

**Workers' Breadnought**  
FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.  
Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST

[ WEEKLY. ]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

# THE IRISH WAR.

## WORKERS, WHAT DO YOU SAY?

## WILL ENGLISH WORKERS FIGHT IN IRELAND?

[illegible][illegible]

People seem to forget the fact that there are three Protestants to the one Catholic in Belfast. No matter how well directed is the Orange fire against Catholics, Protestants are occasionally shot by Orange bullets.—From the "Irish Bulletin."

If there is war, fellow-workers and comrades, what are you going to do? Are you going to

British Radical politicians were wont to protest in righteous horror against the anti-Jewish pogroms in Russian Poland, but they appear to be all unconscious of the anti-Catholic (in reality anti-Republic) pogroms which are going on in Ireland. The fate of the Armenians in face of

" Pettigoe and the high ground east and west are now in the occupation of the military for a mile on each side of the village. Most of Pettigoe is in Free State territory."

"On Wednesday, May 31st, a scout reported two Crossley tenders and one armoured car on the Kesh road coming towards the border. Orders were sent to the post covering the Kesh road not to fire unless they were attacked. Before the order reached the post a person in one of the tenders, dressed in a khaki coat and black trousers, got out of the tender, placed a Lewis gun on the fence, and opened fire on another post of ours which guarded the left flank of Pettigoe, and in our territory. The post covering the Kesh road immediately opened on the Lewis gunner. The men in the tenders were all dressed in black except the one man in the khaki coat. The tenders and armoured car immediately retreated.

(Continued on page 4c)



## WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By Alexandra Kollantay.

(Continued from last week.)

The class instinct whispered to the first owners of the capitalist establishments that it is better to go slowly and use common sense in place of experience in search of the new ways and means in establishing relations between capital and labour, than to borrow the antiquated useless methods of exploitation of labour from the old outlawed system. The class instinct quite correctly told the first capitalists during the first period of capitalist development that in place of the whip of the overseer they must apply another incentive—rivalry, personal ambition of workers facing unemployment and misery. And the capitalists, having grasped this new incentive to labour, this new conqueror of labour, were wise enough to use it in order to promote the development of the bourgeois capitalist forms of production by increasing the productivity of "free" hired labour to a high degree of intensity.

Five centuries ago the bourgeoisie acted also in a cautious way, carefully listening to the dictates of their class instincts. They relied more on their common sense than on the experience of the skilled specialists in the sphere of organising production on the old feudal estates. The bourgeoisie was perfectly right, as history has shown us.

We possess a great weapon that can help us to find the shortest road to the victory of the working class, diminish suffering along the way, and more quickly bring about the new system of production—Communism.

This weapon is the materialistic conception of history. However, instead of using it, widening our experience and correcting our researches in conformity with history, we are ready to throw this weapon aside and follow the encumbered circuitous road of blind experiments.

Whatever our economic distress happens to be, we are not justified in going to such an extreme degree of despair, for despair can overcome only the capitalist Governments standing with their backs to the wall; after exhausting all the creative impulses of capitalist production, they find no solution to their problems.

As far as toiling Russia is concerned, for whom since the October revolution has been opened new unprecedented opportunities of economic creation, as well as development of new unheard-of forms of production, with an immense increase in productivity of labour, there is no room for despair.

It is only necessary not to borrow from the past, but, on the contrary, give complete freedom to the creative powers of the future. This is what the Workers' Opposition is doing. Who can be the builder and the creator of Communist economy? That class—and not the individual geniuses of the past—which is organically bound with newly-developing, painfully-born forms of production of a more productive and perfect system of economy. Which organ—the pure class industrial unions, or the heterogeneous Soviet economic establishments—can formulate and solve the creative problems in the sphere of organising the new economy and its production? The Workers' Opposition considers that it can be done only by the first, that is, by the workers' collective, and not by the functional bureaucratic socially-heterogeneous collective with a strong admixture of elements of the old capitalist type, whose mind is clogged by the refuse of capitalistic routine.

"The workers' unions from the present position of passive assistance to the economic institutions must be drawn into an active participation in the management of the entire economic structure" (the theses of the Workers' Opposition). To seek, find, and create new and more perfect forms of economy, to find new incentives to the productivity of labour—all this can be done only by the workers' collectives that are closely bound with the new forms of production; only they from their every-day experience may draw certain, at first glance only practically important, and yet exceedingly valuable theoretical conclusions, in handling the new labour power in a new labour State where misery, poverty, un-

employment, and competition on the labour market ceases to be the incentives to labour.

To find a stimulus, an incentive to work—this is the greatest task of the working class standing on the threshold to Communism. None other, however, but the working class itself in the form of its class collective, is able to solve this great problem.

The solution of this problem, as it is proposed by the industrial unions, consists in giving complete freedom to the workers as regards experimenting, class training, adjusting and finding out the new forms of production, as well as expression and development of their creative abilities—that is, to that class which alone can be the creator of Communism. This is the way the Workers' Opposition handles the solution of this difficult problem from which follows the most essential point of their theses. "Organisation of control over the social economy is a prerogative of the All-Russian Congress of producers, who are united in the trade and industrial unions which elect the central body directing the whole economic life of the republic." (Theses of the Workers' Opposition.) This point secures freedom for the manifestation of class creative abilities, not restricted and crippled by the bureaucratic machine which is saturated with the spirit of routine of the bourgeois capitalist system of production and control. The Workers' Opposition relies on the creative powers of its own class—the workers. From this premise is deduced the rest of the programme.

But right at this point there begins the deviation of the Workers' Opposition from the line that is followed by the party leaders. Distrust toward the working class (not in the sphere of politics, but in the sphere of economic creative abilities) is the whole essence of the theses signed by our party leaders. They do not believe that by the rough hands of workers, untrained technically, can be created those basic outlines of the economic forms which in the course of time shall develop a harmonious system of Communist production.

To all of them—Lenin, Trotzky, Zinovieff, and Bucharin—it seems that production is such a "delicate thing" that it is impossible to get along without the assistance of "directors." First of all we shall "bring up" the workers, "teach them," and only when they grow up shall we remove from them all the teachers of the Supreme Council of Natural Economy and let the industrial unions take control over the production. It is, after all, significant that all the theses written by the party leaders coincide in one essential feature—for the present we shall not give control over the production to the trade unions; for the present we "shall wait." It is also true that Trotzky, Lenin, Zinovieff, and Bucharin's points of view differ in stating the reason—why the workers should not be entrusted with running the industries just at present, but they all unanimously agree that just at the present time the management over the production must be carried on over the workers' heads by means of a bureaucratic system inherited from the past. (to be continued.)

## :: CORRESPONDENCE. ::

## Moscow and the Vatican.

DEAR EDITOR.—

Under the title "The Vatican said to have recognised Moscow de jure," the "International" publishes, without a word of comment, the following despatch:—

"Berlin, April 30th.—It is officially reported from Moscow that the negotiations between the Vatican and the Soviet delegates have resulted in the recognition by the Vatican of the Russian Government 'de jure.' The treaty concluded corresponds very nearly to a concordat. Members of the Order of Jesuits and of the Franciscan Order receive permission to reside in Russia, with freedom to found churches, schools, and humanitarian institutions.

"The Russian Government guarantees its protection for these institutions. It also intends to create shortly a Russian embassy in the Vatican."

This is the rigorous logic of a "revolutionary"

Government, which in the effort to maintain and consolidate its position (the prime object of all Governments, no matter what their professed goal may be) will soon have made every possible compromise with the enemies of Communism. Having granted facilities and offered tempting concessions to those who enslave the worker's body, the capitalists, the natural complement of such action is to extend protection to those who would enslave his mind. Soon, it seems, the only remaining enemies of "the official revolution" will be firstly the revolutionists who are still true to the revolutionary ideal, who persist in preaching what all history teaches, that that ideal is not to be attained by the path of compromise, and against whom all powers of repression are employed—prison, ill-usage, death; secondly, the workers who, having thrown off their old yoke, find themselves forced into opposition to a new officialism in whose hands they are still to be pawns in the game, and as far off as under the old tyranny from the control of their own destinies, so that they may have freedom to develop their social organism and to carry on their industries in accordance with their own ideas and knowledge of their needs, and not with the theories imposed from above.

Oh, people, how many more lessons of this kind must you have before you learn that when you rise with the hope of liberty in your hearts there is no bitterer enemy of the revolutionary masses than a "revolutionary" Government?

E. IRVINE.

## ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO (key) de l'Ekzerco No. 1.

Good-day, Madam, I am very happy to see (seeing) you. I hope that you are well, and also your daughter. Can you (shall you be able to) visit me to-morrow to drink tea with me with your daughter?

Many thanks, Sir; we should be very happy to drink tea with you, but unfortunately to-morrow we shall be busy; would it be equally convenient to you if we should come on some other day?

## NOTES.

The word *interrenkonti* is not in the *vortareto*, but *renkonti* meaning to meet, it is easy to see that *interrenkonti* means meeting each other.

*Malfrue* also is left out of the *vortareto*, but *frue* means early, and its meaning is reversed by the prefix *MAL*.

*Edgino* is another word that is not in the *vortareto*, but you will find *edzo*, meaning husband, and you know that *IN* turns the word into its feminine equivalent.

Take particular notice of the verbs, remember *AS* marks the present tense, *IS* the past, *OS* the future, and *US* the conditional, and translate these correctly.

It is interesting to notice that *TIU* means that, and *TIU CI* means this, something after the Cockney fashion of saying "that here thing" for "this thing."

EKZERKO. No. 2.

Bonan vesperon, Samideano, de longa tempo ni ne interrenkontis, vi estas malfrue kaj vi ŝajnis laca. Kion ni faros tiu ĉi vespere? Eble vi preferus eniri mian domon kaj riposi, ni konatigos vin al mia edzino. Donu al mi vian ĉapelon kaj vian ombrelon kaj demetu vian superveston.

## VORTARETO.

ĉapelon	hat	longa	long
de	since	ne	not
demeti	put off	ombrelo	umbrella
domo	house	preferi	to prefer
doni	to give	riposi	to repose
eblo	possibly	samideano	comrade
edzo	husband	ŝajni	to appear
eniri	to enter	renkonti	to meet
frue	early	supervesto	overcoat
konatigi	to introduce	tempo	time
kio	what	tiu ĉi	this
laca	tired	vespero	evening

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# S.S. KARL MARX.

## Russian Soviet Steamer in Hull.

Much excitement has been caused in Hull by the arrival of the Soviet Russian steamer Karl Marx with a cargo of timber. The crew being obviously just ordinary workers, the local capitalist Press could not make a big story about them. It therefore alleged that their conditions are worse than those of British seamen.

Comrade Dick Beech, a seaman, took it upon himself to investigate the question. He reports that the comparative pay of British and Soviet Russia seamen is as follows. Note that for purposes of pay a Russian month is only 25 days, whilst a British month is 30 days. Comrade Beech has given the wage in English money in both cases:—

### Russian.

#### Per month (25 days).

	£	s.	d.
Chief cook ...	14	0	0
Chief steward ...	14	0	0
Second steward ...	12	0	0
Second cook ...	12	0	0
Boatswain ...	15	0	0
Carpenter ...	15	0	0
Quartermaster ...	13	0	0
Sailors ...	11	0	0
Donkeyman ...	19	0	0
Greasers ...	16	0	0
Firemen ...	16	0	0
Trimmers ...	18	0	0

### British.

#### Per month (30 days).

	£	s.	d.
Chief cook ...	14	0	0
Chief steward ...	14	0	0
Second steward ...	9	10	0
Second cook ...	9	10	0
Boatswain ...	11	10	0
Carpenter ...	12	0	0
Quartermaster ...	11	5	0
Sailors ...	10	0	0
Donkeyman ...	11	10	0
Greasers ...	11	0	0
Firemen ...	10	10	0
Trimmers ...	10	0	0

In regard to wages, our readers will therefore observe that the Russian seaman is better off than the British.

On the Karl Marx one food standard only obtains. There is not, as in British ships, one kind of food for cabin and one for crew.

As to hours, the Russian crew work eight hours a day, and all work done afterwards is paid for at overtime rates. On British ships, Comrade Beech observed, overtime is only paid for work performed after the eight hours which is not classed as necessary. All the work is classed as necessary, and there is therefore practically no overtime pay.

Comrade Beech continues:—

"The s.s. Karl Marx is an ordinary cargo ship, about 5,000 tons dead weight. The number of men carried, without officers, are: Deck, 12; below, 21; victualling department, 5; and a wireless operator. A comparison with a similar British ship would work out: Deck, 8; below, 12; victualling department, 4; and a wireless operator. The s.s. Karl Marx has also extra men who look after the sailors' and firemen's quarters. The Russians can draw money whenever it is due, and can go ashore whenever the ship docks, providing, of course, there is no regulation of the shore authority to stop them. On a British ship money and shore leave are only allowed at the option of the captain!

"It is not my intention to exaggerate, but to give the facts as I saw them. As to accommodation, this was far from what I should like. I commented on it to the captain, who agreed and said that alterations would have been made; but the repair shops in Petrograd were short of every kind of material, and it was impossible to carry out improvements until they had material, etc., to do the jobs with.

"I arrived on board at an opportune time. A meeting was in progress in the well deck, at which the captain was speaking. He had a copy of the local paper, and was informing the men of the contents. Other members of the crew who understood English had also copies. Members of the crew expressed themselves in the discussion as highly indignant at the misrepresentation of facts in the British Press. After the meeting I talked with the captain—a quiet, pleasant young man, speaking very good English—and other members of the crew, including the ship delegate, who is elected at a meeting of all hands as soon as the crew have signed on. His duties are to see that all rules and regulations are carried out in accordance with the Union rules. Every worker on board, from the captain downward, is a member of the one Union. The Union supplies crews for all ships. Every member pays 2 per cent. of his earnings to the Union.

"Amid-ships I was shown a fine library, with a good selection of books, fiction, educational, and so on. I was also shown what they intend making into a recreation room for all hands at the first opportunity. This place was also amid-ships. My next visit was to the sailors' and firemen's quarters forward. This place was more roomy than on a British ship, and the men were supplied with better linen and blankets than one finds on any British ship, except some of the first-class passengers liners. I observed that the system of fore-castle accommodation wants scrapping, and the captain informed me that the Union has the matter in hand."

Comrade Beech observes that the capitalist Press in Hull criticised the fact that the men of the Karl Marx crew are paid unequal wages. It is hardly for capitalists to criticise that.

For our own part, though, we do not think that the wages should exist at all in a country where the workers are supposed to have overthrown capitalism. We know that wagedom still exists in Russia because capitalism has not yet been overcome there.

There certainly seems no reason at all why the men of the Karl Marx should be paid unequal wages. We can see no reasonable excuse for a so-called working-class Government maintaining such inequalities.

## HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

On August 4th the effect of the revolution which was convulsing France was seen in the National Assembly. Amid scenes of enthusiasm, bishops and nobles arose to declare their renunciation of their feudal privileges. The renunciation was, however, but partial and conditional. Reviewing its terms in the cold light of history, one is forced to observe that fear was largely its motive force. Two nobles, Viscount de Noailles and the Duke d'Aiguillon, and two bishops, those of Nancy and Chartres, moved the resolution to abolish the feudal rights which the populace already ceased to observe; but the resolution postponed the abolition for four years, until August 1793.

Viscount de Noailles proposed that the personal services should be abolished without compensation, but that the dues attached to the land should be redeemed by the village communes by means of a yearly rent.

The Duke d'Aiguillon, however, insisted that the personal servitude, as well as the dues on the land, should be redeemed by the vassals only on payment of a sum equal to the annual value of the dues and the services for thirty years.

The Assembly decided to adopt the proposal of the Duke d'Aiguillon. The peasants, of course, could not pay this heavy compensation. Therefore, they must continue fighting for their freedom.

The few peasants who were in the Assembly remained silent. No one pointed out the valueless character of the renunciations. Le Guen de Kérangall, a Breton deputy, not a peasant, but "dressed as a peasant," spoke of the "infamous parchments" registering the personal servitude "imposed in times of darkness and ignorance," but he made no objection to the thirty-five years' purchase!

The clergy agreed to the abolition of their tithes, but on condition that these should be redeemed.

Nevertheless, the Assembly resolved to establish equality of taxation for all on the basis of income, a drastic step for those times, though to-day we demand larger measures.

The Assembly accepted the abolition of honorary offices.

It accepted the abolition of the Manorial Courts of Justice and the appointment of judges by election.

It accepted the abolition of the privileges of the towns, their feudal rights over neighbouring parts of the country, and the provincial toll gates.

In accepting these things the Assembly was merely recognising what the people had already forced to become the practice in a large part of the country, as we have seen in the early pages.

The Assembly further begged the King to take stringent measures against the rebellious peasants.

Nevertheless, the first article of the Resolution adopted by the Assembly on August 5th declared that all feudal rights were abolished, although it went on to postpone and attach conditions to the abolition. Couriers were dispatched from Paris to every corner of France to announce that the feudal rights were abolished.

Naturally, therefore, the peasants refused any more to submit to the feudal exactions. Even though they were shot down, they would neither pay the dues nor render the unpaid labour. The insurrection spread to parts of France it had scarcely touched, such as Brittany. Wherever the lords demanded payment of the dues, the peasants stormed the châteaux and burnt the registers. The pigeon-houses and game which, for the pleasure of the lords, had preyed on the peasants' crops, were everywhere destroyed.

The lands which had been common, but which had been taken by the lords, were retaken by the peasants.

In the East of France, and especially the Dauphiné, where the peasant rising had first grown up, another phase was now entered upon. The middle class in organised fashion took sides against the peasants, in favour of the landlords. The lords and the richest people were fleeing away; 6,000 passports were granted to them within a fortnight. The middle class which remained armed itself in an organised militia. The National Assembly, on August 10th, voted a stern repressive measure against the peasants, giving power to municipalities to call out the troops to disarm all men without profession, and without domicile, to disperse the peasant bands and deal summarily with them. The municipality at Mâcon hanged twenty peasants who refused to pay tithes. Twelve were hanged at Douai. The Provost Marshal of the Dauphiné went all over the country hanging the rebellious peasants. At Cormatin the middle-class militia killed twenty peasants and took sixty prisoners. At Cluny a hundred peasants were killed and a hundred and sixty taken prisoner. At Lyons eighty peasants were killed and sixty taken prisoners.

(To be continued.)

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## THE ENGINEERS' LOCK-OUT.

The forty-seven other unions have again deserted the A.E.U. and left it to fight alone. Brownlie, the President of the A.E.U., is advising the members to accept the employers' terms, and we anticipate that his advice will be accepted. The A.E.U. members have borne suffering and privations on what was largely a question of the prestige of the officials; yet the officials were unwilling to put up a really strong and united front. Therefore, the lock-out dragged on without the ghost of a chance of winning it. Now the officials advise the workers to return to their work empty handed. The workers alone have suffered: official salaries have gone on without check.

It should be observed that there is a modification of the employers' terms rejected by the A.E.U. ballot. This modification Mr. Brownlie describes as important. It lays down that, unless the circumstances are beyond their control, the employers, when proposing to make any change calculated to result in one class of workers being replaced by another, shall give at least ten days' notice to the workpeople concerned, or to their representatives in the shop. An opportunity for discussion shall be provided, if desired, with a deputation of the workpeople or their representative in the shop. The employers are therein showing a desire to negotiate rather with the workers they actually employ, than with the Trade Union officials outside. When the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement flourished, the employers preferred negotiation with the Trade Union officials to negotiation with the workshop committee. The employers, indeed, denounced the Workers' Committee Movement as a movement against Trade Unionism.

The talk of winning the lock-out by inaugurating a general hold-up of all services run by engineers, of which Mr. Tom Mann was the most prominent spokesman, has fizzled out. This was to be expected, since there was no organisation behind it, and since its promoters appealed merely to the hide-bound Union Executives.

## THE OFFICIALS AND THE RANK AND FILE.

J. R. Clynes, President of the National Union of General Workers, at his Union's Annual Conference, declared that "conflict in the degrees of leadership within the Unions is a serious weakness in Trade Union organisation." He demanded "real power" for the higher officials of the Unions, complaining that at present they are often "mere messengers" of the "masses of workmen." The workman "can be given a place," he said, in connection with workshop problems, but "great national issues" must be left to the higher officials of the Unions.

This has been the view of the higher Trade Union officials for some time past. It was Mr. Arthur Henderson's view when he deported the leaders of the Clyde shop stewards' movement.

It is Mr. Clynes, however, who has taken the initiative in putting the idea quite so plainly that even the most contented worker should make no mistake as to what is meant. Mr. Clynes ignores the fact that he was once a worker; he has graduated out of the working class, and now looks loftily down upon the masses. He is no longer a worker. The worker might really be a lower order of being than the parasitic non-producer; the worker might be a being whose capacities were stamped with a congenital inferiority. Perhaps Mr. Clynes thinks so; perhaps he believes himself endowed with superior abilities such as are possessed by no workman who remains at the bench. Be that as it may, Mr. Clynes is determined that the Unions shall be

organised as though the worker were an inferior being, unfit to judge of "great national issues."

The opinion voiced by Mr. Clynes has been more cautiously expressed by other Trade Union leaders. Undoubtedly a strong move is being made by the Union officials to secure greater power in the Unions and to thrust the rank and file still further into the background.

As the Unions become more and more bureaucratic, more and more dominated by the capitalist influence upon the Trade Union leaders, still further removed from rank and file control the need for a *One Big Revolutionary Union* organised on the workshop basis will become more clearly apparent to every thinking worker.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## THE BEGGAR FAMILY.

Within the court, before the judge,  
There stand six wretched creatures;  
They're lame and weary, one and all,  
With pinched and pallid features.  
The father is a broken man,  
The mother weak and ailing,  
The little children, skin and bone,  
With fear and hunger wailing.

Their sins are very great, and call  
Aloud for retribution,  
For their's (maybe you guess!) the crime,  
Of hopeless destitution.  
They look upon the judge's face  
They know what judges ponder,  
They know the punishment that waits  
On those that beg and wander.

For months from justice they have fled  
Along the streets and highways,  
From farm to farm, from town to town,  
Along the lanes and by-ways.  
They've slept full oftentimes in gaol,  
They're known in many places.  
Yet still they live, for all the woe  
That's stamped upon their faces.

The woman's chill with fear. The man  
Implores the judge: "Oh tell us,  
What will you? With our children small  
Relentlessly expel us?  
Oh, let us be! We'll sleep at night  
In corners dark; the city  
Has room for all! And some kind soul  
Will give a crust in pity."

"For wife and children I will toil:  
It cannot be much longer  
(For God almighty is and good!)  
Ere I for work am stronger.  
Oh, let us here with men remain,  
Nor drive us any further!  
Oh, why our curses will you have,  
And not our blessings rather?"

And now the sick man quails before  
The judge's piercing glances:  
"No; only two of you shall go  
This time and take your chances.  
Your wife and you! The children four  
You'll leave, my man, behind you.  
For them, within the Orphans' Home,  
Free places I will find you."

The father's dumb—the mother shrieks:  
"My babes and me you'd sever?  
If God there be, such cruel act  
Shall find forgiveness never!  
But first, oh judge, must you condemn  
To death their wretched mother?  
I cannot leave my children dear  
With you or any other!"

"I bore and nursed them, struggling still  
To shelter and to shield them.  
Oh, judge, I'll beg from door to door,  
My very life-blood yield them!  
I know you do not mean it, judge,  
With us poor folk you're jesting.  
Give back my babes, and further yet  
We'll wander unprotesting."

The judge, alas! has turned away,  
The paper dread unrolled,  
And useless all the mother's grief,  
The wild and uncontrolled.  
More cruel can a sentence be  
Than that which now is given?  
Oh, cursed the system 'neath whose sway  
The human heart is riven!

MORRIS ROSENFELD.

(Continued from page 1.)

"The communiqué from the headquarters of the Ulster Military District, published in to-day's Press, states that British troops moving by water to the west end of Lough Erne on the evening of June 3rd were fired at from Free State territory near Pettigoe. That statement is absolutely false and malicious. At no time did any of our troops—and there were no other Irish troops in the district then or now—fire on any British troops in Lough Erne.

"That communiqué is also false and misleading when it states that 'British troops moving in Ulster territory toward Pettigoe village on the morning of June 4th were fired on from Free State territory. The driver of a Crossley car was killed. In consequence of these occurrences the armed forces occupying Pettigoe village were attacked by military troops driven out, three being killed and a Lewis gun captured. Artillery came into action and fired a few rounds against a machine-gun firing from a wood behind Pettigoe village.'

"It was not 'in consequence of these occurrences' that Pettigoe was shelled, as it was after the shelling that the driver of the Crossley car was killed.

"On Sunday, June 4th, at one o'clock p.m., as the congregation was coming out from Mass, a shell burst on an adjacent hill. Eight shells were fired at the town and surrounding hills immediately afterwards. This was without warning of any kind, as not a shot had been fired that morning. After the shelling the British military rushed the town with armoured cars.

"The Divisional Medical Officer, Colonel Commandant Farrell, approached the senior British officer to explain the situation to him, and was told, 'You will have to be out of the town in fifteen minutes. We are going to occupy it.' Our troops were immediately ordered to leave the town by their own officers. As we had two cars in the barracks, the drivers of which had just come out from Mass and were not at the barracks, the divisional medical officer asked for an extension of time to get the drivers, so that the cars could be taken away and all posts notified. He (the divisional medical officer) was then placed under arrest by the British military, and is still detained.

"At this time an armoured car belonging to the British was about one and a-half miles up the road from Pettigoe, in county Donegal. As our men were retreating from the town fire was opened on them from the British military armoured cars and from specials on neighbouring hills, who had come in behind the military. Our men replied in some cases to this fire, and it was at this time that the driver of the Crossley was killed. . . .

These conflicting statements should be carefully scrutinised, but the real point is that British troops have no business in Ireland.

During the Nationalist struggle in Ireland a fighting spirit has developed amongst the workers and poor peasants of Sinn Féin Ireland. The peasants, with bare and insufficient land, and the landless agricultural labourers, have taken to seizing land and the industrial workers have taken to seizing and working factories. To stem these tendencies, Dail Eireann has been obliged to establish land courts and to distribute some land and to establish conciliation boards; and to make concessions to industrial workers. The autocratic capitalists and landlords of Ulster regard such events with horror. They are determined to drive out the Sinn Féin workers who might sow such Red seeds in the six north-eastern counties. They welcome the prospect of an Ulster-British invasion of Sinn Féin Ireland which would exterminate Red tendencies there.

Capitalism fears that the weak Irish middle class could not withstand Irish Labour if the British domination were withdrawn.

Ireland might go the way of Russia.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.



## IRISH LABOUR PARTY'S ELECTION PROGRAMME.

The walls of Dublin are now placarded with the election programme of the Irish Labour Party. A programme is put forward by the candidates who are taking the field for labour in the coming elections that smacks strangely of the programme of the British Labour Party. There is the same plea for mothers' pensions, for lower taxation, for the nationalisation of the railways, for compulsory tillage, and the various other panaceas for the cure of our modern social ills.

This programme is similar to that put forward by the Ratepayers' Association, and I suppose that the Sinn Fein candidates will have similar planks in their programme; and even the Conservative Unionists, if they put forward candidates, will have similar planks in their election platform. To those of us who were aware of the real nature of the Irish Labour Party's revolutionism, this programme is not surprising, but nevertheless it is disheartening.

One looks around at things here in Ireland and sees the condition of the country and the utter disregard that the workers have for constitutional methods; when one sees their readiness to fall in line with any manly programme for the laying of the foundation of proletarian rule in the country it is grossly disappointing to find that the people who should put that manly programme forward are in the camp of the enemy, using the enemy's methods to chloroform the workers into a belief in the value of Parliamentary agitation. Of course I don't suppose the Labour Party believes that Parliamentary representatives will be of any value to the Irish workers; they are interested solely in their own jobs; but the workers will be led once more to look towards Parliament for their liberation. They will howl like fiends at the ballot-boxes; they will canvass and cheer, and weep tears of joy if their candidates succeed; then they will go back to work and starvation while their politician leaders are holding forth in the assembly of their masters blithering about mothers' pensions.

There is no hope for the International proletariat while this curse of Parliamentarism is allowed to fester the sores of wage slavery. In Ireland for the last few years we have tasted the glorious power of the workers relying on the fear of their right arms for the redress of their grievances. We have seen how strong they were when they sought support in the gun and the bomb instead of the ballot-box. We have seen that they never erred when they looked at the boss as a natural enemy, to be crushed like a serpent at the point of the bayonet. We have seen the workers feared and triumphant. We have seen them sweeping beyond the control of their reactionary leaders, seizing the factories and the land, evicting bourgeois boards and setting up their own councils. We have seen them rise from their knees and taking the offensive boldly against the enemy with arms in their hands, and now they are asked to hand over the defence of their rights to the oratorical power of a miserable traitor of the type of Johnson in a Free State Parliament.

English comrades are loud in their denunciation of J. H. Thomas and declaim bitterly against him for having betrayed the workers; but can you picture our rage in Ireland—we who have known the value of having a Larkin at the head of our movement, to be handed over to the mercy of a renegade English reformer? Have the English workers not punished us enough by being accomplices to the rule of the British Empire in Ireland for the last few years without conferring on us a gift of their labour traitors? The virility of the revolutionary Irish workers is going to be prostituted to the worship of that most glorious institution of British Imperialism—a Parliament, and in the foreground strutting vainly, declaiming about the justice of cheap tea and mothers' pensions, we still have Labour P.C.s. The strike on the job will go, direct action will go, the impossibility of allowing the workers to work out their own salvation will be declared. The class war will give way to the evolutionary development of society, and after a little while, perhaps, the workers will be recruited into the Freemason Order in order to teach them the value of co-operation with the boss.

We are damned if they will! We have learned a lesson in Ireland from the Sinn Feiners, and we are going to use it. To hell with Parliaments and constitutional action! We have learned in Ireland that the only thing that the bosses fear is force, and we are going to use it at every possible opportunity; yes, and use it on traitors, too, because they are more dangerous to us than our masters. A pest on all the fools and hypocrites, whether English or Irish, that imagine themselves heaven-sent saviours of the workers; they have only succeeded in making the fight still harder. The hope of the workers is in the good common sense and creative ability of the rank and file. No man can make a revolution, and no man can stop discontent until he takes away the cause. While there is discontent in Ireland the seed of the revolution will always be growing. We will see to it that the seed of the revolution will grow in the ranks of the I.C. Army and not in the Parliaments of the Free State. We will see to it that the militant tradition of the Irish workers will find expression and life and energy in the cleansing struggle of the class war, and not in the milky vapourings of Johnson or O'Brien.

Macaulay said that, in order to be successful under the British Parliamentary system, a man must be a clever and eloquent orator. In order to be long-lived and loved in Ireland, a man must be a fighter. Woe to them that forsake the narrow path of revolution for the broad and easy way that leads to the Free State Parliament.

RANK AND FILE.

### THE SOUL OF A NATION.

It would surprise the philosopher of 2,000 A.D. that intellectuals in the year 1922 believed a nation to have a soul entirely apart from the material surroundings of the people thereof. In Ireland at the present day it is a common stock-in-trade of the politicians to speak of the soul of Ireland as a thing without flesh or blood. They boast of the peculiar characteristic of the soul of Ireland. They ask young men to die, to shed their life's blood that that soul might be saved. They proudly claim that Ireland has a peculiar character, that distinguishes her from the baser character of her neighbour Albion, that her sons inherit this Gaelic character, this spiritualising influence, born of the soil and the Irish tradition. They claim this soul to be something apart from the daily life of its citizens, to be totally unconnected with the fruits of its soil and the products of its factories—to be something without form that stirs the heart but never pleases the palate or clothes the body. They claim that the long list of Irish martyrs died not so much to better the conditions of their fellow-men as to save and preserve unpolluted and intangible, the tradition of Irish nationhood.

Of course, in actual fact this tradition has flesh and blood for the politicians. It can generally be measured in current coin of the realm, but so far as the common people are concerned, the empty phantom is held aloft for public worship. The spirit of patriotism, the clan-consciousness of a race is a natural development which is destroyed only in the most highly developed countries. In Ireland it assumes a different aspect to what it assumes in other countries, because here it is always confused with the class struggle. The backbone of the Irish national struggle has always been economic. It has been the struggle of the small peasant farmers to better their condition and free themselves from the curse of foreign landlordism. It has been the struggle in latter years of the industrial proletariat to better their condition and free themselves from wage slavery. Because the English garrison has been to a large extent synonymous with the economic masters of the people—the landlords and the capitalists—that struggle has been clouded. The politicians could always point to the oppressing power beyond the sea as the only enemy, and to a large extent the subject classes believed them. However, now the subject classes are getting a sad awakening.

No matter how one may denounce the Treaty and the Free State, it has at least done one great thing for the Irish workers. It has opened their eyes to the real nature of the politicians who were leading on to liberty. They now appear in power taking up the role of the English. The politicians who have just sold the soul of the nation to the British Empire had been fooling the common people all along about their glorious role in the liberation of Ireland. They were fairy dreams about the peasant's avarice, and proclaimed him to be the inheritor of the soul of Ireland. They have seized the worker eager to get rid of the misery of the slum, and made him the proprietor of the nation.

The worker and the peasant, quite pleased to be made the possessors of something, valiantly shielded that soul and those traditions with their brave bodies. Now, however, when the thunderbolt has fallen and the politicians have disagreed as to how best the national tradition might be saved; as to what really constituted the soul of the nation, the defenders have got restless and doubting.

Those politicians who have accepted the Treaty are talking of resting at oases in the desert on the road to the land of promise. Of course the oases have got

branches of the Bank of Ireland, and the politicians have got fairly unlimited letters of credit. The opposing camp of politicians, with ascetic mien, but well-filled knapsacks, are desirous of tramping on through the desert sands to the elysium where Ireland will soar unfettered, etc.

In the meantime, the avaricious peasant, having got tired of the proprietorship of his nation's soil while the politicians are quarrelling, is seizing the land and hunting out the English landowner. The industrial worker, mistaking the soul of the nation for creameries and mills, is hastening to take these parts of the national tradition under the protection of his brawny arms. The leaders, however, look askance at this manifestation of ignorance and demoralisation on the part of their proletarian followers. This chaos must be ended. This flirting with anarchy must be stopped. The soul of the nation is in danger of being sacrificed on the altar of Bolshevism. The national tradition is being dragged in the gutter at the heels of the despoilers of private property. The smooth-faced politicians, both those who want to have a wayside meal at the flesh-pots of Egypt and those who went to struggle on, on an empty stomach, gather together in conference, in order that an agreement may be reached which will prevent the common people from dropping the spiritual fight for national independence and taking up the fight for economic emancipation. The Bishops, the Press, and the politicians, with one voice, and with fat hands raised aloft, are beseeching the mutinous mujiks to pause and consider before they destroy all the benefits that they have gained in the past. The mutinous mujiks, thinking the Bishops and the politicians got all the benefits in the past, are pressing forward more eagerly. They are even discarding the earthly shroud of the soul of Ireland (the tricolour) and espousing in its stead the red ensign of the International proletariat.

Woe is me, O intangible Kathleen Ní Houlihan, thou hast no defenders now save the pot-bellied politicians and the capitalist Press. All hail the new Ireland of raw flesh and warm blood, land of fat kine and rich fruits; woe thy sons love thee, because thou art ours, thee and thy fruits, and we mean to possess thee. Too long have we been foolish enough to imagine that thou wert the property of the politician, the capitalist, the landlord. Forward, fellow-Irishmen, to the reconquest of Ireland for ourselves, even though we have to fertilise the soil with blood of our brothers shed in civil strife; for are not all men brothers? Yet those who turn traitors to the cause of progress must die, must be pucked like weeds and sent to perdition. All hail to the new struggle that is being born in Ireland! May it bring the message of revolt to our brothers across the channel, so that rising with us in common conflict against the common enemy we may heal the feud of centuries in a common struggle.

RANK AND FILE.

\* This is the case in all nationalist struggles.

## GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

### TOM ANDERSON IN LONDON.

Comrade Tom Anderson, of Glasgow, well known as a pioneer of the Proletarian Schools, is coming to London for a series of meetings lasting from Friday, June 9th, to Sunday, June 18th, inclusive. He will speak during the period as follows:—

Friday, June 9th.—Poplar Town Hall, Dance, 7.30-12 p.m., to meet Comrade Tom Anderson, who will deliver a short address. Music by East London Labour Band. Admission, 1s. 6d. Refreshments at popular prices.

Saturday, June 10th.—3 p.m., Catherine Road, East Ham. Subject: "Down and Out"; 8 p.m., Beckton Road, Canning Town. Subject, "Athenion, the Slave King."

Sunday, June 11th.—3 p.m., Peckham Rye. Subject, "An Episode of the Paris Commune." 3 p.m., Parliament Hill. Subject: "The Two Slaves."

Monday, June 12th.—Noon, Tower Hill. Subject: "John Davidson." 8 p.m., Water Lane, Stratford. Subject: "The Idea of a King."

Tuesday, June 13th.—Noon, Albert Dock, Connaught Road. Subject: "The Fat Bourgeois." 8 p.m., Tottenham Corner. Subject: "The Story of a Communist."

Wednesday, June 14th.—Noon, Leather Lane. Subject: "Rebel Songs." 8 p.m., Wren Road, Camberwell. Subject: "Proletcult."

Thursday, June 15th.—Noon, Arsenal, Woolwich. Subject: "Across the Ages." 8 p.m., Minerva Cafe, At Home.

Friday, June 16th.—Noon, Victoria Road, Custom House; 8 p.m., East India Dock Gates.

Saturday, June 17th.—3 p.m., Clapham Common; 8 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith.

Sunday, June 18th.—11 a.m., Victoria Park; 5 p.m., Trafalgar Square.

JUST OUT.

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## THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

### A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

(Continued from last issue.)

Here Trotsky himself refutes the position which he and his party friends have taken up. Precisely because this statement is correct and to the point, we are justified in saying that by destroying public life they have choked up the sources of political experience and prevented the further evolution of public opinion. Or we are left to presume that experience and evolution were necessary in order to lead up to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, that they had reached their highest stage, and from now on have become superfluous. (Lenin's speech, "Russia is over-ripe for Socialism!")

In reality quite the reverse! If anything demands the most intensive schooling of the masses and an accumulation of experience, it is those gigantic tasks which the Bolsheviks have tackled with courage and resolution, and these tasks will remain ever impossible in the absence of political freedom.

A freedom that embraces only the supporters of the Government and the members of a party—even supposing these to be ever so numerous—is no true freedom. Freedom is always freedom for the dissenter. We are certain of this, not because we have any fanatical belief in "justice," but because we have learnt to see that whatsoever political freedom brings in its train, whether it be instruction for the masses, the healing of social wounds, or the purification of our public life, it all depends on this condition. Moreover, we have also learnt to see that political freedom amounts to nought if "freedom" becomes a privilege.

The hypothesis that is implied in this theory of the dictatorship, as expounded by Lenin and Trotsky, is that the Socialist Revolution is something for which a ready-made prescription is carried in the portfolio of the revolutionary party, something which only needs plenty of energy to carry it out. Unfortunately (or thank heaven, according to how you see it), that is not the case. Far from being a set of ready-made rules awaiting application, the practical realisation of Socialism, as an economic, social, and legal system, is a matter that lies completely wrapped up in the uncertainties of the future. What we have embodied in our programme are only the few big signposts which indicate the direction in which the various courses of action will have to be sought for; these being mainly of a negative character. On the other hand, no Socialist party programme, and no Socialist textbook can give us particulars concerning the thousand-and-one concrete practical modes of procedure, both in the little things and in the big, that will have to be added in order to introduce Socialist principles into the economic and legal activities of the community and into social relationships. That is not a defect of scientific Socialism; it is just where it scores over the Utopian variety. The Socialist system of society should, and can only be, a product of history. It is born in the hour of fulfilment, out of its own special school of experience, and out of the events of living history which, like organic Nature (of which it is, after all, but a part), has the wonderful habit of always bringing forth conjointly with the appearance a real social need, the means whereby it can be satisfied; of providing for each task its natural solution. But if that be true, then it follows clearly that it would be disregarding the nature of Socialism to attempt to force it upon the world by dictatorial decree. It presupposes certain modes of procedure backed up by force—against property, etc. The negative tasks, the pulling down, can be decreed; not so the building up, the positive tasks. The new world. Thousands of problems. Experience alone can put one on the right track and upon new paths. Bustling life, life that is not hampered, can alone conceive a thousand new forms and improvisations. Life alone carries the power to create the power to overcome all obstacles. The public life of a State whose freedom is restricted is, for that very reason, poverty-stricken, formal, and barren, because it has closed its doors upon democracy and has cut itself off from the life-giving sources of every kind of intellectual wealth and progress,

(Evidence: the year 1905 and the months February-October, 1917.) This which is true in respect of political life applies also to economic life. Unless the whole mass of the people take part in constructing it, Socialism will be decreed or imposed by a dozen intellectuals round a table.

Unconditional public control is necessary. Otherwise, interchange of experiences will take place only within the exclusive circles of the new Government's officials, and corruption will be unavoidable. (Lenin's articles, *Mitteilungsblatt*, No. 29.) The practical application of Socialism requires that there should be a revolution in the whole mental outlook of the masses: for the masses that have been degraded by centuries of bourgeois class-rule. It requires social instincts in place of egoistical instincts, mass initiative in place of apathy. It requires an idealism that will bear down all hardships, etc. No one knows that better, puts it more convincingly, repeats it more persistently than Lenin. But he is quite wrong as regards the means to the end: decreed, dictatorial authority of the factory supervisor, Draconian punishments of the people, the terror; these are devices which prevent a re-birth. The only way that will lead to this re-birth is the school of public life itself, a democracy that is given the widest scope, public opinion. The Terror is just the very thing that demoralises.

If all these things are abolished, what remains in reality? Lenin and Trotsky have set up Soviets in place of the speculative bodies called into being by general elections. The Soviets, they declare, are the only genuine representation of the working masses; but with the suppression of political life throughout the whole land, life in the Soviets must also be more and more crippled. Without general elections, unrestricted freedom of the Press and Assembly, without free conflict of opinion, life in every public institution gets stifled, becomes a life of make-believe in which the only active element is the bureaucracy. This is a law that cannot be evaded. Public life gradually loses its vitality. A few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible energy and boundless idealism take control and rule. Subject to their authority, the management of affairs is in reality left to a dozen or so men of outstanding intelligence, and from time to time an élite of the working class is summoned to assemblies to applaud the speeches of leaders and to vote unanimously for resolutions. At bottom, therefore, the economic life passes into the hands of a clique—a dictatorship, no doubt, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the dictatorship of a handful of politicians; that is, dictatorship in the bourgeois sense, in the sense of Jacobin rule (the prerogative of the Soviet Congress from three months to six months!). Furthermore, such conditions will bring barbarism into public life: assassinations, the shooting of hostages, etc.

Lenin's speech on discipline and corruption.

A certain state of anarchy will be unavoidable in our case, as in every case. The rabble-proletarian element is indissolubly compounded with bourgeois society.

As testimony thereto:

1. East Prussia, the "Cossack" plunderings.
2. The general outbreak of robbery and larceny in Germany ("Schiebungen," postal and railway employees, the police, total erasure of the lines dividing well-regulated society from the prison).
3. The rapid deterioration of the trade union leaders. In face of this, the dragooning measures taken by the Terror are powerless. On the contrary, they make matters worse. The one and only antidote: Idealism and social activity of the masses, unrestricted political freedom.

(to be continued.)

## THE AXE TO THE ROOT

By JAMES CONNOLLY.

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## PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

A CHILD'S LESSON—PARLIAMENT.

By Tom Anderson.

Parliament is the Emporium of the Empire. It is the place where the differences are adjusted between the conflicting interests. There is only one class in control of it, and that is the rich people in our land. A few poor people, called Labour Leaders, have been admitted to Parliament of late years so as to blindfold the mass as to its real object. When I was a young man there were no poor people in the "House." That, you must know, is its other name. But at that time our class, the working class, said they had "no right to go there, as they had no stake in the country." Owing to the machine coming into being, they had to educate our class to be able to operate it, and so we learned to read and write. Then the good kind gentlemen for whom we worked, being very far-seeing, allowed us a vote, and with that vote at first we voted for them; and do so until this day. Some of us, of course, voted for the Labour man, but our priest told us it was not the right thing to do, and so did the great men in the "House." So did all our teachers. They said to us, "We must be moderate, or else we might bring a revolution, and then we would have no work and no country, for the wicked men would take it all away from us."

Very many of us believed them, and so we voted for the great men. A great man means a man who owns a large soap factory, an iron-works, a coalpit, or a shipyard, or any of the works the workers work in. You must always remember it is because he owns these things that he is great; no one can be great in the world to-day who does not own vast material wealth. And the workers, being poor, are of no account, and their mentality responds to their conditions. A worker with his family will live all his life in a little box-room 12 ft. by 10 ft., and feel quite happy, because he has been taught that Providence meant it so.

Parliament then coddles him about his status in the Empire, and tells him fairy-stories of what it is willing to do for him, and the poor blind worker believes the great men. He goes to his Trade Union Congress and moves a resolution, and has a week's holiday. The holiday is of some value, but the resolutions have none. It is nearly 40 years since I heard the first resolution moved calling on Parliament to do something; and it is the same to-day as it was then. These poor Trade Unionists do not understand what Parliament is. They think that they can, by their speeches and resolutions, move the big men in the "House," but that is impossible. There have been thousands of resolutions moved since I was a young man, and they might as well never have been heard of. Parliament does not exist for the poor: it is the headquarters of the rich, and the rich despise the poor. They have passed into law hundreds of Acts to safeguard their own interests during the last few years; they are doing so now. The poor have no need of Acts of Parliament or law. Parliament is for the robbers; the genteel refined robbers, the modern equivalent of the brigand of old.

When the workers are not poor, when they cease to be beasts, there will be no Parliament. It will go. So will their Army and their Navy, because they are the arms that carry out the will of Parliament. Parliament exists by force, by the force that it commands. They only allow reason to come in to blindfold you on things that do not count. Men and women are all rated to-day by their social status. You know what yours is; no Parliament will ever change that, for if they did they would take their own life. And their life consists of all the sunshine and roses that are in the world. And yours is all the mud, and vice, and dirt and drudgery. They are not coming down to you. Why should they? They are happy, and God is good and the world is fair, and your fathers and mothers are beasts. There is no hope unless the beasts awaken and end for all time their Parliament and set up in its place a Commune, in which there shall be no class. Then, and then only, shall the children of men commence to live. To-day they are beasts, thankful when they can get a bone. That is Parliament.





## RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

[Books reviewed may be obtained through the Workers' Dreadnought Bookshop.]

*The A B C of Communism.* G. N. Bucharin, E. Preobrazhensky. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Communist Party of Great Britain. 3/-.)

It is useful to get this book at last in its complete form. The excellent translation by P. Lavin, published by the S.L.P., only gave the first half. There is a great similarity between the present translation and the earlier one; in fact, except for the convenience of having the two parts in one volume, the work of preparing a second edition of the first part might well have been spared, since the labour of making Communists is so vast and urgent and the labourers so comparatively few.

Here is an extract from both books, to show how closely alike they are:—

"When the Mensheviks reproach us with having broken away from our old programme, and, therefore, with having thrown over the teaching of Karl Marx, we reply that the teaching of Marx consists in this—that a programme proceeds not from the inner consciousness, but must be created from the conditions of life." (Translated by P. Lavin.)

"When the Mensheviks find fault with us on the ground that we have 'repudiated' our old programme, and that in so doing we have repudiated the teaching of Marx, we reply that the essence of Marx's teaching is to construct programmes, not out of the inner consciousness, but out of life itself." (Translated by E. and C. Paul.)

The similarity of these sentences is typical; many are even more closely alike. It is remarkable that Lavin, who translated from the German translation, should so nearly have hit upon the phraseology later used by the Pauls, who translated direct from the Russian. Evidently one may be sure that this is a super-accurate translation.

Bucharin's book is called *The A B C of Communism*. As a matter of fact, it is about the tactics to be used in achieving the overthrow of capitalism. Of Communism itself it does not treat.

The chapter on the Second and Third Internationals is of great interest to-day. It shows how the Bolshevik policy has changed since the book was written. We give below some extracts, and for the illumination of our readers we have enclosed certain words in brackets, and have placed beside them in italics the interpolations of our own which would apply approximately to the present situation.

When the (great world war) great capitalist reconstruction began in (August 1914) 1921-22, the Socialist, Social Democratic Parties, and the Communist Party, Third International, instead of declaring *sensu* war upon (the war) Capitalism, and instead of inciting the workers to revolt, rallied to the side of (their respective Governments) International Capitalism, and gave their assistance to the campaign of plunder of Soviet Russia and its oil fields, and the exploitation of the workers of all lands. Instead of joining forces in a rising against the criminal bourgeoisie the Socialist Parties and the Third International (each took up (separate) the same stand under the banner of (its "own" bourgeois Government) Peace and Trade and Capitalist reconstruction. (The war began with the direct support of the Socialist Parties.) The Capitalist exploitation of Soviet Russia and the throwing open of Russia to the foreign Capitalist Concessionaires, as well as the creation of a native Russian bourgeoisie, began at the direct invitation of the Russian Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party. . . .

Take also the following passages. We give in italics the approximate corollary of to-day:—

"Having lost the power in Russia, Capitalism had also lost the power of robbing and plundering, the power of bourgeois exploitation."

But the Bolsheviks have invited the capitalists to return. They say that Capitalism is necessary to Russia's development.

"In the very early stages of development the worker who sat at the same table with his master, locked upon the master's workshop almost as if it had been his own, and regarded the master not as an enemy but as the giver of all good. . . . When the great countries had themselves been converted into State capitalist trusts, the workers continued to display towards these State capitalist trusts the same sort of devotion that in earlier days they had displayed towards individual masters."

The Bolsheviks also now preach that the capitalist employer is a necessity, that devotion must be displayed towards the State capitalism, that workers' control of industry is all a mistake, and that an equal economic status for all is not possible under the Soviet Government.

"... the Jingo Socialists (sometimes spoken of as Opportunists) are transformed into the open class enemies of the proletariat. During the great world revolution they fight in the ranks of the Whites against the Reds. . . . It is perfectly clear that we must wage as relentless a war against them as against the bourgeoisie, whose agents they are. The remnants of the Second International, which the members of these parties have endeavoured to revive, form merely a branch office of the League of Nations. THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL IS ONE OF THE WEAPONS USED BY THE BOURGEOISIE IN ITS FIGHT WITH THE PROLETARIAT.

Yet the Third International has proposed the United Front with the Second International Buchann has denounced.

Again Bucharin denounces the Second Internationalists. He says they say:

"When peace has come there is no use thinking about the class war, for the imperialist war has entailed general exhaustion. It is plain that Kautsky's theory is an avowal of absolute impotence, that it is calculated to lead the proletariat utterly astray."

What shall we say, then, of Genoa and the Bolshevik policy of peace and trade with capitalism?

The Communists look for support to the rank and file of the workers; the Social Democrats look for support to the aristocracy of the worker, to the professional classes, to the small shopkeepers, and to the petty bourgeoisie in general."

To-day the Third International looks to the Trade Unions, the Labour and Social Democratic Parties, the Second International the Right and Centre of the Socialist movement for its allies. The Fourth International looks to the masses in the workshops.

In a Russian Village. Roden Buxton. (Labour Publishing Co. 2/6.)—A slight sketch of the author's experiences during his visit to Russia with the British Labour Party delegates in 1920. It seems on the whole sympathetic to the ideals of the revolution, but the author's opinions are inferred rather than expressed. Things are, of course, much changed since it was written.

Ireland and the Ulster Legend, or the Truth about Ulster, by W. A. McKnight. (London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd., Orchard House, Westminster. 1921. 2/-.) This work consists largely of information compiled from Parliamentary Blue Books and White Papers.

Contrary to the prevailing impression, it is here shown that Ulster is not generally more prosperous than other parts of Ireland. Amongst the rural population the Income Tax assessment per head and per family is lower than for the rest of Ireland. The value of Ulster's agricultural holdings is also lower. The figures for emigration were as follows in 1909-1913: Per cent. of population: Leinster, 55.8; Munster, 110.5; Ulster, 69.9; Connaught, 90.6.

The proportion of illiteracy in Ulster 6 per 1,000 more than in the whole of Ireland. 870 people per 1,000 in Ulster were classed as able to read and write. Ulster is behind the rest of Ireland in regard to the conditions and standards of the schools; and Belfast educational facilities

cannot compare with those of English cities of similar size and wealth. Before the war, 17,000 Ulster children were excluded from the schools for lack of accommodation. In May 1919 there were in the Belfast elementary schools 1,613 half-time pupils (children who worked half-time in the factory and half-time at school). The half-time factory child hardly exists in other parts of Ireland. Ulster gives only £1 14s. per 1,000 of the population for the provision of scholarships. The average for all Ireland is £4 10s. 11d. per 1,000.

In the death-rate Ulster is second; and Leinster, which contains Dublin, is highest. Ulster is highest for mortality from tuberculosis, and spends least per 1,000 of the population on remedial measures. The number of habitual criminals per 100,000 of the population in the years 1908-12 was 2.00 in Connaught, 6.62 in Munster, 6.88 in Leinster, 35.81 in Ulster. A comparison of cities in this respect gives Belfast, 129.73; Sheffield (the highest in England and Wales), 58.55; Birmingham, 53.36; Manchester, 43.34; Cardiff, 43.34; Liverpool, 31.62; Dublin, 16.34; London, 15.11. Anti-Irish Ulster had 52.22 habitual criminals per 100,000 of the population; Nationalist Ulster, 3.77; Ireland, excluding Ulster, 5.73.

The condition of the workers in Belfast is appalling. Not only are there a great number of children excluded from school for lack of places, the schools are also greatly overcrowded. The inspectors in 1909-10 complained of serious overcrowding and of finding "an atmosphere of appalling foulness"—in one case 75 children being crowded into a room only intended for 35.

The sweating of women cut-workers is so notorious that the Government appointed a Committee to investigate it in 1911. It was reported that men's wages were so low that their wives must work; that among 531 women, 422 received less than 2d. an hour and 168 less than 1d. an hour. A woman embroidering dots on a cushion had to sew 384 for a penny.

## BRITISH SOLIDARITY.

DEAR EDITOR,—

It is universally recognised that what Russia lacks is machinery, and, above all, transport. Yet little constructive effort is made to supply this lack. The various famine relief agencies are sending food to food-producing Russia, instead of providing Russia with the means of transporting food from the Russian provinces where there is plenty to the provinces where there is lack.

As a symbol of what most needs to be done as a small beginning in the right direction, I make the following proposal:—

The Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought* should issue an appeal for donations towards the purchase of a locomotive, to be named "British Solidarity." Donations to be sent to the Friends' Famine Relief Committee, which should be asked to hold the monies in trust for the Editor of the *Workers' Dreadnought*. The object of this would be to protect the sum subscribed from confiscation by the British Government in the event of war being declared upon Soviet Russia, as the proviso would be that, should war break out, the money would be handed over to the Friends for their international war victims' relief work.

The order for constructing the locomotive would be placed with a firm whose workers would agree to devote at least one Saturday afternoon to the work without payment, the cost of the locomotive to the purchasing fund to be correspondingly reduced.

Should my suggestion be accepted, the Friends' Committee would notify the *Workers' Dreadnought* of the donations received, and these would be announced in the *Workers' Dreadnought* week by week.

Yours fraternally,

JOHN BROWN.

## COMMUNIST PILGRIMS.

We continue to receive applications for speakers to go into other districts for Communist propaganda, and wish to hear from comrades who do this work.



## TO THE HOMELESS.

Fellow-worker, you are homeless. Perhaps, being unemployed, you could not pay the rent. Perhaps the landlord's house you used to live in was pulled down to make way for a cinema, because it was more profitable to your landlord to sell the house to be pulled down than to draw the little rent you could pay for it. Whatever may be the reason, you are homeless. Your wife's mother has taken you in. You sleep on the sofa; your wife sleeps with her sister, or you are obliged to make some even more awkward shift than that. You are uncomfortable. You feel that you are in the way. You see no hope whatever of getting a house. You have existed in your present uncomfortable plight for six months, or more.

Perhaps you live in an overcrowded working-class district, where almost all the houses not built for working-class occupation have been turned into factories. A few of those big houses are vacant, but none of them are to be let. If they were, some of you homeless ones would club together and take those houses and divide them up amongst you. No; the owners of those big houses are not willing to let them: they are only prepared to sell them. You have no money to buy a house, therefore you walk meekly past the empty houses day by day, never allowing your ambitions to rise above the doorsteps of those inviting homes.

Some of the fine new factories that were built during the war in your district are also standing empty. Your glance roves inquiringly over them. They could be converted into comfortable houses, you ruminate, but your ambition and your determination slumber; you are homeless and hopeless. It does not occur to you that you could do anything to secure one of those factories for workers to live in.

When there is a procession of the unemployed, or some other working-class demonstration, you march in the ranks behind the band to the richer part of your town. You march past the fine, well-built mansions of the rich, with their broad pathways and spacious gardens, so cool and green they look in this sultry weather. What a large number of those mansions are empty!

You are content that they should remain empty. It does not even occur to you that you might occupy such a fine place as that. Your ambitions do not even approach the garden gate. You are so humble, fellow-workers: so

patiently do you endure your misery and discomfort.

If someone should whisper to you: "Go to the West End and take possession of those mansions," or even: "Go to the Government or the municipality and insist that those mansions be thrown open to the workers," you would hesitate; you would say: "They are too large for us, too fine, too costly!"

The rooms are too large for you, fellow-worker? Are you so hard to please? Very well, then, put up some partitions to make them smaller. Perhaps there are not enough bedrooms: put up some partitions to make two or three bedrooms out of one. If necessary, you can take down some of the oak panelling for the purpose. You know how to work: you can easily adapt those big houses to your liking.

But do not divide up the dining-room, fellow-workers, or the drawing-room. You can have a fine common dining-room for the several families you are going to stow away in that big house if you keep the dining-room as it is. As to the drawing-room, if you take up the carpet you can give a dance there to your friends from the slums you left behind, when you give your house-warming party.

Seriously, fellow-workers; are you prepared to remain homeless whilst houses are standing empty?

Moreover, fellow-workers, have you observed that the one kind of work the nation is finding for the unemployed is making roads? The Government in the last Budget set aside six million pounds for road making. Why this fever for making roads when the people are needing houses; when the Government has broken its promise in regard to its much-advertised housing programme? Someone says the roads are for motor transport of troops in case the railwaymen go on strike; who knows?

How helpless we are, fellow-workers! Primitive man learnt to make a house for himself. The worker of the twentieth century goes homeless, with the wherewithal to build houses ready to hand. The worker of the twentieth century even goes homeless, with the houses he and his class have helped to build standing empty before his eyes!

Are you going to wait for a house till Mr. Henderson is Prime Minister? Are you quite sure you will really get one then, fellow-worker?

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