

Zola on Socialism.

Workers'



Dreadnought

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The Fascisti Menace.

THEIR ATROCITIES IN ITALY. THEY PREPARE A RISING IN ITALY. THEY DEMONSTRATE IN LONDON.
HAMILTON FYFE WHITEWASHES THEM.

When news came that the Fascisti had seized the Government of Italy, Hamilton Fyfe, the "Daily Herald" editor, wrote a long article describing the coup as a bloodless revolution, and saying:

"Whether the Italian Fascisti are enemies to the point of view of the workers in this country is not very clear. . . . It is impossible not to feel a certain amount of admiration for this man [Mussolini, the Fascisti leader], who has organised what he calls a bloodless revolution."

On November 4th, when the Fascisti were to demonstrate in London, the "Daily Herald," under Hamilton Fyfe's editorship, published this friendly and favourable announcement of their march:

"BLACK SHIRTS" MARCH.

Hundreds of Fascisti at the Abbey To-day.

"Shortly after 3.30 this afternoon several hundreds of Italian Fascisti, domiciled in London, attired in the famous "black shirts," will march to Westminster Abbey to lay a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Warrior.

"Our object is not anti-Labour, but is based on a desire to eliminate class war, said Mr. Pietro Scola, political secretary of the London branch, to a "Daily Herald" representative yesterday. "The terrible reign of terror instituted by the Socialists in Italy during 1919-1920 has convinced every sane Italian that some rational form of political belief must be established.

"Italians in London are very ignorant of their native country, and we are endeavouring to teach them the rudiments of nationalism.

"We are also anxious to get better schools for Italian children living in this country, and a better Consulate."

In the course of the "Daily Herald" report of the demonstration on November 6th, it said:

"Impressive scenes were witnessed in Westminster Abbey on Saturday afternoon, when the London branch of the Fascisti, in honour of the Italian Armistice Day, laid a wreath on the grave of the Unknown Warrior."

Thus the "Daily Herald" endeavours to lull the workers into unconsciousness of the menace to their organisations and their prospects which is being built up in this country.

Let there be no mistake, Fascism is an international menace. The White Terror has been experienced to the full in Finland and Hungary, but that was the White Terror of the old aristocracy. Fascism is the White Terror of modern Capitalism. Its method of organising is based on the conditions of modern industrial society.

Fascisti Rising Expected in Bavaria.

It is some time since Mussolini visited the Central Empires to extend the Fascisti organisation there. Now the German Social Democrat organ, "Vorwaerts," declares that a Fascist rising is about to break out in Bavaria. The "Vorwaerts" says that Captain Erhardt and General Luttwitz are organising the rising under the assumed

names of Lorenz and Eichmann. Says the "Vorwaerts":

"The situation in Bavaria is serious, as the Reich Government should know. The Government is in possession of information. We expect that it will now act."

But the Government will not act; it will encourage the Fascisti, as the Government of Italy has done.

The "Daily Telegraph" correspondent says:

"It has long been no secret that Bavaria is quite prepared for a development such as has just taken place in Italy. The only open question was when the blow was to be struck. . . . Mussolini's success has . . . naturally had an inflammatory effect."

The British ruling classes have hastened to hold out the hand of welcome to the Fascisti brigands who have won their way to power in Italy by rapine and murder.

British Church and State Welcome Fascisti.

When the Fascisti entered Westminster Abbey last Saturday, Bishop Ryle, the Dean of the Abbey, ordered the vergers to clear a passage for them through the ranks of inoffensive British citizens who were there, and welcomed them to the Abbey, saying they were welcome, as they came to lay a wreath on the grave of an unknown British warrior, and he thanked them. The Fascisti represented a great movement that had recently taken place in Italy, and which had produced a change of Government. They wished the great country of Italy all prosperity and happiness in the future, and hoped that the new Government of the Fascisti would be identified with the prevalence of law and order.

Bonar Law, the new Prime Minister, has also entered into cordial relations with the Fascisti Government, without any hint of refusal to recognise it as constitutional, though with only twenty members in the Italian Parliament it nevertheless seized power by terrorism and armed force. Soviet Russia is still supposed to be beyond the pale because its Government was established by force! These hypocrites: these hypocrites!

Fascisti Government Policy.

It was a matter of course that the Fascist Government would be reactionary, and every announcement of its policy reveals fresh movements in reaction. The "Times" correspondent says the Italian State railways and telephone and telegraph services will be handed over to private enterprise; and, though hitherto Italians have feared to put their country under foreign control, every effort will now be made to secure foreign and especially American capital, even probably in such services as electrification, railways, telephone, telegraph, etc.

In spite of the fact that the Capitalist Press here is pretending the Fascisti have achieved a bloodless revolution, some accounts of their atrocities creep through the censorship. Thus on November 1st the "Daily Telegraph" reports that the Fascisti killed seven Communists and wounded forty in the Lorenzo quarter of Rome. The "Daily Herald" put the number as eight killed and sixty wounded.

The "Telegraph" of November 1st further reports:

"At Turin the Socialist co-operative headquarters were burnt, and in the conflict one man was killed. A large force of Fascisti encamped outside the town. At Padua they broke into the house of the former Minister, Signor Alessio, raided the library, and committed some damage. In Brescia there were some encounters with Communists, and three men were wounded. In Milan some short skirmishes took place without any serious results, and the same thing happened in Genoa."

The "New York Herald" correspondent on November 1st wired regarding the Fascist entry into Rome:

"The reverse side of the medal is less pleasant to contemplate. The crowds yesterday (Tuesday) were made up entirely of citizens of the higher class, and even amid the most frenzied cheering one felt the sullen silence of the absent workers. That all is not well is shown by despatches from the provinces to-day, showing that conflicts between Fascisti and Socialists have been renewed in many towns of the North, despite Mussolini's strict orders against further Fascist outrages. Labour clubs are being destroyed, Socialists and Communists hunted down and maltreated, and the Milan offices of the Socialist organ, "Avanti," have been burnt for the third time.

"... A strict Press censorship has been established, barring all comment on the internal situation and too complete statement of facts. With the exception of the Fascist newspapers, only two journals appeared in Rome yesterday and to-day. The influential Milan daily, "Corriere della Sera," after being suppressed last week-end, is reappearing with the special permission of Signor Mussolini, but with all comment excluded."

The "Daily Herald" correspondent in Vienna seems to have learnt more about the facts than the various correspondents in Italy itself have revealed. He declares that, according to reports he has received, terrible conflicts have taken place in Italy, and the Fascisti have wounded thousands of workers, and have devastated workers' homes. Many Communist and Socialist members of Parliament, he says, are imprisoned, and the homes of Turati, Treves, Prampolini and Daragona have been surrounded by armed Fascisti, and there are "strange rumours concerning the fate of Turati and Treves." The Home of the Socialist M.P. Musatti has been sacked. Sardelli has also suffered, and his wife and children have been ill-treated. Bombacci's secretary was seized by Fascisti, who shaved his head and beard, painted the Italian national colours on his head, and dragged

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EMILE ZOLA ON SOCIALISM.

"Oh! so you see the Bourse? How queer it looks from here!"

... "When are you going to sweep all that away with a kick?"

Sigismond shrugged his shoulders. "What is the use? You are demolishing yourself fast enough."

Then, little by little, he became animated, overflowing with the subject he was full of. A proselytising spirit launched him, at the slightest word, into an exposition of his system. "Yes, yes, you are working for us without suspecting it," said he. "You are a few usurpers who expropriate the mass of the people, and when you have gorged yourselves we shall only have to expropriate you in our turn. Every monopoly, every phase of centralisation, leads to collectivism. You are setting us a practical example, in the same way as the large estates absorbing the small patches of land, the large producers devouring the petty home industries, the great financial establishments and great stores killing all competition, and battering on the ruin of the little banks and the little shops, are slowly but surely leading towards the new social state. We are waiting for everything to crack, for the existing method of production to end in the intolerable disorder which will be its ultimate consequence. Thus the bourgeois and the peasants themselves will aid us."

Staccard, feeling interested, looked at him with a vague anxiety, although he took him for a madman. "But come, explain to me, what is this collectivism of yours?"

"Collectivism is the transformation of private capital, living by the struggle of competition, into a unitary social capital, exploited by the labour of all. Imagine a society in which the instruments of society will be the property of all, in which everybody will work according to his intelligence and strength, and in which the products of this social co-operation will be distributed to each in proportion to his effort? There can be nothing more simple, eh? Common production in the factories, yards and workshops of the nation! Then an exchange, a payment in kind! If there should be over-production, the surplus will be lodged in public warehouses, from which it will be taken to fill up any deficits that may arise. One will have to strike a balance; and this, like one blow of the axe, will fell the rotten tree. No more competition, no more private capital, and, therefore, no more "business" of any kind—neither commerce, nor markets, nor Bourses. The idea of profit will thenceforth have no meaning. The sources of speculation, of incomes acquired without work, will be dried up."

"Oh! oh!" interrupted Saccard, "that would change many people's habits, and no mistake! But what would you do with those who have incomes to-day? Gundermann, for instance, would you take away his milliard?"

"Not at all; we are not robbers. We should redeem his milliard, all his shares, debentures, and State bonds, with certificates of enjoyment divided into annuities. And just imagine the immense capital thus replaced by an overwhelming wealth of articles of consumption; in less than a century your Gundermann's descendants would, like other citizens, be reduced to personal labour; for the annuities would finally become exhausted, and they would not have been able to capitalise their forced economies, the overplus of their overwhelming supply of articles of consumption, even admitting that the right of inheritance should be left untouched. I tell you that this would at one stroke sweep away not only individual enterprises, companies, syndicates, and so forth, but also all the indirect sources of income, all systems of credit, loans, rentals, and so on. Nothing but labour would be left as a measure of value. Wages would naturally be suppressed, for in

the present capitalistic system they are never equivalent to the exact product of labour; but at the utmost represent no more than is strictly necessary for the labourer's daily maintenance. And it must be admitted that the existing system alone is guilty in the matter, that the most honest employer is clearly forced to follow the stern law to live. We have to destroy our entire social system. Ah! just think of it, Gundermann stifling under the burden of his certificates of enjoyment, his heirs unable to consume everything, obliged to give to others, and to take up the pick or the chisel, like other comrades!"

Thereupon Sigismond burst into a good-natured laugh, like a child at play, still standing by the window, with his eyes fixed on the Bourse, where swarmed the black ant-hill of speculation. A burning flush was rising to his cheeks; he had no other amusement than to picture in this wise the comical ironies of to-morrow's justice.

Saccard's uneasiness had increased. Suppose this wide-awake dreamer were, after all, speaking the truth. Suppose he had divined the future. He explained things that seemed very clear and sensible. "Bah!" muttered Saccard, as though to reassure himself, "all that won't happen next year."

"Certainly not," rejoined the young man, again becoming serious and weary. "We are in the transition period, the period of agitation. There will, perhaps, be revolutionary violences; they are often inevitable. But the exaggerations and outbursts are temporary. Oh! I do not conceal the great immediate difficulties. All this future that I dream of seems impossible. It is difficult to give people a reasonable idea of this future society, the society of just labour, whose morals will be so different to ours. It is like another world in another planet. And then, it must be confessed, the scheme of re-organisation is not ready; we are still hunting for it. I, who now scarcely sleep at all, exhaust my nights in searching. For instance, it is certain that our adversaries can say to us: 'If things are as they are, it is because the logic of human actions has made them so. Hence, what a task to take the river back to its source and direct it into another valley! The existing social system certainly owes its centuries of prosperity to the individualist principle, which emulation and personal interest endow with a fertility of production that is ever being renewed. Will collectivism ever attain to such fertility, and by what means are we to stimulate the productive functions of the workman when the idea of profit shall have been destroyed? There, to my mind, lies the doubt, the anguish, the weak point over which we must fight, if we wish the victory of Socialism to be some day won. But we shall conquer, because we are Justice. There! You see that building in front of you? You see it?"

"The Bourse," cried Saccard, "why, yes, of course I see it."

"Well, it would be stupid to blow it up, because it would be rebuilt. Only I predict to you that it will go up of itself when the State shall have expropriated it, and have become the sole universal bank of the nation; and, who knows? and perhaps it will then serve as a public warehouse for our surplus wealth, as one of the store-houses where our grandchildren will find the necessary supply of luxury for their days of festivity."

From the novel "Money," obtainable from the "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 5/-.

TOWARDS COMMUNISM.

"I doubt if the country demands at the moment any large modification of the relationship between employer and employed," writes Mr. C. F. G. Masterman in the "Daily News," and he goes on to say that he would

not expound, however much convinced of its rightness, any particular scheme in the heat of a fiercely contested election, when the bulk of the people are less concerned with how to rule than with how to live.

Mr. Masterman belongs to the Radical section of the Liberal Party, but he doesn't think the question of the relationship of employer and employed of much importance at the moment. Yet the fact that he mentions the matter at all would indicate that a growing number of people are very deeply concerned with the relationship, which is the crux of the ethical and economic situation. And an increasing number of people are so concerned.

No decent, self-respecting man can accept as a permanent condition the economic power that to-day rests in the hands of certain people to make or mar the lives of their fellows. The true man desires independence. He desires to contribute his quota of skill and knowledge to the production and legitimate use of the world's wealth. He is willing to take his share of responsibility. As a man he denies the right of another to make him an economic serf. He has no respect for those who hold power because of their economic position, their ingenuity in conforming to an unnatural and immoral code that places position and power in the hands of those who can most easily stifle their conscience, or whom circumstances have favoured.

He asks not for charity. He asks not that he himself shall have a regular and comparatively fair standard of living while so many are in various grades of starvation and discomfort. He asks no privileges whatever. Because he claims for himself the inalienable right to true freedom, to be treated as a man possessing intelligence and human sympathies, he desires to grant an equal right to every fellow human being. His charter is the right to claim adequate food, clothing, shelter, culture, leisure and pleasure, to give the very best he is capable of to the community in which he lives, recognising that he will be in a position to render greater and more efficient service in so far as his legitimate rights, which he extends to every human being, are conceded.

His recognition of human brotherhood excludes any conception of employer and employee relationship, which is the hall-mark of Capitalism. While he welcomes the increasing recognition of the trend of events towards a real equality, he extends to those holding privileged economic positions an invitation that they shall prove their sincerity by relinquishing their privileges and definitely taking sides in the movement to accelerate the process of eliminating classes. To his not yet conscious fellow-worker he asks a recognition of the increasing class war, its evil injustice, and calls on him to organise for the withdrawal of proletarian support to the citadel of Capitalism.

As an American writer says:

"The past is the masters', the future belongs to Labour. All it has to do is to organise, unite, co-operate, and the world and all that is in it are theirs. Nothing but torpid lack of interest and idiotic lack of unity stands in the way of Labour being the arbiter, ruler and owner of the earth. The masters are active, organised, and ready to fight to the last ditch, but Labour has the numbers, brawn and ability; but will it use them? Time alone will answer that question."

What time will settle is being answered here and now, as individuals accept the principles of Communism. The ways to Communism are many. There is no one royal road. But the road is made clearer by the light of the ideal being increasingly practised by Communists here and now; and the Communist Life Movement indicates a way.

E. B.

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS FROM PRISON.

Translated by M. Campbell.

(Continued.)

Wronke, end of May, 1917.

Sonjuscha,—Do you know where I am, where I am writing you this letter? In the garden! I have dragged out a little table for myself, and I am now seated hidden between green shrubs. On my right the yellow ornamental currant, smelling like cloves; on my left a privet hedge; overhead a Norwegian maple and a young slender chestnut tree are stretching out to each other their broad green hands; and in front of me the big, white poplar, sedate and serious, is gently making a rustling noise with its white leaves. On the paper I am writing on, the faint shadows of the leaves are dancing with little rings of bright sunshine, and now and then from the rain-damped foliage a drop of water falls upon my hands and face. There is a service going on in the prison chapel; the dull music of the organ comes rolling out indistinctly, and is blended with the rustling of the trees and the clear chorus of the birds, who are all in a gay mood to-day; the cuckoo is calling a long way off. How grand it is, how happy I am; it almost feels like mid-summer's day already and life's intoxication; do you know the scene in Wagner's *Meistersinger*, the scene where a crowd of gaily clad people come on clapping their hands. Midsummer Day! Midsummer Day! and suddenly start to dance a Budermeier waltz. What a lot happened to me yesterday! I must tell you all about it. In the morning I found a fine specimen of *bombyx pavonius* on the bathroom window. It had evidently been in there a day or two already, and had flapped against the hard window pane until it was dead tired; a weak quivering of its wings was the only sign that life was not yet quite extinct. On noticing it I dressed myself again, trembling the while with impatience, climbed up to the window, and caught hold of it with both hands. It didn't resist at all, and I thought it was already dead. I placed it near me on the window-sill, so as to let it come round and then its life's little weak flame began to kindle, but it remained quite motionless. I then put one or two flowers in full bloom in front of its feelers, so that it would have something to feed on. Just at that moment a robin began singing outside the window, and it sang so clearly, and with such bravado, that the walls resounded with its notes; involuntarily I said out loud: "Listen how merrily the bird is singing; surely that ought to make that little bit of life come back to you!" I had to laugh at myself for giving the half-dead *bombyx* this talking-to, and thought to myself: idle words! But no; in half an hour the little creature had recovered, began at first to shift about here and there, and finally slowly flew away! How glad I was on account of this rescue! It was quite an event.

In the afternoon I went, of course, out again into the garden, where my hours are 8 a.m. till 12 o'clock (when we are called in to dinner), and again from 3 to 6. I was waiting for the sun. I had the feeling yesterday he must, he must show himself. But he did not show himself, and I became melancholy. I walked round and round the garden, and on a light breeze getting up I saw something remarkable: the over-ripened catkins of the white poplar were being tossed about, and their downy seed was being scattered in all directions, filling the air like snowflakes and covering the ground and all the yard; it produced such a ghostlike effect, the way the silvery down was fluttering all about! The white poplar blossoms later than all the other catkin-bearers, and thanks to the abundance of its dissemination it spreads to a great distance, its little striplings shooting up like weeds out of all the crevices in the wall and between the stones.

Then at six o'clock I was, as usual, locked in again, sat dejectedly at the window with a sense of heavy gloom preying on my mind—the air being very close—and gazed up above, where swallows at a dizzy height were darting about beneath the white fleecy clouds that were thrown against a pastel-blue ground, and with the pivouetting of their pointed wings it seemed as if the air were being cut with scissors. Soon, however, the sky grew dark, it all became dead still, and a storm broke loose with a heavy downpour of rain and two deafening peels of thunder which made everything rattle. This was followed by a sight that I shall never forget. The storm had soon passed over and beyond, the sky became a flat monotonous grey, a flat, dreary, uncanny evening suddenly enveloped the earth; it was as if thick grey veils were hanging down; the rain pattered quite softly and monotonously on the leaves, the lightning cut into the leaden grey with its purple-red flashes one above the other, and a distant rumbling of the thunder came rolling up again and again like the last weakening breakers on the sands. And in the midst of all this uncanny atmosphere on the maple outside my window the nightingale suddenly burst into song! In the midst of all the rain, whilst the lightning was still flashing and the thunder rumbling, it warbled away like a clear-ringing

BEST REPORT COMPETITION.

For the best report on working-class conditions sent in from each of the following districts a prize of four books will be given:

- (a) A mining district.
- (b) An engineering district.
- (c) A textile district.
- (d) A ship-building district.
- (e) An agricultural district.
- (f) Any London district.

The books to be given to each of the six prize-winners are Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*; Bishop Brown's *Christianism or Communism*; Sylvia Pankhurst's *Soviet Russia as I Saw It*, and *Writ on Cold Slate*.

bell. It seemed as though it were in an ecstasy, as though possessed, wanting to drown the noise of the thunder and to brighten up the close of day. I have never heard anything more beautiful. Its song trilling against the background of a sky alternating with leaden and purple hues produced the impression of scintillating silver tinsel. That was so mysterious, so inexplicably beautiful that involuntarily I found myself repeating the last stanza of that poem by Goethe: "Oh werest thou thou there!"

Always your ROSA.

Wronke, June 1st, 1917.

I happen to have a good general knowledge of orchids. For several days I made a diligent study of them in the wonderful hothouse in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where a whole department is allotted to them. It was whilst my case was up for trial, the time I received a year's imprisonment. I find they possess in their delicate gracefulness, and in their fantastic and unnatural forms something very sophisticated, exquisite, decadent. They remind me of the bejewelled and powdered marchioness of the Rococo period. I admire them but with an inner aversion and a certain amount of disquiet, as my nature does anything that is at all decadent and perverse. I take much more pleasure, for instance, in the simple dandelion that has so much sunshine in its colouring, and which has this of me in it: that it opens out in thankfulness to sunshine, but shyly closes up again at the slightest shadow.

What wonderful days and nights we are now having! Yesterday an indescribable charm lay upon everything. For a long time after sunset the sky was painted with a brilliant opal colour crossed with bands of an indefinite hue just like a big palette across which the painter had, after a busy day of

toil, brusquely wiped his brush so as to leave it at peace with himself. A slight sultriness that had come with the storm was now hanging about, a tension that seemed to clutch at the heart; the shrubs became completely motionless. Nothing more was heard of the nightingale, but the indefatigable robin with its little red breast was still hopping about among the branches and uttering its shrill notes. Everything seemed to be waiting for something. I stood at the window and waited likewise, God knows what for. After the cell doors are bolted at 6 o'clock I have positively nothing more between heaven and earth to wait for.

(To be continued.)

KARL MARX ON RUSSIAN DEVELOPMENT.

An Extract from the "Coming of Socialism,"
by Lucien Deslinieres.

The brilliant author of "Capital" showed in masterly fashion that the natural growth of the capitalist order would generate the economic factors and the proletarian forces which would lead to the destruction of Capitalism. But he never said that this development could not be hastened by the revolutionary activity of a resolute proletariat.

Marx's ideas on this question will not be found in "Capital," nor in any of his well-known works. They may be read in a "Letter Dealing with the Economic Development of Russia," which was published in the "Mouvement Socialiste" of May 24th, 1902. The ideas expounded by Marx in the first volume of "Capital" had aroused lively controversy. One of the many commentators, the Russian writer Mihailovsky, had imagined that the historical sketch of capitalist production was to be regarded as historico-philosophical theory of universal application. He held, therefore, that in Marx's opinion every nation, and notably Russia, would, in the course of its historical development, inevitably have to pass through a capitalist phase. Many Socialists are still of this opinion to-day. But Marx protested against any such interpretation of his teachings. He refused to admit that readers had any right to "metamorphose my sketch of the genesis of Capitalism in Western Europe into a historico-philosophical theory of the general development of Capitalism, a development which all nations must inevitably undergo."

"Far from this," he wrote, "it is certain that events striking in their analogy, but taking place in different historic environments, lead to utterly divergent results."

He recalls, for example, that the free peasants of ancient Rome, when they had been expropriated, did not become wage workers, but parasitic idlers, and that side by side with this development there was evolved a system of production based not on Capitalism, but on slave holdings. If we wish, he explained, to find a key to evolutionary phenomena, we shall have first to study separately the evolution of such people, and then proceed to comparisons with others. "We shall never arrive at an understanding with the master-key of a historico-philosophical theory, whose supreme virtue is to be supra-historical."

Applying these principles to the conditions that obtained in Russia when the close of the nineteenth century was approaching, conditions which, he tells us, he had continued to study for years after he had learned Russian, Marx declares succinctly that if Russia continues the destruction of agrarian Communism in favour of capitalist institutions: "She will lose the most splendid opportunity which History has Ever Offered a Nation."

Let us then shake off the disheartening suggestions of a fatalism which Marx was the first to condemn, a fatalism which preaches resignation and passivity in a period when the old world is convulsed, and when so admirable a field for activity is consequently being opened to human energy.—

From the "Coming of Socialism," by Lucien Deslinieres. Henderson's, or the "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 1/-.

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The Outlook.

FASCISTI v. BOLSHEVIKI. BONAR LAW AND MUSSOLINI.

Bonar Law, in addressing a meeting for women only in Drury Lane the other day, observed that he had

"received a message from the new head of the Italian Government, a friendly message, and I need not say that I have replied on behalf of this country reciprocating that friendly message."

How different is the reception of the Revolutionary Fascisti by the British Government to that which the British Government accorded the revolutionary Bolsheviks. The Fascisti have seized power by force, but there is no sanctimonious talk from our rulers about the violation of democracy in this case.

Why this difference? It is that the Russian Revolution was a menace to Capitalism, whilst the Fascisti Revolution is a support to it and a ruthless attack upon the working class.

THE TURKISH QUESTION AND THE BONAR LAW GOVERNMENT.

As we indicated when the Bonar Law Conservatives caused the resignation of Lloyd George, the split in the Coalition mainly hinged upon foreign policy. The Bonar Law faction is for maintaining the French alliance, whilst Lloyd George veers towards Germany, and is inclined towards a policy of independent temporising with all the Powers in turn. If French and British Capitalism make up their differences in the Near East, it will only be by a bargain to satisfy their greed of conquest at the expense of Turkey. The Secret Treaties made by the Allies during the late war, to carve up numerous territories and distribute them amongst the Allies, show exactly how the present matter will proceed.

The question at issue is whether, if France and Britain arrive at a bargain, they will immediately push on to secure its fulfilment at Turkey's expense, or will hold their hands for a time. If they act immediately, that means war.

Meanwhile, the Kemalist Turks are going boldly ahead. They are actually preparing to raise a conscript army for themselves in Thrace, just restored to them. They have deposed the old Sultan and announced they will presently depose him also from the Kalifat. They have established one of their number as Governor of Constantinople, under the eyes of the British, and it is interesting to observe that the Constantinople police, without waiting for official or Parliamentary instructions, declared themselves the servants of the Kemalists. The Kemalists have declared the nullity of the Treaty of Sèvres, which the Allies made with the Government of the Sultan, and have repudiated all other engagements made by the Sultan.

The Straits.

In regard to the Straits the Kemalists have made some striking proposals.

(1) That the Turkish Government should be notified beforehand of the proposed entry into any Turkish harbour of any warship, of the name, character, and strength of its crew;

(2) That such warships should only enter by daylight, and one at a time;

(3) That there should be no night cruising by warships in Turkish territorial waters; and

(4) The Turkish authorities should be notified in advance of, and their consent obtained to, the landing of any parties from warships.

If the Allies were out for national liberty and peace, they would accept these proposals; but since they are not, they naturally reject them.

Hitherto the French have been friendly to the Kemalists. If Bonar Law can make a bargain with France, that friendship may be broken, and we may presently see the French and British invading Turkey to put down the Kemalists and re-establish the Government of the Sultan, which they attacked during the war. At the same time they will endeavour to strip Turkey of much territory and to enforce all sorts of coercive conditions.

The Fascisti Government in Italy is likely to join in any attack on Turkey, for those whose puppets the "Black Shirt" rank and file fighters are, favour an aggressive imperialist policy. Thousands of Fascisti who have shed the blood of their Italian fellow-workers, are likely to lose their lives in imperialist adventures overseas.

SOCIALISM AND THE KEMALISTS.

Mustapha Kemal has informed Frederick Kuh, of Vienna, that "the new Turkish State will be governed by a system not far removed from Socialism." It is regrettable that the term Socialism is now so often taken in vain that many people are quite ignorant as to what Socialism is. We have no illusions regarding the Socialism of Kemal's Government. It is the outcome of a military nationalist movement, and not of a Socialist and proletarian movement. Kemal also informed Frederick Kuh that the Kemalist relations with Russia were "founded upon unchangeable friendship."

The present Russian Government is undoubtedly endeavouring to draw into its orbit all the Eastern nations which suffer under the domination of Western, and especially of British, Capitalist domination. This movement towards Eastern consolidation is the only force tending to bridge over the growing rivalry of France and Britain. Should France join the Eastern combination against Britain, the British Empire would have to fight a life and death struggle.

In the break-up of Capitalism the great Empires must disappear as a matter of course. The prospect of such a struggle does not dismay us in the slightest. We regret the sufferings of those who will be the pawns of the next great war, whether it be between East and West, or between a combination in which France will be allied with the East and opposed to Britain. We call to those who would be the victims of such strife to prevent another great Capitalist war by the proletarian revolution.

THE ELECTIONS.

Whilst the Fascisti and the Kemalists have been giving the world grim evidence of the powerlessness of Parliaments, the elections here have proceeded.

Reasons of the Labour Party's Defeats.

The Labour Party has lost heavily in the Local Government elections. That was to be expected: it is in accordance with predictions made in these columns. Why has the Labour Party suffered losses? Why did we predict those losses? How is it that the Labour Party, when it at last secured majorities on a substantial number of Councils, was not able to earn the enthusiastic gratitude of the people?

The answer is simple: the Labour majorities had only the power to administer the laws passed by Parliament, and were handicapped in every direction by the conditions of capitalist society. When the Labour majorities sought to give more generous assistance to the unemployed and the destitute poor, they increased the burden of the poor

wage earner and small shopkeeper making a bare living, and the same result followed the payment of better wages to the municipal employees and their efforts to improve the municipal services in any and every direction.

A Labour majority in Parliament will find itself faced with similar problems, since a Labour Government will not be prepared to overthrow Capitalism. If the Labour Government imposes a capital levy or increases the income tax, the landlords and employers will retaliate by lowering wages, increasing rents and prices, refraining from repairs, and supplying inferior goods and services. It is the private landlord, the private manufacturer and importer who to-day supplies the needs of the people and makes profit therefrom. Thus when prices are limited by Government interference, or by the consumers' purse, we find that our gas burns badly, our milk is impure, and the bus and train companies do not supply a sufficient number of vehicles to take us home from work without overcrowding and much delay.

If the Labour Government should lay down regulations governing the quality and sufficiency of supply, then it must employ innumerable inspectors to enforce the regulations and the burden of the maintenance of these parasitic workers must be paid by the workers in increased prices, lower wages, and ultimately in producing by their labour the food, clothes, housing, etc., which the inspectors and their families require.

If the Labour Government, by regulation, inspection, and punishment, should so tie up the position that the capitalist could not pass that his power and luxury were substantially on the burden of taxation to someone else, so reduced, then the capitalist class would resort to bribery of electors and of officials, passive resistance, sabotage, and finally open warfare. This has been shown again and again in our own time. Indeed, there will presently be not a country in Europe which has not experienced civil war by the revolting capitalists.

Whilst private enterprise is in the powerful position of controlling all the needs and services of the community, the supply of food, clothing, houses, transport, it is unthinkable that private enterprise will allow itself to be plucked of its profits with a ruthless hand. Moreover, the enormous amount of purely parasitic work under Capitalism, connected with buying and selling, insuring, advertising, financing, and the conditions of competitive Capitalism, so greatly limit the production of the necessities of life that the many must remain poor.

WILL THE TORIES GET IN?

The great losses of the Labour Party in the municipal elections, and the Tory gains which balance them, are due to the widespread poverty of the people, who, striving to make ends meet, grasp at any hope which may reduce the rates and put a check upon further expenditure. When people are suffering under severe economic pressure they are apt to turn thus to reaction when it promises economy. "We are working hard, yet we cannot make ends meet; we cannot spare anything to improve the lot of others, however bad their plight may be," is the despairing cry of hard-pressed people. It is ever so under Capitalism: we cannot do as we would to our fellow-creatures.

Will the same influence operate in the General Election? To a large extent it undoubtedly will. Bonar Law's promise of reduced Government expenditure, his promise to leave things alone, to refrain from harassing the business man by taxation, regulations, or appeals to his patriotism, seems welcome to people who are working on their own account, whether it be in a big or a small way. As for the employees of small business, they have suffered grievously in this period of trade depression; they feel their prospects dependent upon their employers; their hope of promotion, their tenure of service all seem bound up with the employer's business; should he fail, they must join that vast army of unemployed. Good trade is the lode star

of the unawakened worker, just as it is that of his employer. The unawakened worker does not know there is something infinitely finer than good trade—the destruction of Capitalism and wage slavery. The Labour Party does not seek to enlighten the workers: it also repeats the parrot-cry: "Recovery of our foreign markets." If it is agreed that the great hope of the workers employed and unemployed lies in the improvement of trade and the recovery of overseas markets, as the Labour leaders tell us, the shrewd, hard-headed worker is apt to be of opinion that a business man's Government will be more successful in that direction than a body of Trade Union officials. Therefore the worker who thinks as Mr. Clynes thinks about the country and its future, will be apt to vote for the Tories.

The Labour Party may gain something through the splitting of the votes amongst the other parties; but the Parliamentary election is likely to be, like the municipal elections, an election of financial desperation and fear of Government expenditure.

The Capital Levy.

The Labour Party in this election is only putting forward one definite proposal which can be regarded as an innovation: the capital levy. Mr. Pethick Lawrence, though not the originator of the idea, has been the pioneer who has induced the Labour Party to take up the proposal, which, as it happens, will be made the subject of referendum in Switzerland on December 3rd. The Swiss Socialist Party there has presented an initiative petition for it under the law of Initiative and Referendum. Therefore the entire electorate will vote as to whether the capital levy shall become law. The Swiss proposal is more drastic than that of the British Labour Party, which proposes a 5 per cent. levy on capital over £5,000. The Swiss proposal is 8 per cent. on fortunes as low as 50,000 frs., 10 per cent. on capital between 50,000 and 100,000 frs., graduated up to 60 per cent. on incomes of 3,000,000 frs.

This one distinctive point in the Labour Party proposal, the capital levy, has met with a deluge of opposition from the other Parliamentary parties. That was to be expected; for such is Parliamentary Party warfare. The Labour Party has flinched a little under the rod of criticism. Messrs. Clynes and Henderson have explained that "the Labour Party is not wedded to the idea of a levy on capital." Mr. Clynes has protested that the scheme "would have to be considered and administered carefully in order to cause the least possible inconvenience and damage to trade." Mr. Thomas has spoken even more cautiously.

To recommend the scheme to the people and to protect themselves from criticism, the Labour leaders continually protest that Mr. Bonar Law, the Tory Premier, some time ago declared himself in favour of a capital levy. Mr. Clynes, in a letter to the "Times," says:

"To have to suffer a little transference of personal property to the State, with the certainty that that property would speedily flow to private owners again, is a small and petty thing compared with the noble and valiant sacrifice of life which the nation demanded when it was physically in danger."

We, of course, are opposed to the view of the war expressed by Mr. Clynes in that passage; but his characterisation of the capital levy seems to us entirely apt. We agree that it merely means "a little transference of personal property to the State, with the certainty that that property would speedily flow to the private owners again."

That is precisely why, like Mr. Clynes, we regard the capital levy scheme as "a small and petty thing," which will play no part in the emancipation of the people from economic subjection and want.

The "Plebs" on Anti-Parliamentarians.

The "Plebs" has resurrected a forgotten article by Karl Marx, written in 1873 for an Italian year-book, and in an introductory note says:

"It deals with the anti-Parliamentary revolutionaries (Bakuninists), who at that time, based their cry 'No Political Action!' on their 'Master' Proudhon. They correspond almost exactly to the group censured by Lenin as Infantile Leftists."

We do not wish to muck-rake amongst old forgotten controversies, even so far as to discuss whether Marx dealt fairly with the Bakuninists, in seeking to associate their ideas with those of Proudhon; nor will we debate whether Marx in this article misrepresented Proudhon. We will, however, quote a few passages from the article of Marx, in order that our readers may observe how totally inapplicable they are to the Communist Workers' Party, Fourth International, one of the main objects of which is to build up the Soviets in the workshops, in order that they may seize the industries and maintain them under Communism.

Says Marx in the article in question:

"Quoth Proudhon: 'The authorities who had to shoot down the miners of Rivede-Gier were in an unhappy position. But they behaved like the elder Brutus when, for the safety of the republic, he had to sacrifice his feelings as a father that he might fulfil his duties as a consul. Nor has posterity ventured to condemn Brutus on this account.'

"No worker will be able to remember any occasion on which a capitalist employer has hesitated to sacrifice his men for the sake of his own interests. The bourgeois are conspicuous Brutuses! But let Proudhon speak once more:

"No, we can just as little claim that there is a right of combination, as that there is a right to practise blackmail, a right to cheat, or to steal, a right to commit incest or adultery."

"We must certainly affirm that there is the right to be an ass. . . .

"In order to close for the working class any egress from its so-called social debasement, Proudhon condemns the Labour combinations which marshal the workers as a class hostile to the respectable category of factory owners, middlemen, bourgeois, etc., who for their part, like Proudhon, unquestionably prefer measures of State police to the class struggle."

If the editor of the "Plebs" is really under the impression that the strictures of Marx under this head are truly applicable to the Communist Workers' movement, we recommend him to take a serious course of study in order to purge himself of error.

The "The Workers' Dreadnought" is on the "Plebs" exchange list; therefore, the extreme ignorance of the Plebs editor is inexcusable. Apparently he has not read Lenin's "Infantile Sickness," to which he refers.

A NOVELIST AND POLITICS.

An actor or a novelist is always sure of obtaining publicity for his or her political views. Therefore, Sir Hall Caine is sure of a column in the "Times" when he appeals to the Labour Party "to drop all further discussion of economic ways and means of achieving the objects they desire, and to concentrate on the one great human issue which confronts the nation—the right of the poor to live, to work, and to be honest." How the poor are to secure such rights without touching upon economic matters the worthy novelist fails to explain. Perhaps he does not realise the poor are so numerous that they cannot be dealt with by a little picturesque almsgiving, such as the novelists are always able to arrange in their stories, without making anyone a penny the poorer. Unfortunately, in real life the problem cannot even be solved by a voyage to discover a hidden treasure.

Meanwhile, is it not a son of Sir Hall Caine who is standing as an Independent Conservative?

MORE MARRIAGE LAW MUDDLES.

Speaking with great deliberation, Lord Birkenhead concluded: "It is evident that the arguments which I have addressed to your lordships will result, if effect is given to them, in leaving Mrs. Rutherford bound in matrimony. It is an unfortunate circumstance that she should thus be tied for life to a dangerous, violent, and homicidal lunatic, after having for many years suffered, both in body and spirit, from his unfaithfulness and his cruelty. He is 41 years of age and she is 40. We need take little account of his feelings. As regards her, we are bound to note that during many more years, unless death remove him or release her, she must look forward to a loneliness from which she can escape only by a violation of the moral law. To some this may appear a harsh, and even an inhumane result; but such, my lords, such is the law of England."

"The moral law" quotha; but where is the morality in such a case? It seems that Bernard Shaw, Thomas Hardy, and the others who have more or less boldly revealed the absurdity and cruelty of the legal marriage, have written in vain, so far as the mass of people are concerned. Another awful evidence of that fact is the Thompson murder case, in which it was evidently the mere dread of "what people would say" that kept a childless woman earning a comfortable wage from leaving a husband whom she detested, and who has been murdered as a result.

THE REWARD OF INTELLIGENCE.

A large firm of agricultural implement manufacturers has been experimenting for some years with a seed drill for sowing small seeds. Much difficulty was experienced in designing a machine that could be adjusted to sow seeds in rows of varying widths. The machine was designed so that it would sow every row or alternate rows, but it could not be adjusted to vary the width of the rows, which is necessary, because some seeds require to be sown further apart than others. On the machine being given a trial in Sussex, the man in charge, an ordinary agricultural labourer, after trying the machine for a day or two, discovered a way in which the requisite alteration could be made. He had not had the necessary technical instruction to enable him to draw out the plan; but his practical experience showed him the adjustment required. In due time the company developed the idea, and the improved seed drill was put on the market. The working inventor received a few shillings for his trouble, and the capitalists got the rest.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Press (Labour Research Department, 6d.). This pamphlet contains some interesting information on newspapers and newspaper proprietors.

It tells that the "Daily Mail's" original capital of £15,000 grew in nine years to £1,032,990, and that in sixteen years the profit on an original deferred share amounted to 207½ per cent.

Harmsworth Bros., between 1901-2 and 1921-2, only once paid 35 per cent., and in every other year 40 per cent., and an additional 30 per cent. bonus in 1913. In nine years the company made profits amounting to almost four times the original capital.

The "Daily Mirror" paid 15 per cent. for two years, 20 per cent. for two years, 60 per cent. for five years, then 55 per cent., free of tax.

A curious story is told of the Berry family and Weldon's fashion paper. The three Berry brothers are connected with 57 companies, comprising coal, iron, steel, chemicals, shipping, and transport, insurance, finance and investment, engineering and shipbuilding, textile, whilst newspapers, publishing and printing, are later developments. In 1921 the shares of Weldon's were £200,000 6 per cent. cumulative preference shares and £180,000 ordinary shares. These were paying a steady dividend of 10 per cent., with bonus distributions at intervals of 2 to 10 per cent. There was one vote per share of either class. The Berrys came to an arrangement with the shareholders for the issue of £5,000 deferred shares of 1/-, which they themselves paid for at par. These deferred shares henceforth carry the sole voting rights, whilst, in return, the ordinary shares were transformed into cumulative preference shares with a dividend of 14 per cent. guaranteed for seven years. The speculation was apparently not exactly for profit from the Berry standpoint. What was it for? It is suggested that the object of securing control of the group of fashion papers was connected with the Berry textile business.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

OUR RULERS.

By Tom Anderson.

We are now in the throes of a great panoramic display of doeping. David has gone out—or, rather, he has been forced to toe the line. Bonar, his pal up to a point, has come in; and Labour is monkeying between the two of them. Bonar has been to Glasgow, and he has told his story—a quite common old wife's tale of economy, stability, and the like. He made a weak suggestion of getting work, a little work, but in time a lot of work, and the big meeting of 5,000 persons was pleased. Work, reduction of the income tax, and work for the slaves. That is very good. We all like work! You would think we could eat work, drink work, and sleep work. It is a wonderful thing, work; and still none of these great men do any actual work. They only talk about it to the people who like work; and the only people who like work are the slaves. It is very sad, yet true, that the slaves think more of work than of how they are exploited in their work. It seems that it must be so, or otherwise we would not have slaves and great men.

After Bonar left our city David came. He is a wonderful little man, is David, some 5 ft. 5½ in. high, and a little bit shammy in the left leg; he wears his hair rather long, and is a little bit foppish in his gestures.

David also made a speech in the same hall as Bonar, and it was packed to overflowing. They say that David is a wizard. I think that is a mistake; he is more of a "Uriah," playing his cards with that double purpose which belongs to this type.

When David comes to Glasgow he must say something new, or at least attempt something which sounds like new. He said there was snow on the Cheviots, and the audience applauded. That is not new. There has been snow on the Chviots for fully a million years. But David said it, and that was quite sufficient. He said there were "rocks ahead, clouds above and below"—stories that might overwhelm us. There was that hidden danger, if we did not pull together; it would come upon us and destroy, and the fault would be entirely that of Bonar and his friends. The big meeting at this point was moved to tears—not real tears, just tears the same as the principal actors. "Why," he exclaimed in a passionate gesture, "why this work? Do they know? Have they ever considered where they may land us? What, ladies and gentlemen, is the difference between us that this desperate destructive piece of vandalism should be carried out?" Dead silence prevailed. Everyone was in the attitude of prayer. David crossed the platform with his arms folded across his chest, and his little figure throbbing like an indiarubber toy man that you often see in Gamage's. "Ladies and gentlemen," he exclaimed, "there is no difference." And that big clan meeting of the robbers shouted themselves hoarse.

Why Bonar instead of David? It is easy to explain. Poor Uriah would like to make himself believe that he has won the ears of all the robbers in the land. But that is not so. The land robbers are still the land robbers by upbringing and tradition. They are still the lords and the dukes—the real lords and real dukes. A prince is still a prince, and a king is still a king; and a queen—after all—is also still a queen. None of your soap, or oil, or lard, or pig iron, beer, or manufactured articles. They are the real bona-fide articles, the true genuine Conservatives from the ages that are gone; and David is only a smart little man, of lowly pedigree. Bonar knows that, and Bonar represents that; and David tried to make the big meeting believe that the old tradition had passed away. But it has not; they have only suffered David to carry on until the storm was past, as he was the best showman in all England. But no longer. David must go to his own quarters, which are on a lower plane, belonging to the class he comes from. And poor David told them that

there was no difference in what he meant to do. That may be so; but he is not going to sup with them, and if he would take my advice he should join the Labour Party and lead Labour on to the promised land that he promised us during the war. I am sure if David came to our side we would win this election. I am also certain we would put a spoke in Bonar's wheel, and all his lords and dukes. It would be a great day if David would come out and lead us. We would take back all we have said against him. We would place his picture in all our homes, and he would rank beside the Virgin and the Cross.

We might have some snarling from Arthur and Ramsay and Philip, and also J. R., but they would be drowned in the big chorus for David. I therefore ask David, just as a "free lance" I ask him, to come over and join Labour, and we poor slaves shall rejoice. We shall do anything, suffer anything, and be glad in the doing of it; for "he who won the war" is on our side. He need not trouble about believing in the class war or the materialist conception of history, or its value, or surplus value, or revolution; none of our real Labour leaders believe in any of these things. They do not count in the game of bluff, because there is no difference between.

All we want is office, with its trimmings and its little social lifts. Let us cry: "Down with the Lords, up with the Commons! Down with all privilege! Equality for all! One vote for every man and woman in the Empire from 18 years of age. Tax the land, tax the lords, tax the super rich! One nation, one family, with the right to work! And may God have mercy on our souls is the prayer of your humble servants."

ESPERANTO.

KEY TO EKZERCO No. 18.

Patient: Good-day, doctor.

Doctor: Good-day, what are you suffering from?

Patient: My dear sir, it seems to me that I am mad.

Doctor (with astonishment): Mad, why?

Patient: I don't know, but I have that feeling.

Doctor: Be assured, you are quite well.

Patient: Are you quite sure? I can't believe that.

Doctor: I assure you, you are quite normal. Good-bye.

(Patient goes away.)

Doctor (looking after him and shaking his head): Madman!

EKZERCO No. 19.

SPERTA.

Si: Ĉu vi tiel parolis al alia fraĝlino?

Li: Vi ja ne supozas, ke mi povus fari tiel bone sen ekzerco!

VORTARO.

Sperta	experienced
Ĉu	you
vi	(marks a question)
tiel	so (in that manner)
parolis	spoke
al	to
alia	(an) other
fraĝlino	unmarried
li	unmarried lady,
ja	spinster
ne	he
supozas	why, you don't
ke	suppose
povus fari	that
bone	should be
sen ekzerco	able to (could) do
	well
	without exercise
	(practice)

Muzika diletanto: Ĉu vi ŝatas Brahms?

Amiko: Mi neniam gustumis ilin.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭriga.

La kapitalistaro ne povas ekzisti, ne konstante revolucianta la rimedojn de la produktado, kaj per tio la rilatojn de produktado, kaj kun ili la tutaj rilatojn de la socio. La

konservado de la antikvaj metodoj de produktado en neŝanĝita formo estis, kontraŭe, la unua kondiĉo por la ekzistado de ĉiuj pli fruaj industriaj klasoj. Konstanta revolucio de produktado, seninterrompa maltrankviligo de ĉiuj sociaj statoj, ĉiama necerteco kaj agitado, distingas la kapitalistan epokon de ĉiuj pli fruaj. Ĉiuj fiksitaj, alglaciigitaj rilatoj, kun sia sekvantaro de antikvaj kaj respektindaj antaŭjuĝoj kaj opinioj, forbalaigas, ĉiuj nove formitaj antikviĝas antaŭ ol ili povas malmoligi. Ĉio solida forfluidiĝas en aeron, ĉio sankta profaniĝas, kaj ĉe la fino la homo estas devigata stari kun sobraj sentoj antaŭ siaj realaj kondiĉoj de vivado, kaj siaj rilatoj kun sia gento.

GOD: KNOWN AND UNKNOWN.

By Samuel Butler.

CHAPTER II.

Common Ground.

I have now, perhaps, sufficiently proved my sympathy with the reluctance felt by many to tolerate discussion upon such a subject as the existence and nature of God. I trust that I may have made the reader feel that he need fear no sarcasm or levity in my treatment of the subject which I have chosen. I will, therefore, proceed to sketch out a plan of what I hope to establish, and this in no doubtful or unnatural sense, but by attaching the same meaning to words as those which we usually attach to them, and with the same certainty, precision, and clearness as anything else is established which is commonly called known.

As to what God is, beyond the fact that He is the Spirit and the Life which creates, governs and upholds all living things, I can say nothing. I cannot pretend that I can show more than others have done in what the Spirit and the Life consists, which governs all living things and animates them. I cannot show the connection between consciousness and the will, and the organ, much less can I tear away the veil from the face of God, so as to show wherein will and consciousness consist. No philosopher, whether Christian or Rationalist, has attempted this without discomfort; but I can, I hope, do two things: Firstly, I can demonstrate, perhaps more clearly than modern science is prepared to admit, that there does exist a single Being or Animator of all living things—a single Spirit, whom we cannot think of under any meaner name than God; and, secondly, I can show something more of the persona or bodily expression, mask, and mouthpiece of this vast Living Spirit than I know of as having been familiarly expressed elsewhere, or as being accessible to myself or others, though doubtless many works exist in which what I am going to say has been already said.

Aware that much of this is widely accepted under the name of Pantheism, I venture to think it differs from Pantheism with all the difference that exists between a coherent intelligible conception and an incoherent, unintelligible one. I shall therefore proceed to examine the doctrine called Pantheism, and to show how incomprehensible and valueless it is.

I will then indicate the Living and Personal God about whose existence and about many of whose attributes there is no room for question; I will show that man has been so far made in the likeness of this Person of God, that He possesses all its essential characteristics, and that it is this God who has called man and all other living forms, whether animals or plants, into existence, so that our bodies are the temples of His spirit; that it is this which sustains them in their life and growth, who is one with them, living, moving, and having His being in them; in whom, also, they live and move, they in Him and He in them; He being not a Trinity in Unity only, but an Infinity in Unity, and a Unity in an Infinity; eternal in time past, for so much time at least that our minds can come no nearer to eternity than this; eternal for the future as long as the universe shall exist; ever changing, yet the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever. And I will show this with so

THE PENAL SERVITUDE OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

"How are you, comrade? Why, you don't look half your old size!"

"Indeed you have fallen away: you do look poorly."

The visitor thus addressed was a tall thin man, stooping badly, as though from weakness—one of the London unemployed to whom the Poor-Law Guardians have announced that they will grant no more relief save admission to the Belmont Institution at Sutton, Surrey.

"What is it like at Belmont?"

"Rather like the prison system," answered its inmate, sinking into a chair as though very tired.

"And the food?"

"There isn't enough, oh no; people are hungry all the time there; but we get a little more food now than we did."

"What do they give you to eat?"

"Breakfast, 8 oz. bread, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. margarine, and a pint of tea.

"Dinner: Monday, salt beef, potatoes and peas pudding, 2 oz. of bread. Tuesday, a choice of soup or 6 oz. bread or 2 oz. cheese and bread. Wednesday, beef, potatoes and cabbage, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. plain pudding. Thursday, salt beef, potatoes and beans. Friday, beef, and so on.

"Tea: A pint of tea, bread and cheese two days; bread and margarine four days; bread and treacle Sundays. It is watered sometimes, and so thin that it all runs off the bread. Once a fortnight we have some very stale stewed figs, or rhubarb if there is plenty ready growing in the institution.

"Supper: Two ounces bread, which has been provided latterly by cutting 1 oz. off the breakfast and 1 oz. off the tea allowance."

"And the beds?"

"Straw mattresses. The worst is that there are no pillow-slips, the pillows are not clean, and the sheets are not always long enough to cover them. One doesn't know what one may be catching from the man who used the pillow before one!"

"The clothing?"

"We are still using the German prisoners' brown uniform. The clothes aren't warm enough; the place is draughty and dilapidated."

"What do you do there: what is the programme?"

"Rise 6.45, breakfast 7.15, work 8 to 12, dinner 12 to 1, work 1 to 5 April to November, and 1 to 4.30 November to April, and 9.15 lights out. All very monotonous. We can do as we like from tea to bedtime. There are some cards some of the men have brought down, and some draft-boards made by the men; very few books; we seldom see a newspaper; those are the things we miss most. We thought we should have a little money to spend, but we don't get any, only $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of tobacco, so we can't buy anything to read. The men say they don't get that weight. I don't smoke.

"Do you get anything instead?"

"No."

"What is the work?"

"Scrubbing the rooms, cleaning lavatories, work on the farm."

"Tell us about the farm."

"There are six cows."

"How many men are there?"

"The number varies; there are about 700 at the present time."

"Six cows, with 700 men to look after them?"

"Oh, there is other work. There are 90 acres of land, about 60 acres of which are cultivated. Then there are the Master's garden and lawn to attend to, and those of the Labour Master and other officials. The men don't work much; they do as little as they can—they don't want to be there. It is only necessity that compels them. There was task work down there one time; men used to have to get a certain amount done or finish it after tea. That is given up now. The men dodge as much as they can. Every now and then the Master sends some of them to the police-station for disobedience.

"Just recently a young fellow was angry about the conditions. He was set to break stones on the road. He flung one of the stones down in disgust. It struck a rough wooden fence belonging to the railway company and chipped off a little bit of wood. He was sent to prison for fourteen days for that; but he wouldn't find much difference between Belmont and the prison, except that at Belmont we can talk to each other in the evenings, but in prison a man gets a cell to himself; at Belmont we are herded together in a dormitory."

"So it is dismal, eh?"

"Yes, it is."

"Have you left Belmont now?"

"No; I'm just out for a few days."

"Yes, you can take your discharge when you like, if you give notice; but if you come in and out often you have to give seven days' notice before you are allowed to leave."

"What about your railway fare back to London?"

"They won't pay that more than once in a month."

"Did many take their discharge to vote in the elections?"

"Oh, no; they don't take much interest in that sort of thing: it doesn't seem to affect them: it is all so far away, and we hear nothing of it down there."

Books, papers and pamphlets, or donations for the purchase of literature, may be sent to the "Workers' Dreadnought" Office, to be forwarded to the unemployed at Belmont. We will send the "Dreadnought" free of charge; will you help us to pay the postage?

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

The "Manchester Guardian Commercial" says:

"The buying organisation which was formed by a number of London borough councils in which there is a Labour majority for the purpose of breaking the contractors' 'ring' has not fared very well in the first round of the fight. The Bermondsey Council wanted 2,000 tons of cement, and the Public Authorities Mutual Supply put in a tender at £2 12s. 6d. a ton, which was 4s. higher than a tender put in by a private firm. By some means or other, the manager of the 'Mutual' got to know very early about the lower tender, and when the Committee met they were confronted with a letter from the Labour buying ring offering to reduce their tender by 3s. 6d. a ton. They recommended acceptance of the private firm's tender, but when this proposal came before the Council it was upset, on the ground that the 'ring' of cement-makers would reimburse any firm that lost money through tendering below the prices quoted by Mutual Supplies, Limited. So the municipal 'ring' is to supply the cement, notwithstanding the contention made in open council that the ring was formed for the benefit of eight London Socialist mayors. It seems clear, at any rate, that it was not formed for the benefit of the ratepayers."

The Labour members of the Bermondsey Council and those who are concerned in Public Authorities' Mutual Supplies, as well as the eight Labour mayors, or ex-mayors, have doubtless an explanation to offer, but what is it? It would be well for them to publish a full account of the facts.

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

The I.W.W. Defence News Service reports from Seattle, Washington:

"All along the Pacific coast the members of the I.W.W. Unions are talking general strike to free the seventy-five war-opinion prisoners still behind the bars. Sentiment in Seattle, shown by a vote of the I.W.W. joint branches here, favours an immediate walk-out. But the vote in Spokane, Wenatchee, Everett, and in Eureka, California, advises waiting until spring, with the idea of effecting a much greater tie-up of industry than would be possible now. The Industrial Workers of the World have been taking stock of their own strength. When the strike comes, say these

who contend for delay until spring, it must be an epochal turning of the workers. The whole nation must be made to understand exactly why the big industries are brought to a standstill. This will mean a possible six months of intensive organisation within their own ranks and of education for the American people, the spreading to every community in the land of the facts about the political prisoners.

"There are three great fields in which the I.W.W. Unions are in a strategic position in the West—lumber production, construction work, and marine transport; and they are powerful in agriculture. If the strike should be long extended, they could prevent the harvesting of crops through the nation's grain fields, and their strength in the railroad industry is steadily gaining in the West.

"Portland faces a strike of the marine workers. The I.W.W. leads the field there, and the men on the water-front have serious grievances. Release of the political, however, will be placed at the top of the list of demands if the walk-out comes. Half the members of the International Longshoremen's Association, a rival of the I.W.W.'s Marine Transport Workers' Union, have voted to join the proposed strike."

When Joseph Neal, agricultural worker, was tried at Hutchinson, Kansas, for "criminal syndicalism," most of the jury, on examination, admitted prejudice. Under U.S. law they ought to have been discharged and others chosen, but the Judge said: "Almost everybody is prejudiced against the I.W.W.; but that will not prevent a jury so prejudiced from rendering a just and fair verdict."

In order to spend thirty minutes with the three men unjustly sentenced for the Centralia Armistice Day riot, their wives and children must journey across the mountains of Walla Walla to the south-eastern corner of the State and remain there a month. The prison rules allow fifteen minutes a month. Owing to the great cost of the journey, the relatives will stay a month to get a second fifteen minutes with the beloved captives.

Five jurors recently confessed that they knew the imprisoned men were innocent, but were afraid to acquit them.

Fifty-five thousand miners are on strike in Fayette County, Pa. There have been 1,500 evictions. The homeless are living in tents, and there are a growing number of typhoid cases.

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him through the streets. Fascisti invaded the offices of the Russian Soviet Commercial Mission and murdered the doorkeeper.

Fascisti and Russia.

It is said that the Mussolini Government will adopt a strongly hostile attitude towards Soviet Russia. That was to be anticipated, since the Mussolini Government represents the extreme reaction.

Italian Communist Party and Fascisti.

The story that the Communist Party had announced its dissolution appears to be untrue; the Communists have issued a call to the workers to unite against the Fascisti.

Italian Trade Unions and Fascisti.

The "Daily Telegraph" of November 1st announced that the Italian General Confederation of Labour has issued a manifesto supporting the new Government. If such a manifesto has actually been obtained, it can only have been at the muzzle of the revolver, and must certainly be revoked by the mass of organised workers. The manifesto is most probably a fake.

USEFUL PAMPHLETS.

Penny pamphlets for use during the Election. Can be supplied at 10d. a dozen of 13 post free. Cash with order.

The Truth About the Oil War, by Sylvia Pankhurst.
Parliament the People's Enemy, by Clara Cole.
Law and Authority.

Communism and the Elections.

The Capitalist parties and the Capitalist Press are telling you that the elections are all about Communism, fellow-worker; but, of course, that is not the case.

The newspapers would have you believe that Communism is concerned with high rates and taxes, and the maintenance of a huge army of unemployed on a higher scale than you who are employed can earn in the workshops. They also tell you that Communism drives capital from the country, and therefore causes your employer to give you the sack.

Communism, however, is not concerned with rates and taxes or the dole: it belongs to an altogether different scheme of things. Moreover, do not be led away, fellow-worker, by the story that the Labour Party is working for Communism. That is the very biggest mistake you could make.

As a matter of fact, between you and me, fellow-worker, the Labour Party is as much afraid of Communism as is the Tory Party.

The Labour Party is making only one definite proposal in this election—that is, to make the rich pay a larger share of the costly cost of government than at present, and to let the poor off with smaller payments towards the upkeep of Church and State, including the Army and Navy and all the Government Departments.

To do this, the Labour Party proposes to reduce taxation on food and on small incomes, and to increase taxation on large incomes. It also proposes to take a small proportion of the capital of the rich, instead of only a proportion of the interest which the rich get from the investment of their capital. The proportion of capital that the Labour Party proposes to take from the rich is so small that, as the Labour Party itself explains, those who have to pay the levy will, in many cases, pay less than the present income tax.

"What will be the result of the Labour Party proposals?"

Very small; the rich might lose a trifle by them in the first instance; but by reducing wages and increasing prices, rents, and rates of interest, the rich will swiftly readjust the balance.

As for you, fellow-worker, you would not observe that the Labour Party's finance programme had made any difference at all, were it put into practice in full.

Dismiss from your mind all notion that such tinkering has anything to do with Communism, fellow-worker: when Communism comes to pass your life will be absolutely changed.

You will no longer be a wage slave. You will take your fill of all there is, because more of everything can be produced than the people can use.

There will be no unemployed. Everyone will take a share of the work, not for pay, because money and wages will be abolished; but because mankind lives by labour, and because work under pleasant conditions, when there is not too much of it, is a pleasant and natural thing.

When the employers cease from troubling and the Unions are at rest, a man will scorn to remain idle, week after week, month after month, year after year, because his help is not required in the particular craft he was apprenticed to; but when Communism comes he will be working as an equal citizen of the community, for the welfare of all, and not to make profits for the boss as at present.

Under Communism there will be no rent, interest and profit, no rates and taxes to pay.

Communism, fellow-worker, means the liberation of you and me from slavery and anxiety, from poverty and useless toil.

"Meanwhile, each week, under this odious system, brings its crop of suicides by poor people who could not make the two ends meet.

Oh the sorrow, the sorrow of poor people under this system, fellow-worker; the sorrow of poor anxious people: it well might fill a very sea of tears.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

(Continued from p. 6.)

little ambiguity that it shall be perceived not as a phantom or hallucination following upon a painful straining of the mind and a vain endeavour to give coherency to incoherent and inconsistent ideas, but with the same ease, comfort, and palpable flesh-and-blood clearness with which we see those near to us; whom, though we see them at the best as through a glass darkly, we still see face to face, even as we are ourselves seen.

I will also show in what way this Being exercises a moral government over the world, and rewards and punishes us according to His own laws.

Having done this, I shall proceed to compare this conception of God with those that are currently accepted, and will endeavour to show that the ideas now current are in truth efforts to grasp the one on which I shall here insist. Finally, I shall persuade the reader that the differences between the so-called theist are differences rather about words than things, inasmuch as not even the most prosaic of modern scientists will be inclined to deny the existence of this God, while few theists will feel that this, the natural conception of God, is a less worthy one than that to which they have been accustomed.

(To be continued.)

ALL-WORKERS UNION AT GRANTHAM.

The Grantham local branch of the All-Workers' Union of Revolutionary Workshop

Committees (unemployed section) appeals for suitable books and pictures for its club-room. Comrades in London and the provinces who have already had educational advantages are requested to take down from their bookshelves the volumes they have read, and send them along to these proletarians who are eager to educate themselves in Communist thought. "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," and "The Conquest of Bread," and Morris's "News From Nowhere," are specially in request.—T. Holdsworth, 47 Bridge End Road, Grantham.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

Central London Branch (Hon. Secretary, S. Cahill) meets Thursday evenings, at 152 Fleet Street, 7.30 p.m. Volunteers for meetings, clerical work, etc., should write to the Secretary at 152 Fleet Street.

SOCIAL AND SALE OF WORK.

A few more things are wanted for the stalls. Do not leave it till the last moment! Cakes, sweets and groceries; also toys for the children's Christmas stockings will be specially welcomed. Useful articles for wearing and the home always find a ready sale. Fancy goods, stationery, books, and soap, not forgetting tobacco and cigarettes for the men. We can find a place for them all. Goods should be sent without delay to Mrs. S. Cahill, 60 Limes Grove, Lewisham, S.E. 13, or to Mrs. Brimley, 18 Grove Road, Leytonstone, E. 11.

THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL.

"Proletarian," organ of the Communist Workers' International (printed in German), and the "Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung," organ of the German Communist Workers' Party (printed in German) may be obtained from the "Dreadnought" Bookshop, at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

SOCIAL

and

SALE OF WORK

For the "Workers' Dreadnought" Fund, the Builders' Labourers' Hall, 84 Blackfriars Road, Saturday, November 25th, 3 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Concert with first-class artistes.

Sale and Exhibition of Russian Peasant Arts and Crafts.

Pictures and Drawings by Communist Artists.

Competitions. Prizes.

Buy your Christmas presents at the stalls. Books, useful and fancy goods, cigars and cigarettes, sweets, cakes, etc.

Refreshments at Popular Prices.

Admission by programme, 3d.

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<i>Truth and the War</i> , by E. D. Morel	2/6
<i>Capitalism and the War</i> , by Walton Newbold	6d.
<i>Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution</i> , by Walton Newbold	3d.
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<i>Early Romances</i> , by William Morris	2/6
<i>Signs of Change</i> (seven lectures), by William Morris	6/-

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT MEETINGS.

Friday, November 10th.—8 p.m., Prince's Head, Battersea, W. Pratt, C. T. West

Saturday, November 11th.—6 p.m., Garrold's Corner, Edgware Road, C. J. Delahunty, W. Pratt.

Sunday, November 12th.—11 a.m., Finsbury Park, W. Pratt, C. T. West.

Monday, November 13th.—7.30 p.m., Liverpool Street, Walworth Road, C. Edwards, J. Welsh.

Tuesday, November 14th.—7.30 p.m., Wren Road, Camberwell, Clara Cole, C. T. West.

Wednesday, November 15th.—8 p.m., Philpott Street, Commercial Road, Whitechapel, C. Edwards, J. Welsh.

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