

# Wilson Murder: Who is to Blame?

# Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 16.

SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## UNDER THE UNION JACK.

The streets are all thronged with the weary and sad,

Under the Union Jack.

Cursed by the problem that drives men mad,

Under the Union Jack.

Looking for work that is not to be found,  
Or toiling for pittance like any slave bound,  
Day after day, just the old weary round,

Under the Union Jack.

Men working from dawn till the long day has fled,

Under the Union Jack.

And women are selling their bodies for bread,

Under the Union Jack.

If pockets are bare, one is vagrant, and so  
It's a crime to be poor, and to go to gaol you must go,  
Far better be rich than honest, you know,

Under the Union Jack.

A Council once voted the children be fed

Under the Union Jack.

But the "Fat Man" said "No! let them have flags instead."

Under the Union Jack.

So they keep Empire Day, and the Union Jack waves,

While they sing "For we Britons shall never be slaves,"

But the food is denied that the famished child craves

Under the Union Jack.

In their graves 'neath the veldt many dead soldiers sleep,

Under the Union Jack.

But widows were left in their sad homes to weep,

Under the Union Jack.

Some fought and lived on, but their deeds were forgot,

Their country has left them in workhouse to rot,  
Living or dead, does it matter a jot?

Under the Union Jack.

Boast not of old England's greatness to me,

Under the Union Jack.

Greatness lies in a people contented and free,

Under the Union Jack.

When the shirkers have ceased to batten and swell,

And the masses are raised from a life that is hell,  
There will be a tale of true glory to tell

Under the Union Jack.

S. M.

(Written in 1915 after a trumpet-blowing lecture on the Union Jack by Mr. Collingwood Hughes.)

## ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE.

"Until absolute confidence springs up between the two sides [Capital and Labour] no truce is possible."—John Hodge, M.P.

As there cannot be absolute confidence, there should therefore be no truce; but Hodge thinks otherwise. He declares there is a truce between the employers and workers in the iron and steel trades, of whose confederation he is president.

### Capitalism Triumphant.

Woolwich Arsenal will probably be let to a private contractor.

The Committee on Crown and Government Lands proposes the sale of Crown farm lands and the Crown properties in Regent Street, Pall Mall, and St. James. It is suggested that other properties may be bought with the proceeds, but private enterprise will see to that.



(Returning from the Brilliant Court at Buckingham Palace, June 22, 1922.)

Yes, dear, these people would do away with our little pleasure—they would even live on the profits we have made out of them! Sauce!!

## FREE SPEECH IN BRITAIN.

FELLOW-WORKERS,—

Are you going to let yourselves go under? Our rulers are going to suppress your efforts to emancipate yourselves if they can. They have started; will you submit?

The Proletarian Schools are going to fight this question. We want for Glasgow a stand in each district, with the right to sell literature at all meetings. We want to keep intact all the streets that have been stands for meetings. We shall put a comrade up in every district, and keep an active committee in each district. We shall make it Free Speech, and that only. Will you roll in and join up?

Come to our meeting on Glasgow Green any Sunday night at 6.30 and join. Other towns might send on their notes to the Workers' Dreadnought, at 152 Fleet Street.

TOM ANDERSON.

## "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small Dreadnought show cards with a fine decorative drawing in which the worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the Dreadnought office by those who will display them.

## YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

The high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.



## FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

"I'm a fighting man myself," said Dick Barbour, "but I can't say I agree with that."

"With what?" asked Frank Penman.

"With that cartoon," replied Barbour, handing to Penman the *Communist*, which he had just bought from a paper-seller in Trafalgar Square.

"It's a curious point of view," observed Penman, taking the paper from Barbour and examining the cartoon. It was a drawing of Arthur Henderson, of the British Labour Party, and Leon Trotsky, of the Russian Soviet Government, both regarding the statue of Oliver Cromwell, who stood outside the British House of Commons, which holds a sword and a Bible. The cartoonist had made his Arthur Henderson say: "A great man! Notice the Bible"; while his Trotsky answered: "True; a very great man! Notice the sword?"

"If the only difference between the Labour Party and the Communist Party is that the Communist Party is willing to use his sword, and the Labour Party isn't; then God help the Communist Party," said Barbour. "I don't wonder the Industrial Unionists are backing out of it."

"You've been rather slow to wake up to the Party's deficiencies, in my opinion," said Penman, "considering how long you've been amongst them and what a revolutionary industrialist you used to think yourself."

"Well, I admit I didn't realise what a mess they would make of it. Seeing that practically all the N.A.C. of the shop stewards' movement went into the C.P.G.B., and several of them are on the executive, how was anyone to know they would leave the rank-and-file movement, in the lurch and just go out after official jobs in the Unions and the Labour Party?"

"Well, you have been a long time finding them out, that's all I can say; and I think you are still a member of the C.P., although you grumble at it."

"Must belong to something."

"Why don't you get out and work for what you really believe in—One Big Union, or the I.W.W., or whatever it is? Why do you always wait for the thing to grow up before you will do a hand's turn for it?"

"The same criticism applies to you, I believe."

"To a certain extent, but not entirely. I may not do as much as I might for the movement, but in so far as I support anything, I support the propaganda I agree with and wish to succeed. You, on the other hand, denounce the C.P. policy, yet you are a member of the C.P., you pay your dues to the C.P., and speak on its platform. There isn't any real difference between your support of the C.P. and the C.P. support of the Labour Party. The C.P. professes to be superior to the Labour Party, just as you profess to be superior to the C.P. You both support what you pretend to despise, whilst you ignore those who are trying to build up the sort of movement of which you say you approve."

"That sounds very fine, of course; but there's nothing else to be done; the time isn't ripe for industrial unionism."

"Are you ripe for it? My opinion is you are not, or you'd get something started."

"It is very easy for you to talk; you're not in the workshop. You don't know anything about the psychology of the mass."

"Any old Tory could say that," Penman answered. He was bored with Barbour. The boredom was mutual. They separated, and moved amongst the crowd in opposite directions.

Near the curb Penman met Jack Harker, one of the R.C.A. students, who was not in the movement.

"I thought I'd stop for a moment to listen to your crowd," Harker said. "I've just bought some of your papers. One of them talks a good deal about psychology; but you Communists don't seem to know anything about psychology. Look here!"

He flourished the *Communist* triumphantly.

"Look at that cartoon! What impression do you suppose a thing like that makes on the average man or woman? Probably you never took the trouble to think. I'll tell you. The average man and woman are decent folk—in spite of the war. The average man and woman look at that cartoon and take it that you Communists are simply barbarians—simply bullies. Some people

are religious; I'm not. My dad was a Bradlaughite, and one doesn't go back to religion if one wasn't brought up to it. The average man and woman are not religious; but the average man or woman do believe—in spite of the war, mind you—that the thing to be admired is not mere brute force, but intelligence—the power of the mind. The average man and woman do believe that to-day, and that is the best thing in the average person. I tell you it's a mistake, a big mistake, for you people, who think you are pioneers and social regenerators, to try to undermine that feeling, that decent feeling in the average man and woman. It is a bad thing for you to try to do that; but you can't succeed, and it is beastly stupid to attempt it. You only flout the best instincts of the average man and woman. At the same time, the average man and woman are not cranks. If you were to come to him or her and say: 'These are our ideals, but we can't realise them because those fellows in possession won't release the plunder; what are we to do?' Then if you put the ideals first, explained them, and proved them to be good, proved you were out for something more just, more advanced, and nobler than the present plan; if you could get the average man and woman on your side by appealing to the best part of them, then they'd be willing to say you were right in taking any strong measures that might be necessary—necessary, mind you. You've got to remember the average man and woman know that coercion is a boomerang that is as likely to strike them as not. They aren't out for coercion and interference, and they aren't out for a change unless they believe it will be a change for the better—why should they be? They take a lot of convincing; I admit that—oh, a lot of waking up; I know that; but they are decent at bottom—no mistake about that.

"A thing like that cartoon doesn't appeal to the average man and woman—it revolts them. It simply revolts them. They go home and say you are a pack of bloodthirsty degenerates; wanting to revert to the habits of the middle ages with one object—to get yourselves in power. That is what the average man and woman say about you."

"I don't think the average man and woman have that amount of sense," Penman protested. "It's easy to talk heroics about them; but Lloyd George wouldn't be Prime Minister, nor Lord Northcliffe the successful newspaper proprietor that he is if what you say of the average man and woman were true."

"I say the average man and woman are decent folk," persisted Harker. "I say it deliberately, but I'll qualify the statement. I'll say they are decent when they are left to themselves. They can be stampeded into following others, I admit; they are sheep-like because they are not sure of themselves; not confident of their own judgment. The Press gets hold of them and stampedes them into doing things and thinking things by head-lining: 'Everybody's doing it,' till they think they must be peculiar if they don't follow suit. They don't like to be peculiar, because they are too modest to like it. Only conceited, egotistical people have the courage to be peculiar. The ordinary decent man and woman never step out of the line unless they are swept out of their reserve by admiration for someone who has taken a distinctive line. But that sort of thing wouldn't arouse admiration in anyone. If you want to succeed you've got to make men and women believe there is something noble and great about you. A movement run like yours is to-day will never arouse admiration and abnegation in average people."

"It isn't exactly my movement," Penman interpolated.

"I didn't suppose it was. Did you think I was exhorting you to come forward and play the great man in the public interest? I must say you are not overcharged with modesty, old chap!"

Harker laughed provocatively. "Why, you're one of the little moths that will be dashing towards the great light when it rises. At present you haven't got so much light in the whole of your movement as might come from a tallow candle, as far as I can see."

"You don't know anything about the movement. You are a sentimentalist, a romancer, and an impossibilist," Frank Penman retorted hotly. "You think we should just do nothing for the

things we believe in till some great marvellous hero comes along. The fact is, you wouldn't recognise the great personage if he or she were to come amongst us. Most of the really great people haven't been thought specially remarkable till after they were dead, or at least very old. In any case, if we are poor little mediocrities, we must just do our best in our own small way."

"We admit you can't be great if you weren't born so," Harker answered, "but the ordinary man and woman won't touch you unless you can show that your system is better than the present system; that your ideals are more generous and civilised than those current; and that you care as much for your movement as they do for their various hobbies and recreations."

"I agree with you there," said Penman, "but though I am willing to admit that some in our movement do not reach the standard you set, many get much beyond it, at least as far as the last point is concerned."

"It ought to be so, if you mean to achieve anything," Harker said.

## POPLAR IS PROUD OF IT.

Poplar pleads "Guilty, and proud of it." The Poplar Board of Guardians has published, in pamphlet form an answer to the Government's charges of over-generosity to the poor and the unemployed. Poplar's defence leads off with this text:

"Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction.—James i. 7."

The pamphlet further claims:

"The poor and the needy, the sick and the infirm, the fatherless, the widows and the orphans have been properly and decently treated. The spirit of Bumble has been driven out and supplanted by the spirit of humanity."

Poplar, Poplar; you may be better than some other Boards but do not boast so! Our indictment against you is not like that of the Government, that you are too generous to the poor, but that you are too complacent in your view of the poverty of your neighbours and of any little alleviation of their hardship that you may grant. Our indictment is that you still follow closely the pathways trodden by Bumble.

## Bumble still says "No" at Laindon.

Poplar sends men down to Laindon Farm Colony. The Local Government Board says the dietary at Laindon is too generous. In reality it is a meagre dietary for men engaged in manual work in the open air. Here is a sample day's meals:

BREAKFAST.—Bread, 2 oz.; porridge, 1½ pint; tea, 1 pint; milk, ½ pint.

LUNCH.—Bread, 4 oz.; cheese, 1½ oz.

DINNER.—Boiled mutton, 4 oz.; vegetables, 8 oz.; bread, 2 oz.; pudding (bread), 6 oz.; tea, ½ pint.

SUPPER.—Bread, 8 oz.; butter, ½ oz.; tea, 1 pint; sausage or pressed beef, 8 oz.

When we begin to treat people with humanity we shall let them eat their fill—that is an essential beginning. The men at Laindon are still in the position of Oliver Twist—if, being hungry, they ask for more food, Bumble still says "No!"

## Out-Relief.

The total outdoor relief in money and in kind is on the following basis:

Lone person .....	12/6 plus rent.
Man and wife .....	20/0 "
Man, wife, and 1 child .....	26/6 "
Man, wife, and 2 children ...	31/6 "
" " 3 " " " " " "	36/6 "
" " 4 " " " " "	41/6 "
" " 5 " " " " "	46/6 "
" " 6 " " " " "	51/6 "
" " 7 " " " " "	55/6 "
" " 8 " " " " "	61/6 "
" " 9 " " " " "	66/6 "
" " 10 " " " " "	71/6 "

One hundredweight of coal weekly is given in addition, and boots, at the discretion of the Relief Committee.

For boys between 16 and 18, 10/- is granted; for girls between 16 and 18, 8/-, if they have no income. No deductions in the parents' relief is made on account of the earnings of children which are below 15/- a week.

This scale provides no occasion for complacency.



## RED NIGHTS.

BY L. A. MOTLER.

I.

I am an old man now. Some there are who think that my head hangs none too securely on my shoulders. I am looked upon sometimes as one who has almost got both feet in the grave. But I still have the strength in those feet to stand in the ranks. There is enough vitality left in this old body of mine to do something, be it only selling literature. Would many of the young men could say as much, instead of gaping round a speaker, and perhaps thinking they are doing their bit in "leading the applause."

And there is still that fire in my heart, now smouldering low, ready to blaze up when the day shall come, and with it the word "Go."

But it is not of these things I wish to write. There are some periods through which I have passed the telling of which I think would, perhaps, be of benefit to others, or would entertain them. And of those which I mostly remember are the Red Nights.

I have called them by this name, for the time was a time of darkness, lit only by the red glow that many of us thought was the dawn of the day a-coming. That many of us were deceived is not the matter, since it was no fault of ours. More than his best no man can give; and of ours we gave freely.

We had a small house in Islington, and a few of us lived there, keeping a small shop below for the sale of literature. Our counter was open for any sort of publication, so long as it dealt with the revolution in some aspect and enlightened the people. For we cared not to belong to any particular branch of the movement, so that we could get the people to know of the coming of the day. And of the four of us, each one belonged to a different organisation. It was in this wise we kept in the forefront of everything that was of the movement.

I was none too young then, and I had for some years been known to those of the Special Branch of Scotland Yard whose duty it was to keep ahead of the doings of such as ourselves, and to make a watch on our movements. But I had grown a beard and altered the colour of my hair; and, what with the leisurely time I had had in America, I had grown stouter. Then, coming back, I had changed my name and had furnished myself with papers and a passport to it.

Hence it was that when Talmour launched his scheme I was the first to offer myself to carry it out. And it was deemed that I was the fittest for the job, since the others had been very active of late and were not sure that they were not watched. Therefore, I listened most carefully as the plan was unfolded.

It was the time of the Great Black Strike, as the newspapers were pleased to call it. You will remember that period when the engineers had been locked out and there was great talk of the miners and railwaymen joining hands. It was felt with certainty that the transport workers would come into the struggle if the others did, and indeed these four unions were felt to be the only ones that need count.

We had all discussed the bearings of the matter. Each of our organisations had been content with passing resolutions of support and opening relief funds in the columns of their official organs. But Talmour told us he felt the Free Socialist Party would most likely take drastic action. He belonged to the Frees himself, and he knew the executive had had a secret session, to which he had been unable to get access. For you know in those days the movement had many of the Special Branch as members, and so the custom had grown of electing mere show executives, whilst an inner council, whose identity was secretly guarded, performed the real executive functions.

Talmour said that whatever action the Frees might take would be of very little might unless the strikers were sympathetic and there was enough revolutionary leavening amongst them. It was necessary, he thought, to honeycomb the stokers with a few rebels armed with propaganda matter of the right stuff, printed in sufficient numbers, and a constant supply be guaranteed. The Interim Act had been passed, and this threatened all printers who should issue matter that was likely to cause sedition, with the destruction of their printing machines without subse-

quent compensation when the so-called "interim period" was past. However, I, being a printer, told them that I imagined it could be managed, so we proceeded to discuss the best form of literature we could issue.

We could only be certain of a limited quantity at first, because I felt that the printer friend of whom I meant to apply would only give me one night for our purpose. After a long talk, the three comrades—Talmour, Fox, and Balgowsky (whom we called Bagoff, in our familiar fashion)—agreed to my proposal to issue a small booklet. This was to be of such a size that it could easily be slipped into pockets and carried conveniently.

As to the matter within the booklet, you will have heard of the famous "Don't Strike" leaflet with the imprint of the Loyal Citizens' Press. On the front page we had printed "Why Strike?" and had the constitutional arms above, so that it looked quite a loyal publication at first sight. But the real gist of the thing was come to inside, where we announced the dawning of the revolution and set out a list of things all good citizens should do.

These, if you remember, explained the means of food distribution, which was the prime factor; the setting up of councils, and the enrolment of guards for protecting the shops where were sold in ordinary times either food or clothing. These shops were later to be turned into distributive centres. And many similar matters were dealt with.

Our little booklet set out only the first steps, for when we discussed the matter we found how intricate even the beginnings of a revolution might be. We had, indeed, to decide on enlisting the support of the four organisations to which we belonged, and to get their approval, for so much depended on their members to take the place of guards. None of us, except Bagoff, knew the real executives of the parties—Bagoff, indeed, knowing only one member in his own party who sat in the secret conclave. He was, therefore, entrusted with the task of getting at the other executives through his own.

Whilst he was gone I went round to see my printer friend. It was in a narrow street, to which main access was under an arch, one of many buildings which had formed a mews, that his shop was to be found. The district it was in used to be quite a bourgeois centre, and so different to what Pentonville is now and was at the time of which I write. Fenson, for that was his name, was a Frenchman, and he did a good business for the French Ambassador, so none would suspect it as being the centre of our literature. He had from time to time let me print a few notepaper headings for our shop; and, although he was by no means in our movement, so many of his friends were revolutionaries he had sympathetic leanings. He was a good man at heart, but ever afraid of losing his "little business"; though I suspected he had a goodly sum put by wherewith he would settle in some spot in the North of France, *a la campagne*, with perhaps a little farm.

"En bien," he said, when we were in that small office of his which was a boarded-off corner of his workshop, "It is all right, my friend Smeat, you will be circumspect, hein? I have only my little business pour gagner la vie."

He talked in an odd mixture of French and English, although I spoke French myself. But we understood each other.

(To be continued.)

## PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CLYDE WORKER.

By TOM ANDERSON.

Old Tom Taylor was a craftsman, an engineer. He had served his "time" in the usual "old craft way," and so he was one of the "old school," not your modern machine-made craftsman. Old Tom was a "Tory," a good staunch "Tory." He believed in the King, the Church, and the "Constitution," and he was a staunch Trade Unionist—that is, he paid his card up to date every quarter, and was never in arrears, but he was dead set against "levies." Levies, old Tom would say, are for the wasters. He

did not believe in strikes, or "direct action" of any kind; he was just an old Trade Unionist. Sometimes they would discuss in the meal-hour about having a Labour Party. Old Tom would say, "What do you want a Labour Party for, when you have plenty of good men willing to do the work for nothing? A Labour Party! How would a workman know how to speak in the House of Commons? They would only make a fool of you and give you away. It is impossible. It is impossible." Some of the more brave spirits would say, "But, Tom, we could educate ourselves." "Yes," old Tom would say, "I have no doubt about that; you could educate yourself to leave the workers and get a soft job." One brave spirit among the crowd remarked, "Tom, was Jesus not a workman?" At this old Tom got very angry, and said, "Don't take your Master's Name in vain." This young blood remarked, "Nonsense, Tom; Jesus was a Jew, and I am a Scotsman." This seemed to knock old Tom out. "Do you tell me that? I thought Jesus was a Scotsman. I am surprised to learn that." A general smile passed over the company at this reply of Tom's.

"I tell you what," said the young blood, "I have read that God was once a stone they carried in the Ark."

"What do you mean?" said old Tom. "You will be telling me next that He was a Jew." The "young blood" smiled. "You are very thick, Tom. If His Son was a Jew, well, the Father would have to be that also." Scotsmen being very logical, dead silence prevailed. Everyone was afraid to continue the conversation. They were treading on dangerous ground. Just then the shop delegate came in. The shop delegate is a great man; something of a "knot." Many of them have had a look at Marx and then joined the Labour Party, so as to be able to conduct it through the economic waters. "What's up?" says the delegate. Old Tom replied they were discussing the nationality of Jesus. "The nationality of Jesus," said the delegate, "He had none." Everybody laughed. "What the hell are you laughing at?" said the delegate. Old Tom shook his head, saying, "I think we would be better to stop the discussion." The delegate would have none of it. "How," he said, "could Jesus have a nationality when He was born of the Holy Ghost?" That was a poser. The "young blood" laughed. "You will be telling us next," he said, "that a woman can have a kid without a man." At this explosive the hooters blew, and each one hurried off to his job.

The years rolled by, and we have now a Labour Party, and Jesus is a Jewish workman; everyone admits it. Old Tom has completed 50 years in the Union and draws a partial pension. He has also been 45 years in Fairfield engineering shop and gets a small donation from the firm, with an easy job. He is not much changed.

The Great World War for Humanity came. Old Tom was a patriot of patriots, and his sons went to the war to kill the "bloody Huns"—that's how old Tom said it. One Monday evening he escorted his youngest son to Queen Street Station to see him off, and his spirits were high as he gazed on his boy in khaki. "Kill them, Jimmy," he said, "Kill them! Give them no quarter. They are swine." They had a drink—the average workman in Scotland drinks—and as the train moved out of the station old Tom, bare-headed, was singing "God Save the King." In the excitement he staggered and fell, and when we lifted the old man up he was dead.

Next day, in the workshop, we were discussing old Tom's death, his many good qualities, 55 years in the Union, 50 years in Fairfield's; never lost a morning; an honest, upright, God-fearing man. "He's away," said one of the old fellows, "one of the grand old school, gone home." We all concurred. Another old fellow, who had never spoken. Speech to him was golden. He belonged to the best age. "Aye," he said, "old Tom's gone, but it's a hell of a pity he has not lived till to-night; he would have had a full week's pay to lift."

Correspondents desiring advice on the formation of Proletarian Schools should write "Proletarian Schools" on the envelope.



# Workers' Dreadnought

FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor

Business Communications to the Manager:

Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

## SUBSCRIPTION:

THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ...	Post Free 2/6
SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ...	5/5
ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ...	10/10

Vol. IX. No. 16. Saturday, July 1st, 1922.

## NOWHERE TO LIVE.

In Ormeside Road, near the Old Kent Road, London, S.E., is a passage three feet wide. It leads to a row of wretched houses, the most forlorn and dilapidated that eyes ever looked on or hearts were saddened by.

The unpaved pathway before their doors is five or six feet wide. Their landlord, Walter Crook, who owns a factory near by, tips on this pathway piles of rusty old-iron shavings, and so adds to the dirt and congestion of the alley.

The one-storied hovels were constructed without any regard to building regulations: one brick thick, and the floor-boards laid on the ground. The hovels were made to stand—that is all one can say; and now they have long been the worse for wear. There are five closets for seven houses, and one of the closets cannot be used. "Perhaps it will be repaired?" one asks the tenants. "I don't think so," they answer in unison, most emphatically. "Experience," it is said, "teaches children and fools."

The inhabitants are poor, and some of them, to aid in maintaining existence, keep hens boxed up in the alley-way. They look out through their bars like prisoners. Poor birds! Their lot is as bad as that of the human beings.

Each hovel has three rooms, about 8 ft. by 10 ft. The rent is 6/3 a week, but the tenants of one house pay 6/6, because there is a little patch of ground between their hovel and the next, on which they used to grow a few green things.

They used to grow green things; but they have not done so this year, because, after occupying the hovel for eleven years, they got notice to quit last December.

Mr. Walter Crook, the landlord, is thought to be desirous of building an extension of his factory on the ground where these hovels are standing.

Be that as it may, he has grown sharp with his tenants. They have all, or nearly all, had notice to quit and been up at the County Court, and are paying their rents to the Court or to the lawyer. He has refused to accept rent from some of the tenants since last December. One man, who is a fish curer, has been out of work for several months, and he and his wife have taken to hawking. They are paying their rent and 4/9 a week arrears, 11/- in all. One week they were unable to pay; next week they offered 22/-. It was refused, but eventually accepted.

On Tuesday, June 20th, Mr. Crook evicted three families, and the evicted families allege that he and one of the workmen assisted the bailiff to put their furniture out in the alley.

One of the evicted families, in which there are four little children, tramped off towards Tonbridge, carrying the babies as best they might, in the hope of getting some work at fruit picking in return for a shelter.

One family, in which there are two children under two, slept out in the alley and was drenched to the skin. Their miserable flock and straw mattresses fell to pieces, and the remnants littered the alley.

As for the other family, the mother and five little children were taken into one of the hovels. The father and elder son slept in a tiny hutch built for chickens, far too small for a person to stretch outright. The young woman who took in the mother and children had one little child of her own, and was expecting to give birth to a second at any time; yet she took the other family in, for her tender sympathy could not leave them there outside in the rain.

On Monday, June 26th, came Mrs. Clara Cole and saw their plight. Her good common sense and heart of gold forced her to act. Already eight months ago Clara Cole had broken into a house which had been standing empty for years, and had installed there a number of homeless people, who have since remained unmolested.

The doors of these hovels had been roughly nailed up by the landlord. Mr. Crook did not fear that the nails he thrust in would further disfigure his tumbledown property: a few more scars would make no appreciable difference.

Clara Cole took an instrument and prised out the nails: it was easily done.

The families entered; but in one house Mr. Crook had placed some barrels of oil. One of these barrels was leaking. The boy who rolled it down to the hovel had accidentally knocked off one of the hoops. Comrades who came with Clara Cole carefully put the barrels out in the alley, and the barrel continued to leak.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon, and now up comes Mr. Crook. A policeman, too, was on the scene. Mr. Crook ordered the constable to arrest three comrades as trespassers because they did not live in the alley; but this was further than the policeman could go.

Mr. Crook asked Mrs. Cole and Comrade Dallas to go to his office to negotiate. From thence they were taken to the police station with Comrade Rust, who arrived later and had nothing to do with the eviction.

The three were tried at Tower Bridge Police Court on June 27th. The magistrate there showed his incapability and lack of human sympathy and understanding by asking, when he heard what Mrs. Cole had done: "Was the lady drunk?" Apparently he thought no educated woman would intervene thus on behalf of the poor if she were sober.

Mr. Crook, the landlord, claimed that the doors of his hovels had been disfigured, and that the oil had run out of the leaking barrel; he declared that the oil was worth £25.

Mrs. Cole went to prison for 28 days; she refused the option of paying a 40/- fine. The other comrades were remanded.

Meanwhile, one of the evicted families has remained in the hovel in which Clara Cole re-installed it, in spite of the order of Mr. Crook to leave next morning. The young woman who had sheltered the homeless gave birth to her baby at six o'clock on the day of the arrest, and the nurse is alarmed lest further disturbance should be injurious.

The other evicted family has been taken in by a neighbour in the alley.

## Sheffield Eviction.

As a result of the conflict with the police which arose at a Sheffield eviction recently, all the prominent leaders of the unemployed have been arrested. They are to be tried at Leeds Assizes on July 10th.

J. W. Barker, aged 38, was struck on the back of the neck by the police during the eviction fight. He died of lockjaw soon after. The Medical Superintendent of the Ecclesall Institution where Barker died said that the disease might have been caused by a blow; it had developed ten days after the blow—a usual time for a wound to cause lockjaw.

## The One Big Union.

The Communist Workers' Group in Sheffield has been propagating the idea of One Big Revolutionary Union amongst the unemployed, and the idea is beginning to take root there.

## Glasgow Eviction.

The seventeen comrades who attempted, as recently reported in our columns, to reinstate an evicted couple in Glasgow, will be tried on July 4th by Sheriff and jury.

## Ulster and Murder.

In the debate on Sir Henry Wilson's murder the Labour Party took no part. No member of that or any other party denounced the Governments of Lloyd George and Sir James Craig, which have organised the anti-Catholic Nationalist

pogroms, in revenge for which two men killed Sir Henry Wilson.

A *Daily Herald* headline on the debate said "ULSTER MURDERS TO CEASE!" But Winston Churchill gave no such pledge: he merely said that the British Government had supplied Ulster with 50,000 standard arms, and would continue to support the pogrom Government of Sir James Craig.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

## ARMED POLICE.

The Home Secretary's statement that there are arms in the police stations, and that the police may use them when they choose on special occasions is interesting. Does that mean that the young constable on the beat may decide whether or not he shall carry arms? Who is the judge of what is a special occasion? More information should be demanded.

It is, moreover, instructive to learn that the police go unarmed at their own desire. If it be true that the constables are allowed free choice in this respect, we commend them for their wise decision. They are safer unarmed, and other people are safer because they are unarmed.

## Armed Guard for Sir Edward Carson.

Whilst thousands of unfortunate working folk have been fired upon and driven from their homes in Belfast, Sir Edward Carson, one of the makers of strife in Ulster, is provided with an armed policeman to guard him—at our expense!—against reprisals.

## SOCIAL PARASITES v. USEFUL WORKERS.

How fine is the ideal of Edward Carpenter, Kropotkin and the other seers of the new day: simple living, some useful productive toil each day, combined with the study and practice of the arts and sciences.

Contrast that with the parasitic life of the Court, the lavish extravagance and display. Descriptions of "sapphire blue and gold brocade, embroidered in blue and gold diamanté, and completed by a magnificent train of Irish lace lined with gold tissue" arouse only disgust in the minds of those who realise the burden that this extravagance places on the people who toil and the hideous extremes of poverty which face these displays of wealth at the other end of the social scale.

Many a worthy mother, instead of gowns of gold and silver tissue, has not even a change of dress or a water-tight pair of shoes.

## J. R. MACDONALD AND GEORGIA

One wonders why Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is so anxious to secure the independence of Georgia; its severance from Russia. He does not want Ireland, India, or Egypt to go out of the British Empire. Can it be that Mr. Macdonald desires a Government of Georgia to be controlled by a party affiliated to the Second International, in order that the Georgian Government may be to the Second International what the Russian Soviet Government has been to the Third?

It will be remembered that at the last I.L.P. Conference Mr. Ramsay Macdonald used all his influence to defeat a resolution expressing gratitude to the Bolsheviks for their stand against imperialism and their publication of the secret treaties.

The resolution, in spite of Mr. Macdonald's efforts to defeat it, was carried by 53 votes to 50.

## DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £222 8s. 1d. T. E. Sellek, 2/6; P. Catherley, 2/-; T. Wilson, £1; M. Powell (monthly), 5/-; S. C., 4/-; Per T. H. Ellison, 18/-; Per T. Hodson, 3/6; M. Westrope, per sale of gold chain, £1; Per M. E. Marsh, 6/6; I. S., 5/-; A. Pannekoek, 15/-; Mrs. Moschewitz, 1/-; Norwich Meetings, £4. Total for week, £9 2s. 6d. Total, £231 10s. 7d.



# WHY WAS WILSON MURDERED?

## WHO WAS TO BLAME?

In view of the shooting of Sir Henry Wilson, certain questions demand an answer.

Is it true that the following outrages upon Catholic Nationalists have been committed in Belfast between July 21st, 1920, and June 21st, 1922, as alleged by Dail Eireann?

23,560 persons driven from their homes, 3,000 being driven out in broad daylight since May 31st last.

8,586 driven from their employment.

7,800 persons seriously wounded.

429 persons murdered.

The life of every one of the persons murdered in Belfast, be the dead person never so humble, must be considered as much as that of any Field-Marshal.

Is it true, as claimed by the Dail Eireann Publicity Department, that these outrages against Catholic Nationalists are not the work of unorganised mobs, but are officially organised by Sir James Craig's Government and the armed forces at its disposal?

Is it true that Sir James Craig's Government, in its little domain of six counties, has at its disposal, as Dail Eireann alleges,

3,000 Constabulary, armed and equipped by the British Government.

5,000 "A" Specials " " "

20,000 "B" Specials " " "

An indefinite number of "C" Specials " " "

19 battalions of British Crown forces.

Is it true, as alleged by the *Irish Bulletin* issued by Dail Eireann, that:

"Only Irish Nationalists are attacked by the Specials?"

"The English military assist the Specials?"

"The cars, rifles, bombs, and petrol used are Government property?"

"Looting and burning takes place under the eyes of the police and the military?"

"No Loyalist is punished or arrested for arson or murder?"

Is it true that in March last Sir Henry Wilson was engaged by the Northern Government to restore order in the six counties, and that, as Dail Eireann alleges, he organised the above outrages upon Catholic Nationalists in Belfast?

If the Dail Eireann allegations are correct, then the Governments of Sir James Craig and Lloyd George are responsible for the actions of their servant Sir Henry Wilson.

If the state of affairs is such as Dail Eireann represents, the men who shot Sir Henry Wilson must be treated as prisoners of war, and their lives must be spared.

Will Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson, on behalf of the British Labour Party, make this claim? Will they agitate for the lives of the men who shot Wilson as they are agitating for the Social Revolutionaries who raised war against the Soviet Republic in Russia?

## IRISH NEWS

The following paragraphs appeared in the *Weekly Irish Bulletin*, issued by Dail Eireann Publicity Department:

"Pogrom against Catholics started July 21st, 1920.

"Killed to date, 428; wounded, 1,766.

"The war of extermination has grown in intensity since Sir James Craig, early in February last, repudiated his agreement of the Boundary Question with Mr. Michael Collins, Chairman of the Provisional Government.

"Here are the figures for the first five months of this year:

	CATHOLICS.		PROTESTANTS.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
January	8	20	4	13
February	28	70	17	27
March	42	58	22	38
April	26	37	15	36
May	46	103	29	63
	156	288	87	177

From May 31st to June 18th inclusive:—

	CATHOLICS.		PROTESTANTS.	
	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
	21	6	6	27

"Of the 53 Protestants killed since January 1st, the first name on the list is Alex Turtle, of Mount-coller Road. He was an Orange sniper killed by the military on January 2nd. On March 8th Herbert Hazard, of 16 Earl Lane, was lying flat on the street sniping into a street where Catholic children were playing about. An eye-witness has made an affidavit that she saw a soldier come up behind him, and, seeing what he was, fired a shot. Hazard thereupon rolled over stone dead. At his funeral the Orange gunmen shot up Greenacres and killed and wounded several people. He was represented by the Orange Press as another victim of Sinn Fein gunmen.

"On March 12th the military arrested a man in the Royal Avenue. They deprived him of his revolver. On the way to the barracks he tried to escape but was shot dead. That man was Special Constable Vokes, a native of Ballymena. Vokes was evidently out on criminal business.

"On April 14th Mat. Carmichael and John Sloan were shot (according to the Belfast Press) 'under mysterious circumstances.' In other words, they were shot in the worst Orange portion of Belfast in mistake for Catholics.

"On April 18th Wm. Johnston, 100 Louisa Street, was shot by military.

"Thomas Best, Louisa Street, was shot accidentally by the military.

"On April 24th William Steele, Disraeli Street, was shot accidentally, as was Ellen Greer, of Enniskillen Street, who was killed by a revolver belonging to her brother-in-law, an "A" Special.

"Mary Donaldson, of Spamount Street, was killed by military on May 19th, as was Robert Dudgeon, of 74 Westland Street.

"On May 24th John Moore 79 Hooker Street, was shot by an Orange sniper, and on the same day Victor Kidd, 41 Brookvale Avenue, was shot by military.

"On May 25th Wm. Shields, 32 Delaware Street, was shot by a Protestant sniper, Alex. Morrison, Ballyclare, was shot in the Albert Bridge Road by an Orange murder gang. (Fourteen Catholics have now been done to death at this spot by Orange murderers).

"John Jennings, a blind and paralysed old man, lodged with Jane Doran, a Catholic, at Peter's Place. During the terror on May 31st an Orange mob of "Specials" and hooligans threw a bomb into this house. This bomb killed the residents. The remains of the blind Protestant and his Catholic landlady were subsequently found by the Fire Brigade.

"The bulk of the remaining Protestants were shot by 'Specials' in the course of indiscriminate firing. A few, undoubtedly, have been shot by desperate avengers of Catholic victims.

Of the 203 Protestants wounded, the same may be said. Five of them were 'Specials' who were shot while attempting another massacre of Catholics.

## Nationalists Victimised

"Catholics (a) driven from their employment by Orange mobs, or (b) dismissed by Protestant firms owing to pressure from Orange Lodges:—

"From July 21st, 1920, to date ..... 8,750

"No of Protestants driven from their employment in Belfast during same period ... Nil.

"No of Catholics driven from their homes 23,000

"(Of this number over 3,000 have been driven out in broad daylight since May 31st.)

"Of these, there are now homeless in Belfast 3,000

"Number of Protestants driven from their homes ..... Nil.

"The incidents reported this past week include the destruction by 'Specials' of altars and religious emblems in Catholic homes; looting on an intensified scale; simultaneous attempts at wholesale murders of Catholics attending picture-houses on the Falls Road, . . .

"The Catholics have received intelligence of further similar conspiracies against their lives.

"An attempt was made by two 'Specials' during Curfew on Saturday, June 10th, to murder two soldiers in a Catholic area (North Queen Street). The soldiers escaped by reason of a Catholic opening his door and letting them in. . . .

"On Tuesday, Edward Smith, a Catholic sailor, home on leave, was murdered in North Queen Street by an Orange sniper. All through the Big War he braved the perils of the submarine.

"During the week a number of Catholic officials in the G.P.O. have been arrested. Attempts were made to arrest others. Their only crime is that they occupy responsible positions under the British Government. Orangemen want these positions.

"The Belfast News Agencies sent out thrilling accounts of the alertness and vigilance of the brave 'Specials' in repelling an attack by Sinn Fein gunmen and bombers. This was published in the Press

throughout the world on Saturday and Monday last. On Tuesday Mr. W. H. McConnell, director of Messrs. John Robson, Ltd., the owners of the premises alleged to have been attacked, wrote denying there was the slightest truth in this report. 'A bit of rotten spouting fell through the glass roof and broke a pane of glass,' so wrote Mr. McConnell. . . .

"On Thursday, at 10.15 p.m., a military officer in charge of a patrol of Seaforth Highlanders came into Leeson Street on the Falls, went over to a young lad and hit him on the stomach with the butt of his revolver. A woman cried 'Shame!' and the 'officer and gentleman' took a rifle from a soldier and hit her on the back with it. He then fired down Cairn Street.

"At 10 p.m. the 'Specials' in a Lancia car arrested two boys in Albert Street. After searching them they took them to the Shankill Road and released them. The boys had to run the gauntlet of the most savage of the Orange cut-throats on the way back.

"On Thursday a Lancia car of 'Specials' proceeding along Carick Hill suddenly opened fire, without even the semblance of provocation.

"While Shaw's Soap Works and the Popular Picture House, Newtownards Road, were being burned out on Friday last, Orange mobs and 'Specials' looted McKeag's public-house, Newtownards Road, and Mr. Hatch's public-house, in Keenan Street. Both are Catholics. The same mob looted Reid's shop in Keenan Street. Mr. Reid is a Protestant. Broad-minded, intelligent Protestants have all along foreseen this development.

"Some of the 'Specials' urged the mob to attack Young's Row, a Catholic Street. This was not done.

"In the case of the murdered Catholic youth, Hugh McDonnell, aged 20, Saul Street, who was taken off the Newtownards Road tram at Memel Street on May 21st, by 'well-disposed' persons, this is the description given by his mother of the remains after the 'well-disposed' persons had done with him: 'He was kicked to pulp, all his body was a mass of bruises. It was riddled with bullets, and the Sign of the Cross was slashed on his throat with a knife.' His mother is a widow, left with six children when her husband died. Another son, Andrew, joined up in the Highland Light Infantry in 1915, and after serving four years was killed in action at the close of the war.

"A Belfastman who recently completed a term of imprisonment on a political charge in the Crumlin Road Gaol has made an affidavit from which we take this extract:—

"'I was in a cell at the rear of the prison. Two Special Constables belonging to the platoon at the gaol were in the yard beneath the window. They were discussing the attack on the Mater Hospital.

"'No. 1 said: 'Rifles are no use for a stunt like that. Bombs would be the stuff to give 'em.' . . .

"'No. 2: 'It was a scandal to attack a place like that at all, with sick people in it.'

"'No. 1: 'It was a scandal doing it unless it was done right, and a thing like that should be done with bombs. What about a raid?'

"'No. 2: 'Look at what the papers would say.'

"'No. 1: 'Oh, never mind the papers, they are playing the game all right.' (No. 1 had been one of the party told off for the firing operations on the Mater Hospital.)

## Fanaticism Plus Greed.

"The following is an extract from a Statutory Declaration made by an ex-Civil Servant in Belfast: 'I know a B Special, named —, living at —, in Belfast. He is employed as manager of a public-house, in addition to his public duties as 'Protector' of the Catholic minority there. For the past six months he has blossomed forth as a speculator in Catholic public-houses. In this he has discovered a gold mine. Some time ago he showed me a cheque for £2,000, the proceeds of one deal.

"The *modus operandi* is quite simple. First the Catholic publican is threatened with being bombed out, burned out, or shot, or all three. Then this man, who is behind the scenes, comes along and buys the business for a song. He sells it to an Orangeman within a week at a pretty good profit. In this he has practically a monopoly.

"Orangemen who do not belong to the murder gang are warned off from butting in on this business. There was an atrocious massacre of a Catholic family engaged in the liquor trade quite close to where this man lives. Now the instruments engaged in that massacre knew the lay of the house pretty well. Evidently they had been tutored by someone who knew it. It was only a short time before this massacre that I was shown the cheque for £2,000.

"The man was pretty pleased with himself at the time, and I should say was inclined to be a bit boastful. At all events, he confided to me and those present that he had other big deals coming off. From all the facts of the case, I am morally certain he was instrumental in arranging the massacre as a preliminary to a further deal in Catholic public-houses. It is a noteworthy fact that when the police visited the home of the McMahons, after the massacre on the morning of March 25th, Mrs. McMahon's niece gave a description of the person in charge of the party who had murdered the men folk in the house half an hour earlier.

"The description of this person tallied in all particulars with the description of District Inspector —, one of the chiefs of the murder gang.'

"On June 1st, after Grosvenor Place had been burned, a mob of women came to the house of Mrs. Jamison 65 Grosvenor Road, at 6.30 a.m. A respectable Protestant woman named Mrs. McKegney, Athol Street, was in the crowd. She declared to the mob that she did not believe in killing people as she was a Christian; but if they would shoot Mrs. Jamison in the legs that would make her glad to go away, as



she wanted that house (Mrs. Jamison's) for her married daughter. She was told by some of the crowd to hold her tongue as Mrs. Jamison was inside, but she said she did not care, as she wanted it to be heard.

"When Mrs. Jamison left she went to Durham Street via College Street, and immediately on coming into Durham Street the Whippet armoured car which followed her opened fire into Durham Street (Catholic end) where all was quiet. A demand for protection on May 31st was made to Cullingtree Road Barrack by Mrs. Jamison. It appears that armoured Whippet tank was sent for protection, but went to wrong number deliberately.

"Between 3 and 4 p.m. on June 1st, Mrs. Jamison was ordered to clear out in ten minutes. On that day the houses of Catholics in Grosvenor Road were taken in retaliation. Mrs. Jamison had to leave, though the Whippet car was outside No. 79, and it, accompanied by the Lancia car, patrolled the district all day and never attempted to interfere with the mob.

"Mrs. Jamison went back to the house, and at 7.30 went out for milk. On the way back, two Protestant women living in Durham Street—Mrs. McAuley and Mrs. Halliday—swore they would murder her if she came back that way again.

"Mrs. Jamison left the house until Saturday. She then went to Cullingtree Barracks and obtained protection to visit the house. When she entered she found all the clothing, including wearing apparel, bed clothing and linen, looted, and the furniture smashed beyond repair. The Protestants would not burn Mrs. Jamison out because they wanted it for themselves.

#### How it is Done.

"This incident will appear so incredible to all who do not know the 'Specials' or know Belfast that we think it well to say in advance that the facts therein recorded are embodied in a statutory declaration and can be substantiated before any impartial tribunal.

"The narrator in the declaration sets forth that on a certain day towards the end of May he was in a certain place in Belfast, and was taken to be what he was not. A 'Special' constable from the platoon on the Crumlin Road Gaol was there. He was in good form, confidential and reminiscent. 'You remember,' said he, 'that raid on the prison about a month ago. Did you hear how we worked that stunt? We were around at the back of the prison, and at one of the gates we found a man's glove. That gave me an idea. The Shimmers in the prison were singing songs at the time, and I and some other chaps went into the prison. I emptied my revolver at a window where one of the Shimmers was singing. We saw a lot more heads than at the windows of other cells, and we fired at them. We fired over twenty rounds.

"After that we went in and reported that we were attacked, but that we beat them off. The Head Constable sent us out to search for spent cartridges or bullets. We got a light and picked up some we had fired off ourselves."

"In the course of the whitewashing inquiry into the attack on the Mater Hospital, the prison in the Crumlin Road was examined, and the authorities were able to point to bullet marks near the windows on the wing nearest the Mater. If these bullet marks are minutely examined, it will be found that every one of them has an upward tendency, being fired from the ground, whereas if fired from the roof of the Mater they would have a downward tendency.

#### Why It Is Done.

"One of the causes that contributed to the launching of the Pogrom might be briefly stated here. The Labour movement brought Catholic and Protestant closely together in the Big Strike of 1920, and on the election of the City Council that year religious bigotry had to be invoked by the bosses to prevent this. On July 12th, 1920, Carson warned the Orangemen against being 'entangled by Labour parties.'

"In a territory with a population not as large as that of Glasgow there are at present 49,000 armed 'Specials,' besides twenty-four battalions of English soldiers. These 'Specials' have been described by a Belfast non-Catholic as 'largely composed of looters, incendiaries, and untried murderers. Many of them have been convicted of horrible crimes, and the bulk of them are the very dregs of the population.' They are personally interested in continuation of the reign of terror and murder.

"These men are out to create an atmosphere poisonous to peace. They are led by the very officers who created the reign of terror of Sunday, July 10th last. That 'Bloody Sunday' was intended by the perpetrators to make the truce of July 11th a dead letter.

#### The Crocodile's Tears.

"The evil work in Belfast is being carried off late into the six-county area. This is being done under the eyes, and with the approval, of the authorities. Here is a specific case: There is a district inspector not far from Derry. He is a Celt—by name at least. Some time ago, after one of the biggest and most revolting massacres by 'Specials' in the six-county area, he came on the scene, visited the houses where the victims were being waked, made inquiries of the families as to the assassins, expressed his horror at the crimes, and conveyed to the relatives his deepest sympathy in their bereavement. He then went to the nearest barracks, assembled the R.U.C. and the 'Specials,' and recounted to them the ghastly sight he had witnessed. Then, lowering his voice and speaking with the utmost deliberation as if repeating a statement committed to memory, he said: 'It is for the Constabulary to see that this thing is repeated in every town and village in Ulster. There is no

other way to end this thing.' There is talk of this man being promoted to a new appointment to be created City Commissioner of Derry."

#### Hostages.

In the House of Commons on June 20th, 1922, Mr. Churchill, replying to a question arising out of the invasion by English troops of Irish Free State territory at Pettigo, said:

"I am holding for the time being fourteen prisoners who were taken at Pettigo. They are in Ireland. . . . I am not prepared to go any further than to say that I am provisionally holding the men who were taken at the capture of Pettigo, although it is by no means clear what charges can be formulated against them." (Hansard, Vol. 155, No. 80.)

#### SOCIALIST ESPERANTISTS.

At a special and enthusiastic meeting on Whit Sunday, on the occasion of the thirteenth Congress of British Esperantists, the British League of Esperantist Socialists was re-formed. It has for its object the propaganda of Esperanto as the workers' international language, with the idea of making real internationalists who have personal friends in many lands, and thus achieving a true international understanding and consequent solidarity towards the overthrow of capitalism.

The League proposes to form groups, and to deliver lectures everywhere, and to publish leaflets, pamphlets, etc., as well as transplanting British Labour and Socialist literature into the international language.

Every Socialist or Communist Esperantist can obtain full particulars by sending a penny stamp to the Secretary, 6 Windermere Avenue, N.W. 6.

The Workers' Dreadnought new Posters are very striking. Send for one and get it displayed.

#### AT SEA.

A comrade writes:

"We have on board here something like 200 'heroes,' including stewards, firemen, and sailors. I have been trying to get them to write to Havelock Wilson, instructing him to take some action about the rotten accommodation provided here for the slaves; but up to the present (three days off Cape Town) they are either too much afraid or too darned lazy! Just imagine trying to form a job committee with such a lot!

This reminds me that the N.S. and F.U. official was here to see that we were all sober and fit for work. I got him along to the fo'c'sle, showed him what it was like, and he merely bleated: 'What can I do?'

I advised him to call a meeting of all hands, and to go by their decision.

His answer was: 'What would the gov'nor say?' (The gov'nor is Havelock Wilson.) I have written by this mail to the "gov'nor."

#### THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY. CAPITALISM TRIUMPHANT.

The news from Soviet Russia is ever more depressing. The restoration of the private property system proceeds apace there. Kursky, People's Commissary for Justice, in a report to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, on May 18th, recorded that a decree of January 1921 limited the classes of private property to which confiscation could be applied. A decree of May 1921 put a stop to any further extension of nationalisation and established the right to private ownership of movable property and the means of production. A decree of November 1921 abolished the general power of requisition and confiscation, which could henceforth only be exercised in exceptional circumstances.

A new draft decree gives legal sanction to mortgaging private property, to lease land, to protect inventions, patent rights, and authors' rights. Thus the spread of knowledge will be checked in Soviet Russia as in all capitalist countries.

The new draft decree further establishes the right to inherit property, which, since the revolution, had been confined practically to articles of a domestic nature or forming part of a domestic industry.

#### Right of Inheritance Re-established.

With the re-establishment of the right to inherit property—even though the inheritance be taxed—the attempt to establish a new social order virtually ends for the time being. There can be no pretence of building up Socialism whilst property can be accumulated and transmitted from generation to generation of property owners.

The draft decree establishes the right to conclude contracts relating to hire, purchase, sale, loans, guarantees, insurance, articles of association, bills of exchange, tenders, and so on. In fact, the machinery of capitalism is set up on the old lines.

#### Criminal Code.

With the return of capitalism in Russia, the criminal code re-emerges. Kursky submitted a draft panel code to the Soviet Executive, which has been adopted in principle. He observed that three methods are possible. Firstly, the Tsarist method of fixing the punishment for each offence; secondly, the method practised since the revolution of leaving the treatment of the offenders to the social consciousness of the judges; thirdly, the method, which he had adopted, of fixing maximum and minimum penalties for each offence. This is the ordinary method under capitalism.

Compulsory labour without deprivation of liberty is a form of punishment introduced since the revolution which is still retained, but which has lost its meaning and will prove obnoxious now that capitalism has returned to Russia.

The draft code abolishes the death penalty, except where pronounced by court-martial.

Crimes are classified in two groups. The first group includes crimes aimed at the Soviet Order; the second covers crimes which are called survivals of the old order. For crimes of the first group minimum punishments are fixed, less than which must not be given. For the second group maximum penalties are fixed which must not be exceeded. Political offenders will therefore have a hard time of it. It is to be feared that the Left Wing, having no powerful influences to protect it, will suffer more seriously than the Right.

A bad feature, which is peculiar to the present Soviet penal code, was reported by Krylenko, of the People's Commissariat for Justice. It is that the trial may take place without the parties to the trial; without even the accused person and the defending and prosecuting counsel being present.

#### The Beecham Trust in Moscow.

The Beecham Trust, an English company, and an Anglo-Russian Union of building engineers, have a concession to rebuild Moscow on truly amazing terms. The Russian Information and Review says:

"The concession places at the disposal of the two companies inhabited and partially inhabited dwelling houses and unfinished buildings, on the condition that they be placed in a good state of repair, and plots of building ground for the construction of new dwelling houses.

"No payment or rent is to be made to the town for the building or ground leased. In the case of buildings requiring only slight repairs, the concessionaires enjoy possession for a period of eighteen years, and in the case of buildings requiring a complete overhaul, with structural repairs, thirty-six years. Where the repairs involve entire reconstruction, or, in the case of newly constructed buildings, the concession is for a period of fifty years.

"The concessionaires have the right to let the buildings in their charge freely, on terms to be arranged entirely between themselves and the lessees, without reference to the standards of rent in force at the present moment or in the future. Such property is not to be subject to requisition or confiscation."

#### Trusts in Russia.

The Soviet Government is fostering the formation of trusts for home and foreign trade. In these trusts the Departments of the Soviet Government take shares, and also private capitalists. This is a curious procedure, wholly obnoxious from the workers' standpoint. The State becomes the open partner of the capitalist. The worker has less freedom than ever in fighting his battle with the employer. A precedent for this Russian procedure is the taking of shares in certain capitalist combines to supply electricity, trams, etc., by some German local authorities.

It is interesting to observe that the Second International, which was so harsh in its criticism of Soviet Russia when its progress was towards

(Continued on page 7.)



## WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from last week.)

To every thinking worker it is clear, however, that putting in glasses, being as useful as it may, has nothing in common with running the industry. Productive forces and their development do not find expression in this work. The really important question still is: how to develop them, how to build such a state of economy by squaring the new life with production, in order to eliminate the unproductive labour as much as possible. A party may bring up a Red soldier, a political worker, or executive worker to carry out the projects already laid out, but it cannot develop a creator of Communist economy, for only a union offers an opportunity for developing the creative abilities along new lines.

Moreover, this is not the task of the party. The party task is to create conditions—that is, give freedom to the working masses united by common economic industrial aims, so that they could bring up a worker-creator, find new impulses for work, could work out a new system to utilise labour power, and might know how to distribute workers in order to reconstruct society, and thus to create a new economic order of things founded on the Communist basis. Only workers can generate in their mind new methods of organising labour as well as running industry.

This is a simple Marxian truth, and yet at present the leaders of our party do not share it with us. Why? Just because they place more reliance on the bureaucratic technicians, descendants of the past, than in the healthy elemental class-creativity of the working masses. In every other sphere we may hesitate as to who is to be in control—whether the workers' collective or the bureaucratic specialists, be it in the matter of education, developing of science, organisation of the Army, care of public health; but there is one place, that of the economy, where the question as to who shall have the control is very simple and clear for everyone who has not forgotten history.

It is well known to every Marxian that reconstruction of industry and development of creative forces of a country depend on two factors: on the development of technique, and the efficient organisation of labour by means of increasing productivity and finding new incentives to work. This has been true during every period of transformation from a lower stage of economic development to one higher, throughout all the history of human existence.

In a labour republic the development of productive forces by means of technique plays a secondary role in comparison with the second factor, that of the efficient organisation of labour, and creation of a new system of economy. Even if Soviet Russia succeeds in carrying out completely its project of general electrification, without introducing any essential change in the system of control and organisation of the people's economy and production, it would only catch up with the advanced capitalist countries in the matter of development.

Yet, in the efficient utilisation of labour power and building up a new system of production, Russian labour finds itself in exceptionally favourable circumstances, which give her the opportunity to leave far behind all the bourgeois capitalist countries in the matter of developing the productive forces. Unemployment as an incentive to labour in Soviet Russia has been done away with. Therefore, new possibilities are open for the working class that had been freed from the yoke of capital, to say its own new creative word in finding new incentives to labour and the creation of new forms of production which will have had no precedent in all human history.

Who can, however, develop the necessary creativeness and keenness in this sphere? Whether bureaucratic elements, heads of the Soviet institutions or the industrial unions, whose members in their experience in regrouping workers in the shop come across creative, useful, practical methods that can be applied in the process of reorganising the entire system of the people's economy? The Workers' Opposition asserts that administration of the people's economy is the trade unions' job, and, therefore,

it is more Marxian in thought than the theoretically trained leaders.

The Workers' Opposition is not so ignorant as wholly to under-estimate the great value of the technical progress or the usefulness of technically trained men. It does not, therefore, think that after electing its own body of control over the industry it may safely dismiss the Supreme Council of National Economy, the central industrial committees, economic centres, etc. Not at all. And yet the Workers' Opposition thinks that it must assert its own control over these technically valuable administrative centres, give them theoretical tasks, and use their services as the capitalists did when they hired the technicians in order to carry out their own schemes. Specialists indeed can do valuable work in developing the industries; they can make the workers' manual labour easier; they are necessary, indispensable, as science is indispensable to every rising and developing class; but the bourgeois specialists, even with the Communist label pasted on, are powerless physically and too weak mentally to develop productive forces in a non-capitalist state; to find new methods of labour organisation, and develop new incentives for intensification of labour. In this, the last word belongs to the working class—to the industrial unions.

When the class of rising bourgeoisie, having reached the threshold leading from medieval to modern times, entered into the economic battle with the decaying class of feudal lords, it did not possess any of the technical advantages over the latter. The trader—the first capitalist—was compelled to buy goods from that craftsman or journeyman who, by means of hand files, knife, and primitive spindles, was producing goods both for his "master," the landlord, and for the outside trader, with whom he entered into a "free" trade agreement. Feudal economy having reached a culminating point in its organisation, ceased to give any surplus, and there began a decrease in the growth of productive forces; humanity stood face to face with an alternative of either economic decay or of finding new incentives for labour, of creating, consequently, a new economic system which would increase productivity, widen the scope of production, and open new possibilities for the development of productive forces.

Who could have found and evolved the new methods in the sphere of industrial reorganisation? None but those class representatives who had not been bound by the routine of the past, who understood that the spindle and cutter in the hands of a chattel slave produce incomparably less than in the hands of supposedly free hired workers behind whose back stands the incentive of economic necessity.

Thus, the rising class having found where the basic incentive to labour lies, has built on it a complex system great in its own way; the system of capitalist production. The technicians have come to the aid of capitalists only much later. The basis was the new system of labour organisation, and the new relations that were established between capital and labour.

The same is true at present. No specialist or technician imbued with the routine of the capitalist system of production can ever introduce any new creative motive and vitalising innovation into the fields of labour organisation, in creating and adjusting the Communist economy. Here the function belongs to the workers' collective. The great service of the Workers' Opposition is that it has put up this question of supreme importance frankly and openly before the party.

Comrade Lenin considers that we can put through the Communist plan on the economic field by means of the party. Is it so? First of all, let us consider how the party functions. According to comrade Lenin, "it attracts to itself the vanguard of workers"; then it scatters it over various Soviet institutions (only a part of the vanguard gets back into the trade unions, where the Communist members, however, are deprived of an opportunity of directing and building up the people's economy). There these well-trained, faithful, and, perhaps, very talented Communist-economists disintegrate and decay in the general economic institutions. In such an atmosphere the influence of these comrades is weakened, marred, or entirely lost.

(To be continued.)

## ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO (key) DE L'EKZERCO No. 3.

Did you miss your train yesterday? Yes; I had to walk three miles through the rain.—I regret it. Did you suffer for it?—No; I am, happily, quite well to-day.—Now we still expect two friends.—Shall we then be all here?—Except one, who is ill.

EKZERCO No. 4.

Mi ĝojas ke vi venis, knaboj. Ĉu vi havis tempon por legi vian ekzercon?—Ne, ni bedaŭras ke ni estis tre okupataj.—Ĉu vi ne revenas hejmen frue je la vesperoj?—Ne, estis ofte post la sepa aŭ eĉ la oka de tiam kiam ni estis tie-ĉi.

VORTARETO.

aŭ	or	legi	to read
bedaŭri	to regret	ofte	often
de	since	ok	eight
eĉ	even	okupata	busy
esti	to be	post	after
frue	early	reveni	to return
ĝoji	to be glad	sep	seven
havi	to have	tempo	time
hejmo	home	tiam	then
ke	that	tre	very
kiam	when	veni	to come
knabo	boy	vespero	evening
	via	your	

NOTES.

The word HEJMEN is the adverbial form of HEJMO, home, with an N added to indicate movement.

ESTIS OFTE means it often was.

VIA: It is hardly necessary to point out that VIA is the word VI, you, with an A added to make it the adjective your.

## MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭrigo.

La malvenko de la Pariza ribelo de Junio, 1848 —la unua granda batalo inter proletario kaj kapitalistaro—pelis ree en la malantaŭaĵon, kelkatempe, la socian kaj politikan aspiron de la eŭropa laboranta klaso. De tiam, la batalado por supereco estis ree, kiel ĝi estis estinta antaŭ ol la revolucio de Februaro, sole inter diversaj sekcioj de la poseda klaso; la laboranta klaso estis subpremata ĝis batalo por politika "kubutospaco," kaj al la loko de ekstrema flanko de la mezklasaj radikaloj. Kie ajn sendependaj proletariaj movadoj daŭrade montris signojn de vivo, ili estis senkompatate ĉasataj ĝis morto. Tiel la prusa polico elĉasis la centran konsilantaron de la Komunista Ligo, tiam lokitan en Kolono. La membroj estis arestataj kaj, post dekok-monata mallibereco, ili estis ĵugataj en Oktobro, 1852. Tiu ĉi fama "Kolonia Komunista Proceso" daŭris de Oktobro 4'an ĝis Novembro 12'an; sep el la arestitoj estis kondamnatataj de periodoj de mallibereco en fortikaĵo, diversantaj de tri ĝis ses jaroj. Tuj post la kondamno la Ligo estis formale disigita de la membroj restantaj. Rilate al la "Manifesto," ĝi ĝajnis de tiu tempo esti destinita al tuta malŝpero.

Daŭrigoto.

Chris. W. Spiller, Secretary of the B.L.E.S., writes: "I find Leakey's Introduction to Esperanto of invaluable assistance in teaching a few children from the local Socialist Sunday School."

Communism, has no criticism to make of these retrograde steps, and that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has expressed approval of the "new economic policy" of Soviet Russia, which is, of course, a return to capitalism. We again urge our readers to study carefully the important series of articles on the Workers' Opposition in Russia, by Alexandra Kollontay, which is appearing in our columns.

## Why Japan Withdraws from Siberia.

The Japanese Government, in announcing its withdrawal from Siberia, gives a sinister reason. The step is said to be possible because the Soviet Government has modified its Communist ideas and because the Powers, by inviting Soviet representatives to Genoa and the Hague, have helped to promote better relations with the Soviet Government.

Lloyd George's Government has probably arranged the Japanese withdrawal, but whether the withdrawal will be permanent is open to doubt.

(Continued from page 6.)



## TALKING AND DOING.

After the miners lost the lock-out, fellow-worker, your mates began to grumble. Since the engineers lost the lock-out your mates have gone on grumbling, and they have begun to talk about the One Big Union.

"Will it be only talk?"

Time will answer that question, fellow-worker. Certainly the talk is very widespread. It is going on in all districts. It may be leading up to action; if it should, fellow-worker, you will see things begin to move at last.

When the unemployment first grew large, fellow-worker, the workers grumbled; when it grew larger they began to talk—

"I thought they did move; didn't they go to the Guardians?"

Well, they talked to the Guardians, and the Guardians gave them some doles; but now the Ministry of Health is stepping in, and the Guardians are getting bankrupt, and the Guardians are getting stingier. Therefore the unemployed are getting turned out of their homes.

Some of them have calmly endured eviction; but even a worm will turn at last, they say. The unemployed are beginning to get back into their houses after they have been turned out, and some of them have resisted eviction and have been left in possession. Some have broken into empty houses, and some have succeeded in staying in those houses, though others have been turned out. Some people have been put to prison for getting into empty houses or for helping others to get there. Nevertheless, the taking of empty houses is spreading, and will continue to spread. People must live somewhere, and the Workhouse is not a residence which appeals to able-bodied men and women. Only the individual with the temperament of a slave is willing to accept, instead of a home, the Workhouse, with its separation of men, women and children.

Direct action in the taking of houses is therefore growing, and will grow, in spite of Parliament and all the Boards of Guardians and Police Courts.

The employed and the unemployed are beginning to form Councils of Action to insure the workers the means of life.

Aim high, and let it be a decent life.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.



## RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

*The Second and Third Internationals and the Vienna Union.* Official Report of the Conference between the Executives, held at the Reichstag, Berlin, on April 2nd, 1922, and following days. (Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London. Price 1/-.) This book contains summaries of the fencing speeches made by representatives of the Second, Third, and Two and a Half Internationals. It is a futile document, because the speeches were futile. The attempts to build up a United Front between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries was foredoomed to failure, and it has failed.

It is important to observe that the Second International refused to make the annulling of the Treaty of Versailles one of the watchwords of the United Front.

This is of special interest to supporters of the British Labour Party, since the British Labour Party is the main pillar of the Second International. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, be it observed, though a member of the I.L.P., was not representing the Two and a Half International, to which the I.L.P. is affiliated, but the Second International. The Report is worth reading to those who are not already fully informed as to the political attitudes of the various parties to the Conference.

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