

Sailors Beware!

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE SOVIETS IN CORK

Free State Government Opposes Workers. Free State Troops Re-Take Mills for Employers. Did the Executive of the Irish Transport Workers' Union in Dublin Ask the Free State Government "to Shift" the Soviet? Cork Railway Workers Seize Railways.

As we recorded last week, the workers employed at the mills and creameries of Messrs. Hallinan of Quarters, near Mallow, seized the establishments of their employers and proceeded to work them on their own account. Messrs. Hallinan (J. R. Webb, Ltd.) issued notice that their accredited agents had a right to deal with stocks from the mills and that they would hold legally liable any one purchasing from them.

The workers' manager of the mills replied by informing the public, through the press, that the late owners had forfeited their right to the mills by their avowal of inability to pay a living wage to their workers, and of determination to lock them out for six months, rather than do so. The Workers' Council promised to guarantee all who dealt with them against action by the late owners.

Irish Republican Army Breaks Faith.

The local headquarters of the Irish Republican Army had declared it had no legal right to interfere with the workers in possession of the mills if no looting or damage took place.

The Cork employers were, of course, dissatisfied by this statement, and the Council of Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping wired to Michael Collins, Chairman of the Provisional Government, demanding that the Government should restore the mills to the employers.

Michael Collins Turns the Workers Out.

Michael Collins wired back that the Government had "arranged to end the unauthorised action of certain persons, in taking over mills referred to."

This was only to be expected: the Irish Provisional Government is a purely bourgeois Government, and Arthur Griffith, the President, is a hardened old Tory in his political views where social questions are concerned.

Dublin Labour Officials Betray Mallow Workers?

What was not expected was that the Executive of the Transport Workers Union in Dublin should have instigated the eviction of the Mallow Workers' Council. Such, however, is the allegation made against the Executive by the Mallow Workers' Council.

The Council declares that the Transport Workers' Executive began by refusing lock-out pay. Later the local I.R.A. commandant, in evicting the workers from the mill, announced that their Federation Executive had asked the Army General Headquarters to "shift" them.

Mallow Workers' Own Statement.

Here is the statement issued by the Mallow Workers' Council:—

"Owing to the employers' attitude, the conference broke up without result. Our Executive refused to give lock-out pay, and after 12 days, during which not a single penny had entered one of our member's homes, we decided to work the mill for the public good.

"The I.R.A. did not interfere, and in the 'Cork Examiner' was published a statement, evidently issued with the consent of local I.R.A. headquarters, that the I.R.A. had no legal right to interfere with us so long as no looting or danger took place."

"Our organiser gave his word that none such would occur, and we can guarantee that it has not yet.

"This morning we were obliged to leave the mills, Divisional Commandant Liam Lynch informing us that our own headquarters had asked the G.H.Q. of the I.R.A. to have us shifted.

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"We have never had reason to doubt Commandant Lynch's word, and we ask every Irish worker to realise how we have been stabbed in the back. Our headquarters may deny it officially—that is a way Trade Unions have—but we will want convincing proof to the contrary.

"We readily understand the I.R.A. position in this matter, and every member of the I.T. and G.W.U. had better see to it at once that our Dublin leaders are no longer tolerated, but treated as traitors to our cause ought to be.

"On behalf of Mallow Mill Workers—Thomas Walsh, Chairman; Mr. P. Liveton, Secretary."

Cork Railwaymen Seize Railways.

In the railway dispute a similar situation developed. A compromise settlement was arrived at in Dublin, between the N.U.R., the engine drivers' Union and the railway clerks' Association, and the Ministers of Labour in the Government of Ulster and Nationalist Ireland, Mr. Andrews and Mr. McGrath.

On Thursday, February 9th, this settlement (which would have compromised on the wages question and left the hours untouched for six months) was concluded.

Next day, February 10th, the Cork railwaymen on strike refused to accept the settlement and seized the local premises and termini of the four railways in Cork City. At 12.30 p.m. the strikers, numbering between 400 and 500, assembled outside their headquarters at Grand Parade. They had decided at a mass meeting the previous night, to take this course if their

demands were not conceded by one o'clock. They then divided into four sections and, in splendid order, took charge of the stations. At the beginning of the strike, the railway workers had drawn attention to the fact that De Valera's Document 2 had stated that the Irish railways should be owned co-operatively. The workers had proposed seizing the railways at the opening of the strike, and putting into operation the co-operative principle. Such action had been postponed, but they now announced that they were taking their stand upon Document 2.

Mr. De Valera meanwhile confines his utterances to pure Nationalism and makes no response to those who are applying a part of his Document 2 in the way that appeals to them.

It appears that the Cork Railway Soviet may not last long. Though at the time of writing no news of the workers having returned to their position of wage-slaves has reached us, they have been negotiating and balloting on the question.

Though when Cork hoisted the Red Flag, the rest of Ireland did not follow, the rest of Ireland is seething with proletarian unrest.

CLYNES AND POPLAR.

The most noticeable point in the speech of Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., in reply to the Lord Chancellor, to which so much publicity has been given, is his reference to the Poplar Labour Councilors. His defence of them is so little a defence as to amount to a condemnation. He said:—

"The Chancellor asked what they had to say as to financing the Borough of Poplar. No local conditions to which the despairing state of the unemployed might have driven a body of Borough Councilors was any argument against Labour's policy on national finance. The real question was: What about Coalition finance?"

Clearly this does not mean that the Poplar Councilors are justified in relieving the unemployed on a higher scale than some others are doing, or in making their protest to secure equalisation of London Rates. It means, simply, that the National Labour Party Executive is not to be held responsible for the doings at Poplar.

Again Mr. Clynes carefully avoids justifying the Poplar Councilors when he says:—

"Poplar finance is Christian carefulness in comparison with the lavish spending of public money on worthless and wicked objects abroad, and in paying some of our totally useless Ministers at home. Poplar Councilors may be wrong, but they did go to gaol for their beliefs, though the Lord Chancellor escaped, in spite of his sustained disloyalty in organising breaches of the law and resistance to the forces of the Crown."

The last observation is, of course, an appeal to the gallery, but note the curious phrase, "Christian carefulness." Why carefulness should be described as Christian, we are at a loss to know; but, obviously, Clynes would infer that he considers Poplar is wastefully lavish in its grants to the unemployed; but in comparison with the greater wastefulness of the Government, it may be described as careful.

Clynes is preparing to govern: he will do it with no generous hand!

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON

Descending the Cockpit Steps into St. James's Park, they were asking Bistre, who always knew, how long ago the name had originated, and whether there had really been a cockpit at this place.

They overtook Mrs. Bonomi, making her way carefully, as befitted the serenity of her character and her advancing years.

She greeted Miss Mayence with affection, and included in her friendship the two whom she had not met before: Frank Penman and Bistre.

It was a balmy January afternoon, the air less keen than May, the soft sky flooded with pale gold, and the sun, large and round, denuded by atmospheric veils of all his fiercer lights. The Park was like an impressionist Japanese landscape, a misty harmony of varying greys. The bare branches of the near-by trees showed forth in delicate dark tracery. The pelicans sat motionless on the rocks in the lake. Curious ducks imported from foreign lands, with warm, burnt umber coloured feathers, dispersed themselves in the shallows.

Seagulls flown in from the sea, their soft clean plumage fresh from the winds of the ocean, stood on their thin red legs and clustered near the railings, eagerly jostling each other to catch the crumbs a poor mother was throwing to please her child. They dared not approach within a couple of feet of the railings, behind which were the human strangers; but within the space avoided by the seagulls was a crowd of little brown sparrows, pecking up the crumbs they might not venture to seek amongst the gulls.

"The sparrows are like the Irish workers, seizing mills and creameries, whilst the Irish Government is watching the British, as the gulls are watching us," said Miss Mayence.

Old Mrs. Bonomi noticed the birds and their habits, remarking this one for his arrogant strutting, that for his dappled wing. Her pleasure was as keen and unalloyed as that of a child.

The Park had become a mudbank. Workmen were everywhere digging up its roads and by-paths, and one was obliged to stoop under wooden barriers at every turn. Miss Mayence stepped suddenly into soft deep mud which covered the tops of her shoes:

"I might have been taking a short cut to the station over ploughed fields," she said, and felt exhilarated, as though she were really in the country with the "hills of spring-time about her. Her cheeks glowed; her soft young neck, its skin as fine in texture as the petals of a flower,

rose from her rough dark coat as the flowers rise from the earth. Yet she was less gay, less single-minded in her gaiety than the old needlewoman, who existed sparsely on her earnings and her old age pension in a Whitechapel slum. "God has been good to me," said Mrs. Bonomi, with enthusiasm.

Frank Penman and Bistre looked at her curiously, and Bistre mused on the faith of those who have never thought.

Miss Mayence considered the life of the old woman: the loss of her only child, a daughter who disappeared in Paris; her husband's failure in business; his growing insanity, and the long years during which, more fractious and difficult than a child, he had lain bed-ridden, dependent for all his needs upon his wife and her ill-requited sewing.

He was a Genoese, in whom dislike of all the foreigners about him grew as his mind decayed. As a foreigner he was even deprived of the Old Age Pension, and it had only been granted to Mrs. Bonomi after his death.

The old woman now lived on alone, without a relative in the world. Miss Mayence was wondering on the strange thankfulness of Mrs. Bonomi, whilst the latter, with lighted face, fell to discoursing upon the miraculous story of her beliefs and expectations.

Mrs. Bonomi had been a suffragette and had suffered imprisonment for that faith. She had embraced her punishment with so intense a fervour that it had brought her extreme delight. Her narrow cell had been a chapel consecrated to holiness. She had dwelt there in beatitude, singing hymns of joy and praise, and falling into ecstasies of meditation, in which she had built up a conception of perfect life, which had never left her.

She had attained to beatitude without suffering. No difficult task, no act that would have seared her conscience, had been necessary for its achievement. She had merely crossed the august pavements of Cavendish Square, with a party of women, some of whom had knocked more than once at the stately door knocker of Mr. Asquith then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Without being compelled to indulge in any unseemly conduct, which would have injured her self-respect, she had been taken into the custody of the Law, before she had reached the threshold of the Asquith residence. Thus, easily, had she earned her six weeks of sweet penance.

The little brown loaf and the rest of the meagre diet served out to her, the bare, ungarlished cell, seemed in accord with the volun-

tary poverty affected by the Saints. The six weeks of her incarceration were the emotional high tide of her life. They gave a new direction to her thoughts, from which she never turned.

She became obsessed with a desire for the Millennium. Hitherto she had hoped for the healing of sorrows in a life after death; but she could no longer tolerate the idea that want and wretchedness should continue; that the children of mankind should pass through a purgatory so evil as life in this world-to-day, before entering into bliss. The degradation of humanity, which she perceived around her, impressed her poignantly as cruel and unnatural in its wastefulness.

To tell her that all this would be gradually cured in the slow process of evolution, was merely to wound her. She longed for the immediate transformation of the miracle.

The atmosphere of the Suffragette movement was electric with thoughts of change. Its glit "Give woman the vote and all things shall be added unto you" was coupled with the martyr spirit which had run like a fever through the ranks of its adherents, and aroused a fervent emotionalism in which logic had small part. She listened to the speeches of the faithful, but they gave her back only what seemed barren and paltry sayings: Equal Divorce Laws; Women Lawyers; Heavier Punishments for Men who Beat their Wives and assault little girls.

These were but stones to her yearning for the bread of perfect life. She wanted no legal sanction to divorce and desert her poor incubus; her desire was to surround him with comfort and beauty. She wished neither to go to law, nor practice it: her aim was the healing of quarrels, nor did she wish more power for the punishment of sinners—only to bring them a joy that would purge the evil from their souls.

Therefore she turned in distaste from the pettifogging politics offered her, and built her hopes upon the early appearance of miracles. She eagerly welcomed the prophecies of Joanna Southcote, or any others of whom she learnt, who foretold the sudden ending of evil, and the establishment of universal well-being. Life would have seemed too unendurably hard to her without the hope of its speedy transformation.

Her strange confusion of beliefs did not exclude certain unreasoning assumptions of superiority over the Jews who formed the major part of her neighbours; assumptions which, to do her justice, were always discarded in her daily relations with them.

Happy in her beliefs, she smiled upon the world and her friends, and, as she left them, presented a little penny roll to Miss Mayence and a banana to Frank Penman.

SAILORS, BEWARE!

A short time ago, the German seamen's organisation sent out a call for an International Seafarers' Conference, pointing out the low wages paid to German seamen, on account of the low rate of exchange of the mark, and the probable use that would be made of this in the near future, by foreign shipowners.

Needless to state, this call was entirely ignored by Havelock Wilson and Co., with the result that British and other ship-owners are now sending their ships to Germany to be sold. They are forming new companies, which are, in reality, their old ones with German names. They pay off their crews, which are sent to England to swell the already enormous numbers of unemployed seamen. They then engage fresh seamen at the German rate of pay—about two thousand marks a month (a little over £2).

Not only has this been done, but attempts to sign men on at the German rate while the ships are still flying British colours, are made almost daily. The writer saw some glaring cases of this in Hamburg, only a few weeks ago, and one case of deliberate boycott of British seamen by the captain of a British ship is certainly worth recording.

The Case of S.S. Chalaster.

For some time past, a British ship, called the S.S. Chalaster, attempted to sign on a crew at

German rates; but owing to the strong protest made by British seamen who, fortunately, happened to be on the beach there, this was stopped.

British Seamen "Too Much Trouble."

This ship signed on at the British Consul General's office in Hamburg a couple of weeks ago; but when British seamen presented themselves in the hope of signing on, they were told by the captain, "C. Wills," that he had decided not to engage any Britishers. When pressed for a reason, he replied that the ship was not running to England, and Britishers were "too much trouble." By signing on a crew of foreigners, he had no Unemployment, and Health Insurance cards to deal with, which saved him and the company both time and money.

The British Consul General, on being interviewed, though he was also well aware that scores of British seamen were walking the streets of Hamburg, destitute, said he saw no cause to interfere. I should like to point out that the objection put before him was not to the employment of foreigners, but to the deliberate boycott and sabotage of British seamen by the captain of a British ship.

Consulates as Black-leg Agencies.

It is not only British ship-owners who are

using Germany's condition for their own interests. Since the American seamen's Union collapsed, American ships have been signing men on at the American Consul's for twenty-five and fifteen dollars a month. In some cases advantage has been taken of the men's destitute condition, to sign them on for nothing, in order that they could get back to the States. Consuls of all nationalities have now become black-leg agents for the bosses.

Norwegian ships are also arriving in Germany daily, paying off their crews, and signing on fresh men at lower rates. In fact, the ship-owners of all nations are using Germany's position in an effort to bring down the seamen's standard of living, wages and conditions, to the level of fifty years ago. The effort will succeed unless seamen get a move on. The only successful way to combat this move of the international ship-owners is by a Marine Transport Workers' International, organised on class lines, which must be organised, not only for the present fight, but for the coming and final fight, when the workers' terms will be: "Not more pay and less hours," but the complete surrender of the means of production and distribution to the organised workers.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

NEWS FROM GERMANY.

Hunger Strike of Political Prisoners.

In a previous report I referred to the hunger-strike of the political prisoners in most of the prisons and penitentiaries throughout the country.

It will be remembered that the strike helplessly collapsed; the working masses failed to take up the call of the hunger-strikers for a general strike and the overthrow of the Government.

The mighty K.P.D., with its 350,000 members and a large number of papers, took up the agitation for the release of the prisoners, but, as later transpired, only for the purpose of making political capital out of it.

The Communist members of Parliament organised and formed for a Commission of Inquiry and Investigation; the Communist Trade Union leaders became excited on the need of a general Solidarity Strike. When, however, the Government proceeded to separate the prisoners and to send them away broadcast: anywhere to torture and ill-treat them still more; when the conditions and reasons for a revolutionary fight actually materialised, the Party, with its hundreds of leaders and hundreds of thousands of members, withdrew from the battle plain and left the victims of its sensational agitation to their own fate.

Unfortunately the political prisoners never realised how they had been cruelly deceived by the great mass-party of Communists; so, on the 22nd of this month, they started on another hunger-strike; but luckily that only lasted two days; for, by that time, the political prisoners had realised that the K.P.D. had neither the slightest influence on the working masses, nor did its leaders the intention to tackle seriously any situation that might involve a real stand-up fight against the forces of reaction. One can indeed, quite truthfully and candidly allege that the days are long gone by when the K.P.D. was regarded by the ruling class as a danger to their comfort and well-being.

If occasionally some of the Party's leaders are prosecuted by the Government, it only happens in order to bluff the working masses into the belief that the K.P.D. is still the revolutionary Party of mighty deeds, so that there is no need to leave it and join the Left Wing Radical movement.

The K.P.D. Holds the Balance in the Brunswick Parliament.

The result of the recent Parliamentary election in Brunswick is as follows:—

	VOTES	MEMBERS ELECTED.
Majority Socialists	54,640	12
Independent Socialists	73,404	17
Communists (K.P.D.)	10,518	2
Total	138,562	31
	VOTES	MEMBERS ELECTED.
Union of Bourgeois Parties	101,004	23
Democrats	28,440	6
Total	129,444	29

According to these figures it will be seen that the two elected K.P.D. Members of Parliament completely hold the balance between the bourgeois and "workers'" parties; so that they are taking responsibility for what is happening under a capitalist constitution. All the legislation is naturally bourgeois Social Democratic. Even attempts of the Brunswick Government to obtain the release of the political prisoners, or the repeal of the suppression of labour organs from the Government of the Republic, have helplessly failed.

The Class War in the Economic Field.

The "cell" Communists in the Trade Unions are again cherishing great hopes of a big economic fight, which is to proceed mainly from the metal trade and railway workers. To expect that these millions of political children will, at the bidding of the "Red" Reformist

leaders of the K.P.D., enter into a great revolutionary fight arising out of mere sectional wages disputes, with no common political aim of a revolutionary character is, of course, the most blatant nonsense, and apt to kill the rest of the revolutionary spirit, still inspiring some of the clear-thinking workers.

This bubble of a "great victorious" fight has already been pricked and has hopelessly burst.

The Ministry of Labour.

The Ministry of Labour has just been instrumental in procuring the following award by the Arbitration Court in respect of the Metal Workers' demand for an immediate rise in wages:

The demand of the workers for an increase of wages for the month of January is refused. From the 30th January, however, the following increases are granted: for male workers above 21 years of age, 1.55 marks per working hour; from 18 to 21 years of age, 1.20 marks; from 14 to 18 years of age, 0.50 to 0.90 marks; for female workers over 21 years of age, 1.10 marks per working hour; from 18 to 21 years of age, 0.90 marks; from 14 to 18 years of age, 0.40 to 0.80 marks. The family grant for the wife and each child remains unaltered, viz., 1 mark per working hour. The parties have to declare by February 2nd, whether they will accept or reject this award. The workers will decide to-day (Sunday) what they intend to do."

Of course, miracles may happen even in these days of spiritual unbelief, and it may come to a rebellion among the metal workers, if they summon sufficient courage to act above the heads of their leaders. But, as already mentioned, this chance is very remote, and almost unthinkable, especially as the way to compromise is already paved by the award of increases from January 30th, even though the wages generally are near the starvation point. The Trade Union leaders—the henchmen of the capitalists—will once more fail to disappoint their masters, and by their usual crafty and dirty methods, they will gull their unfortunate victims—the masses of the metal workers—into docile submission and compromise all along the line.

A short time ago there was a strike of the railway workers in Saxony (who are all more or less State officials). Briefly, the facts that led up to the strike are these: ever since December 3rd last the railway workers of Saxony have been on the war-path on the question of a rise in wages. They have been granted the absurdly low increase of 75 pfennigs per hour. On January 9th last, they demanded an increase of 3 marks per hour and a definite reply from the Government by January 21st, midday. As no reply was received by then, the workers ceased work, without awaiting the call of the official gang of the Railway Workers' Union. These cat's-paws at once raised the hue and cry of "a severe breach of Trade Union discipline," and the consequence was that the President of the Saxon Railway Administration at Dresden, who is the official representative of the Saxon "pure" Socialist Government, immediately issued a notice that any workers who would not return to work by the 23rd, January, would instantly be dismissed. Seeing that the Trade Union leaders were backing the "pure" Socialist Government, a great many strikers got timid; but all maintained a defiant attitude until January 25th, when, on the promise of the Government, that no striker would be victimised, and that their case would be considered with a view to a substantial concession, they resolved to resume their work.

The Saxon Railway Strike has found a sequel in an ultimatum that the Amalgamated Railway Workers' Union of the whole of Germany has submitted to the Republican Government on January 27th, wherein the Union refers to the demands of the German Federation of Railway officials put forth by the same on December 3rd last. The Executive Committee of the A.R.W.U. demands a definite reply, one way or the other, within five days. In the event of a refusal, the remedy of the strike is to be adopted.

As was only to be expected, the Minister of Transport—the renowned late-General Groener, who, during the war, had called the workers on strike "dirty curs"—instantly issued a message to the railway workers, in which he pointed out

the impossibility of granting their demands, which, according to him, would mean the spending of 50 to 60 milliards of marks. He further declared the Government's readiness to "enter into full discussions of all questions of wages, hours, etc., with a view to submitting the necessary proposals to the Reichstag.

Governments of the component States, are now examining the question of possible increases of wages, owing to the rise in the prices of commodities, and will discuss the matter in the Reichstag on January 30th and February 1st, and give a definite reply.

At the same time, General Groener talks about the "irresponsible action of the Union," in having called the strike, and warns all "Government" officials to disregard the call for entering into a strike, as such a step would be a "severe violation of their duties to the State."

He finally threatens with most vindictive punishment, those guilty of promoting, or encouraging the strike, and, above all, promises "loyal protection" to those who, nevertheless, do their duty; that is, plainly speaking, those who will consent to act as strike-breakers.

As already observed, the "big fist" of the Trade Union officials—who are only afraid of losing control of the bulk of the membership—looks very threatening. All the while they are looking for ways and means for a compromise, and it will indeed be a miracle if this time their usual craftiness should fail.

ESPERANTO.

Edward Carpenter's beautiful hymn, "England, arise! the long, long night is over," is here translated into Esperanto; the translator has adapted it to international use, by taking the liberty of substituting "Brothers, arise!" for "England, arise!"—otherwise he has closely followed the text.

Leviĝu, Fratoj! Por estas la nokto,
La nokto pralongega.
Oriente pal' ekparesas luno,
Venas tagiĝo hela,
De maltrankvila penada laboro
Por la sonĝo terura!
Leviĝu, fratoj, ĉeestas la tago!

Vin viaj montoj kaj komparoj vokas,
Alkantas l'alaŭdo,
Veku, popolo, kial longe dormas?
Aŭdiu reson, do
Voĉojn el valoj ankaŭ ehoantaj
Klarege respondantaj:
Leviĝu, fratoj, ĉeestas la tago!

Vian visagon blindante kovrigas
Teksaĵo mensongega.
Leĝoj trompiĝaj al tero vin pinglas,
Vian rikolon sorbas
Malfarulo moko trone sidanta
Sur via kurba dorso!
Leviĝu, fratoj, ĉeestas la tago!

Herooj, samidanoj, antaŭen!
De patrujo amantoj
En danĝero, malriĉeco, fortegaj
Patriotoj antaŭen!
Venu kresigi la kant' triumfantan,
Tro longe silen an!
Popol' leviĝis! Nun estas la tago!
—Tradukisto, J. LEAKEY.

ON SALE NOW.

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

What Readers say:—
"I re-read it and again enjoyed it. It is a very fine piece of work, simply written and quite devoid of pose."—WM. J. PAUL.

"Best report yet published."—CHARLES BEECH.
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**"BORING FROM WITHIN."
The South African Example.**

This week we publish two striking examples of the fallacy of attempting to create a revolutionary Communist movement by "boring from within" the Trade Unions.

One of these is from South Africa, where the Mine Workers' Federation, imbued with the idea of solidarity of Capital and Labour, and desiring nothing so much as peace with the employing class, took extraordinarily drastic action against certain of its members for persevering in a strike. This action, as our readers will observe, included sentences of suspension varying up to five years, and fines varying up to £50. Of course these sentences had no legal basis, they could only be carried out by the agreement of the member sentenced.

This disciplinary action by the Executive, as well as the general lack of class-consciousness displayed by the Union, has led to the formation of a Mine Workers' Council of Action. This organisation, like the British Shop Stewards' movement of war-time, is composed of members who retain also their membership of the Trade Union. Its purpose is, however, to act independently of the Union. It is evident that the adherents to the South African Mineworkers' Council of Action, if it develops as an active revolutionary body, will presently find themselves expelled from the Union and obliged to form a self-sufficient body, acting as the open rival and opponent of the counter-revolutionary Trade Union.

The Irish Revolution.

The second example is nearer at hand, and even more striking. It comes, like so much that is active and stirring to-day, from Ireland.

The Mallow workers, who set up a Soviet in the Hallinan Mills, Quartertown, having been locked-out for refusing to accept lower wages, make a strong allegation of treachery against the officials of the Transport Workers' Federation at Liberty Hall, Dublin.

The Transport Workers' Federation had entered into an agreed national compromise from which the Mallow workers had dissented, we think, not only because they objected to any decrease of wages whatsoever; but because they are prepared to stand forth as rebels against the existing social order. They are fighting for a Workers' Republic and opposing the policies of the bourgeois Republicans, Arthur Griffith, Michael Collins, and the others who at present hold the reins of power in Southern Ireland.

The Mallow Workers' Council, whether as a temporary example which they knew could not be sustained, or as an attempt to put the match to the tinder of revolt for all Ireland, deliberately raised the Red Flag of proletarian rule.

The Provisional Government at first hesitated to intervene, but presently sent its troops to evict the workers from control of the mills, and to restore them to the employers.

The Mallow Workers' Council alleges that this step was taken on the instigation, or at least with the agreement of the Irish Transport Workers' Federation. Whether this charge is true or false, it is evident that the Federation is pursuing a policy of conciliation, not of hostility towards the capitalist Free State Government. The same policy has been displayed in the railway dispute, where the Federation has accepted a compromise, and again the Cork workers revolted and seized control of the rail-

ways. The Cork railwaymen declared that they based their action on De Valera's "Document 2," in which it was stated that the railways should be owned and operated co-operatively. Whether De Valera's idea of co-operation is in accordance with common ownership and control by the workers' Soviets, remains to be seen.

The Irish Transport Workers' Federation, the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party are clearly for a pacific policy: they appear to be basing their hopes for the Irish workers upon the ameliorations which may be obtained through an Irish Parliamentary Labour Party. The policy of maintaining the state of Revolution in Ireland and working to mould the revolutionary situation towards the establishment of proletarian power, is not the policy of the Irish official Labour movement.

Yet, obviously, this is the policy that every Communist, Socialist, or Anarchist, who desires to obtain Socialism in our time, must pursue. Even the honest old-fashioned Parliamentary Socialist should pursue a policy of industrial hostility to Capitalism and seize every opportunity for accentuating the class-struggle. Such conflict, even the Parliamentary Socialist should recognise as a necessary preparation for discarding the capitalist system, even though the Parliamentarian may believe that the ultimate overthrow of Capitalism will be by Act of Parliament.

It will be argued by some, that Ireland could not maintain Communism or any anti-capitalist society whilst the British Isles and Europe remain capitalist. It will be said that it would be impossible even were Ireland to make the change by constitutional Parliamentary process, still less if an Irish Revolution had given Britain and other Powers an excuse to intervene.

This is probably true; but the change from Capitalism to Communism must have its beginnings; even were the Irish Soviets speedily overthrown, it would be of inestimable value that they had existed for, however short a time. Who can say that an Irish proletarian revolution might not liberate the latent forces of action in this country?

It is true that Ireland, with its peasant proprietors, is handicapped for the Proletarian Revolution, as Britain, with its landless peasantry, is not; but the strength of the purely proletarian elements in Ireland is growing.

It is important to remember that it is in the struggle for Communism that we shall learn to be Communist. Were the capitalist to abdicate and place the power in the hands of the proletariat to-morrow, Communism would not immediately result, because the mass of people do not yet desire Communism, or know what is the Communist conception of life.

The Coming Irish Election.

The coming Irish General Election will probably accelerate the growth of the rebel proletarian movement in Ireland. If the Labour Party polls badly, as it probably may, the belief, held in some quarters, that a Workers' Republic may be obtained in Ireland, without struggle, will be dissipated.

Every member the Irish Labour Party succeeds in getting into the Irish Parliament will assist in proving to those who really want the Irish Workers' Republic Connolly died for, that a non-Parliamentary revolutionary Party must be formed.

The Border Raids.

The raiding by Nationalists and Ulstermen on the Ulster border, appear to amount to six of one and half-a-dozen of the other; but the aid of British troops is promised to Ulster in case she needs them. If Nationalist Ireland, an uncertain quantity should do anything the British Government disapproves, the Border raids will provide the desired excuse for intervention.

It may be, however, that this excuse will not be needed, as much bigger and more direct ones may be provided by the De Valera Party and the revolting workers.

The King's Speech.

The King's speech is absolutely barren of good from our standpoint: it contains hollow pre-

ferences and indications of veiled evils. Mr. Clynes, the leader of the Labour Party in Parliament has, however, stated that the greater part of the might have been written by the Secretary of the Labour Party. That merely proves the ignorance and bankruptcy of the Labour Party.

The Speech refers to the fact that representatives of Britain, America, France, and Japan have signed a Treaty "to maintain peace in the Pacific." Of course, these are the only Powers that might break the peace there, by predatory attacks on China, and by quarrelling amongst themselves.

Closer agreement between Britain and America is announced: the exact nature of the basis accepted by either side as the price of the friendship will appear later.

Discussion is announced between this country, France and Belgium for "common action in the event of unprovoked attack by Germany." This means that the pre-war position is to be restored, save that Russia is not yet in the combination.

The Government has not agreed to let Germany off the Reparations payments, a step which all the Governments declare to be necessary.

The Speech refers to unemployment; with the expressed approval of Mr. Clynes, it offers the unemployed, not bread, but a stone. It says that "the only remedy" for their plight is to be found in the appeasement of international rivalries and suspicions, and improvement of the conditions under which trade is carried on over the world.

This means, quite bluntly, that the unemployed must look for no improvements in social conditions and the distribution of wealth. They must merely wait till the trade of their employment shall so far improve as to make it profitable to re-engage them. To Mr. Clynes that is a perfectly correct view of the position; but, then, Mr. Clynes is not a Communist.

A Bill to establish an International Trade Corporation, and an Audit Bill to promote economy by Boards of Guardians and Rural District Councils are all in the direction of benefiting the capitalist.

The Reform of the House of Lords, promised in the Speech, is a measure in which the Parliamentary hacks will delight.

The Parliamentary debates of the week have been as lacking in value as the Speech that ushered them in.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

F. Houghton, £1 10s.; W. Krissan, 5s. A. E., 6s. 7d.; J. Barnes, 9d.; E. Wright, 5s. P. Cantherley, 1s.; J. A. Kershaw, £1; D. Loftus, 5s.; Councilor Glyde, 10s.; Collection, Minerva Café, 14s. 8d.; A. Carford, 7s. 6d.; J. Leakey, 12s. 6d.; G. McClure, 2s. 6d.; D. Jewson, 10s.; A. Opulsky, 7s. 6d.; F. Lane, £1; F. Brimley, 5s.; M. Katritsky, £1 10s. Miss Forty, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Opperman, 2s. 6d.; H. Clifford, 5s.; M. E. Collins, 2s. 6d.; E. H. Fox, 7s. 6d.; E. Gulland, 7s. 6d.; A. Symes, 2s. 6d.; F. E. Symes, 2s. 6d.; S. Pankhurst, 2s. 6d.; N. Smyth, 2s. 6d. Brought forward, £49 8s. 1d. Total, £60 2s. 7d.

DREADNOUGHT "AT HOMES."

Sundays at 4 to 7 p.m.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19TH,
107 CHARLOTTE STREET, FITZROY SQUARE, W.1.
(Late Communist Club)

Discussion on "Communism and How to Get It," opened by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26TH,
4 BROWNING STREET, WALWORTH. 4 TO 7 P.M.
Discussion on the Second, Third, and Fourth Internationals, opened by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SUNDAY, MARCH 12TH,
THE MINERVA CAFE,
144 HIGH HOLBORN.

SUNDAY, APRIL 2ND,
LEONARD'S ACADEMY,
698, HIGH ROAD, LEYTONSTONE.

Discussion on "Communism and the Unemployed," opened by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

THE AXE HITS YOU!

The Geddes Committee has announced the cuts it proposes should be made in Government expenditure, and the Government probably intends to stand or fall by the Committee's proposals.

The proposals are typical of the most evil characteristics of capitalist government. They reveal the brutal callousness with which the employing classes endeavour to deprive the workers of all but the barest necessities, whilst insisting upon lavish expenditure upon what they regard as important to themselves.

The Committee proposes to cut down the Naval Estimate by £21,000,000, the Army Estimates by £25,000,000, and the Air Force Estimates by £5,500,000. These cuts will leave British Naval and Military expenditure far above what it was before the waging of the so-called "war to end war."

The Naval Estimate in 1913-14, when Britain and Germany were building fiercely against each other, was £46,809,000. This year it is £81,188,806. The Army Estimate in 1913-14 was £28,220,000, to-day, £78,184,800. The Air Force Estimate of £12,957,800 did not exist in 1914.

How futile was the dream that the great orgy of slaughter would be the last of its kind is exposed by the Geddes Committee's cool statement:—

"We have continually before us the view of the Cabinet that no great war need be anticipated for at least ten years."

So the great sacrifices of the soldiers in the Great War, according to the Government's own story, will merely secure a ten years' peace!

The Education Estimate is to be cut by £18,000,000; Health Estimates by £2,500,000; War Pensions by £3,300,000; Trade by £338,000; Export Credits by £500,000; Agriculture by £855,000; Police and Prisons by £1,595,000, and twenty-four other Votes by £102,000. With various adjustments beside, the total cut of the Axe is to amount to £75,061,875.

What the cuts really mean can be gathered from an examination of some of the details given in the report. Examine and compare, for instance, the following items of costs, expenditure and suggested economies:—

NATY.—OFFICERS' SERVANTS.

Allowances in lieu of domestic servants, for the home commands, amount annually to, from £750 to £875 (A staff of officers costing £17,000 a year, has a retinue costing slightly more to wait on it.)

At sea there is an excessive number of officers' cooks and stewards.

The Geddes Committee urges that, at sea, each officer should have only one servant for his exclusive use; but the Committee would allow officers who have their meals alone, to have, in addition to the servant, also the whole or part-time services of a cook.

TOMMY IN HOSPITAL.

In military hospitals there is an average of one orderly for every six patients.

The Geddes Committee, which would grant a servant and a cook to an officer, considers one-sixth of an orderly's service too much for a Tommy who is ill. It urges that the number should be reduced, and the hospital patients should do more work.

THE EDUCATION OF A NAVAL OFFICER.

The annual cost of training of a cadet at Dartmouth is £462 The fees paid by the parents amount to £75 The net cost to the country per annum for training a cadet is £387

If the father is a Military or Naval officer, or serving at the Admiralty, the fee is £40 The Geddes Committee wishes to reduce costs of education to £812 To raise fees to £150 The Committee recommends that the net cost to the country of training a cadet shall be £162 The number of cadets at Dartmouth is 444 The staff numbers 529 Including officers 43 Including teachers 41 Thus there is more than one member of the staff for every pupil amongst the sons of the well-to-do who are training to be Naval officers.

THE EDUCATION OF AN ARMY OFFICER.

The cost of educating a cadet at Sandhurst is £373 At Woolwich £366 Annual fees at Sandhurst and Woolwich £75 Net annual cost to the country of training a cadet £298 to £291 The Geddes Report recommends reduction of costs to: Sandhurst £273 Woolwich £266 Increase of fees to £200 The Committee wishes the net cost to the country of educating a cadet to be £73 to £66 The Committee recommends a few scholarships for boys of outstanding ability with parents of slender means, and reduced fees for sons of officers who served in the war. The number of cadets at Sandhurst is 700 At Woolwich 280 Number of staff at Sandhurst 562 Staff at Woolwich 217

AIR FORCE.—EDUCATION OF AN AIR FORCE OFFICER.

Annual cost of educating a cadet at Cranwell £850 Fees per annum £75 Nett cost of educating Air Force cadet £775 The Committee desires the nett annual cost of educating an Air Force Cadet to be £650 The Committee recommends that the fee be increased to £200 The number of persons at Cranwell engaged in connection with education and training are: OFFICERS. MEN. TOTAL. 532 ... 5,669 ... 6,201 The persons being trained number: OFFICERS. MEN. TOTAL. 466 ... 6,085 ... 6,551 Thus there is an average of one teacher, or attendant, for almost every pupil.

Educating the Workers' Children.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. Annual cost per unit of average attendance (the cost per child would work out at something less) £12 7 s. The Committee considers this too high, and urges drastic reductions. Number of children per teacher 32.4 The Committee considers there are too many teachers, and recommends that the number of children per teacher be increased to 50

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

Estimated cost per pupil £18 14s. The Fees amount to 48 per cent. of cost. A minimum of 25 per cent. of free places is reserved. The Committee recommends making the 25 per cent. minimum of free places the maximum, raising the fees, reducing the teachers' salaries and cutting the cost of education as far as possible. The Committee callously declares:—

"That the grants for Secondary Education are providing State-aided or free education to a class which can afford to pay an increased proportion, or even the full cost of education; and that children whose mental capabilities do not justify this higher and much more costly education are receiving it. We wish to make it clear that we do not recommend any serious reduction in free Secondary Education; but suggest it should be confined to children whose mental calibre justifies it, and whose parents cannot afford to pay for it.

"That as regards Higher Education generally and Scholarships, the expenditure is in excess of the nation's ability to pay, and must be reduced."

The persons who have drawn up this statement belong to the class whose children go as cadets to Dartmouth, Sandhurst and Woolwich, and Cranwell, where the direct net cost to the nation, above the fees paid for each cadet, is £387, £298, £291, and £775 a year respectively.

It is monstrous that they should say that the mental capabilities of other people's children do not justify the expenditure upon them of £18 14s. a year, 48 per cent. of which is paid in fees by the parents. It is monstrous that the class whose children are most lavishly catered for, whether they go to the Naval and Military Training Schools, or to the civilian Public Schools, should wish to cut down the paltry average of £12 7s. which is spent on the workers' children in the elementary schools.

The proposal to exclude children under six from attendance at the elementary schools without providing nursery schools for them, will cause much hardship, because poverty drives mothers of young children out of their homes to earn money.

Full time students in training to become teachers in elementary and secondary schools (taking resident and non-resident students together), cost to public funds an annual average per head of £79.

The Committee recommends a reduction in this expenditure, and especially a reduction of the amount allocated to scholarships.

The State scheme of University scholarships, the Committee urges should cease altogether.

Teachers' pensions are at present provided by the State. The Committee recommends that all teachers should now be made to pay a five per cent. levy on their salaries towards the cost of their pensions, and that a scheme, in which the teacher and the local authority shall contribute to the cost of pension shall be devised.

The average annual salary of teachers under the present scale, will presently rise to £389, a little more than £6 a week. The Geddes Committee considers this too much, and wishes to reduce the total cost of teachers' salaries from £45,000,000 to £36,000,000, by reducing their numbers and cutting down their pay.

A Present to the Builders.

The Estimates for the Housing for 1922-23 amount to £24,269,500. Of this sum £2,500,000 is a subsidy to builders, and £20,000 is discount on the sale of army huts. These sums the Geddes Committee does not propose to touch. It looks in quite another direction for the cutting down of the Housing Estimates.

The houses built by Local Authorities, to which the Government makes grants, cost, on the average, £1,100. The yearly cost of interest on and repayment of the money

borrowed to enable the house to be built, amounts, on the average, to £75. The average rent is only £16 a year, the average amount contributed by the Local Authority from Rates is £4 a year.

A deficit of £55 a year has to be made up by the taxpayer. The Geddes Committee suggests that the houses should be sold at half what they cost to build.

This is an extraordinary suggestion. It is either an admission that twice the value has been paid for them, or it is proposed to present the purchasers with houses at half their value. The most important aspect of the question is, however, that the private landlord, who buys up these houses, will raise their rents much above the average of £16 a year, which the Minister of Health thinks the highest obtainable. If the Rent Act prevents such increases in some cases, the Rent Act will presently be amended by this Government of business men.

Throwing Over the Reformists.

The Reformists, especially those of the Webb-Fabian School, were consulted by the Government in war time, when the position of Sidney Webb upon the Labour Party Executive was one of some importance. Now the pet hobbies of the Reformists are being swept away with a ruthless hand. The Employment Exchanges and the Ministry of Labour are to go, says Geddes, together with the Ministry of Transport and the Departments of Mines, Petroleum, and Overseas Trade. Afforestation, so much advertised as an antidote to unemployment, is to cease. Policewomen, too, are to go, if the Axe has its way. To obtain women police, the Women's Freedom League spent much of its energy during the early part of the war, even setting up a dummy volunteer service. All the Reformists whose potential opposition to the war was bought off by giving them a Social Reform project to play with, are finding themselves left in the lurch!

Unemployment Insurance.

The Unemployment Insurance Estimate is based on 6 per cent. of unemployment amongst the insured persons. It is at present 15 per cent. Naturally, the Estimate, under these conditions, will be too small. Nevertheless Geddes and his Committee propose to reduce it.

They recommend making the following economies (2):—

- (1) When an insured contributor is 60 years of age, the balance standing to his credit is refunded with compound interest. Geddes would strike this provision out: presumably the contributor is to lose his balance.
- (2) From July 1st next, the contributions both of employers and employed, to be increased a halfpenny a week.
- (3) The maximum employment benefit payable in any one year to be reduced to fifteen weeks.
- (4) To qualify for maximum benefit, the worker must have paid 135 contributions in the previous three years. The weeks of benefit to be reduced by one for every five contributions short of 135.

Three million pounds is to be struck off the War Pensions Estimate. The Geddes Committee declares that the expenditure for treatment of disabled men "at a date so far from the cessation of hostilities, seems to call for investigation."

Starvation Diet in Prisons.

The Estimates for Prisons and Industrial Schools are to be cut down from £431,586 to £435,000 in England and Wales; and from £109,325 to £100,000 in Scotland. The saving is paltry as compared with the Budget as a whole: it will mean that the meagre diet of poverty's victims, already most inadequate, especially in the case of pregnant and nursing mothers, will be still further reduced. It will mean, no doubt, that the women who, in Holloway Prison, have their underclothing changed once in five weeks, will have to remain a still longer period without a change!

All this in the glorious interest of saving the income tax!

One Policeman to every 386 of the Population.

The Geddes Report makes the striking revelation that in London there is one policeman for every 386 of the population—men, women, children, and infants in arms included!

What tremendous preparations the "Haves" make to protect themselves from the "Have Nots"!

The cost of policing England and Wales has risen from £7,676,000, in 1913-14, to £20,500,000 in 1922-23. The war that was to usher in a "New World" and a "Land fit for Heroes to Live In" has not made us any more law-abiding it seems!

The Secret Service Estimate is £200,000: that is nearly 50 per cent. less than the expenditure last year—perhaps a supplementary Estimate was contemplated.

The Geddes Committee thinks £180,000 would be sufficient, as that is more than four times the pre-war expenditure.

The League of Nations costs over £1,000,000 a year: of this sum the British Empire pays 23 per cent.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By TOM ANDERSON.

The following, abridged, is a debate, in the form of questions and answers, between a Utopian comrade and myself, on the question of Socialist Sunday Schools versus Proletarian Schools. The questions were asked by members of the audience after the general debate on issues raised. The Socialist Sunday School Teacher is asked a question, to which he replies, the Proletarian School Teacher also answering the same question in his way. You can judge for yourselves which answer appears the more reasonable to you.

Question.—What do you mean by God?
S.S.S. TEACHER: God is that unseen power in the world, which makes for righteousness.

P.S. TEACHER: God is that power which man, in his ignorance, has called supernatural.

Question.—What is the cause of the degradation of the greater mass of the people?
S.S.S. TEACHER: The cause is, largely, man's inhumanity to man.

P.S. TEACHER: The cause is due to the working class being slaves.

Question.—Has man a soul or a spirit which directs his actions?
S.S.S. TEACHER: The spirit of man is that which makes progress possible in the world.

P.S. TEACHER: It is man's social life, i.e., how he gets his living, that educates man, and makes progress possible in the world.

Question.—Does man live after death?
S.S.S. TEACHER: All great thinkers are agreed he does.

P.S. TEACHER: We have no proof that he does, any more than any of the other animals.

Question.—Did Jesus die to save mankind?
S.S.S. TEACHER: Jesus was the God man, and he gave his life for mankind.

P.S. TEACHER: Jesus was a revolutionary of his period, and, as such, he paid the price.

Question.—But was not Jesus the Son of God?
P.S. TEACHER: There is no God, so he could not be His Son.

Question.—Is religion of any value to the working class?
S.S.S. TEACHER: True religion is that which gives men hope in the world.

P.S. TEACHER: Religion is opium and, to-day, is used as such.

Question.—Is there a Heaven and a Hell?
S.S.S. TEACHER: These are meant as degrees of happiness or the reverse, and are a part of man's life.

P.S. TEACHER: Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and the sun stood still. Heaven and Hell are in the same category of fables.

Question.—Is there a "Class War"??
S.S.S. TEACHER: I do not think one can really say there is a "Class War."

P.S. TEACHER: It is clearly apparent; the

master class fight for themselves; but the slaves submit.

Question.—Why do they pay men different rates of wages?
S.S.S. TEACHER: The different rates are determined by ability, etc.

P.S. TEACHER: In the slave State, the rates are measured by the belly, and the slaves acquiesce.

Question.—Is a king worth £9,500 per week?
S.S.S. TEACHER: You must always take into account the customs prevailing.

P.S. TEACHER: The rate of a king is not his worth, subjugation of the slaves.

Question.—Why do they have special seats in churches, theatres, etc.?
S.S.S. TEACHER: That is a matter pertaining to culture.

P.S. TEACHER: It is done to keep the slaves in a herd by themselves.

Question.—Are there any great men to-day?
S.S.S. TEACHER: We have a noble army of teachers and scientists.

P.S. TEACHER: All our "Great Men" of to-day are subservient to the Class State, and as such they are enemies of the working class.

Question.—Is there a "Class State"??
S.S.S. TEACHER: To say so would not be correct.

P.S. TEACHER: It is so obvious, that the man or woman who does not see it is a hopeless lunatic.

Question.—How are the workers to raise their status?
S.S.S. TEACHER: That can only be obtained through the spirit of Brotherhood, working in conjunction with all the forces that make for freedom—L.P., Labour Party, etc.

P.S. TEACHER: They can only raise their status by Revolution. They must educate and train themselves to overthrow the present Class State, by force, if need be.

Question.—Would you advise the workers to join the Army?
S.S.S. TEACHER: No. "Thou shalt not kill!"

P.S. TEACHER: If it were to assist the Revolution—Yes!

Question.—Do you believe the Biblical story of the Creation: "The Fall," etc.?
S.S.S. TEACHER: It is a matter which need not concern us.

P.S. TEACHER: The Biblical story has a value as an historical account of the folk-lore of the period; but as a book I prefer Hans Anderson's "Fairy Tales."

Question.—Why does the King give titles: Lord, Knight, C.B.E., O.B.E., etc.?
S.S.S. TEACHER: They are given as a recognition of the individual's service to the State.

P.S. TEACHER: They are given to strengthen the Class State.

Question.—Is a queen, a princess, or a titled lady made of the same material as a washerwoman?
S.S.S. TEACHER: I think that question is vulgar.

P.S. TEACHER: At one time God made them; now it is Capital; they are very precious models, but they are just the same as the washerwoman. Sometimes the father of them is unknown.

Question.—Shall we close the questions until the next debate?
Agreed.

Any readers interested in the remainder of the questions should write for the Editor to publish them; or if any reader has a question to ask, a postcard to 24 Queen Mary Avenue, Glasgow, will find me.

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COUNCIL OF ACTION.

The Impossibility of "Boring from Within."

In July, 1921, a Committee appointed by the South African Mine Workers' Union sat to punish some of the members of the Union who had refused to desert their fellows in the Consolidated Langlate strike of February, 1921. The Committee considered that the members on trial were responsible for the spreading of the strike. Adopting the employers' point of view, that the strike was harmful, the Committee meted out the following punishments:—
J. Wordingham, 5 years' suspension;
E. Slace, £50 fine and 3 years' suspension;
W. Richardson, £15 fine; K. J. Van Coller, M. Higgins, £40 fine and 3 years' suspension;
R. Annetts, £15 fine; P. Fisher, £50 fine and 3 years' suspension; F. W. Pate, £40 fine; A. McDermid, £15 fine and two years' suspension; D. McPhail, 4 years' suspension; H. Spendif, one year's suspension.
"Boring from within" is evidently a precarious process in the South African Mine Workers' Association.

Such action by the Union officials and the inefficiency of the Union in fighting the class struggle have given rise to the Miners' Council of Action, which has issued the following manifesto:—

MANIFESTO OF THE MINE-WORKERS.

When unity is the chief crying need of the times, it is not the object of this manifesto merely to sling abuse at others—for righteousness does not rest alone with us—but to bring a consciousness of sin to those who, by word or deed, subscribed to the results of that iniquitous enquiry, and on our part to give facts which are food for thought and not for anger.

The growth in membership of the Mine Workers' Union has been extraordinary and the truth of the matter is that the majority being now to Trade Unionism, have elementary ideas as to what Trade Unionism stands for. Mine workers and mine directors are enemies, animated by directly opposite ideas and motives with which the mines should be run; and thus, when we find the Chamber of Mines, through its chairman, declaring the findings of this precious Committee of Enquiry to be "a very striking document," and also that "the report showed a degree of courage and responsibility which we should welcome as a good augury for the future," it betrays all true men of the workers to behold what sort of bog the Mine Workers' Union has landed itself in, in handing over to the enemy the man who refused to desert the workers' cause in the heat of battle. Each chairman at succeeding meetings of directors of Gold Mining Companies have spoken in the same self-satisfied terms of the manner in which the Mine Workers' Union "has been cleaned up." The Press, too, gave its meeds of praise, which being the organ of the Bosses, is to be expected. The Press always plays up to the "Public," and the workers, like asses, swallow it. "Public" is a fiction of the capitalists to fool the workers. Go where you like and you will find nothing but workers and parasites. When a strike occurs, it is the duty of the worker to support his fellow-worker, just as the parasite capitalists support each other.

In putting their "house in order"—to the order of the Chamber of Mines—the S.A.M.W.U. has made itself the laughing-stock of Trade Unionists throughout the world, and if we imagined that this decision represented the real mind of the rank and file, then we would suggest that the Union abandons its motto, "Union is Strength," in favour of the motto: "Abandon all hope, all ye who enter here." To those members of our Union who prate a nevetational torrent of words (and steam) of constitutional action, it may be a surprise to know that the Committee itself, as well as the findings, are not only unconstitutional, but cannot loyally be enforced.

These matters can and have been discussed *ad nauseum*, and our only purpose in discussing it at all is to point out the weakness of our Union, and to offer remedies. No one (least of all those who are supposedly punished) is disposed to put on mourning for the position which has come about, for it has brought into prominence the need for better organisation to meet the newer needs.

The policy of the S.A.M.W.U. should be one of constructive preparation and organisation, with a clearly understood and formulated common purpose. But this it has not; in fact, it vacillates, and other Unions vacillate, with every changing wind of circumstance, passing plenty of resolutions in favour of this, that, and the other, but unable to make up its mind to bend its course systematically and thoroughly in pursuit of any single object or to subordinate to it other desirable but inessential objects. This wobbliness becomes more and more apparent in every activity of Trade Union bureaucracy, operating as it does through executive and general councils with constantly changing personnel and constantly changing viewpoints, who, because of the structure of the machinery of organisation, compel

men (representatives, so-called) to pose as super-men amongst their fellows. This is clearly indicated by a study of the internal conditions of the Union itself; and it is evident that, under any conditions, the prospects of real advances will depend on the creation in the heart of the Union of a much more purposeful and intelligent solidarity than exists to-day. In achieving the greater solidarity, there are no easy solutions. If we are to be detached from the middle-roads, then the rank and file must be brought together in more efficient fashion for industrial purposes. Those who imagine that by constant repetition of a name like "workmen's committees," or "industrial unionism," they are contributing anything material to the solution of the complex problems that confront us on the industrial field, are more optimistic than intelligent. The rebels will have to come together and face the problems as they are presented.

With this object in view, a Council of Action has been formed, composed of most of the members who have been penalised by this intelligent (sic) Committee of Enquiry, together with other comrades who are conscious of the weakness of our Union. This was announced at an inaugural meeting held in the Town Hall, Johannesburg, on July 21st, 1921.

The Council of Action, as an industrial body, inspiration or a brain wave of the moment, but is an attempt to formulate a scheme of things linked to the Workers' Committee movement in Britain, which, in an unofficial way, is doing a great and useful work. The method of working within and without the official Trade Union movement, with the object of abolishing Capitalism and establishing control of industry by the worker for the worker.

The Council of Action, as an industrial body, claims that the purpose of production, distribution and exchange, under Capitalism, is to serve class interests. Under this system of society, the working class is dependent upon the capitalist class, because the latter owns and controls the means of production, distribution and exchange, and thus the two classes have nothing in common. From this opposition of class interests there arises an antagonism which manifests itself in the class struggle; one class organising and fighting to hold the power of ownership and control, whilst the working class are compelled to organise to capture the means of production, distribution and exchange, to be worked in the interests of society as a whole.

To achieve such power over the resources of life, the working class must organise along class lines to bring about the overthrow of Capitalism, and its class function is the act of Industrial Control. Only by bringing about working class control can the workers eliminate Capitalism and free themselves from wage-slavery. Therefore we stand for class-consciousness, education, organisation, and the direct industrial power of Labour.

The class struggle, as outlined in our general principles, opens up a two-fold form of industrial organisation. First, Industrial Unionism; secondly, Craft Unions. Industrial Unionism stands for the departmental and co-ordinated organisation of the workers, with the avowed object of wresting the economic power out of the hands of the capitalist class. Such an industrial policy arises out of the industrial conditions created by economic development. Therefore, it imposes the duty of Industrial Class Unionism upon the working class. By organising in revolutionary industrial units within each industry, and throughout all the industries, the class-conscious working class are preparing the form of power which will be required to carry out the proper organisation of production during the transition period. To further the objects of class-conscious Industrial Unionism, the class-conscious workers should play an active part in all forms of activity within the existing Unions, in order to sway the mass of the workers over to the support of direct industrial organisation, which would be used to institute a Republic of Industrial Workers.

Craft Unionism, in spirit and outlook, must be pro-capitalistic, on the grounds that it organises the working class along the lines of craft organisation. While modern Capitalism is forcing the organisations to amalgamate, such amalgamation is showing itself as the tool of the Capitalists and Imperialists. With its policy of simply attending to the ordinary working class problems as they arise from their mutual interest between Capital and Labour, the craft form of industrial organisation must always land the workers in the power of the capitalist class. Therefore we are out to organise within the ranks of their several organisations in opposition to the pro-capitalistic principles of craft Unions.

In order to function as herein stated, our purpose therefore is: (1) to bring all workers in the mining industry into the one organisation; (2) to bring about rank and file control of the organisation. The whole history of Trade Unionism has always been a history of sectionalism and exclusiveness. Each Union has fought its separate battles and made its separate agreements. Note the agreement for the stabilisation of wages until the end of the year by the artisans and mechanics' Unions, and again, just recently a similar agreement came to be by the winding engine drivers as distinct from the stationary engine drivers even belonging to the same Union, and distinct and apart from all others in the industry, who had given common battle.

It is object-lessons of this kind, and others already enumerated, which demand a better form of organi-

sation, not only for usefulness in the wages struggle, but for the greater ideal of full workers' control. The Council of Action has all the potentialities of success. It is in the line of progress, and if it keeps there is bound to succeed. At every meeting, members are asking to link up, and some have been refused. Certain qualifications are necessary. The holding of a masonic badge or certificate is an immediate barrier; for the Council believes, with the Australian Trade Unions, that no man who is sworn to look first and foremost to the welfare of one section of the community can be of service to the whole as a whole, and, for that reason, the Council opposes such a man holding official position.

The cardinal points in the education of the class-conscious workers are three in number: Firstly, the class struggle; secondly, the science of revolution; thirdly, the economic and political needs of the Industrial Republic. To provide such knowledge, the principles of Marxism must be taught. Hence the educational work of the Council of Action shall be to advance the foregoing principles.

Signed on behalf of Council of Action,
F. W. PATE, Chairman.
A. McDERMID, Secretary.

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DO IT YOURSELF.

Fellow Workers, some of you whom the boss does not want just now went to the Poplar Board of Guardians: you paid repeated visits to the Board. The Board is mainly composed of Labour members. It decided to give unemployment relief on a scale that would have brought the income of a man with a wife and numerous family up to the level of what many applicants would have been paid by the bosses of the locality, if those bosses had found it profitable to employ them.

The Guardians proposed a scale, but the Ministry of Health declared the scale too high. The Guardians reviewed the situation. They saw that if they stood firm and insisted on paying out on their new scale, the overdraft at their disposal would be exhausted the first week in March, and they would have no money at all to pay out. Moreover, the Government would surcharge them the difference between the Poplar scale and the Ministry of Health scale. Not being able to pay the surcharge, they would have to go to prison.

The Guardians decided not to apply their new scale. George Lansbury said the Government would be glad to "lock up" the Guardians for disobeying it: but he was not sure that he wanted to give the Government the chance. Poplar Guardians have "had some." They are almost all Councillors and went to prison for refusing to levy the General Rate, as you remember, Fellow Worker. No doubt you gave a cheer for them from the right side of the prison wall.

The Guardians probably consider it is your turn to have a taste of prison fare; they probably think that as you do not go to prison for your own sake, they are a little too busy to go there on your behalf.

You are entitled to answer, however, that since they have chosen to accept the positions of Guardians and Councillors (and some of them are aspiring to Parliament) in order that they may manage your affairs and look after your interests better than you could do it for yourselves, it is their duty to accept the responsibilities attaching to the job. If you take a job as a docker, you don't ask the Councillors and Guardians to carry your load, nor, if you sign on as A.B., do you expect them to take your place on board.

The important question for you, Fellow Worker, is whether you should turn over your affairs to be managed by Councillors, Guardians and Members of Parliament, or whether you should set up your own Soviets.

The organised unemployed of Poplar did not think the Guardians ought to evade their responsibilities. They said: prison or no prison; surcharge or not, we want that scale; but they did not get it.

They went to the Board meeting to protest, and when, in spite of their protest, the Guardians refused to continue in the path that leads to prison, the unemployed made prisoners of the Guardians. You know the story, Fellow Workers; they locked the Guardians up till four o'clock in the morning, and beguiled the tedium of the hours by singing music hall ditties and jazzing to the strains of the unemployed band.

The Poplar incident has now died down: the organised unemployed have moved on to imprison and serenade other Boards.

Well, well, Fellow Worker, these things will be; but do not call it Revolution. Is that how the Russians set up their Soviets? Is that how Sinn Fein fought British militarism? Not quite, Fellow Workers. Indeed, you will have to do a bit of serious thinking before you can count yourself a revolutionary, either in thought or in deed, if those are your tactics. You will have to undertake both the risks and the responsibilities instead of passing them on to Guardians.

Some people tell you, Fellow Worker, that you have but three things to ask for:—

- (1) If you are unemployed: work or maintenance at Trade Union rates;
- (2) No reduction of wages;
- (3) No increase of working hours.

Some people tell you, Fellow Worker, that Communism is good for you; but that you are too dull to understand it. They tell us: "You can't talk Karl Marx to the masses" (a nasty cut at Marx, that, which he would roundly resent, were he alive to hear it!). Therefore they say you are to concentrate your attention on your three demands, and the Communists will guide you along to Communism when the situation is ripe.

Nevertheless, Fellow Worker, the first thing for you to do is to undertake your own thinking. If it is good for the Right-Wing Communists to talk Communism; then it is good for you to understand it. Never talk about things you do not understand, Fellow Worker.

When you have studied Communism, you will know that what you want is not a bigger dole from the Board of Guardians, or a higher wage from the boss, but all that you would like to use, as and when you want it; whether it be a house to live in, a train to ride in, a book to read, clothes to wear, food to eat, or an evening at the theatre. You will also know that the thing to aim at is not to prevent the employer from increasing your hours of work, but to do away with the bosses altogether, and to leave it to those who do the work to decide how much time it is advisable to spend on it.

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