineland industrial concerns.

We do not anticipate that the French and the other Allied Capitalists will be satisfied with these concessions. They will squeeze German Capitalists further yet.

As to the workers of the Rhineland and Germany as a whole, they will be the principal victims of the contest in any event. Their only chance is to make revolution against both the home and foreign Capitalists. Will they do it? When they do it, will British workers join hands in solidarity with them, or will they still continue to serve the interests of British Capitalism?

On with the Workshop Council Movement, comrades, in order that we may have the power to act when the opportunity comes!

THE I.L.P. CONFERENCE resolutions contain some posers for I.L.P. Parliamentary representatives. It will be interesting to observe how far they are prepared to obey the following instructions, if they are carried: to vote in Parliament against all naval and military estimates, to renounce all war reparations on behalf of Great Britain, and to oppose the payment of war indemnities to any other nation, to publicly warn the Government that on coming into power the Labour Party will reserve the right to denounce all treaties and understandings violating the self-determination of nations, or with a view to a balance of power, to introduce a Bill for complete national freedom for India and Egypt. Since the Labour Party is strongly Imperialist, the I.L.P. Members of Parliament will get into hot water with their colleagues if they guide their policy by such resolutions.

A resolution from several branches at last recognises that "the League of Nations" in its present form is liable to be used as a dangerous instrument in the hands of International Capitalism." Until the League is remodelled the resolution truly observes: "The aims of the workers can best be advanced by united action through their own national and international organisations." Very true indeed: if the resolution were to add here some method by which such action should be brought about it would be valuable. Moreover, it would cause some fluttering amid some Parliamentary doves.

The resolution, however, goes on to suggest a re-modelling by which the League of Nations may be made "a true means for the expression of popular opinion." The means proposed by the resolution are woefully inadequate to render the League innocuous. It would still remain, as the promoters of the resolution describe it, "a dangerous instrument in the hands of international Capitalism." The promoters of the resolution desire when they have admitted the Governments of all nations to the League, and have procured some other small reforms, to propose:

"An International Economic Council and Secretariat for the control of the main raw materials, minerals, and foodstuffs of the world should be established. The International Trade Union and Co-operative Movements should have representation on, and become a functional part of the work of, the International Economic Council. "The International Labour Bureau should be an integral part of the League. Its decisions should be ratified by the General Assembly. Its personnel should

be decided in association with the Trades Union International.

"The present provision of the League, making all action dependent upon unanimity of decision, should be abandoned."

A League of Nations, to which all nations were admitted, might possibly be fairer towards the various nations from what is now called the national standpoint, but is really the national capitalist standpoint. There is no reason to suppose it would be any more satisfactory towards the working classes in any of the countries.

For the movement the only safe policy is that of non-co-operation with Capitalism, whether in the national Governments or in the League of Nations.

NEWS FROM IRELAND.
By Economic Section.

In Ireland to-day there exists an organisation called the ex-I.R.A. Men's Organisation, which calls itself neutral, though it is composed of ardent Free Statists, and which is calling out for a politicians' peace.

The peace appeal said to have been issued by Liam Deasy, lately Chief of Staff to the I.R.A., was faked up in Portobello by the Publicity Department of the Free State Army, in order to set a trap for unwary Republicans. The reward poor Deasy received for his brilliant services is an Irish felon's grave in some waste ground adjoining a military prison in Co. Limerick.

The Electrical Section of the Irish Engineering Union has put in a demand for increased wages, but has small hope of winning, since the section will have to fight its battle alone unaided by other sections, for sectionalism is very strong in this so-called Industrial Union.

As we predicted recently, the soldiers of the Free State's "National" Army are being used as strike breakers in the interests of those farmers and business men who call themselves "the plain people."

In some agricultural districts officials of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union are being arrested without charge, and held in gaol.

Amongst these is Phil O'Neill, of Tullamore, who a few years ago joined the I.R.A. to work for freedom; but because of his Socialist ideas, he was "let down" by that body, and found himself in Mountjoy Prison. He went on eleven days' hunger strike, and on release re-joined the Socialist Party of Ireland, and continued struggling for the Workers' Republic till he was arrested by the Free State.

Charles Ridgeway and Frank Purcell, of Dundalk, are also under arrest; and Supple, secretary of the Athy branch of the Transport Union. Supple was offered release if he could induce the labourers to accept a wage of 25/- a week. He refused to have anything to do with the proposal, and remains in prison.

Woe to those who mislead the Irish workers by urging closer co-operation between exploiter and exploited. It is high time that the idea advocated by Tommy Foran, of "finding a way out through the Arbitration Court" should be thrust aside. The class war cannot be avoided by "schemes for Labour" drafted by Father Tom Finlay and other professors.

Where is Cathal O'Shannon? He no longer edits the voice of Labour.

No wonder President Cosgrave tells the Press that the Labour Party is "fine."

The Free State Government's generosity to rebels is just like that of the U.S.A. The Irish working class is having cause to learn that the native exploitation can be more terrible than that of the "accursed Saxon."

MUSIC.

LISTO DE ESPERANTAJ KANTOJ KAJ MUZIKO.	
Alvoko, La (M) (Cox), Fenner	6d.
Brilas l' Esper' (M). Reeve	8d.
En la Mondon (A) (Zamenhof), Sefer ...	6d.
Esperantaj Kantoj Laŭ Konataj Artoj, Deans	5d.

ESPERANTO.

Lesson II.

MOODS (Continued).

In the previous lesson we spoke of (1) the Indicative Mood and (2) the Imperative Mood. There are also:

(3) The **Infinitive Mood**. This simply names the verb, without reference to time—e.g.: *paroli*, to speak; *iri*, to go. There is no mystery about it; it is simply the form we know in English with *to* before it, thus: to run, to be, to grow, to swim, to walk. We do not translate the word *to* into Esperanto in these expressions, because it means the same as the ending *-i* (*kuri* means to run). The **Infinitive Mood** is the form of a verb which ends in *-i*—e.g., *paroli*, to speak.

(4) The **Conditional Mood** (ending in *-us*) expresses a **supposition**. It says: If something were so, we should do so—and so—e.g.: *Mi parolus*, I should speak (if I could, or if you would let me, etc.).

(1) *Se mi estus sana, mi parolus*, If I were well, I should speak. ("Unfortunately, I'm not well," is implied.)

(2) *Se li estus Socialisto, li helpus al ni*, If he were a Socialist, he would help (to) us. (He obviously isn't one.)

In the first sentence, *Se mi estus sana* (If I were well) does not state a fact; it states a **supposition**, a condition or assumption. If we were stating a fact, we should use the Indicative Mood in one of the tenses *-as*, *-is*, *-os*.

Note that the *-us* form occurs in both parts of the sentence, even if the English words differ.

COMPOUND TENSES (continued).

Instead of the Simple Tenses, *mi tenas*, *-is*, *-os*, I hold, etc., we can use the following **Compound Tenses**:

Present: *Mi estas tenanta*, I am holding.

Past: *Mi estas teninta*, I have held [literally, I am (in a state of) having held].

Future: *Mi estas tenonta*, I am about to hold, going to hold.

Tenanta, *-inta*, *-onta* are called **Active Participles**. (I am acting, doing—in this case, holding.)

The difference between *-anta* and *-ata*; *-inta* and *-ita*; *-onta* and *-ota* will best be seen by comparing the following examples:

Present: *Mi estas tenanta*, I am holding (active).

Mi estas tenata, I am being held (passive).

Past: *Mi estas teninta*, I have held (active). *Mi estas tenita*, I have been held (passive).

Future: *Mi estas tenonta*, I am about to hold (active). *Mi estas tenota*, I am about to be held (passive).

The Active participles (*-anta*, *-inta*, *-onta*) tell you that I am doing, have done, am going to do.

The Passive participles tell you that something is being done, has been done, or is going to be done to the person or thing spoken of.

For all practical purposes, the learner can ignore the **Active** participles; at any rate, he would be well advised not to attempt at present to use them. Instead of them, he should use the **Simple Tenses**: For I am holding, he should use *Mi tenas*; for I have held, *mi tenis*; and for I am going to hold, *mi tenos*.

Vocabulary.

<i>legas</i>	reads, is reading
<i>povus</i>	should be able
<i>se</i>	if
<i>vagonaro</i>	train
<i>vibras</i>	vibrates
<i>volus</i>	should wish
<i>paroli</i>	to speak
<i>povas</i>	can, is able
<i>malsana</i>	ill, unwell
<i>kiam</i>	when
<i>parolonta</i>	about to speak
<i>falis</i>	fell

Translate.—*La sinjorino kiu legas estas mia patrino. La sinjorino kiu estas leganta*

(who is reading) estas mia patrino. *Mi legus, se mi povus*; sed la vagonaro vibras. *Mi parolus pri Komunismo, se mi povus paroli*. *Li estis parolanta (was speaking)*. *Mi volus paroli, sed mi ne povas paroli*. *Mi estus parolinta, sed mi estis malsana*. *Li estis parolonta (was about to speak)*. *kiam li falis*.

LESSONS FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.
THE GREEK SLAVES AND FREED MEN.

As we have seen, the condition of the enslaved workers of early Greece was poor and abject. Their food—peas, nuts, roots, and skimmed milk—was often insufficient, and they were ravaged by diseases which did not attack the free citizens. They were marked upon the face that they might be recognised as slaves. They were said to be without souls; for, as is the case with all religions, the heaven the Greeks imagined for themselves was a copy of their own earthly society; the slaves, being banned from citizenship, were also banned from heaven.

The work of Greek society was done by slaves; the citizens would not work, for work was considered ignoble. The honourable occupation for men was warfare. The slaves were only permitted to fight in war when an overwhelming pressure of enemy numbers made it advisable to call the assistance of the slaves to prevent defeat. When this was done it was customary to free from bondage the slaves who had taken part in the fighting. In the great Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta, which began in 432 B.C. and lasted 27 years, the Spartan slaves were called upon to fight; they were only allowed to bear light arms, the heavy arms being reserved to their social superiors. When the battle ended in victory for Sparta, 2,000 of the slaves were to have been enfranchised. They were marched to the temple to be garlanded and crowned, but were then all massacred by order of the Ephori, the five magistrates of Sparta. This massacre took place in 424 B.C.

Even the freed slaves held a very ignominious position. They could not vote, and were not admitted to citizenship. Yet the slaves were merely prisoners of war, debtors, or the children of workers whose forbears had become slaves, through warfare, poverty, and the need for earning a living by the work of their hands. Some of the slaves were owned by the State, some by private individuals.

The silver mines of Laurenum belonged to the State, but were worked by contractors; sometimes the State leased a mine and its workers to a contractor, sometimes the contractor provided his own slaves, a thousand or more. Some of the workers in the mines were convicts undergoing punishment. These men and women worked without clothing, their legs loaded with chains. Outside the mines were the workshops where the metal was treated, water courses and tanks for washing it, wagon shops for making and repairing the conveyances used for transporting it. A great industrial centre was congregated there.

During the Peloponnesian War the Spartans advanced to Decelea, near to the silver mines, and 20 miles from Athens. They fortified their position well, and their forces greatly harassed the Athenians and prevented them from obtaining supplies from that part of the country.

The workers in and about the silver mines, to the number of 20,000, feeling no patriotism towards Athens, and promised better conditions by the Spartans, ran away into the Spartan lines, taking with them sheep, draft oxen and horses. The offer of better conditions and escape from present hardships made them ignore the massacre of 2,000 Spartan slaves of which they must have heard. The Athenians thus lost more than half the labourers and skilled mechanics in that area. This was a serious matter for Athens, for the troops were paid, not with paper money, but with silver from the mines, and the mechanics

were engaged in making and repairing arms. This happened in 443 B.C. One of the offers made by the Spartans to the Athenian slaves was that they should work on their own account, giving only a proportion of their earnings to their master, so that they might eventually save enough to buy themselves free. The slaves, not being instructed by a carefully organised Press, felt no traces of patriotism for the country of their masters, and therefore accepted the offer.

The tendency to independent action amongst the slaves certainly caused the ruling classes much anxiety, for not only did they use harsh punishments towards the slaves in case of disobedience or uprising; they also counselled kinder treatment by the masters, in order that such uprisings might not occur. Both the Greek and the Roman citizens were subtle and cultured, and versed in the usages of diplomacy. Plato, in his "Laws," vii., 77, wrote:

"Where many slaves of the same nationality live together in the same city, great misfortunes will occur; and this something to be attributed as the true cause of insurrections with all their cruelties."

Macrobius (in *Saturnaliorum Libri*, I. xi. 2, 25-30) says that the gods protest against the cruelty towards the slaves:

"I have heard of the great indignation of heaven caused by the punishment of slaves. Once in the 474th year from the foundation of Rome, one Autranus Maximus fastened his slave to a forked gibbet, and in this condition whipped him round the ring in the circus before the spectators. On account of this cruelty, Jupiter was so incensed that he ordered a certain Annus to inform the Senate that he should withdraw his heavenly protection if such cruelties were not put an end to."

The working people, who were slaves or freed men little better off than slaves, organised unions for mutual support and protection. These organisations, by inscriptions of the period which had been found, and which are now in the Archaeological Museum at Athens and elsewhere, are known to have had the following officers:

- (1) Three presiding officers of both sexes:
- (a) The president (prostates), male.
- (b) The guardian in charge (proeranis), female.
- (c) A president of finance (archerani-istes).
- (2) A stewardess or housewife.
- (3) A manager or trustee (epimeletes), of whom each "eranos," or union, had probably more than one. The functions of this important office were divided amongst the men and women of the union.
- (4) The recording secretary (grammateus), who wrote the minutes for the archives.
- (5) Lawyers (sundikoi), whose business was to defend the Society and its members against persecution from outside.
- (6) The manager of religious rites (hieropoios).
- (7) The priest (hi rokeryx), who attended to the religious ceremonies or rites.

(To be continued.)

"DREADNOUGHT" £500 FUND.

Brought forward: £470 8s. 9d.

P. Barrs, 5/-; E. L. Osmond, 10/-; B. Everard, 2/6; Mrs. Brock, 1/-; E. Beer, 1/-; S. Elliott, 1/-; A. Wills, 1/-; Anon., 1/-; R. Symons, 6d.; Mac, 6d.; Hendy, 1/-; C. Dennis, 1/-; Per M. E. Marsh, 4/-; W. E. McConnell, 1/- (weekly); H. A. Clifford, 1/- (weekly); G. L. Jones, 2/6; Irene Smith, 1/- (weekly); J. Humphrey, 2/-; Mr. Surtees, 7/6; Mrs. Cuddle, 10/-; W. F. and M. Paul, 1/- (weekly); A. Woolley, 4/-; Mr. Blundell, 10/-; G. Sear, Jr., 5/-; F. Houghton, 2/- (weekly); Mrs. Humphrey (sale of eggs), 2/-; F. I. Beckett, 10/- (1/- weekly); E. Evans, 10/-; Woolwich Meeting, 4/10. Total for week, £5 5s. 4d.

Total, £475 14s. 1½d.

Parliament As We See It.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

In 1913-14 the Army, Navy, and Air Force cost £80,200,000. The 1922 figures are much greater. Even reduced to pre-war price values they amount to £102,531,000, an increase of 19.2 per cent., as a result of the war to end war. The Army Estimates for this year are £52,000,000, nearly £600,000 more than in 1914. The Navy Estimates are £58,000,000, the Air Estimates are £18,000,000; making £128,000,000 for the three Services—nearly double what they were before the war.

WHAT A ONE-POWER AIR STANDARD WOULD MEAN.

If Britain were to decide that its Air Force should be equal to that of any other Power, that of France being much larger, this would mean an immediate gross increase of £23,000,000, and an eventual increase of £35,000,000. The estimates for the three services would be £145,000,000.

FRANCE VERSUS BRITAIN.

Lieut.-Colonel Sir S. Hoare, the Secretary of State for War, disclaimed any possibility of rivalry between Britain and France. He nevertheless gave a gloomy picture of British defencelessness. He said that on present programmes France will have 2,180 service air machines in 1925, and Britain 575. Our present Air Service is only about one-tenth of the French; and, whilst two-thirds of the British machines are overseas, three-quarters of the French machines are in France. France has, moreover, 300 civil machines, and 9,250 people employed in aircraft industry, whilst Britain has only 2,500 so employed. Britain has been giving subsidies to four aircraft firms of £2,000,000 a year, and has had small results. France spends 100,000,000 francs a year on civil aviation, and gives 50,000,000 francs a year in subsidies.

A COMMITTEE OF THREE.

Sir Samuel Hoare has therefore appointed a committee of three to advise him. It consists of his brother-in-law, his brother-in-law's partner, and his own partner—a bit of jibberly there, indeed! This committee has advised him to withdraw the present subsidies and to lend a new private company £1,000,000, free of interest, which shall raise another £1,000,000 on its own account from private capitalists, and pay 10 per cent. interest on that money. Sir S. Hoare said this would be no innovation, as the War Office already subsidises certain liners, and the Post Office gives nearly £500,000 a year to other lines.

TECHNICAL MILITIA.

It should be observed that the War Office is spending more on what it calls the Technical Militia, which includes telegraphists and the persons employed in providing mechanical transport, etc. This is important, as such a Militia could, and would, be used in case of industrial disputes. A military school for training boys as technicians is also being started.

WELL-TO-DO PARENTS WITHHOLD THEIR SONS.

The Air Minister declared that "parents are showing reluctance in putting their sons into the Army, and we are now faced with a very serious difficulty in finding cadets for Sandhurst, which at the present time is 88 short of establishment."

He declared that this was the more remarkable in view of the fact that Army officers are getting more than two and a-half times the pre-war rates. Col. Wedgwood (Lab.) further observed:

"If you want to do well for a boy, put him into the Army as a sub-lieutenant. He will do better there than he would in any civil profession at the present time. A lad of 22 gets, I think, about £850 a year, and he is doing well at that. That pay before the war, as I remember, was 5/-

a day; now it is £850 a year, together with allowances."

Nevertheless, the parents do not come up to scratch. The Air Minister thinks it is because the parents fear the size of the Army will be reduced owing to universal peace.

We think it is because the parents, with very good reason, believe there will soon be another war. The late war has taught them, at last, that soldiering is a dangerous trade.

BUT POOR BOYS ENLIST.

Yet amongst the poor lads who take the King's shilling and enter the ranks recruiting has increased. There were 39,000 recruits last year, as compared with the pre-war average of 29,000. Unemployment, and the consequent pressure of sheer want, accounts for this. Poor boys cannot pick and choose.

NAVAL ESTIMATES.

Mr. Amery, First Lord of the Admiralty, said if it had not been for the Washington Treaty our Naval Estimates would soon have risen by another £20,000,000. As it is, they are reduced by £7,000,000 this year. Of capital ships, Britain has 22 complete, 22 laid down. The U.S.A. has 18, but the U.S. has more of the larger ships. Of cruisers and light cruisers, Britain has 45 complete, 4 building. The U.S. has 20 complete, 4 building. Of aircraft carriers, Britain has 5 built and 2 being reconstructed. U.S. has 1 complete, 2 being reconstructed. Of destroyers and flotilla leaders, Britain and Dominions have 65 and 4 building, U.S. has 99 built and 29 building. U.S. Navy Estimates are £68,350,000, as compared with British £50,600,000.

Bigger Estimates to Follow.

Mr. Amery took a gloomy view of the situation. He said:

"There is no certainty in the domain of international affairs. The clearest sky may be suddenly over-clouded, and nations may be swept from their peaceful course by a storm which has sprung up almost without warning. . . . A great Navy, once let down, cannot be re-improved in an emergency."

He went on to add that if the Government contemplated the contingency of a serious difference with any other Power, it would not be justified in resting content with even a one-power standard. It was only because, he said, "there are no underlying rivalries or conflicts of purpose which could bring a war within the zone of reasonable probability in the near future" that these reductions could take place, but there could be no further reductions. On the contrary, there were exceptional estimates, and the expenditure would have to be increased with the return of more normal conditions.

Snowden's Amendment.

Mr. Philip Snowden moved an amendment to the Estimates, to the effect that the naval retrenchment is inadequate, and asking for an international Conference to extend the Washington Naval Treaty to other States. He pointed out that in 1914 the Naval Estimates were £50,000,000, and between 1900 and 1910 about £30,000,000. The fighting services would cost £128,000,000 this year, 50 per cent. more than in 1913. He asked is there still a menace?

Mr. Walton Newbold remarked, with much pertinence, that he could not see how within the capitalist system, and with any sort of Labour Government of which Mr. Snowden would approve, disarmament could come to pass. Having no care for the Empire, he would vote against all the Naval, Air and Army Estimates.

He went on to make a misleading statement regarding the Red Army and Navy. Since he did not explain himself, he has been taken by some persons to imply that under Communism national warfare will continue, which, of course, is absurd.

THE RUHR.

A fifth debate took place on the French occupation of the Ruhr. Sir John Simon, on behalf of the Asquithian Liberals, moved a resolution to reduce the Civil Service vote, in order to urge that the Ruhr question be referred to the League of Nations. He complained that British trade is being interfered with. Mr. Asquith adopted the same policy.

Mr. Mosley (Lib.) urged that the British Government should approach the U.S. Government with a view to bringing economic pressure to bear on France.

Mr. E. D. Morel (Lab.) also urged a reference to the League of Nations and an appeal to U.S.A. He then introduced the subject of Egypt, declaring Zagoul Pasha to be "the real leader of the Egyptian people," and urged that Zagoul be allowed to return to Egypt, in order to see whether he could form a Ministry. He declared that Zagoul Pasha is not against the British, but, on the contrary, has been praised by Lords Cromer, Milner and Kitchener.

Mr. Morel seems ignorant of the fact that Zagoul's popularity is purely due to the fact that he has been adopted as a figure-head of nationalism in Egypt. Were Zagoul to lend himself to support of the British domination, his popularity with the Egyptians would swiftly disappear.

Mr. Ronald McNeill replied, on behalf of the Government, in a very flippant speech, that no action is possible in regard to the Ruhr at the present time.

MINERS' CONDITIONS.

Mr. G. Barker (Lab.) claimed that vacant places in the mines should be stowed with rubbish to prevent the roof of the mine falling in and to avoid bringing the rubbish up to defile the surface. He also demanded shorter distances between the shafts, safety couplings, and other appliances for preventing accidents in shot firing and other operations, flame safety lamps to examine the working places, and better lighting to prevent miners' nystagmus, from which 6,790 miners are now suffering.

Mr. G. A. Spencer said that since Mr. Smith introduced electric lamps at Nottingham nystagmus had been reduced by 60.8 per cent.

Mr. Barker further demanded more inspectors of mines. In 1922 there were only 86 inspectors to 3,300 mines. He urged that the firemen who are responsible for seeing to the safety of the mines should be appointed by the miners themselves, and that the firemen should inspect the mines whenever they thought fit, and not be debarred by a time limit as at present.

The death-roll in the mines is over 1,000 men per annum, and over 100,000 maimed.

Mr. Harper (Lab.), a colliery engine winder for twenty-two years, complained that since the lock-out the practice of employing engine winders to attend to more than one set of machinery is growing. He protested that the Coal Mines Act Regulations dictate that the engine-man shall remain by his engine whilst the men are below, and remain attentive in case a sudden call should require him to raise the cage at once to bring up an injured man, or in case of an explosion. Nevertheless, he told of a colliery at which the engine-man, directed by the management, leaves the engine-house as soon as he has lowered the men into the pit, locks the door behind him, and proceeds across the highway to wind water by another set of engines. The attention of the inspector had been called to this abuse, without result. Mr. Parker added that men are lowered and raised from the pits more hastily than is safe.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONGST MINERS.

January 22nd, 1922: 118,143 totally unemployed miners.

January 22nd, 1923: 55,717 totally unemployed miners.

(Continued on p. 8.)

What is Socialism?

Have you ever asked yourself what Socialism really is, fellow-worker?

It is time you did, for so many people have different views about it.

Mr. Snowden moved a Socialist resolution in the House of Commons the other night, fellow-worker. It is the first time that has been done since Keir Hardie did it; and Keir Hardie's resolution was the first of its kind.

Socialism is beginning to be what is called a matter of practical politics at last, and that is why it is specially important you should make up your mind what sort of thing Socialism is and what you really want, fellow-worker.

Mr. Philip Snowden, in the course of his speech, observed that he is not in favour of confiscation.

What does he mean by that? He means that he does not wish to take the land and the means of production, distribution and transport from the Capitalist without giving something in return, and that something would be worth as much as the properties at present held by the capitalist.

One can understand what Mr. Snowden means to do, because he has just introduced a Bill to nationalise the land of Britain by buying it from the landlords in redeemable 5 per cent. stock. That is to say, by paying for it in bonds on which the Government will pay 5 per cent. interest, and which it can recover from the capitalist by paying him the money value.

That is not our idea of Socialism, fellow-worker. We should have to continue paying money to the capitalist as before, although the industries had been handed over to a Government Department.

The producers would still bear on their shoulders the burden of the idle rich and all the non-productive workers engaged in the maintenance of class society.

What Mr. Snowden proposes is really State Capitalism, fellow-worker. It will not do.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

(Continued from p. 1.)

"1. It is understood that there is here reproduced and confirmed the official communication of the 28th of July, which settled a question raised by the Fascisti regarding the relations between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

"2. The five bodies here represented agree to so arrange matters that all threats, overt acts, reprisals, punitive expeditions, vendettas, oppressions, and personal violence, of every species, shall immediately cease.

"3. The marks, emblems and badges of both parties shall be respected. In this matter requests and propositions were made regarding the exposure of flags on public buildings, but the President ruled that such questions rest within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Government, and Parliament and cannot be settled by agreement between political parties.

"4. The parties naturally pledge themselves to respect each other's economic organisations.

"5. Every action, attitude or conduct in violation of this pledge and agreement shall be disavowed and deplored by the respective organisations.

"The Socialist Party declares itself to be foreign to the organisation and work of the 'Arditi del Popolo,' which, moreover, is made plain by the conference of the latter, which proclaimed itself independent of all parties. [The Ardit del Popolo is a fighting organisation which resists the Fascisti.]

"6. Every infraction of these provisions shall be referred immediately to the judgment of an arbitrator, who shall objectively determine the responsibility therefor.

"7. To work out this agreement the political and economic organisations of each party shall contribute to the construction in every province of an arbitration committee composed of two representatives of the Socialists and two of the Fascisti, presided over by a person selected by common accord, or in default of that, by the President of the Chamber of Deputies. Wherever, fifteen days from to-day, the parties have not designed their arbiters, the nomination of them shall be made by the undersigned organisations:

"8. All the local agreements that do not correspond exactly to the spirit of this agreement are herewith annulled.

"9. The organisations pledge themselves not to oppose violently the reinstatement in their positions, by legal means, of those who claim to have been forced to resign their positions as public officials.

"10. The parties mutually agree to the restitution of all objects of value belonging

to the organisations and to individuals, which eventually are found in the possession of other organisations and individuals.

"11. The undersigned representatives invite the Press of their respective political parties to conform themselves to the terms of the present agreement, in order that its ends may be accomplished as easily as possible.

"The above is made public by means of the Press with the firm faith and hope that everyone may understand how the gravity of the hour demands the strength and honesty of this joint word of peace, and the necessity for compliance with it. The Treaty was signed by representatives of the Fascisti, the Socialist Party Executive Committee, the Socialist Parliamentary group, the General Confederation of Labour and the President of the Chamber of Deputies."

The agreement was not carried out by the Fascisti, but by entering into such an agreement the Socialists and Trade Unionists condoned the iniquities of the Fascisti and abandoned the fight for Socialism.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Indoor 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.

Outdoor Meetings.

Beresford Square, Woolwich. — Sunday, March 25th, 7 p.m. J. Welsh.

Other Meetings.

Sunday, March 25th, 3-6 p.m.

SIGNOR DONDI'S CLUB,

Eyre Street Terrace,

24 Eyre Street Hill, Clerkenwell.

A PROTEST MEETING AGAINST

The Fascist Reaction in Italy

and

The Camorra de Lospedali in London.

Speakers:

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

Pietro Gualducci.

SOCIAL AND DANCE

for the

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT,"

at the

CIRCLE GAULOIS,

Shaftesbury Avenue, Archer Street,

April 7th, 1923, 7.30-12 p.m.

SELECTED WEST END JAZZ BAND.

Tickets 1/6 single, 2/6 double.

To be obtained from 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

ORDER YOUR "DREADNOUGHT"

Through your newsgagent or from

152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

(Continued from p.7.)

THE PAUPER DISQUALIFICATION.

Two members of the Nantyglo and Blaina District Council were fined 40/- and £5 costs for continuing to sit after they had received Poor Law relief. The Minister of Health has refused to introduce legislation to remove the disqualification.

UNEMPLOYED BUILDERS.

136,261 builders are unemployed. Their unemployment benefit costs £93,800 a week. Meanwhile thousands of people are asking in vain for houses!

Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy protested against the bombing by aeroplane of Indian villages with their inhabitants and cattle.

Sir Samuel Hoare replied:

"Really such operations are much more humane than any ground operations by military expeditions could have been."

The Government did not take that view when the Germans were active in bombing French, Belgian and British towns.

DYES.

An outcry was raised against the Warrington Corporation Bill, which aims at constructing two large reservoirs in the Ceiriog Valley, a famous beauty spot of Welsh historic associations. The project will dispossess a population of 400 farmers and workers on the land. It was claimed that Warrington can get all the water it requires from other reservoirs, and that it is not making an economical use of the national water supply to allow that town also this other source. The Ceiriog water is, however, specially suited to dyeing, and the dye interests of Warrington easily secured the Bill.

CHILD SLAVERY IN HONG KONG.

The system of child slavery, called *mu tsae*, persists in the British Colony of Hong Kong, though abolished in other parts of China. A mother sold her child recently for 90 dollars, and the sale took place at the office of the British Secretary for Chinese Affairs. When the mother wanted her child back, the purchaser demanded 180 dollars as the price of redemption, and the Secretary for Chinese Affairs told the mother she must settle the business with the owner.

"DISTRESS."

Three thousand employees of Singers', in Clydebank, have lost £50,000 due in wages increase, owing to a technical point decided against them by the Scottish Court of Session. Mr. T. Johnston (Lab.) suggested retrospective legislation in view of the distress the decision has caused. Captain Elliot replied there is no distress known to the law amongst these workers, as they have not applied to the Guardians for relief—but if there were, he could do nothing.

HISTORIC ANALOGIES.

Members were solicitous for the Catholic Archbishop of Petrograd, and fourteen priests now imprisoned in Moscow, and waiting trial on a charge of refusing to hand over church property to the State.

Mr. Walton Newbold asked whether the law officers of the Crown would put at the disposal of the Soviet Government all the details of the British manner of dealing with similar persons during the Protestant Reformation in this country.

This question was, of course, ignored.

RATIONAL LIVING.

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

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, and printed by the AGENA PRESS, LONDON, at 10 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street.