

"THE APOSTLE" by Guy Aldred.

Workers'



Dreadnought

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L'ANCIEN REGIME. OR THE GOOD OLD RULE. By JAMES THOMSON.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the king?
A writer brought him truth;
And first he imprisoned the youth;
And then he bestowed a free pyre,
That the works might have plenty of fire,
And also to cure the pain
Of the headache called thought in the brain:
Truth is a very bad thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the king?
The people brought their sure
Loyalty fervid and pure;
And he gave them bountiful spoil
Of taxes and hunger and toil,
Ignorance, brutish plight,
And wholesale slaughter in fight:
Loyalty's quite the worst thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift for our lord the king?
A soldier brought him war,
La gloire, la victoire,
Ravage and carnage and groans,
To the pious *Te Deum* tones;
And he got in return for himself
Rank and honours and pelf:
War is a very fine thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift for our lord the king?
A harlot brought him her flesh.
Her lusts, and the manifold mesh
Of her wiles interwoven with caprice;
And he gave her his realm to fleece,
To corrupt, and ruin, and gave
Himself for her toy and her slave:
Harlotry's just the thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the king?
Our king who fears to die?
A priest brought him a lie,
The blackness of hell uprolled
In heaven's shining gold;
And he got a guerdon for that,
A see and a cardinal's hat:
A lie is an excellent thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Has anyone yet a thing
For a gift to our lord the king?
The country gave him a tomb,
A magnificent sleeping-room:
And for this it obtained some rest,
Clear riddance of many a pest,
And a hope which it much enjoyed
That the throne would continue void:
A tomb is the very best thing
For a gift to our lord the king.

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The Rand Industrial Revolution.

By B. KREEL.

The Rand Revolution of 1922 will continue, under the influence of the mine magnates' Press, to be described as a Nationalist rebellion mixed with Red Communism and Bolshevism, inspired by foreign money. Thus in every class struggle the exploiters endeavour to break the unity of the workers' revolt against them.

Why did the workers lose the Rand strike?

The Press.

From January 10th, when the strike was declared, the capitalist Press was active against the workers. That was to be expected. The worker need not expect anything else from his master's Press; but why did not the workers on the Rand prepare their own Press to serve them in this great struggle? Did the workers altogether forget the power of the printed word, or did they possibly intend to take over the capitalist Press when the struggle should arise?

Why did the Rand strikers neglect to call out the newspaper workers, to add their strength to that of the miners? At first the sympathy of the great majority of the population was with the strikers. The Press succeeded in changing that sympathy to hostility. Remember that for future occasions!

The Negotiations.

The mine magnates' trick of continuing negotiations increased the prospects of victory for the exploiters. Why should the workers have spent two and a-half months in negotiating? That long delay weakened the workers greatly. It consumed their funds, it led to apathy amongst the rank and file, it undermined public sympathy, it alienated the support of other unions who were ready to join the miners in the beginning. It gave time for the exploiters to work up antagonism between the white and coloured workers. Torrents of talk and reams of correspondence were spent in trying to secure patched-up compromises. Three and a-half million words were poured out—a poisonous diet for the workers, a benefit to their enemies.

The strike commander believed that the strike could be won in thirty-six hours. Quick action might have brought the workers' enemies to their knees in that space of time. Useless negotiations destroyed such hopes.

Trade Unionism.

The most important factor in bringing about the workers' failure was the old-fashioned trade unionism. Every trade union here regards itself as independent of all others, and often it is to be found opposing another union on strike. Thus in this struggle the railway, transport, and other unions opposed the miners on strike, on the plea, put forward by the capitalist Press, that the strike would create unemployment and thus bring about the reduction of wages in other industries also. The reduction of wages was already proceeding automatically. Trade unionists did not see that the capitalists were clever enough not to reduce wages in all industries at one time, but that wage reductions would come to all sections of workers, whether they were on strike or not. It is sad that the worker should be so keen on the few extra shillings a week he gets before the reduction takes place in his own industry, that he opposes the strike of workers in another industry in the hope of maintaining his own wage.

The exploiters' Press hurries to praise the workers who oppose the strike for their "loyalty," and to discourage the inactive ones

from coming to the aid of their comrades in need. The ignorant workers fail to understand that they are to be the next victims of the capitalist attack on working-class conditions.

Trade Union Leaders.

The excessive power over union policy of the trade union leaders, who dictated the policy of discussion and delay, was a no less important cause of the defeat.

It remains to be seen whether the workers will learn from this defeat the lesson that for their future struggle they must replace their leaders by a proper form of organization.

The Council of Action formed for the strike, on the initiative of the rank and file workers, set a good example and showed the importance of setting up a new type of organisation formed of workers' committees in every industry, and acting on their direct initiative.

Industrial Unionism.

It is admitted on the Rand that without the Council of Action the strike would have been lost or sold from the beginning.

Every class-conscious worker on the Rand regards this strike as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the class-struggle. During the strike the workers were organised on a commando basis and protected by their own commandos.

There is now much talk on the Rand of industrial unionism organised just as the strike commandos were formed. It is urged that each commando (the term is still used) shall be formed from all existing industries. The commandos shall elect from their number a central executive committee, to be called a Council of Action.

The Farmers.

An important feature of the Rand strike was the help given to the miners by the poorer farmers, though they are regarded as middle class.

Hundreds of tons of foodstuffs of all kinds were sent from all parts of South Africa to the great industrial centre Johannesburg for the strikers.

General Smuts is warning the farmers against their nationalist attitude, and the capitalist Press declares that the strike was a nationalist movement. Yet this was not so, and the farmers' sympathy for the strikers arose from economic causes.

Let us examine the conditions of the average small farmer. He occupies a little hut with practically no windows, no floor, no lights, a wooden table and benches as furniture; sweet potatoes, pumpkins, black bread, smoked fish, and a little meat, black coffee, often taken with salt instead of sugar, tea without milk, no stockings or socks, second-hand khaki military jacket and trousers. The existence of the poor farmer is a miserable one. When the dirty, shabby, grey-bearded old farmer appeared at my house armed, "to do his duty" by searching it, the absurdity of his position almost overwhelmed me.

The young farmers are all in whole-hearted sympathy with the strikers: the Government cannot depend on the young farmers any longer. As I explained in a previous article, the majority of the Dutch miners have been farmers.

The reactionary old grey-beards amongst the farmers are always ready to assist the Government against the workers, and the acceptance of the old farmers as a military force was necessary to suppress the workers in the late strike. But the old farmers are dying out.

RED NIGHTS.

A STORY BY L. A. MOTLER.

(Continued from last week.)

He had wisely suggested that Commissioner Smith would send his best men to watch the meeting in order to get hold of the revolutionary leaders should they make any indiscreet speeches. Nobody would have guessed that the Anglo-Russian Ore meeting was really a secret conclave of these leaders.

What passed at this meeting was felt to bring the mass unrest of the workers to a head. A programme was set out, and after an amending discussion was agreed to. The worker guards had now been established on the lines laid down in the second booklet I printed. Each member of Headquarters knew a dozen trusty comrades, each of whom was pledged to get together and arm another dozen. And so on, in snowball fashion, the guards were raised, each man in his turn raising a dozen, for whom he personally pledged his responsibility.

Bagoff, Fox, and myself, together with our new comrade Milly, whom we had invited to take Talmour's place, and who amply filled it, were excused from this. We were constituted already the official printers to the Head, so more could not be expected of us. In the scheme that was propounded at the Cannon Street Hotel, however, we were prepared to take a share. Groups 36 and 38—for such each dozen of the worker guards were now called, each numbered—were allotted to us. Our objective was to seize the printing offices of the *Daily Post*, the best equipped in the metropolis. This was only one part of a huge plan.

The details were briefly these. Each member of Headquarters was allotted a certain task and a sufficiency of groups to carry it out. Each of the Government offices were to be seized, and the entire staff and officials were to be held prisoner until Bergner, who was charged with this part of the programme, sent round armed cars to pick up the prisoners and convey them to Wandsworth Prison, which another of the Headquarters would seize. Wandsworth was considered the most isolated, and thus more easily carried by assault without drawing too much attention.

The coup was to be carried out when it was sufficiently dark, when it is natural for men and things to settle down, and when the swift counter-movements possible in daylight are not so easily performed. If this coup was successful, then the Head would assume the reins of government, and by the help of the Press we were to take possession of, as well as the Government wireless, inform the world next day of the fact.

The Head was certain of getting control of the Army, which had shown much restlessness, and which had been paid attention to in the matter of propaganda. Placed as it was in isolated regiments among crowds of restless workers, discipline was showing signs of breaking down. When we got the Army under control, it would then be possible to get it to deal with the loyalist guards.

The Navy had proved more of a thorny problem at first, but eventually the indispensable Bagoff, who was now in his element, had put things straight. He had asked to be excused from the meeting for a short time, and in half an hour he had brought in a man from the Loyalist Club, whom we recognised as a rising young naval commander who was regarded an authority in up-to-date marine matters.

At first the Head was aghast at Bagoff's action, but he soon allayed their suspicions. The naval officer turned out to be a red of the reds. He had for some time been contributing those articles to *The Blast* on unrest in the Fleet, which had led the authorities to arrest a naval gunner found in company with the editor of that revolutionary weekly on suspicion of having written the articles.

In crisp accents the naval officer, whose name it is not necessary to disclose, answered all questions put to him, and it was decided that he should co-operate with Menton, who was delegated to seize the Admiralty. But this particular item took up the most time of the meeting on account of the necessity of guaranteeing food supplies during the revolution until such time as the country could supply itself or come to

terms with some other part of Europe that might follow our example. There would have been almost insuperable difficulties in our way if we had the Fleet blockading home ports and seizing food ships.

It was about ten o'clock when we gathered in Bride Street, outside the offices of the *Post*. Bagoff had told me that both groups were near at hand, so we proceeded to carry out our programme. Milly and I had previously obtained an appointment with one of the sub-editors to show us round the building. We were supposed to be Americans with a keen desire to see how the greatest British daily (as it called itself) was produced. We therefore mounted to the sub-editor's office, and the young man came forward to meet us. I need not say he seemed particularly struck with Milly, for she was quite the pretty modern young lady, with blonde bobbed hair, set off so well by her dark eyes.

He asked me to be seated, and proffered me a box of cigars. I took one and lit up, for I wanted Milly to have time to make her impression deeper. Besides, we had nearly an hour before us, and Bagoff had to make his own arrangements about keeping in touch with the other Heads. Motor-cyclists had been told off to keep each section informed as to the disposition of the others. Thus we made sure that all were at their appointed positions by eleven o'clock, which was the time selected for the great coup.

Presently the young man rose and invited us to follow him. I need not describe all the various departments we passed through. Suffice to say that I found we should need an extra group, since each department was in communication with the other by telephone, and there were more departments than I had anticipated.

As we left him we shook hands and he showed us downstairs, apparently loth to leave my girl comrade. However, he left us when we came to the lift, and we soon joined Bagoff.

I inquired whether the artisans had arrived. We had arranged for these to come from the printers' union offices, so that we could set the printing machinery going as soon as the coup was an accomplished fact. The morning papers for the provinces had to be got ready by midnight to catch the north-bound trains. Bagoff informed me that they were in a Lockhart's, near by, and on my telling him of our need of another group he at once sent a cyclist to inform the Head.

By the time eleven o'clock struck we were inside the building and had all the staff shepherded in various rooms. Milly was at the 'phone waiting for the word to come through from the others.

Ting-a-ling a-ling.

"The Admiralty!" shouted Milly, and we knew we had command of the wireless. That naval officer of Bagoff's had stood us in good stead.

(To be continued.)

THE APOSTLE.

By GUY H. ALDRED.

(One of many MSS. written in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.)

CHAPTER I.

THE GLORY OF THE THIRD RATERS.

He was, of course, a third-rate individual. That was his classification in the accepted order of public men. But then all apostles are third-rate individuals. Jesus of Nazareth, the tragic failure of Calvary who became the light of a world, was a third-rate man of his time and country. The first-rate men wore purple and fine linen, and despised the carpenter-agitator. They ruled the Sanhedrin and discoursed in the Synagogue whilst he tub-thumped at the street-corner or by the wayside. They occupied the chief seats at the public festivals, secular and religious. Their words were reported, and their wisdom received Imperial approval. On all sides they were honoured, for they possessed political and economic power, and served a despotism that wielded supreme authority. They interpreted and even manufactured the law. They disdained and scorned the common people who cringed before them. If agitators arose among the latter, they were scourged, imprisoned, and executed. Agitators were but third-raters who spoke under threats of outlawry

to hungry multitudes in the mountains and the valleys, and sometimes tramped with their audiences into the wilderness. Like attracts like. The mob heard them gladly. The vulgar, seething, ignorant, despised mass hearkened to their words of blasphemy and sedition as they denounced the intelligent, cultured, and leisured rulers and administered the law, and discharged their many admirable philanthropies for the good of the people.

Time passed. Emperor and Gladiator, Patrician and Plebian, Pharisee and Publican, lived their little day and ceased to be. Death summoned them one by one from the banqueting halls of life to the couch of eternal sleep. In this way are we all called from the stressful vanities of life's fitful fever to the peace of the solemn silence that knows no dreams and dreads no nightmares.

"Not sweeping up together in whirlwind or in cloud,

In the hush of summer weather, or when storms are thundering loud,

But one by one we go, in the sweetness none may know."

And sometimes in the sourness also. For the grand imperial-tragedy does not always seem sweet to its first-rate victims. They are buried amid acclamations of honour and respect, with pomp and ceremony, and fanfare of trumpets. Their names are remembered for a generation or so. Then slowly one hears less of the honoured first-rate that were and more of their contemporaries, the despised third-rate men that always are. First-rate men of later epochs, in support of their pretensions to dignity and place, adopt what Bacon terms "a new cringe." They accept as their passwords the watchwords of the old third-rate men whom their forefathers persecuted. Strange to say, they learn nothing from this fact. They are too cultured, too leisured, too learned to learn anything from the simple facts of life. And so they do not see the truth that their conduct proclaims to the poor. But the poets and prophets of misery see it, and proclaim as a gospel of glad tidings unto the disinherited throughout the earth. The word of it passes from mouth to mouth until it becomes the epic of revolt. And as generation of power succeeds to generation of power, authority burdens its burdensome basis of tyranny only to be met with increased assurance of resistance from the oppressed. For the grand lesson of Capitol and Calvary has been learned though Calvary succumbed for a time; the resurrection and the immortality of the third rate; the fact that a first-rate man is good only for one generation.

His fame is identical with his popularity—a cheap thing maintained for a day by privilege and fear, utterly devoid of intrinsic worth. A negative value, remembered sometimes beyond its owner's age as something clownish and despicable, because of some contemptuous description, some sally of biting scorn, some derisive witticism of a third-rate man who ended his career on a gallows tree in the prime of an ill-starred life. The martyr holds his immortal court, and the well-famed purple waits in the ante-chamber. Perhaps Juliana, Countess of Stolberg, visioned this truth when she wrote to her son William on April 4th, 1577, as follows: "It is better to lose that which is temporal than that which is eternal."

Yes; it is better to lose temporal fame than eternal worth, better to belong to the aristocracy of eternity than to the titled braggarts of time. And the autocracy of eternity is recruited from the ranks of the third-rate men of time.

(To be continued.)

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIST MEETING:

FINSBURY PARK,

Sunday, July 30th, 6.30 p.m.

Speakers: Clara Cole, N. Smyth.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £245 8s. A Friend, £4, Clapham Common Collection, 1/6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Total for week, £4 1s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Total, £249 9s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

How Fortunes were made in the Mines.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS IN COAL MINES, 1841-48.

IV.

Further Heart-rending Evidence Given by the Child Mine-workers.

"A Shame and a Disgrace for Girls to Work."

Elizabeth Eggle, sixteen years old: "I find my work very much too hard for me. I hurry alone. It tires me in my arms and back most. I am sure it is very hard work and tires us very much; it is too hard for girls to do. We sometimes go to sleep before we get to bed."

Ann Wilson, aged ten and a-half, Messrs. Smith's colliery: "Sometimes the work tires us when we have a good bit to do; it tries me in my back. I hurry by myself. I push with my head."

Elizabeth Day, hurrier, Messrs. Hopwood's pit, Barnsley: "It is very hard work for us all. It is harder work than we ought to do, a deal. I have been lamed in my ankle and strained in my back."

Mary Shaw: "I am nineteen years old. I hurry in the pit you were in to-day. I have been much tired with my work."

Ann Eggle, hurrier in Messrs. Thorpe's colliery: "The work is far too hard for me; the sweat runs off me all over sometimes. I'm very tired at night. Sometimes when we get home at night we have not power to wash us, and then we go to bed. Sometimes we fall asleep in the chair. Father said last night it was both a shame and a disgrace for girls to work as we do, but there was nought else for us to do. The girls are always tired."

"I Push the Corf With My Head, It Hurts Me."

Elizabeth Ibbetson, at Mr. Harrison's pit, Gomersal: "I don't like being at pit; it's too hard work for us. It tires my legs and arms. I push the corf with my head, and it hurts me, and is sore."

Margaret Gomley, Lindley Moor, aged nine: "Am very tired."

James Mitchell, aged twelve, Messrs. Holt and Heblewaite's: "I am very tired when I get home; 'tis enough to tire a horse, and stooping so much makes it bad."

William Whittaker, aged sixteen, Swan Bank, Mr. Rawson's colliery: "I am always very tired when I go home."

William Sharp, Esq., F.R.S., surgeon, Bradford, states: "That he has for twenty years professionally attended at the Low Moor Iron-works; that there are occasionally cases of deformity, and also bad cases of scrofula, apparently induced by the boys being too early sent into the pits, by their working beyond their strength, by the constant stooping, and by occasionally working in water."

Lancashire.—Various witnesses examined by Mr. Kennedy describe their labour as producing great exhaustion.

Rosa Lucas, aged eighteen, Lamberhead Green: "Do you find it very hard work?—Yes, it is very hard work for a woman. I have been so tired many a time that I could scarcely wash myself. I could scarcely ever wash myself at night, I was so tired; and I felt very dull and stiff when I set off in the morning."

James Crabtree, aged fifteen, Mr. Dearden's, near Todmorden: "Is it hard work for the lads in winter? My brother falls asleep before his supper, and the little lass that helps him is often very tired."

"I Used to Hear Her Complain of the Boils on Her Back, and Her Legs Were All Eaten With the Water."

Peter Gaskell, Mr. Lancaster's, near Worsley: "Has four sisters, and they have all worked in the pits; one of them works in the pits now; she sometimes complains of the severity of her work. Three years ago, when they had very hard work, I used to hear her complain of the boils on her back, and her legs were all eaten with the water; she had to go through water

to her work; she used to go about four or five o'clock in the morning, and stay till three or four in the afternoon, just as she was wanted. I have known her to be that tired at night that she would go to sleep before she had anything to eat."

"They Throw Themselves on the Ground Like Dogs."

North Lancashire.—Mr. Austin, after giving a deplorable picture of the labour of young children in the thin-seam mines, illustrates its effects by the words of the parents of some young workers: "I wish," one of them states, "you could see them come in; they come as tired as dogs, and throw themselves on the ground like dogs (here pointing to the hearth-stone before the fire); we cannot get them to bed."

North Durham and Northumberland.—The chief employment of children and young persons in the coal mines of this district—namely, in putting, is very severe. All collieries situated within half a mile north of the great ninety-fathom dyke, which has intruded itself into the northern depository of fossil fuel, are necessarily subject to "banky" or hilly putting, as the seam rises from nine to ten inches to the yard, and then dips correspondingly. Their labour (that of the helpers-up) is necessarily severe, as they are only employed in emergencies.

The Sub-Commissioner further states that the youngest of the putters, those called "foals," are greatly to be commiserated; that many of them declared that the severity of their labour was such that they would willingly suffer a proportionate diminution of wages to secure a limitation of the hours of work; that in endeavours temporarily to increase his earnings, the putter is frequently regardless of fatigue, and, were he permitted, would oft-times only terminate his toil by entire physical exhaustion. Yet, notwithstanding, that is so well known a characteristic of the putter, the agents represent the labour as perfectly voluntarily, and, even in cases of double and treble shifts undergone by the same boy, state that the undertaking is quite optional.

"The Bad Air Makes Them Sick."

Twenty boys at the Walker Colliery: "The twenty witnesses, when questioned collectively,

say that the way is so very dirty, and the pit so warm, that the lads often get tired very soon."

Nineteen boys examined together, of various ages, of whom the spokesman was William Holt, seventeen years old, putter: "The bad air, when they are whiles working in the broken, makes them sick. Has felt weak like in the legs at those times. Was weary like. Has gone on working, but very slowly. Many a one has had to come, before getting a fair start, from the bad air and hard work. Hours are too long. Would sooner work less hours and get less money. Twenty-three witnesses assembled state: "That their work is too hard for them; that they feel sore tired; that some of them constantly throw up their meat from their stomachs; that their heads often work (ache); the back sometimes; and the legs feel weak."

"Fell Asleep and was Lamed by Horse."

John Wilkinson, aged thirteen, Piercy Main Colliery: "Was in for a double shift about five weeks ago, and fell asleep about 1 p.m. as he was going to lift the lammers off to join the rolleys together, and got himself lamed by the horse turning about and jamming one of his fingers. Split his finger. Was off a week from this accident. Sometimes feels sick down the pit; felt so once or twice last fortnight. While his head works (aches), and he has pains in his legs, as if they were weak. Feels pains in his knees. Thinks the work is hard for foals, more so than for others."

"Thirty-six Hours in the Pit."

John Middlemass: "Sometimes, but very rarely, they work the whole double shift; that is, they go down at 4 a.m. and do not come up till four o'clock in the day after that, thus stopping down thirty-six hours, without coming up sometimes; and sometimes they come up for half an hour, and then go down again. Another worked for twenty-four hours last week, and never came up at all. Another has stopped down thirty-six hours without coming up at all twice during the year. When working this double shift they go to bed directly they come home."

George Short, aged nearly sixteen: "Hoists a crane. His head works (aches) very often, and he feels sickish sometimes, and drowsy sometimes, especially if he sits down. Has always been drowsy since he went there. Twice he has worked three shifts following, of twelve hours each shift; never came up at all during the thirty-six hours; was sleepy, but had no time to sleep. Has many times worked double shifts of nineteen hours, and he does this now nearly every Friday night. A vast number of boys work in this shift, ten or eleven, sometimes more. The boys are very tired and sleepy."

(To be continued.)

OLD GRANDFATHER.

Lack-lustre eyes and mouth in-drawn; hands that have almost lost their power; patient and sad. Thy mouth a little trembles, and the tears well up at times.

Old cords: they'll last thy life, I think. The shoddy coat wears badly. Thy stick was cut from the hedge more years ago than thou carest to mind on now.

Thou'rt shaven clean, but with a ragged hairiness beneath thy chin; it pleased thee once; and thine old woman liked it so. Some chauffeur's cap, picked from the road where it had lain since night; there where its wearer lost it; tweaked by the wind impertinent that did not show respect to squire's livery, nor to kings no more.

Thy nose is pinched—that's hunger's stamp; for thou'rt hungry always, and thy life poor and striving; yet thou'st spent a precious penny for that flag there, for the hospital, because she lay there; she whom thou calledst wife, who bore thy children; lay and wasted there, and died slow, of a lingering sore complaint.

Old boots, stiff; not one in the 'bus could wear them: the gentry and the semi-gentry and the nesh townspeople with their squeamish ways. Boots hard and old; no give to the foot's spring, or its corns and soreness. Clump, clump, thou goest in them over the dusty ways, and the stones and the soft mud of the lanes and boggy patches. Clump, clump; many a mile, many an hour thou'st tramped it.

Riding to-day; for thou'rt old. No motor-buses in those days, or thought of riding, when thou wast hale; but thou'rt old now, and stiff with rheumatism.

Help him out, now: the old grandfather, with the eyes that fill with tears, and the limbs stiff and painful.

Not so old as he looks; but the foul fiend, Hunger; he the black-hearted and cold; he that grips the vitals of men and women; Hunger, the vampire, has drunk old father's blood.

Back bended and bowed, he goes with the eyes lack-lustre; clump, clump, in the old stiff boots, as he leans on the stick cut from the hedgerow, more years ago than he cares to mind of now.

E. S. P.

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THE OUTLOOK. Ireland.

The *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labour Party, is taking the side of British Imperialism in the Irish struggle, just as it did in the world war. Its special correspondent accuses the Republicans of "wanton destruction of property" and "callousness" towards the sufferings of the people, as though the violence of the Free State troops were altogether blameless.

On the other hand, Sean McLoughlin writes to us in defence of the Communist Party of Ireland, claiming that it has fought with the Republicans, and the Left-Wing Industrialists have also taken the Republican side. The Communists and the Working Class Left of all sections are undoubtedly convinced that the cause of Irish working-class emancipation can best be served by securing first a break-away from the British Empire.

We, of course, are for the Republic, because it is a step in advance of the monarchy; because the freeing of a small country from the domination of a great Empire is in line with the development of freedom; because Irish Independence is a step in the break-up of the British Empire, one of the strongest bulwarks of the capitalist system; because the Irish workers will have greater opportunities to make headway against their own weak middle class than when their employers are reinforced by British capitalism.

It is a matter of history that since Easter week, 1916, when the Nationalist struggle entered its recent acute phase, the Irish working-class movement has made tremendous strides, and, under cover of the struggle between rival employers and landlords, has attained an independence of action unknown on this side of the Channel.

Towards such developments the British Labour Party and its organ the *Daily Herald* feel no sympathy—they are Imperialists.

The *Daily Herald* says: "The British Government has made a great effort to give Ireland a chance of saving herself."

The fact is that the British Government has made an effort to make it appear that the Irish have chosen to remain in the British Empire of their own free will, not merely to avoid a war of coercion which is literally the case.

The *Herald*, smug organ of a smug Party, is aiding the British Government to bolster up that monstrous lie.

The Men Who Shot Wilson.

The men who captured the men who shot Wilson have been presented with gold watches and chains by the wealthy inhabitants of Eaton Place.

The two lads who did the deed are awaiting the hangman, and many mourn for them and bless them in Ireland and wherever the Irish poor are found to-day. Lie as you will, O proud and powerful rulers, you cannot crush out the love that is born for those lads by millions of humble folk. That love will raise up a monument of remembrance more enduring than any that has been wrought in stone for the Imperial tyrants.

It was, perhaps, illegal: it was certainly churlish and small-minded to prevent Joseph O'Sullivan and Reginald Dunn from saying what they would in defence of their action at their trial for the murder of Sir Henry Wilson.

Justice Shearman declared that the accused might not "use the occasion for political purposes." He even sought to keep political references out of the last statement which every pri-

soner is formally invited to make as to why the sentence shall not be passed; yet this was a political trial; the killing of Sir Henry Wilson had a political motive. What else than political motives and political happenings could the prisoners bring forward?

It is a new judicial ruling that a prisoner tried for a political offence may not discuss politics. It is a judicial ruling which may create a very disastrous precedent.

In the statement which Reginald Dunn was not allowed to read he said he came back from the War in France to find that self-determination had been given to other small nations but denied to Ireland. A Government had been set up in Ulster, under which outrages which are a disgrace to civilisation are being perpetrated, by men in uniform and in the pay of the Belfast Government. The statement continued:

"Who was Sir Henry Wilson? What was his policy? The Irish nation knew him not so much as a great British Field-Marshal but as the man behind what is known in Ireland as the Orange terror. He was at the time of his death the Military Adviser to the Ulster Government, and, as military adviser, he raised and organised a body of men known as the Ulster Special Constables, who are the principal agents in this campaign of terrorism."

"We do not propose to go into details of the horrible outrages committed on men, women and children of my race in Belfast and other places under the jurisdiction of the Ulster Government."

"Among Irishmen it is well known that about 500 men, women and children have been killed within the past few months, nearly 2,000 wounded, and not one offender brought to justice. More than 9,000 persons have been expelled from their employment and 23,000 men, women and children driven from their homes."

"Sir Henry Wilson was the representative figure and the organiser of the system that made these things possible."

"The same principles for which we shed our blood on the battlefields of Europe led us to commit the act we are charged with. You can condemn us to death to-day, but you cannot deprive us of the belief that what we have done was necessary to preserve the lives, the homes, and the happiness of our countrymen in Ireland. You may by your verdict find us guilty; but we will go to the scaffold justified by the verdict of our own consciences."

That statement will reverberate throughout the world. The Press may boycott it. It will be heeded with sympathy not alone by people of Irish race, but by all who are honest and truth loving, all who are fair and free in their judgments. It will find its way into the minds of men and women the more surely because the men who made it stood for the truth of it with their lives.

O smug Labour Party organ, O cruel rulers who organised the atrocities against which these two men struck, the truth of that statement shoulders past your pale hypocrisies and your brutal death sentence: you cannot silence for ever the voice of accusing truth.

The M.F.G.B. and the Red International.

The decision of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain not to assent to the proposal of the South Wales Miners' Federation to affiliate to the Moscow Red International of Labour Unions is not of any practical importance. The Red International was actually formed in 1920, when the Moscow Bolsheviks had already begun to lose hope of an early international revolution and to stretch out feelers of compromise towards the Reformists. The original conception of the Red International began at the time when Moscow was prepared to make war on the old Reformist Trade Unionism and to set up a new organisation in its place. In 1920 the Bolsheviks were hesitating between two policies. Therefore, they decided that the Red International a pie-bald international consisting of extra-union rank-and-file organisations like the English shop stewards' militant industrial unions, like the I.W.W., and any of the old Trade Unions that could be induced to join it. Now that the Moscow Bolsheviks and their Third International have turned their backs on the militant industrial organisations and have declared for supporting the old Trade Unions and for a United Front with the re-

actionary Labour Parties and Social Democrats, their logical course is to drop the Red International and return to the fold of Amsterdam. We expect this to happen presently.

Right-Wing Communists and Labour Party.

The organ of the Right-Wing Communists devoted the greater part of its space to numerous articles protesting against the refusal of the Labour Party Annual Conference to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party.

One or two concrete statements were to be found in the various long declarations.

Firstly,

The Right-Wing Communist Party "has definitely and in set terms accepted the Labour Party constitution."

Secondly,

The Right-Wing Communist Party is determined, "whether affiliated or not, to assist the Labour Party to become the ruling Party in the State."

Thirdly,

The Right-Wing Communist Party believes that "any hostility to the Labour Party tends to be mistaken for (and in its outcome to be) a practical aid to the bourgeoisie."

Fourthly,

The Right-Wing Communist Party "will make whatever sacrifice is necessary" to secure unity.

Fifthly,

The Right-Wing Communist Party repudiates the charge that it has attempted to split the Labour movement or the Trade Unions.

As to the charge of splitting the Labour movement, the Right-Wing Communist organ says: This is "the most damaging" indictment "that can be brought against a political party."

As to the charge of splitting the Trade Unions, the same organ says: This is "a lie."

We rather think the Right Wingers, in the heat of controversy, have overlooked the full meaning of their words. Surely Comrades McManus, Murphy, Bell, Gallacher, and the rest, when they were fighting in the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee movement, were making very strenuous efforts to fight the old Trade Unions, to smash them up and to build a new organisation in their places.

Surely the memory of the Right-Wing C.P. is not so short as to forget that the avowed object of the Third International, at its inception, was to split the Labour movement from top to bottom, in order to separate the Communist Revolutionaries from the Reformists.

Those who follow a leadership which dictates rapid changes of policy make themselves ridiculous when they denounce thus their own former policies to which they may presently return.

If it were true that the Right-Wing Communists had always been willing to accept the Labour Party programme and to give it their support, then it would have been simpler to make this plain from the start, in which case the Labour Party would have received the C.P.G.B. affiliation without question, and many honest Communists would not have joined the C.P.G.B.

It should be noticed that the Right-Wing Communist organ says:

"Whether the workers are to rule through a Soviet Dictatorship or through a Parliamentary Democracy is a very important question. But so long as the workers, instead of being in a position to rule, are content to submit and serve, its discussion (to the exclusion of action) may be inept. When the Labour Party is in power the question can be raised as a vital and immediate issue. It can be discussed in the light of accomplished facts and in relation to ascertained and urgent needs."

There are two things to be noticed about that statement. Firstly, that the C.P.G.B. has abandoned the establishment of the Soviets as an essential part of its policy, and has thus gone back to the old B.S.P. attitude in the days prior to Moscow's intervention in its affairs.

Secondly, it should be observed that to the officials of the C.P.G.B. the Soviets mean dictatorship. They have no conception of a free Communist life in which the Soviets of workers in the industries will administer the production and distribution of the social product.

House of Lords Reform.

Parliament is an out-of-date institution. It will cease to exist under Communism. The

Soviets will supersede it when the workers determine to end this infamous system. Therefore proposals to reform the House of Lords leave us unmoved. Nevertheless, we are not surprised that those who still believe in the usefulness of Parliament should be amazed that the Government, in advancing proposals for reforming the Lords, should have failed to set forth a definite plan, and should have left most of the points to be decided by others.

The Government suggests a House of Lords of 350 members, composed of four classes of persons: the number of each class is left indefinite. The four classes are: (1) Peers of the Blood Royal, Lords Spiritual and Law Lords; (2) members elected, either directly or indirectly (the Government has not made up its mind which), "from the outside"; (3) hereditary Peers elected by their orders; (4) members nominated by the Crown.

All except Peers of the Blood Royal and Law Lords are to hold their seats for a term of years (how long the Government does not suggest), and shall be eligible for re-election.

The reformed House of Lords will not interfere in money bills, but a committee drawn from both Houses, presided over by Mr. Speaker, shall decide which are money bills. Thus is presented the thin end of another wedge.

The sooner the old machine becomes impossible, however, the sooner will the new take its place.

The Lascars on the Egypt.

When it was reported in the Press that the Lascars on board the sinking Egypt had shown cowardice, many British people swelled out their chests and thought, with a glow of pride, "Rule Britannia; we are the sailor race that commands the sea; we are the brave, strong people who always display heroism in the hour of danger." The average man, however constantly he may excuse himself for failure in the little things of life, likes to believe that he is sure to prove true metal when the big things come along. The man who is uneasily conscious that whenever a big thing has appeared in his life it has had an economic aspect before which he has gone down like a ninepin, he is, perhaps, the readiest to feel bolstered up in his pride of race by the belief that other races are inferior.

The Lascar panic aboard the Egypt appears now to have been a figment of the panic-stricken brains of some of the British passengers; but it is exceedingly difficult to get at the truth, because the P. and O. Co. is most anxious to defend its employment of Lascars aboard its liners. The company is desirous of maintaining the prestige of its line in order that its custom may not fall off, and it is also desirous of continuing to employ Lascars, because, of course, they are cheaper than British sailors.

In the course of his evidence at the Board of Trade Inquiry, Captain Sir Frank Notley, the P. and O. Company's marine superintendent, paid high tributes to the Lascars and Goanese: "I have been in many tight corners, and I should never wish for better men than Lascars or Goanese."

"I have rarely, if ever, heard of Lascars showing funk."

Captain Ramm, docks superintendent of P. and O., said:

"He would not say that British sailors were the best men for responsible positions in manning the boats."

When asked:

"In an emergency, would you not prefer to have the falls of your lifeboats in the hands of white men?"

Captain Ramm answered with emphasis, "No!"

When the Attorney-General inquired as to the main reason why Lascars are carried by the P. and O. Co., Captain Ramm answered that the Lascars can stand greater heat than the British, and are better suited to the work.

On the question of cost, Captain Ramm, faced with that economic pressure which so often makes men lie, replied that the Lascars were paid almost as much as the British.

"I do not think I can answer that question," he said, when asked whether the total cost of employing Lascars was greater or less than if British sailors were employed.

The evidence given by the P. and O. Company's representative should cause the Lascars to consider their position. If they are regarded such fine fellows by their British employers, why should the same class of British maintain an autocratic rule over them in their native land?

Italian White Terrorists in Germany.

Musolini, whose lawless bands of White Terrorists have waged war upon all working-class organisations in Italy, whether Communist, Socialist, Industrial, or Co-operative, has gone to Germany, to found similar White Terrorist bands there.

That the opposition to working-class emancipation and the coming Communist is international is clearly seen every day. Yet, instead of taking steps to combat the spread of such altogether evil products of a degenerate capitalism as the Fascisti, the Labour leaders are making friends with the Russian White Terrorists who fought under the cloak of the once honourable name Social Revolutionary.

France and Reparations.

Labour Party's Strange Attitude.

In the interests of British trade, Germany must be given a respite from reparations payments, say British manufacturers. "We always said so," says the Labour Party; although, of course, in the General Election the Labour Party declared Germany must pay! Lloyd George is eager to arrange Germany's respite in order that British manufacturers may benefit. The French Government replies that if Germany is to have a respite from paying reparations to France, in the interests of British trade, then France must have a respite from paying its war debt to Britain. Lloyd George is said to agree: but a strange thing happens. That God-fearing, turn-the-other-cheek pacifist newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, instead of welcoming an act of self-sacrifice by the British Empire, which seized the German Colonies and the Mesopotamia oil, shrieks out like a very Shylock that France must pay her pound of flesh to Britain.

Strange, is it not?

Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson are following strange tactics and worshipping strange gods. Does this indicate a coming Labour coalition with the capitalists opposed to alliance with France? Certainly these tortuous intrigues have no connection with Labour politics and the class struggle—still less with Socialism.

War with France is certainly being prepared, and meanwhile the jingoes are throwing dust in the eyes of the people by holding "No More War" demonstrations.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

UNDER THE STAKS AND STRIPES.

Eugene Debs is suffering from heart trouble as a result of his long imprisonment.

James Mulroney, I.W.W., was released from Leavenworth penitentiary after four years' incarceration, suffering from tuberculosis and broken beyond repair. The prison doctor diagnosed Mulroney's complaint as mild bronchial trouble, and gave him some tablets.

Judge Macolm Glen has refused to permit Attorney Elmer Smith from continuing his defence of the eleven I.W.W. prisoners charged in California. The alleged reason is that Elmer Smith has not been formally admitted to practice in California. Yet he recently defended Casdorf and Firey at Sacramento, California, and he defended in the Omar Eaton case at Eureka some weeks ago. The defence is contesting the Judge's ruling.

J. J. Blaine, the Governor of Wisconsin, says that one out of every four inmates of Wisconsin prisons are ex-soldiers. The Governor has commuted the sentences of twenty-two ex-soldiers who showed that their offences were committed when they were out of work and hungry. He will continue to pardon prisoners who offer tangible evidence of this nature.

At Klamath Falls, Oregon, 2,000 men have been on strike four months for the eight-hour day. Two hundred and fifty Mexicans have been imported as strike breakers.

During the U.S.A. strike of railway shopmen trains are moving like cripples. Two hours out of Chicago a certain train got stuck. Pas-

sengers and crew sat on a grassy bank and talked. One of the axle-boxes of a Pullman car got hot. A negro porter, asked who would oil it, said:

"If it gets oiled, one of the officials will do it. There's nobody else to do any oiling. They can't get any men to come in and work now except fellows that don't know anything about trains. Most everybody's scared to take the shop jobs; it's too long a chance." J. N. Bessel writes on the strike:

"The strike against an inordinate wage-cut goes on, with little likelihood of the shopmen winning. They have not only powerful propaganda and forces and troops arrayed against them, but thousands of other workers in their own industry have given them no co-operation except sympathy. Engineers, firemen, conductors and trainmen continue at work, many of them shame-facedly, but nevertheless they stay at their jobs. And even those who take the strikers' places in the shops have a 'moral right' to do it, according to the dictum of the Railroad Labour Board. The Baltimore and Ohio is advertising for mechanics and helpers at rates ranging from 43 to 70 cents an hour.

"Men who have had some experience in mechanical work, also young men for helpers, are wanted, says the company, these to be placed under instructions. They will be advanced to positions carrying higher rates as soon as they become efficient.

"In accordance with resolutions issued by the U.S. Labour Board, July 3rd, new men accepting employment are within their rights and are not strike breakers, and have the moral as well as legal right to engage in railroad service, and will have protection of every branch of Government, both State and national."

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 7.

Sit down, Sir, I pray. Does it rain now?—No, it does not rain now; the sun shines.—Do you drink tea?—Yes, I like it very much.—Do you take sugar and milk in your tea?—I take a little milk and no sugar.—Where shall you go for your holiday?—Possibly I shall stay at home and play with my children; possibly I may go to Paris if the trains and steamers are not overcrowded (too full).

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Dadrigo.

Car la "Manifesto" estas nia kuna produktaĵo, mi opinias min devigata diri ke la fundamenta propozicio kiu estas ĝia esenca centraĵo, apartenas al Marks. Tiu propozicio estas: ke en ĉiu historia epoko, la plej ĝenerala modo de ekonomia produktado kaj intersanĝado, kaj la socia organizo necese elĉreskanta el ĝi, formigas kiel la fondaĵo sur kiu estas konstruata, kaj laŭ kiu sole povas esti klarigata la politika kaj intelekta historio de la homaro (de la disigo de la primitiva genta societo, tenanta teron en komuna posedo), estas historio de interklasaj bataladoj, konkuradoj inter ekspluatantoj kaj ekspluatatoj, regantaj kaj subpremataj klasoj; ke la historio de tiuj ĉi interklasaj bataladoj estas serio evolucia en kiu, nuntempe, estas atingita punkto kie la ekspluatata kaj subpremata klaso—la proletario—ne povas atingi sian liberigon el la regado de la ekspluatanta kaj reganta klaso—la kapitalistaro—ne samtempe, unufoje por ĉiam, liberigante la tutan societon el ĉia ekspluatado, subpremado, interklasaj distingoj kaj interklasaj bataloj.

Dadrigota.

C.P.I. and Republicans.

Seán McLoughlin writes from Ireland repudiating Economic Section's statement that the Communist Party of Ireland was not fighting with the Republicans. "The members of that Party, to a man, participated in the fighting," he protests.

From Russian Workers,

The Group of Revolutionary Left-Wing Communists (Communist Workers' Party) of Russia on the Failure of the United Front.

The genuine Communists in Russia, who are making a stand against the United Front and State capitalism, and who are upholding the standpoint of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany (not to be confused with the unprincipled and backboneless leaders of the so-called "Workers' Opposition"), are engaged in a courageous and strenuous conflict. In face of the most trying circumstances and of the constant danger of imprisonment, they, more than any other party, have to work along illegal lines in their endeavours to appeal to the proletariat.

We are herewith publishing one of the manifestos they have drawn up, and which they have circulated among the Russian proletarians in numerous typewritten copies.

Make more copies of this, distribute them, hand them on, and read it out to people!

To all comrades, workers and peasants of Soviet Russia who are of or with the revolutionary proletariat.

After the Internationals—the Amsterdam, the Second, and the Two and a-half—had given the proletariat sufficient proof of their yellow taint, and after it had become clear to everybody that these organisations are the most powerful international bodies that co-operate with the capitalistic bourgeois, one course only was open to all those proletarians who have come to realise that, be the stage of the revolution's development what it may, there must be no talk of combining with the exploiters and reformists for the purpose of a common objective and a common path. There was nothing for it but to line up in the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International, hoping thereby to get the world-wide revolution on the march again and to be able to give the utmost support to the dictatorship of the Russian revolutionary proletariat. But the Red Trade Union International had not been a year in existence before it began to use revolutionary phrases to cover tactics that were totally unrevolutionary, and, consequently, both these Internationals sank up to the eyes in the slough of opportunism and reformism. Their Press came out with appeals to the working classes automatically to join with the Mensheviks in building up a United Front. And to-day this artificial front, this new invention of your leaders, is now neither project nor phantasy. Already it is becoming a fact to be reckoned with, having been established under the noses of those who were supposed to have had it in hand. With the aid of this farce and the Conference of Genoa the irreconcilable antagonisms that exist between the proletariat and capitalism, between the exploited and the exploiters, are to be forcibly bridged. In spite of the fact that capitalism is at present shaking at its very foundations, Russia, thanks to the diplomatic trickery of those in authority, is to be made the irrevocable sacrifice of the international bourgeoisie and the object of a monstrous exploitation.

Have you still failed to notice, comrades, how the same Menshevik sophistries are being made use of in the attempt to make this United Front palatable to you, as were employed in every deception of the working class in the past? Is this United Front of the working masses the very thing they are in need of, and which they should strive to bring about? Don't you understand, comrades, that the projected union with the yellow parties is solely in the interest of the capitalists, and of their profits which accrue through exploitation alone? And all talk about the reconstruction of world economy signifies nothing but the secret intention of the parasites to throw all the burden of this reconstruction upon your shoulders; in other words, you workers are to be exploited, to be made to work yourselves to death, which will spell the pauperisation and degeneration of wide strata of the working classes, just as it did formerly. But if we are going along this path back to the old bondage, why on earth did we fight for the revolution? What was the idea of fighting for the class interests of the proletariat, for the annihilation of private property, and for the abolition of the wage system?

Proletarians, you have not yet succeeded in gaining an emancipation of such a kind; and, what is more, you will never get the better of the bourgeoisie and be able to act as a properly organised class so long as you do not give up lending an ear to these apostles of the United Front, so long as you do not give up believing in co-operation and peace with the bourgeoisie on the basis of its essential conditions of existence—private property and exploitation of the working class.

Does your class-consciousness not tell you how chaotically your leaders have dealt with all the achievements of the proletarian revolution? And yet this same proletarian revolution can alone lead you out of the blind alley into which capitalism and the traitors to Socialism have brought us. The world-wide economic crisis and the catastrophe our economic system has suffered will not be surmounted by any kind of conference for the mutual assistance of each other or by the outward effect of elections and Parliamentary action. Political intrigues of your leaders must not be allowed to turn you aside from the inevitable course of the proletarian revolution! There is just one thing that will help to carry you forward—a clear consciousness of the true interests of the proletariat and ruthless criticism awakening the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat and aiming at the will to victory. To see to the fulfilment of this your historic task and duty, our group of revolutionary Left-Wing Communists is now appealing to you! It makes you in part responsible for the mistakes that have up till now been allowed to hinder the course of revolution. It is the duty of the proletariat to see that these mistakes are made good. You must advance to victory with firm step and overcome blunders, defeats, and treachery. Do not forget, workers and peasants, that in this fight you have nothing further to lose than your chains. As revolutionary Left-Wing Communists, it is our task always to point out to you, and to you first of all, the dangers that threaten the revolution; to bring home to you the seriousness of the moment! You yourselves will have by now clearly recognised the difference between, on the one hand, Capital's United Front from Lloyd George to, and including, Lenin; and, on the other, the United Front of the revolutionary working class—fighting for its dictatorship, a dictatorship still real enough to-day to strike fear into the ruling classes. You have had enough of those lessons the bourgeoisie and the social reformers serve you up! It is just about time the opportunism of the Communist and "Red" Trade Union Internationals was put beyond dispute. We have not space to go into theoretical principles. You must yourselves think about these things and get to the bottom of the matter. All we wish to do is to proclaim: Down with co-operation with the bourgeoisie! Down with Lenin's peaceable United Front! Long live the Opposition of the Workers! Long live Left-Wing Communism! Long live the revolutionary Left-Wing Workers' Movement that is out for action and the genuine class fight!

Group of Revolutionary Left-Wing Communists of Russia.

Fifth Special Congress of the K.A.P.D. in Hanover.

From June 4th to 5th.—In spite of great financial difficulties, no less than ten industrial districts were able to send delegates to discuss the political developments from a K.A.P.D. standpoint. There was also one representative of the Dutch K.A.P. and one representative of the Left-Wing Communists of Russia. The Reformist endeavours to cause disruption when the party broke down in face of the united and solid will of the party to carry on an uncompromising class fight. The progress of the K.A.P.D. idea. Election of President and officers and committees.

Agenda:

1. Political situation.
2. Communist Workers' International.
3. Party and youth.

4. Party and union.
5. V.R.U.K.
6. Re-organisation.
7. Sundry matters.

Com. O. reviewed development and the causes of differences within the Party which led to break with reformist tendency. The decline of capitalism is, because of its strenuous endeavours to stem same, having a demoralising influence upon working masses. As the revolution for the time being is at a standstill, it is quite comprehensible that some comrades should look to capitalism and see in partial demands the next objective of the class fight. But the reason for forming the K.A.P.D. was opposition to reformism. Naturally, the real state of affairs being what it is, many comrades, tired of the heavy conflict, followed the reformist leaders of the Berlin Opposition, as a good opportunity for withdrawal; but the K.A.P.D. did not suffer much by the loss of these members. The crisis passed thanks to the genuine revolutionaries in the party, but much work remained to be done to build up the organisation again. To find ways and means of doing this was the object of present Congress.

The Representative of the Dutch Communist Workers' Party.

His contention was that on the question of tactics and other disputed points that led to the break with the German K.A.P., the K.A.P.D. maintains the original attitude of the old K.A.P.D. Proof was given of the lack of principle in the Berlin Tendency. The Dutch K.A.P. stood solid with the K.A.P.D. and looks to Essen.

The Representative of the Group of Revolutionary Left-Wing Communists of Russia

Gives some interesting particulars about his experiences with the Berlin Tendency. He spoke very deprecatingly of the peculiar methods of these people. The representatives of the revolutionary Left-Wing Communists of Russia have had plenty of opportunity since coming to Germany of informing themselves as to the causes of difference in the K.A.P.D. They have interviewed prominent men in the Berlin Tendency, have read their written statements on tactics they advise, have heard them speak in assemblies, and without hesitation have decided to accept the view of the old K.A.P.D., whose headquarters are at Essen. In calling upon comrades to propagate K.A.P.D. ideas in Russia and amongst the proletariat of the whole world, he brought his interesting speech to a close.

A message of greeting from the Bulgarian K.A.P. was read out.

1. Political Situation.

My task is to show that capitalism will not survive the present crisis. Capitalism is that economic system in which everything becomes commodity, including labour-power of proletariat. He who has no commodity to sell cannot exist in this system. On this question of production the system is collapsing.

Barga of the Third International divides the world into countries with over-production, etc., and the Berlin Tendency sees in the crisis merely a technical question of production. Consequently, according to these views, if production can be put again on peace basis, capitalism will have re-established itself firmly. But these conceptions are fundamentally false. The crisis is one of finding markets for goods, and not of production.

We, unlike the Berlin Tendency and the Third International, could not, as K.A.P.D. and K.A.I., justify our existence if this crisis was overcome.

The Second and Third Internationals are aiming at the reconstruction of capitalism—they advocate the selling of the labour-power of the proletariat. They use their power to sell this labour-power as a political lever—a fundamentally unrevolutionary attitude.

The bourgeoisie cannot see their way to sell proletariat's labour-power, so the Second and Third Internationals of the Berlin Tendency jump at the idea of a United Front to help along capitalist reconstruction.

But there can be no doubt that the final crisis has come. Conditions are becoming again what they were in 1918. Action is expected in Germany (Continued on p. 8.)

WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By *Alexandra Kollontay.*

(Continued from last week.)

The Workers' Opposition, together with a group of responsible workers in Moscow in the name of party regeneration and elimination of bureaucracy from the Soviet institutions, demands complete realisation of all democratic principles, not only for the present period of respite, but also for times of internal and external tension. This is the first and basic condition of the party regeneration, of its return to the principles of the programme, from which in practice it is more and more deviating under the pressure of elements that are foreign to it.

The second condition, fulfilment of which with all determination is insisted upon by the Workers' Opposition, is the expulsion from the Party of all non-proletarian elements. The stronger becomes the Soviet authority the greater is the number of the middle class, and sometimes even openly hostile elements, joining the Party. The elimination of these elements must be complete and thorough, and those in charge of it must take into account the fact that all the most revolutionary elements from the non-workers had joined the Party during the first period of the October revolution. The Party must become a workers' party, for only then will it be able to repeal with force all the influences that are being brought to bear upon it by the petty-bourgeois elements, peasants, or by the faithful servants of Capital—the specialists.

The Workers' Opposition proposes to register all members who are non-workers and who joined the Party since 1919, and reserve for them the right to appeal within three months from the decisions arrived at, in order that they might join the Party again.

At the same time, it is necessary to establish "a working status" for all non-working elements which will try to get back into the Party, by providing that every applicant to membership in the Party must have worked a certain period of time at manual labour under general working conditions before he becomes eligible for enrolment into the Party.

The third decisive step toward democratisation of the Party is the elimination of all non-workers' elements from all the administrative positions; in other words, the central, provincial, and county committees of the Party must be composed so that workers closely acquainted with the working masses would have the preponderant majority therein.

In close connection with this point of the Opposition's demands stands the other of converting all our party centres, beginning from the Central Executive Committee and including the provincial county committees, from institutions taking care of routine work, every-day work, into institutions of control over the Soviet policy.

We have already remarked that the crisis in our Party is a direct outcome of the three distinct cross-current tendencies that correspond to the three different social groups—viz., the working class, the peasantry, together with the middle class, and the elements of the former bourgeoisie—that is, specialists, technicians, and men of affairs.

The problems of State-wide importance compel both the local and central Soviet institutions, including even the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, to lend an ear to, and conform with, these three distinct tendencies of the groups that compose the population of Soviet Russia; as a result, the class line of the general policy is blurred, and the necessary stability is lost. Considerations of the State interests begin to outweigh the interests of the workers.

In order that the Central Committee and Party Committees may stand firmly on the side of our class policy, and call all our Soviet institutions to order each time that a decision in the Soviet policy becomes obvious (as happened, for instance, in the question dealing with the trade unions) it is necessary to disassociate the prerogatives of such responsible officials who at one and the same time fill up responsible posts both in the Soviet institutions and in the Communist Party centres. We must remember that Soviet Russia so far has not been a socially homogeneous unit; but, on the contrary, represented a hetero-

geneous social conglomeration, and, therefore, the State authority is compelled to reconcile all these, at times even hostile interests, by choosing the middle ground.

In order that the Central Committee of our Party could become the supreme directing centre of our class policy, the organ of class thought and control over the practical policy of the Soviets, and the spiritual personification of our basic programme, it is necessary, particularly in the Central Committee, to restrict to a minimum the multiple office-holding by those who, whilst being members of the Central Committee, occupy high posts in the Soviet Government. For this purpose the Workers' Opposition proposes the formation of Party centres, which would really serve as organs of ideal control over the Soviet institutions, and would direct their actions along clear-cut class lines. Moreover, in order to increase party activity, it is necessary to carry out everywhere the following measure: at least one-third of the actual Party members in the centres must be permanently forbidden to act as Party members and Soviet officials at the same time.

The fourth basic demand of the Workers' Opposition is this: the Party must reverse its policy to the elective principle.

Appointments must be permissible only as exceptions, but lately they began to prevail as a rule. Appointments are very characteristic of bureaucracy, and yet at present they are a general, legalised, and well-recognised daily occurrence. The procedure of appointments produces a very unhealthy atmosphere in the party, and disrupts the relationship of equality amongst the members by rewarding friends and punishing enemies, as well as by other no less harmful practices in our Party and Soviet life. Appointments lessen the sense of duty and responsibility to the masses in the ranks of appointees, for they are not responsible to the masses. This condition makes the line of division between the leaders and the rank and file members still sharper.

Every appointee, as a matter of fact, is beyond any control, for the leaders are not able to watch closely his activity while the masses cannot call him to account and discharge him if necessary. As a rule, every appointee is surrounded by an atmosphere of officialdom, servility, and blind subordination, which infects all subordinates and discredits the Party. The practice of appointments rejects completely the principle of collective work; it breeds irresponsibility. Appointments by the leaders must be done away with and replaced by the elective principle all along the Party line. Candidates shall be eligible to occupy responsible administrative positions only when they have been elected by conferences and congresses.

Finally, in order to eliminate bureaucracy and make the party more healthy, it is necessary to revert to that state of things where all the cardinal questions of Party activity and Soviet policy are submitted to the consideration of the rank and file, and only after that are supervised by the leaders. This was the state of things when the Party was forced to carry on its work in secret—even as late as the time of signing the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

LABOUR LEADERS.

By *TOM ANDERSON.*

With the advent of "Mad Communism" we have been treated to a mad crusade against Labour leaders. One should be very careful before he calls the kettle "black," for it may just be possible that the teapot is "black" also. I am contemporary with all the old Labour leaders, and I have come into contact with very many of them; and I could not say of any of them that they required watching—what they required was teaching.

Take, for example, J. H. Thomas. Would you be correct in saying he was dishonest, or that he required watching? I don't think so. You would be nearer the mark by saying he was "bred back," but that does not imply he is dishonest. From personal observation, there are a few men in the Communist Party who require "watching"; and as for honesty, I would prefer to trust Thomas.

But this does not explain a Thomas. Here we are faced with a difficulty. It is not dishonesty that makes a Thomas a patriot or a Privy Councillor, any more than that you may find a scientist a member of the Roman Catholic Church. You must look for that in his psychology. Thomas is a child of the bourgeois State by training and education, plus the mentality of a slave. He is unable to grasp the class struggle in human society. Yet it is so apparent that men of far less ability can see it quite easily. Thomas is also backed in his outlook by the great body of the railway workers. It is very pitiful to speak to the average railway workers. Their mentality on things that count staggers you. The King, the Prince, the Queen, and the lords and ladies of "our land." "Our land" is a term we all use, but it is not correct; it should be "the land of our masters." They take these things for granted. "They have always been so," that is their stock answer. Can a sane-thinking human admit in reality the necessity of a crowned head after the modern pattern, or of a House of Lords, or similar institutions? All these movements are but the centres of social "sprats," to play on the mentality of the rising generation. To mould them so that they will fall into line and support the class State. The historians of the future will write in concise terms the history of our modern Labour Party and of the component parts of it—Thomas, Clynes, Tillet, Jones, Henderson, McDonald, Snowden, Barnes, etc., etc.

To-day the working class still think, as the serfs did. Sir James Fraser says, in his "Golden Bough," that the mentality of the workers of Europe is not much different from what it was 2,000 years ago. The Labour Party and the Thomas's trade on that mentality just as the other political parties do. Whichever party can throw the "sprat" nearest the psychology of the mass, that's the party that gets into power.

That's why the Labour Party Conference wanted to kill Communism at Edinburgh. It's a "sprat," and it has come off. But might I tell them that the Communist Party is only a political party largely on "bluff," like themselves, playing at the throwing of "Sprats"? There are Communists in Britain; possibly their numbers are not very great, but they are there, and they have a message—a human message—to all men. And that is, the "world is theirs." We don't say of your Labour leaders that you are dishonest in all things; the bulk of you have not that ability. Many of you are worms, many of you, like the street pickpocket, are "fly," a few of you have "made good," others among you are trying. But there is no class struggle. Such an idea is not for a manumitted wage-worker. In fact, it is not for any respectable member of the bourgeois State.

Your modern Labour M.P. and leader are the heads of the blind army, and nearly always fighting on the side of their enemy, because it is popular. "The world to them is flat." They would fall over and lose all if they went any further. Such is their psychology.

Some of these brave leaders go to Church and lecture the poor. Arthur Henderson, for example, is a past-president of the "Brotherhood." Could anything be more childish or slave-like than that? I don't think so. He may be quite honest; but, if so, would someone ask him to read the *Illustrated London News* for July 8th, 1922? And, if he is able to read, would he then make an apology for the ignorance he has displayed in the past?

To tell the workers that they will be saved through "the blood of Jesus" is a stunt nearly equal with the modern one, "The world war for human freedom." Ask the heroes—the most ignorant of them—and they laugh and say, "You are coming it!"

I pity the railway workers. I pity the miners, with their blind Hodges. I pity the engineers, the boilermakers, and transport workers, and all the allied trades. I pity the working class—blind, stupid, and dense and dull on things that count. I pity the *Daily Herald*, the Labour Party Conference, and the Trade Union Congress—they are all apeing at being respectable, and there is no class struggle, and their pals on the

(Continued on p. 8.)

"NO MORE WAR."

The village of Wakering, in Essex, fellow-worker, is as quiet and sleepy-looking a village as you can imagine.

It has a little old church and a big stately vicarage with a big, well-cultivated garden. It is not the Vicar who cultivates the garden, fellow-worker: he cultivates souls and pays a gardener and others to do any real work about his place.

Behind the church, and right out of sight of the village, is the Common. On the Common, fellow-worker, stands a battered old German gun. A pit was dug to wedge it in right up to the axle of the wheels, so that no one could move it. There it lies in sight of the cornfields, with the larks singing overhead. The flowers grow round it, the children play about it, and a fat old black sow roots about it, snuffing at it with her curious snout.

Roughly written in white paint on the gun are these words:

"Placed here at night, July 20th, 1920, by . . ."

The rest of the inscription is partly illegible, it seems to read:

"I.N. S.C.B. H.P.T.S."

Strangers ask what it means. The villagers are not very communicative, fellow-worker. There are one or two things connected with the story they do not want to disclose. If a stranger asks, "Who did it?" they answer, "We don't know—some men."

Then, bit by bit, the tale is told. The Vicar and others "on the Committee" "wrote up" for a German gun to put in front of the new Memorial Hall—a cheap, ugly shanty.

"Our boys who had been to the War did not want the gun: not one of them."

The night the gun was placed in front of the Memorial Hall "our boys" therefore threw it in the village pond.

Later on, when the pond was cleaned, it was put on the Common, and there it rusts.

"We don't want any more war; we've had enough of it," say the villagers; "but there is going to be more of it."

They shake their heads very dimly, fellow-worker, feeling they have good reason for their predictions.

Over there, near the sea, is a great military encampment and aircraft station; they see before their eyes the preparation for the next war.

Not far away, too, they see, cutting through the cornfields and pastures the new road from London to Southend. "Twice as wide as an ordinary road," they say it is.

"Why another road?" they ask. "There are plenty of roads," they say.

The unemployed from London are working on it. "Why make roads when people are needing houses?" They grumble, "It's a waste of money."

"It is a military road," that is what the villagers believe, fellow-workers; they believe it is being made for the next war, and some of them say it is being made because the Government cannot be sure that it will always be able to rely on the railwayman, whatever happens.

Have you noticed, fellow-worker, how busy the hardened war maniacs are with the no-more-war demonstrations? The villagers are right, fellow-worker; the next war is preparing under cover of it all.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.—Cont. from p. 7.

other side are laughing. If we could but waken them and show them the "three-card trick" that is worked on their mentality, there would be a chance. The poor co-operators, with their little Bethel ethics and their leaders living in bourgeois land, playing "whist" to raise a cenotaph, is enough to make angels weep. The Church and the State join in, and their power is sufficient to "kid" all the Labour leaders in the country. And some of them sing "God Save the King" and push out their belly, and adorn their fingers with big gold rings, and their swelling vests with heavy gold Alberts, like their pals on the other side. But there is no class struggle. Whom the gods love they make stupid. Fellow-workers, I appeal to you as an old man who has seen every side of the picture. I appeal to you to make the resolve to come out and fight for a classless State; and in doing so you will be doing what every valiant fighter in the past has done. If you do that, the Labour leaders will come your way. But they will only come when you make it possible. One way towards that end is to help the paper that is fighting for you against great odds. Then to every reader I say, put your shoulder to the wheel—Communism will only grow as we work.

FROM RUSSIAN WORKERS.—Cont. from p. 6.

many in the coming winter. The psychological conditions are not so favourable, but the only thing to do is to make the workers think critically.

2. Communist Workers' International.

Com. S. gave a survey of the international connection and of those K.A.P. parties in other countries that have joined the Communist Workers' International. Starting with the state of the movement in Holland, when a small K.A.P. was formed after the September Congress, he touched upon the conditions in England, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slovakia, and South Africa, in which places a firmly founded organisation of honest and resolute K.A.P. comrades have come into existence. It was good to hear that in Russia the dam had been broken through, and that, in spite of the greatest difficulties and

hindrances on the part of the Soviet bodies, a K.A.P. had been formed. Then they had to work illegally, but have shown themselves far above comparison with the weakly so-called Workers' Opposition. Their manifestos and the words of their representatives show them to be of the same way of thinking as the Communist Workers' Party of Germany. The development of affairs in Russia will bring this small party into prominence. There is a split in the Bulgarian Communist Workers' Party. The next International Congress that takes place in August of this year, in Germany, will bring us full particulars of this development. We have also established connections with other countries. The K.A.P. idea is making good progress everywhere.

Follows discussion on basic problems of K.A.I. as a preliminary to tackling the question of organisation.

Follows discussion on your theses.

Election of provisional organisation of Communist Workers' International "Proletariat" as organ of C.W.I.

3. Party and Youth.

This question has been wrongly given a secondary importance. The Communist Workers' Parties must not merely get affiliation with those organisations of the young people that are already in existence, but must see to it that the proletarian youth is educated to its rôle in the class fight.

Proletarian schools are of outstanding importance. These organisations of young proletarians must become a corporal part of the Party organisation.

THE TROUBLE AT THAXTED.

"The parishioners of Thaxted," as the cooked Press put it, did not petition against the flags. A small minority of Thaxted's Churchpeople, aided by a number of nondescripts from outside the Church membership, applied for a "faculty" to have the Red flag and Sinn Fein flag removed from the church. They won, of course, although the whole of the twenty members of the recently elected Church Council, as well as the churchwardens, were in favour of the flags remaining; and, although not one of

the "loyalist" minority was elected to that Council. But they won because the flags did not happen to be imperialist flags, and the people who came to Thaxted to tear them down did not happen to be Communists. Had that been the case, then the raiders from outside the town, not the flags, would have been the cause of the disorder, and the civil authorities would have been expected to maintain law and order. Prominent among the agitators against the flags was a Nonconformist grocer of the town. This grocer is a great "patriot"; he flies the Union Jack on Boy Scouts' Day ("Empire Day") to let the people know how patriotic he is. But on less "holy" days than May 24th, this grocer, when the price of butter or what-not goes up, sends round to his brother grocers in the town, telling them the price "is up," which is an instruction to the others to charge the new price even on old stock. And this patriot wrote to the paper saying he was "insulted" by the Red flag and Sinn Fein flag hung in the church. He is no fool, however, in his fear of revolutionary Christianity, but probably knows that the kind of Christianity Conrad Noel stands for would quickly put an end to the anti-social trickery of trade, that of grocery included.

The flags down, the opposition may next be expected to try and suppress the preaching. Efforts must be made to put down such dangerous doctrines as that Empire-building is wrong; that love of country is one thing, and the dominating and bullying of smaller and weaker nations another. The Church must be made "a proper church to go to." Then good sound imperialism will be preached from the pulpit, and the lady of the manor will be able to sit in the best seat, the smaller "gentry" in the second best, and so on, "down to" the factory girls. These girls are among the Red Vicar's most ardent supporters, and a local rag calls them "saucy," presumably because they now (the seats being free) sit where they like in the church, are encouraged to wear bright colours, and some of them have even been elected to the Church Council over the heads of the Thaxted "big pots." All this is not seemly, and the *Morning Post* is hurt. One item of news did not appear in the cooked Press. When last May the strangers to Thaxted invaded the town for the purpose of tearing down the flags and creating disorder, the principal inn of Thaxted refused to put them up. What is more, mine host of "The Swan" has since then left the opposition, taken down his Union Jack, and joined the Vicar's side. Others have done the same, and more will do likewise when they understand.

REVOLUTION.

By L. S. BEVINGTON.

Ah, yes! You must meet it, and brave it;
Too laggard, too purblind to save it;
Who recks of your doubting and fearing
Phrase-bound "Evolution"?

Do you not hear the sea sounding it?
Do you not feel the fates founding it?
Do you not know it is nearing?
Its name Revolution.

What! stem it, and stay it, and spare it?
Or will you defy it, and dare it?
Then this way and that you must change it
For swift restitution.

Do you not see men deserving it?
Do you not hear women nerving it?
Down with old Mammon; and range you
To aid Revolution?

The last hour has struck of our waiting,
The last of your bloodless debating,
The wild-fire of spirit is spreading
Us on to solution.

Do you not thrill at the uttering?
Do you not breathe the breeze fluttering
Round the brave flag of our pleading?
The world's Revolution!

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