# russian Workers' Opposition in 4th International.

## Founded and Edited by INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. SYLVIA PANKHURST

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WEEKLY.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## HE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

perthern climes the polar bear otects himself with fat and hair, here snow is deep and ice is stark, I half the year is cold and dark; still survives a clime like that growing fur, by growing fat. se traits, O bear, which thou transmittest ove the Survival of the Fittest.

pelar regions waste and wan mes the encroaching race of man, puny, feeble, little bubber. has no fur, he has no blubber. e seernful bear sat down at ease see the stranger starve and freeze; to! the stranger slew the bear, nd ate his fat and wore his hair; hese deeds, O man, which thou committest, ove the Survival of the Fittest.

modern times the millionaire mtects himself as did the bear; here Poverty and Hunger are le counts his bullion by the car; here thousands perish still he thrives-The wealth, O Crossus, thou transmittest roves the Survival of the Fittest.

But lo! some people odd and funny, some men without a cent of moneyhe simple, common human race hose to improve their dwelling place; they had to use for millionaires,

her calmly said the world was theirs, her were so wise, so strong, so many, The millionaires?—there wasn't any. These deeds, O.man, which thou committeet, rove the Survival of the Fittest.

CHARLOTTE STETSON.

## THE BELFAST OUTRAGES FRAUD.

The most outrageous and blatant fraud on a redulous public that has ever taken place is the Government's present pretence that the Nationalist population of the six Ulster counties have risen to a state of dangerous unrest. The Infortunate Nationalist population of those counies amounts to but 25 per cent. of the total. Day after day, week after week, month after month, there appeared even in the Unionist Mpers accounts of barbarous outrages perpetrated these unfortunate Sinn Fe ners and Cathoos; and then, suddenly, though there have been hat Ulster has become an armed camp in order

o deal with them. Examine these facts:-

IN NATIONALIST IRELAND.

Not a single case of persecution or interference th the Protestant Loyalist minority has courred. This has been testified to by Protestmeetings in the southern counties, which ave expressed abhorrence of the outrages per- Feiners. ctrated on Catholic Sinn Feiners in the six north-eastern counties.

IN THE SIX NORTH-EASTERN COUNTIES. From July 1920 to April 1922, 380 Nationalists Mostly Catholics) were murdered in Belfast and persons were wounded by the Orange Loyalists."

Between February 27th and April 28th, 1922,

95 Sinn Feiners were murdered.

157 Sinn Feiners were wounded.

75 houses occupied by Sinn Feiners were burned and looted.



The Breakdown of our Industrial System.

104 Sinn Fein families were evicted.

34 Sinn Fein families were rendered homeless. During the same period, in Belfast no Loyalist families were rendered homeless; no Loyalist houses were burned and looted.

Eight thousand Catholics have been expelled from their employment in North-East Ulster. Mr. Ronald McNeill, a Unionist member but few insignificant cases of retaliation, it is of Parliament, callously defended this in the amounced that the victims of the barbarities House of Commons, saying: "They were driven read source of tremendous danger, and it is seen out because they were, or believed to be, Sinn Feiners."

From the signing of the pact between Mr. Collins, of the Southern Provisional Government, and Sir James Craig, of the North-Eastern Parliament, on April 1st, and the end of April,

21 Catholic Nationalists (14 men, 3 women, and 4 children) were murdered in Belfast. There were 27 attempted murders of Sinn

39 Sinn Feiners were wounded.

75 Sinn Fein houses were looted and burned. 357 Sinn Feiners were rendered honeless.

From July 21st, 1920, to May 28th, 1922, 20,000 Catholics have been driven from home. Here is a record of ten days' doings.

May 10th .- A crowd of "Loyalists" returning from a football match opened fire into a Catholic Nationalist quarter in Oldpark Road. At the same time a bomb was thrown into a vard in Glenview Street, wounding two women-Mrs. Toner, aged 60, and Mrs. Tierney, aged 33. Both women are Catholics, and were removed

to the Mater Hospital. Continuous sniping from "Loyalist" areas into Catholic Streets tock

place up to curfew hour. May 11th .- James Smith, aged 14 years, 42 Mayfair Street, wounded in the head on April 10th, died this morning.

May 11th .- At 2.30 a.m. this morning a party of "B" Specials smashed the window and pane's of the door of James McShane's house, 21 Gibson Street, in a vain attempt to get in. The inmates were terror-stricken during the attack, which lasted ten minutes.

May 12th .- A gang of "Loyalist" snipers again attacked the district of Marrowbone (the fifth evening in succession). One of the sharpshooters fired into a group of litt'e girls who were playing in Gracehill Street, wounding May Mahony, 11 years of age!

May 13th.—A "Loyalist" mob threw a bomb into the house of Patrick Kinney, Palmer Street. The kitchen was wrecked. On Sunday, when Kinney was removing his furniture, shots were fired at the vanmen, while four special constables were standing by.

## 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 Messrs. James, Gt. Patrick Street. Sinn port of Loyalist principles and the maintenance gardless of cost or consequences." It should be be a secondary over the rest remembered that Sir Henry Wilson is a from the neighbouring stables. A force of of Ireland. "Specials" arrived when the men were rescuing It is pointed out that the enormous forces at News, "He was one of the most prompt the horses. The Commandant of the Specials the disposal of Sir James Craig in his little the officers of the British Army, who, he had assaulted one of these men, striking h m on the domain of six little counties, include the follow- the Carsonite rebellion, paralysed the stemach with the butt of a revolver, and ordered ing:him away. The man resented this, and was 3,000 Constabulary armed and equipped by the behind the scenes in the promotion of the Di arrested. The Specials then opened fire into St. Patrick Street, with the result that a girl was 5,000 "A" Specials killed and John McGrogan, Catholic Nationalist, 20,000 "B" Specials ,, ,, Nelson Street, was wounded. An undefined number of "C" Specials ,,

May 14th.—A number of "Loyalist" gun- 19 battalions of British Crown forces. men took up positions at the Shankhill Road end The Sinn Fein Irish Bulletin makes the followof Townsend Street, and opened rapid fire ing allegations:-MacAloney, of Melbourne Street, was wounded, 'Specials'."

May 14th.—An armoured car came into Smith- Government property." reason fired at a number of men standing at the eyes of the police and military." corner of West Street—an entirely Catholic "No loyalist is punished or arrested for arson locality. One of the men, P. O'Reilly, Eliza or murder." Street, was wounded in the thigh. The plate- Here are a few cases cited in the Irish Bulletin establishment, and of Tully's, jeweller, were military: riddled with bullets from this car.

your employment all Sinn Feiners and Roman was found. Catholics. 'Herein fail not at the peril of your "During the attack on Antigua Street by the life.—By order."

attempt to remove these placards! May 16th.—Wm. Owen Madden, aged 21, houses. Soldiers and Specials rolled barrels of Catholic Nationalist, whilst unloading fruit in a stout down into Louisa Street from Mrs. Donshop, was shot dead by "Loyalist" assassins, nelly's public-house in Antigua Street, which was who were accompanying a funeral.

THE MURDERERS ESCAPED! Nellie M'Mullan succumbed to her injuries.

THE MURDERERS ESCAPED!

tramear by a man on a passing 'bus.

THE MURDERER ESCAPED! May 18th.—Two men boaroed a tram and, without parley, shot a young Catholic Nationalist named Caffrey.

THE ASSASSINS ESCAPED! May 18th.—Wm. McKnight, passing through Exchange Street, was shot in the abdomen, and died a few hours later.

May 18th.—A young woman was wounded dangerously in Grosvenor Road, and two other women were fired at and wounded in York Street district.

THE ASSAILANTS ESCAPED! May 19th .- In the village of Magherafelt, Co. ing of shops.' Derry, four Catholic Nationalists, Hy. McGeehan and James McGeehan, brothers, and John and Francis Higgins, brothers, were dragged from their beds and shot dead.

THE ASSASSINS ESCAPED! May 19th.—Houses of Catholic Natonalists set Specials. on fire—two burned to the ground; a corn-mill also totally destroyed.

THE PERPETRATORS ESCAPED! eleven wounded in Belfast. One of the victims, "When he withdrew his small force of troops proved that Campanella had not died of whilst at prayer in the church.

THE MURDERERS ESCAPED! THE CAUSE AND THE GUILT.

outrages do not arise from unorganised mob- hacked the unfortunate man with hatchets. in the murder. violence and spontaneous ignorant racial or Before leaving they fired several shots into the An ordinary citizen of U.S.A. would religious intolerance. Sinn Fein claims that the lifeless body." outrages are officially organised by the police force of Sir James Craig's Government, in pur- In March last Sir Henry Wilson was asked by missed the force: they are merely degraded it food and luxuries, with plain clothing and suance of his deliberate policy of expelling or the Northern Government to restore order in their clumsiness for having killed an exterminating the Nationalist population of the the six counties. Sir James Craig declared that man instead of getting him convicted and king six Ulster counties, in order that the counties "any measure" recommended by Sir Henry in a judicial manner.

May 13th .- A fire occurred in the oil store of may consist of a people homogeneous in its sup- Wilson would "be carried out to the c

British Government.

towards Divis Street. A woman named Lizzie "Only Irish Nationalists are attacked by the

and died half-an-hour after admission to "The English military assist the specials"." "The cars, rifles, bombs, and petrol used are

field Square at 8 p.m., and for some unexplained "Locting and burning takes place under the

glass windows of Messrs. McGuinness's clothing which illustrate the behaviour of the police and

"The house of Patrick O'Connor, 64 Unity The following notice was sent to Protestant Street, Carrick Hill area, was raided at 10 p.m. farmers of the district of Magherafelt, Co. Derry, on May 1st by a mixed force of Military, R.I.C., who have engaged Catholic labourers. In many and Specials. The raiding party pulled up the cases the notice has been complied with: bedroom floors, pulled out windows, ripped up "You are hereby required within 48 hours sofas, pictures on the walls were damaged, and after the service of this notice to clear out of an altar was destroyed. Nothing incriminating

mob on Tuesday, April 18th, petrol was given to The local "Loyalist" police have made no them by the 'Specials' from the 'cage' lorries, and Military on armoured cars, to burn the looted before being set on fire.

"During the time the houses in Antigua May 17th.—Catholic girls returning from Street were blazing, the unfortunate Catholic work were attacked by "Loyalist" gunmen. Nationalists in the streets adjoining were Two girls, Maggre Hanvey and Nellie M'Mullan, subjected to bursts of machine-gun and rifle fire were shot, and were removed to hospital, where from Specials in 'cage' lorries who patrolled

"There were five cages of Specials, one May 18th.—Two Sinn Feiners, McPeak and whippet armoured car, a lorry full of soldiers, and Britain, at least for the present; or McDonagh, were shot dead whilst seated on a a military armoured car on duty that day in the tramcar. Assassins shot them through the back. district of 'Marrowbone,' but these forces did mination waged against you by the overwhele THE MURDERERS ESCAPED! not prevent the 'Loyalist' mob from burning, May 18th.—A young man was shot dead on a looting, and wrecking the houses of 49 Sinn Fein Britain. families there.

> "On the same day and the day following, 37 of Commons, grandiloquently said of the more families were driven from their homes on Turkish atrocities in Asia Minor:the other side of Oldpark Road, opposite Marrowbone, by the 'Loyalist' mob. A 'Loyalist' band paraded the streets of this district playing ' party ' airs, and was followed by a huge crowd loaded with loot. They passed the police and military unmolested."

"The Times states that:-'Nationalists having complained as to the lack of protection afforded to Catholics in the Marrowbone area, the district was eventually placed under military control, but even this precaution did not stop the burning of houses and the loot-

armed with rifles, rushed into the Thompson was a member of the United Mine Worker lear oxen and sheep, and cultivate orchards, go Street district (Catholic) and opened fire.

with the fusillade by the Unionists and Class 'C' is called the "Third Degree," and is simply to led crop, when we can get with much less pain,

the Specials removed, and he agreed that if they would pass as one of suicide. A coroner were put out of the district peace would soon be had actually given a verdict of suicide, May 20th and 21st .- Twelve persons killed, restored, but he could not get them removed. autopsy performed at the instance of t

James McKenna, Catholic, was actually shot later, there followed cold-blooded murders of a but of the tortures inflicted upon him. horrifying type. The worst example was the Chief of Police, the Chief of Detectives, the lade out of fibres grown and wool sheared in killing of Patrick McGoldrick, in 27 Madrid detective-lieutenants, and four detectives Street. Mr. McGoldrick was ill in bed. The geants have been reduced to the rank of Sinn Fein contends that the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs and the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for their particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and men and suspended for 30 days for the particular than the North-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and the north-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and the north-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and the north-East Ulster gunmen broke in the door, rushed upstairs, and the north-East Ulster gunmen broke gunmen gunden gun

SIR HENRY WILSON'S METHODS.

known Orangeman. According to the the Government. He played an influential. and Tan campaign."

Since the pact between the Republican De Valera faction and the Collins the support of the Treaty, the outrages upon Sinn Fei Sir James Craig's Government has issued lation that membership of the Irish Republic in the six counties, and Republicans are arrested on wholesale lines: 204 of them taken into custody in a single night. Sir James Craig has announced that Rom

has promised the aid of still more troops. are to be used, he says, as follows :-

For supporting the police outside Beltan Nevertheless, he told his little Parliame the troops cannot prevent assassinations of "their object being to assist the civil author but not to do police duty." A cynical ind

that of what assisting the civil authorities War between North and South Ireland to be drifting nearer. If it comes to war little north-eastern corner will be more match for the rest of Ireland in train

and military equipment, because Britisl

and munitions will be placed at its dispos Sir James Craig declares that his Gove is not willing to deal with a Treaty-Rep Coalition, there will be no boundary of sion, and there will be a complete between the Northern and Southern Gove

The British Government may only be encourage ing Ulater to get the Treaty ratified; or go further. The ratification of the by an Irish election would be a grim farce if ever took place, for the choice before the electorate would be this:-

Ratification of a hated treaty and peace wi Rejection of the treaty and a war of ex

ingly superior naval and military forces On May 18th, Mr. Chamberlain, in the

dents to continue unchecked." The Irish, of course, call this hypocris What do you say, fellow-workers?

## THE MURDER OF CAMPANEL U.S.A. Police Methods.

The murder of John Campanella Union, and the police were endeavouring "The officer in charge was approached to have officials hung him, in the hope that his deal

tenced to death by the electric chair for crime: these police officials are not even

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

(Continued from last week.) urse, as long as society remains organised permit the owners of the land and capital riate for themselves, under the protecthe State and historical rights, the yearly human production, no such change can ighly accomplished. But the present insystem, based upon a permanent speion of functions, already bears in itself the of its proper ruin. The industrial crises, the six north-eastern counties are more free free more acute and protracted, and are s and wars implied by the present system. Army and other Sinn Fein organisations is ill rendering its maintenance more and more diffi-Moreover, the workers plainly manifest intention to support no longer patiently the occasioned by such crises. And each celerates the day when the present instis of individual property and production will chaken to their foundatons, with such internal For resisting the invasion of northern to truggles as will depend upon the more or less ood sense of the now privileged classes.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

But we maintain. also. that any Socialist empt at remodelling the present relations beon Capital and Labour will be a failure, if it pe not take into account the above tendencies ards integration. Those tendencies have not ived, in our opinion, due attention from fferent Socialist schools; but they must. sed society will have to abandon the falof nations specialised for the production of ther agricultural or manufactured produce. ill have to rely on itself for the proluction of ood and cost of the raw materials; it must find he best means of combining agriculture with ufacture, the work in the field with a deralised industry, and it will have to provide " integrated education," which education lone, by teaching both science and handicraft rom earliest childhood. can give to society the

men and women it really needs. Jach nation her own agriculturist and manufacwer; each individual working in the field and me industrial art; each individual combining ntific knowledge with the knowledge of a aft. Such is, we affirm, the present ten-

How rigantic scale, have created the impression that leged classes was going on at a speed never few nations of West Europe were destined to dreamed of before. become the manufacturers of the world. They "His Majesty's Government, who he need only—it was argued—to supply the market assumed a serious responsibility for future provith manufactured goods, and they will draw tection of minorities, cannot allow such in hom all over the surface of the earth the food hey cannot grow themselves, as well as the raw sy. materials they need for their manufactures. The steadily increasing speed of transoceanic comdications, and the steadily increasing facilities sing, have contributed to enforce the If we take the enthusiastic of international traffic drawn in such a terly way by Neumann-Spallart—the statistiand almost the poet of the world trade—we officials in an Illinois prison cell throws a strike are inclined indeed to fall into ecstasy before the "A number of Class "C" Ulster Specials, light on American police methods. Campane Walts achieved. "Why shall we grow corn, g to a brough the painful work of the labourer and the "The few military on the scene tried to cope tract from him a confession of murder by whe larmer, and anxiously watch the sky in face of a ture. Having tortured Campanella to death, is pountains of corn from India, America, Hungary Russia, meat from New Zealand, vegetables er's jut from France. apples from Canada. grapes from lalaga, and so on?" exclaim the West Euro-Mans. "Already now," they say, "our food onsists, even in modest households, of produce Pathered from all over the globe. Our cloth is parts of the world. The prairies of America Australia; the mountains and steppes of Asia; the frozen wilderness of the Arctic regions; the deserts of South Africa and the depths of the ans; the tropics and the lands of the midnight

have our tributaries. All races of man con-

doute their share in supplying us with our

dress, whilst we are sending them in ex-

the produce of our higher intelligence,

nical knowledge, our powerful commer-

c'al and organising capacities. Is it not a grand sight, this busy and intricate exchange of produce all over the earth, which has suddenly grown up within a few years?

Grand it may be, but is it not a mere nightmare? Is it necessary? Is it advantageous for grown-ups do not yet understand it. We have various humanity? At what cost has it been obtained, and how long will it last?

Let us turn seventy years back. France lies bleeding at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Her young industry, which has begun to grow by to give us the fruits of our labour. You must underthe end of the last century, is crushed down. Germany, Italy, are powerless on the industrial field. The armies of the great Republic have fold more than we require. If we had entered the ered worse and still more acute by the arma- struck a mortal blow to serfdom on the Con- land of Communism with the acquired knowledge tinent, but the return to reaction tries to revive the decaying institution, and serfdom means no industry worth speaking of. The terrible wars between France and this country, which wars are often explained by merely political causes, had a much deeper meaning—an economical meaning. They were wars for supremacy on the worldmarket, wars against France, commerce, and industry; and Britain won the battle. She became in our cities belong to thepeople. No one questions supreme on the seas. Bordeaux was no more a rival to London, and the French industries seemed to be killed in the bud. And, favoured by the powerful impulse given to natural sciences and possessors. To-day there is no people; there are only technology by the great era of inventions, finding no serious competitors in Europe, Britain began to develop her manufactures. To produce on a large scale in immense quantities became the watchword. The necessary human forces were at hand in the peasantry, partly driven by force from the land, partly attracted to the cities by high wages. The necessary machinery was created, and the British production of manufactured goods went on at a gigantic pace. In the course of less than seventy years—from 1810 to 1878—the output of coal grew from 10 to 133 millions of tons; the imports of raw materials rose from 30 to 380 millions of tons; and the exports of manufactured ware from 46 to 200 million pounds. The tonnage of the commercial fleet was nearly trebled. Fifteen thousand miles and this is the glory of your civilisation. of railways were built.

It is useless to repeat at what a cost the above results were achieved. The terrible revelations of the Parliamentary Commissions in 1840-42 as ency of civilised nations. The following pages to the atrocious conditions of the manufacturing stended to prove the first of these three classes; the tales of "cleared estates," and those of the Indian "Mutiny" are still fresh in the prodigious growth of industries in Great memory. They will remain standing monu-Britain, and the simultaneous development of the ments for showing by what means the great inational traffic which now permits the trans- dustry was implanted in this country. But the port of raw materials and articles of food on a accumulation of wealth in the hands of the privi-

In the week ending May 15th, nine tankers, all owned by the same company—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company—or by companies in which it has a large share, brought over 21,000,000 gallons of crude Persian oil to Swansea from Abadan. This constitutes a record. The import of oil in the first four months of 1922 was 103,461,000 gallons, an increase of 8,312,000 INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO

gallons over the corresponding quantity last year. British capitalism is by no means bankrupt, although 2,000,000 British workers are unemployed. It is changing its theatre of operations; that is all. The miners will suffer from the change Schools and Classes. from coal to fuel oil; so will the boilermakers, the stokers, and many others. The workers are but pawns in the capitalist game. Yet they do JUST OUT. not make up their minds to cease working to maintain the capitalists and devote their activities instead to the general welfare.

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Brought forward, £161 3s. 1d. Mrs. and Miss Chappelow, £1; C. Webb, 3/-; J. Lees, 2/-; C. R. Hammerton, 2/6; Hon. H. P. Jones, 6/8; H. Hersey, 10/-; H. Holt. 7/6; E. T. Sellek, 2/6; Per E. F. Dean, 10/-; W. Holdsworth, 2/6; G. Sear, Jun., 3/-. Total for week, £3 9s. 8d. Total, £164 12s. 9d.

> WRIT ON COLD SLATE. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Price 1s. 7d., Post Free.

## PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. By Tom Anderson.

COMMUNISM, A CHILD'S LESSON.

Communism in our land is yet very feeble, but parties who are on the road leading to it, but their vision is not very clear. They are afraid, more than incapable of understanding its message. Communism means a class-less State; a land in which there are no rich and no poor. If poverty were to enter there it would be the result of some great failure in Nature stand, girls and boys, that all we have in the world comes from Mother Earth, by our labour applied to it. To-day we have the power to produce a thousandthat we have to-day, the working day would not exceed four hours per day. And in that time we would be able to produce a sufficiency for all.

Under Communism there would be no money. Everything you wanted would be yours by right If you wanted clothes, you would simply go to the department store and select what you wanted, and it would be sent to you. All your foodstuff would be selected in the same way. Just as water is to-day supplied by our municipal councils practically free, so would be all the necessaries of life. Our parks anyone's right to walk in them. Such an idea is undreamt of. Why? Because they belong to the belong to the people, because the people were the

Of course great bg questions are raised by the present possessors. When you say these things, they say you would be stealing their "capital," meaning that you would be doing something wrong. We tell them, however, that capital is but the surplus value taken from the worker, and that the worker has now which is called "capital." In our present "Class State," the workers generally "are beasts with muddy brains," because they have been up as "beasts." Even unto to-day they are rhoused and fed on a lower scale than the horses employed by our

In one city (Glasgow), 70,000 live in single-apartment houses. The one room they have is a sleeping apartment, a washhouse, a lavatory. All the cooking is done in it, the children are born in it, the children die in it. It is the entire mansion of four, five, six, seven or eight human beings, as the case may be,

I have on several occasions been to a funeral of one of these victims of our civilisation. The corpse was placed on the table, quite close to the bed the children slept in. All the family took their meals off a chair dongside the corpse. They all washed and dressed themselves in this little 12 ft. by 10 ft. 6 in. mansion on earth, and knew no better because they were brought up as beasts; and beasts, as you may know, are not supposed to have any fine feelings.

The parson called and prayed with the mourners. and said it was God's will. (He was a liar, but that did not matter.) The beasts in the mansion believed what he said. He told them that Jesus died for them to save from their sins, and the beasts bowed their heads, and many of them shed tears. The preacher said: "In your Father's House are many mansions." "Lay not up treasures on this earth. where moth and dust shall destroy." And the beasts said "Amen." Then they took the corpse to a gravevard and had a drink and feed after they came back. Then the beasts went to bed. And this is life

Communism would end all this. You would all be equal to Princess Mary; and you, boys to the Prince. So let us shout: "May it come soon!"

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# FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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## RUSSIA.

The Workers' Opposition in Russia has now allied itself with the Communist Workers' Party (Fourth International). This is an event of firstclass importance. It should show the Left Wing Communists, the real Communists, all over the world how the matter really stands. It should induce them to sit on the fence no longer, but

to come out and throw in ther lot with the genuine revolutionary movement: the movement which is working to establish some Reformist Half-Way House in which peace with capitalism will still be made, which will continue to strive and struggle for Communism, and the final end

of the war of the classes. The Werkers' Opposition in Russia has sent to the Communist Workers' Party of Germany the following manifesto:-

FROM THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION IN RUSSIA

COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY, FOR PUBLICATION.

capped in our endeavours to get to know the true charges of fraud, from which he has not always situation, nevertheless the copies that have come been able to extricate himself in the law courts. through to us put us in a position to form an Yet we must not be surprised that hundreds of idea of the immediate tasks which the Com- thousands of people have shown themselves munist Workers' Party has set itself. We gullible in this respect, since the masses in their heartily greet the unanimous determination to millions uphold the capitalist system, which deset up the Fourth International as being the cen- frauds and exploits them throughout their lives. be over-mastered by the Capitalists' Interna- capitalism. Hence his success. Had he com- ia some like way and with a clear knowledge of the right come of one of the ruling fam lies, Bottomley ke that course. If at the present moment it amounts to would not be where he is to-day. He was driven konvena convenient the acceptance of the tactics of the Communist to all kinds of shifts because he wanted to be kun with working masses, it must not be supposed that it rich. No man can grow rich by his own exeris a sign of unjustifiable boldness that there should tions with even tolerable honesty to-day. already be a stand made against the Interna- The harm that Bottomley has done as a re- "at a certain hour," "angry with someone," tionals which, together with their rational sec- actionary influence, spreading false and foul doc- "laughing at someone," where a link is required tions, are going to wrack and ruin in the back- trines amongst millions of people, and zealously of no particular meaning. waters of reconstruction. On the contrary, it supporting the capitalist system and its most must be considered as being the unmistakable evil features, is far greater than any of his finanof acting on their own. Even if this project cannot, and does not, at once assume a positive character, nevertheless, having thrown in our lot with you, and having left the social-democratic Russian Communist Party which has made business its chief concern, we Russian comrades are glad to find the support you offer. We remain in the hope that you will energetically build up the international connection and keep us well informed as to how things are developing.

"GROUP OF REVOLUTIONARY LEFT COMMUNISTS (C.W.P.) OF RUSSIA." COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

## BOTTOMLEY.

Mr. Bottomley, when sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, observed that, had he the steamer Karl Marx, of Soviet Russia, whi been given the opportunity, he would have had arrived at Hull the other day, are better be "something very offensive tto say about the than the crews of British vessels, and that t Judge's summing up."

We have been calling attention for some time third-class passengers does not obtain aboard t past to the fact that it has now become the Soviet ships, there being only one food standard habitual practice for Judges to act as super- on board. We are glad to learn also that the counsel for the prosecution, ramming home from question of providing proper accommodation of his position of authority and so-called impar- the crew is also receiving attention. tiality all the most telling points against the It is pleasing also to learn that the South prsoner, and literally dragooning the juries into Russian seamen were indignant at hearing the bringing in verdicts of "Guilty." Speeches conditions were said to be no better than the = of two, four, or even eight hours (it was 21 of British seamen. 2. in this case) have recently been made by Judges There, however, the reasons for satisfactions against the prisoner follows on the speech of the and are not even economically equal among counsel for the prosecution. A day or more themselves. There are still the old distinction usually intervenes since the speech for the de- of pay on the old class lines. The class war etc. THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION IN fence was made. The fact is that it is the Judge continues in Russia. Therein lies the need to who tries the case in these days. If the Judge the Workers' Opposition in Russia. There w is against the prisoner there is no chance of an continue the need for such a proletarian party in acquittal. This is clear to anyone who carefully examines the Judge's summing up, and especially classless order of society replaces the present the Judge's instructions to the jury in any of strife. the recent notorious cases.

If Mr. Bottomley, in his capacity of editor and publicist, had taken up the question of court procedure and the function of the Judge in criminal trials before he was himself placed in the dock, it is possible that he might have been acquitted the other day.

He was evidently too busy looking after his private fortune to do that.

As to Bottomley's guilt or innocence, in this case we will express no opinion; he is appealing against his sentence.

in gaol, if it does not end him, will leave him vidanta vin, mi esperas ke vi estas tute sana kai only a broken creature ready to go his way quietly ankaŭ via filino. Cu vi povos viziti min more To Our Fellow-Organisation, the K.A.P.D., to his grave without further intrigue and bom- por trinki teon ĉe mi kun via filino? bast. It may appear strange that great masses Multajn dankojn, Sinjoro, ni estus tre feli of persons should have been found willing to in- trinki teon ĉe vi. sed malfeliĉe morgaŭ ni es Comrades,-Even if we do not receive your vest in his Bond Clubs, for his career has been okupataj; ĉu estus egale konvena al vi newspapers regularly, and are therefore handi- chequered with failures, bankruptcies, and venus je ia alia tago?

tral body that will unify the genuinely prole- In a better society than this Bottomley might cu whether tarian forces of the revolution. It is just here in not have become the vulgar blatant imposter that dankej thanks Moscow that we Russian comrades recognise most he is. He had ambitions of a calibre that is egale equally clearly the vital and urgent necessity of establish- common to-day: he wanted to make a name for ekzerko exercise ing the Labour International; indeed, we have himself in the vulgar huckstering crowd, and to esperi to hope realised that it is absolutely indispensable if the make much money. His abilities were not of esti to be honest revolutionaries, the real Communists, are the finest, but they fitted him to appeal to the felica happy to be given an organisation that will not let itself shallow-mindedness which is a product of modern file son tional, but that will pursue its goal in a business- menced life with a huge banking account, or kai and Labour Parties by only small portions of the one of the rich without having come of the mi I

members of the Government who, in the interests of capitalism, and for their own glerifica
"Good day" unless you meant "I wish you altruism but consderations of business that not pure the expiration of The Hague Conference.

Bottomley's action in robbing the soldiers, the first words.

Through his Bond Club, was not worse than that

You will not find Sinjorino in the vocabulary, the first words.

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You will not find Sinjorino in the vocabulary, the first words. regard to pensions and the provision of work between the R and the O makes it feminine, for the soldiers on discharge.

Communistry (C.W.F.) or Russia.

There are many more Bottomleys in the dark and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and sordid haunts of gambling and speculation that MAL reverses the meaning of a word; thus, and the prime Minister of Roumania."

NEXT WEEK WE SHALL PUBLISH A It should be observed that our rulers made use E is an adverb, and therefore MALFELICE STATEMENT BY THE REVOLUTIONARY of Bottomley as a recruiting agent, and paid him means "unhappily." LEFT WING COMMUNISTS OF RUSSIA, as much as £200 a day for his lectures on the Cu vi povos (whether you will be able) just ON THE NECESSITY OF FOUNDING THE war, though he was just as fraudulent a fellow means in English 'Can you?' or "Shall you then as he is to-day. They have now finished be able? " with their tool.

## SEAMEN OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

We are glad to learn that the seamen abour system of supplying inferior food to crew a

summing up, and the Judge's indictment end. The Russian seamen are still wage slaves all countries until Communism is secured an

## ESPERANTO.

easily graduated readings with comments, followed later by a key.

We act at once upon this excellent suggestion, and will ask in return for an occasional postcard Commander Kenworthy interjected that such a from learners to report progress; otherwise a feeling of lecturing to an empty room gets held of the teacher at times.

## EKZERKO No. 1.

Mr. Bottomley is an old man. Seven years Bonan tagon, Sinjorino, mi estas tre felica

V	ORTARETO.
al to alia other ankaŭ also bona good ĉe at, with	morgaŭ to-morrow multa much okupa busy por in order to povi to be able
ân whathau	

sana healthy, well teo tea tago day Sinjoro Sir sed but tre very trinki to drink tute quite veni to come vi you vidi to see viziti to visit

vortareto vocabular

ests of capitalism, and for their own glerification, cajoled and forced millions of men into the a good day." You are not released from contion, cajoled and forced millions of men into the a good day." You are not released from continuous that not pure the expiration of the poor fellows who were pressed the next capitalist war.

## IN PARLIAMENT.

GENOA.

The most striking feature of the Parliamentary debate in which Lloyd George made his Genoa statement was the clarity with which it revealed that all the parties in Parliament, not excluding the Labour Party, have but one policy in international affairs. That policy includes the maintenance of the capitalist system, the endeavour to make British capitalism supreme, and the determination to put British capitalist interests before every other consideration. The Labour Party simply echoes the other parties in these icies. The reason, partly, is that the Labour mbers believe the interests of the British worker to be bound up with those of his emplover, and partly that the members of the Labour Party in Parliament are no longer of the working class: they have "got on" into the middle class, and they regard the class system and capitalism as permanent and inevitable. Some of them call themselves Socialists, but in reality they have never been converted to Socialism; they scarcely even know what it is, and have no belief in its ever coming to pass. But let us return to the debate.

Mr. Lloyd George several times told the A reader suggests that we should give some House that the Governments of thirty-four nations were represented at Genoa. If such a conference had taken place in 1914, he said, there would have been no war. When Lieut .conference might have been held during the war or in 1918, he was howled down with cries "Bad manners." Quite naturally, the knock-out-blow " fraternity did not wish to be reminded of its recent past, in these days of lip service to pacifism.

As to Russia, Mr. Lloyd George said that " without the assistance of the other thirty called that pit of squalid misery." There were hree possibilities, he said, to be considered in dealing with Russia: Firstly, war, which had been tried and failed. He was not reminded of the need to apologise for having adopted the war method because the members who formed his audience were upholders of capitalism and abhorrers of Communism. No Labour member cried "Shame!"

The second alternative, he said, was "to leave Russia to her fate until she has a more benevolent and acceptable demeanour."

The third alternative he described as "the

the House that leaving Russia alone might mean be a saviour of the people? " JE can be translated into English, as ON or the fall of the Soviet Government, to be fol
The Genoa Conference has undoubtedly done no substantial criticism to make. sidering it to be objective because you leave out attitude of the British delease. The British delease which dictated the into "the war to end war": what a monstrous attitude of the British delegation. The House, imposition is this!

a great scale always carry in their train comfisca, answered: There are many more Bottomleys in the dark

You will not find malfelice, but you know French Revolution had done that but French Revolution had done that but French Revolution had done that but French Revolution and the Prime Minister of Poland Comrades desirous of building up the Communist Workers' Party in Britain should write to munist Workers' Party in Britain should write to munist Workers' Party in Britain should write to munist Workers' Party in Britain should write to where the periodicals which mould British public if felica means happy, the reverse is unhappy, the reverse is unhappy. and make capitalism in Russia secure for the Governments had a hand in it.

present. The Soviet Government knows this, Mr. Asquith reminded his rival that on to say one thing and do another. Verbally, they paragraph of the Riga Peace Pact stated:want to maintain their revolutionary principles: in practice they are quite prepared to abandon his version is correct, it seems to be once more a case of evil communications corrupting good the deal with the accommodating Bolshevists was of Genoa. proceeding quite nicely until the proletarian festival of May 1st came along to upset things. There was a struggle between the extremists and the moderates, and the extremists so far gained the upper hand as to make a mess of the Genoa negotiations. The workmen in the towns, who adherence to revolutionary principle, and so the compromises that might have been made at

Genoa are postponed to The Hague. Lloyd George's versions are notoriously untrustworthy. It is a mistake to take them seriously. Though there are doubtless some truths interspersed in his remarks, he is obviously concealing and distorting many facts. The main reason why the Genoa pact was not cemented was that French and American capitalists were not prepared to let British capitalism have all its own way in Russia.

Unfortunately, the revolutionary industrial proletariat of Russia did not get the upper hand on May 1st, as Lloyd George pretends; the proof nations it was hopeless for Russia, whatever the definitely left the Russian Communist Party and of that is that the Workers' Opposition has Third International and thrown in its lot with the Fourth International.

account of the damage done in Russia by the on reparations being kept up. Lloyd George, intervention of Britain, France, America, Poland, being in power, is on the horns of a dilemma. and their subsidising of Wrangel, Denikin, Koltchak, and others, Lloyd George's impudent reply—the reply, it seems, of the allied capitalist not abandoning reparations. Lord Robert Cecil Governments—was: "We cannot acknowledge adopts the same tactics. under any circumstances that claim, the brazen reason being that the reactionaries who have also a jingo advocate of making Germany pay. fought other revolutions have not paid in- He now says that France must be told Germany demnities. The French Government assisted cannot be made to pay so much in the interests (No one challenged the arch-hypocrite on his the British Royalist Party in the time of of British trade. He was also anxious for trade Cromwell, the British Government assisted with Russia, but friendly to Lloyd George. The the Royalists in the French Revolution; tenour of his speech indicated that in his view policy of Mr. Pitt, the policy that abhorrence no bill for indemnities was sent in in either case. Lloyd George was to be supported with confiof the principles and conduct of a Government How simply this one-time professing democrat dence, and that he had done the best that could should not preclude relations with it which would identifies himself with the historic reactionaries! be done at Genoa. enable you to deal with the people under its Lloyd George has thrown in his lot with The Labour Party abstained from voting in We may be driven to adopt the second since George Lansbury, in that guileless contemagainst the Government. alternative," Lloyd George told his hearers, and porary of ours, the Daily Herald, was writing:

British capitalists are satisfied that the Prime again no one protested or dissented. He warned "And why should not David Lloyd George also

AT or WITH; for instance, "on a certain day," lowed either by a more extreme Communist its part in breaking down Communist tendencies Meanwhile, French capitalism is discontented; organisation or a militarist organisation. More- in Russia (may they rise again!) and in serving it feels itself cheated of its due in the matter over, he said, if Germany and Russia should still the interests of British capitalism (though the oil of war spoils, and when France is strong enough be treated as pariahs by the other Govern- intrigue is, perhaps, not quite so successful as French capitalists will make France fight Britain. ments, they might become partners, and Gerhad been hoped by them). There is, however, The British Labour leaders, the Daily Herald, must be considered as being the unmistakable evil features, is far greater than any of his financarpression of a determination to crystallise the expression of a determination to crystallise the expression of a determination to crystallise the is, perhaps, the one he hoasted as a virtue:

The British Labour leaders, the Daily Herald, and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald are preparing the public as a result of the Conference: therefore to be to more, he urged, Britain needs Russian produce public as a result of the Conference: therefore, British public to support war with France. , perhaps, the one he boasted as a virtue:—

"I was the King's chief recruiting-sergeant."

in O, and all adjectives in A, but are name and the Russian market. For these reasons, he said, the British delegation had fought "the that the Gener Conference has a result of the Conterence: therefore, British public to support war with France.

They shriek "French militarism" and talk of said, the British delegation had fought "the that the Genoa Conference has stopped another the black troops France has mobilised, ignoring In that great sin he was less blameworthy because he had less responsibility than the because he had less responsibility than the Thus BONAN is an adjective in the objective be observed that the Prime Minister found it Pact it to last for a polymerous producing a "Peace" the fact that British capitalist imperial greed,

where he got his information about the supposed He went on to observe that "Revolutions on great war he takes credit for having stopped, he

George cynically observed, must have credit, and tion in that way? Are there not British officers any breach of the law. This is exceedingly inwill not get it unless the Russians restore the con- with the Polish Army? Certainly, if prepara- teresting in these days of talk about penal refiscated properties, compensate the capitalists, tions were on foot for war between Poland and form, probation officers, and humanitarianism.

says Lloyd George, and is prepared to be May 17th the Prime Ministers of Poland and accommodating to capitalism. The "moderate Roumania had at Genoa repudiated any suggesmen," he says, are anxious to be accommodating tion that an attack on Russia was being organtowards capitalism, but they do not want to say ised, and that the pact between Russia, Poland, they are being so, because the Russian proletariat and the Baltic States forbade the war preparawould object to that. They want, like Lloyd tions Lloyd George described. Lloyd George's George himself (that is, according to his version), only tangible answer to this was that the final

"It would be useful that the parties at this meeting should elaborate at Genoa the precise them. Lloyd George applauds this attitude. If plans, in order to realise the above-mentioned

These words do not appear to indicate that the manners, for the Bolshevists prided themselves nations concerned were intending to go to war; on open diplomacy and having no secrets from but the ways of capitalist diplomacy are tortuous. the international masses when they first came to If, however, the Riga Pact was no guarantee power in Russia. According to Lloyd George, against war, we can feel no security in the Pact

Mr. Asquith and Lord Robert Cecil showed in their attacks on Lloyd George's statement

that their policies are virtually the same as his. Asquith criticised the policy of using force against Soviet Russia, but he approved that policy when it was initiated (nor did the form the public opinion of Russia, insisted on Labour Party then condemn it). Asquith explained that no American representative was at Genoa, but he did not state why the U.S. Government held alcof or what he would have done to secure its co-operation. As everyone knows, America held aloof because her capitalists are sore on the oil question. It is certain that Asquith's policy would be the same as Lloyd George's in that matter. Again, Asquith complained that the participation of France at Genoa was only half-hearted, and he also complained that the question of German reparations had not been dealt with. Asquith would reduce or drop German reparations altogether if he were in power and dared do so, so would Lloyd George, if he dared. The rivals both declared their determination to make Germany pay when the cry was popular in this country. They both agree now that it does not pay Britain to make As to the Russian claim for indemnities on like to abandon reparations; but France insists Germany pay the reparations. They would both Asquith, being irresponsible, attacks Lloyd George, both for not pleasing France and for

Clynes, who spoke for the Labour Party, was

Toryism in real earnest. Yet it is not so long the division, in which only 26 votes were cast

Minister did his best for them at Genoa. The

members of the Government who, in the intermembers of the Govern nations to prepare for an attack on Britain in

## OUR PENAL SYSTEM!

and you also remember that a word ending in George cynically observed must be a seed credits from the rich and you also remember that a word ending in George cynically observed must be a seed credits from the rich and you also remember that a word ending in George cynically observed must be a seed credits from the rich and you also remember that a word ending in the sense that they had never previously been even charged with assume responsibility for pre-revolutionary debts, Roumania and Russia, the British and French As a matter of fact, the prisons of to-day are factories of habitual prisoners.

## THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. Campbell.)

(Continued from last issue.)

A few illustrations will enable us to examine stituent Assembly that came together in October, these consequences more thoroughly. The well-known dissolution of the Constituent was superfluous; indeed, he goes so far as to

Assembly in November 1917 played an all- generalise upon it, insisting upon the worthlessimportant part in the policy of the Bolshevists: ness during the revolution itself of every popular

it determined their subsequent position and gave representative institution based upon a general a new turn to their tactics, at least in certain election. matters. It is a fact that prior to their Octo- "Thanks to the open and direct struggle for ber victories Lenin and his comrades had fer- governmental authority, the working masses are Kerenski Government in this matter brought ing quickly from one stage of their development tions against this Government. Indeed, in his cratic institutions is proportionately less and less tion, the more lively and powerful the political interesting little book, "From the October able to keep up with this development the life pulse of the masses, the more direct and true asserts that the revolutionary events of October technical apparatus." (Trotski.) did, in truth, " rescue the Constituants, just as Here we are already faced especially with this Undoubtedly, each democratic institution has its

We will give his arguments.

speaking quite candidly."

flow of workers, soldiers, and peasants into the relation of mental outlook between those elected tive government through general elections, and Socialist Revolutionary Party there was a able. strengthening of the Left Wing at the expense How contrary this is to all the experience his- Moreover, as far as we know, there has been no of the Right. But, nevertheless, three-quarters tory affords us! This experience teaches us to attempt made to call this electoral franchise into of the names in the Party lists of the Socialist expect the opposite: that the life blood of popu- being; there is not the slightest trace of any Revolutionaries were old Right Wingers, who lar emotion is continuously eaving the repre- election to any kind of popular representative therefore still dominated. . . .

account that the elections took place in the most amusing capers of the "repre- only a product of the theoreticians, and has, so course of the first weeks after the October sub- sentatives of the people" we witness now and to speak, never got beyond the green table. version. Considering its importance, the news again in every bourgeois Parliament? Suddenly Nevertheless, taking it as it is, we must conof the change that had taken place travelled our members of Parliament appeared filled with sider it a very remarkable product of the Bolslowly. In concentric rings it spread from the a "new spirit" and strike quite an unexpected shevist theory of the dictatorship. Each franrapital to the provinces, and from the towns to note; the most dried-up mummies hear life's chise (right to vote), like every other political the villages. There are many places where the great calls, and all the various little Scheidemann right, is not to be qualified according to some peasant masses were anything but well informed types find their breasts full of revolutionary kind of abstract standard of "justice" and simias to what was going on in Petrograd and ardour—if things are beginning to stir in the lar bourgeois democratic phraseology. It must Moscow. They voted for 'Land and Liberty'; factories and workshops, and in the streets. that is, they voted for their representative Are we asked to believe that the constant, 'Narodniki.' In doing so, however, they voted vital action of the mood and political maturity for Kerenski and Avrentyev, who broke up these of the masses upon the elected bodies will fail Land Committees and had their members to take effect upon the voting and upon the arrested. . . . These are actual facts showing rigid plans that are nursed at the headquarters clearly to what extent the Constituencies had of each party? Are we asked to believe that failed to keep up with the development of the the Parliament and the political parties will repolitical conflict and were out of touch with the main unaffected in a revolution, above all times? re-grouping of the parties.

That is all most excellent and quite convinc- the revolution, with its fierce ardour, that only upon those who live by their own labour; ing. But it is strange that such clever people as creates that rarefied, vibrating, susceptible politi-Lenin and Trotski did not tumble to the conclu- cal atmosphere in which the waves of popular sion that springs directly out of the above facts. emotion, the pulse of popular life act, for the a long time before the decisive turning-point representative bodies. That is just the very (the October revolution), and as its composition cause and foundation of the famous dramatic reflected a picture of the past and not of the scenes that unroll themselves during the first new state of affairs, it was a foregone conclusion stages of all revolutions, and in which the memthat the only course for them to take was to bers of the old reactionary, or very moderate disperse the obsolete, or rather, this still-born Parliaments, elected under the old regime by a Constituent Assembly, and then without delay to limited franchise suddenly become the heroic go to the electorate for a new Constituent spokesmen of the subversion, and are swept by Assembly.\* They did not want to, and could storm and stress. The classic example of this not entrust the fate of the revolution to an is the celebrated "Long Parliament" in Eng-As embly that reflected the Russia of yesterday, land. Elected and opened in 1642, it remained to the Russia of Keranski: of the period when in office for seven years, during which time its everything was in a state of flux, and which was inner life faithfully reflected each shift that re- burg. In our view, the Soviets, not the Concharacterised by a coalition with the bourgeoisie. sulted from a change in the temper of the stituent Assembly, form the essential administra-Well, then, as we have just said, the only course people, in thei rpolitical maturity, and in the tive machinery of the Revolution.

stress upon the special inadequacy of the Con- Speaker's first encounter with the throne, up to tioned adequately.

and comes to the conclusion that the institution

vently advocated the convening of the Constitu- accumulating in a very short time a great ent Assembly. The obstructionist policy of the amount of political experience, and are advancthe Bolshevists into he field with bieter accusa- to another. The clumsy mechanism of demo-Revolution to the Brest Peace Treaty," Trotski greater the country and the more imperfect its

they saved the revolution itself." "When we "mechanism of democratic institutions." On limits and shortcomings: a feature it surely said," he continues, "that the Constituent the contrary, it must be emphasised first of all shares in common with all human institutions. Assembly could not be ushered in by Tseretelli's that a somewhat schismatic, rigid attitude finds The remedy found by Trotski and Lenin-viz. preliminary Parliament, but would appear upon its expression in this estimate of representative the complete setting aside of democracy the seizure of power by the Soviets, we were institutions, and that the historic experience, however, worse than the evil it is supposed to especially of all revolutionary epochs, emphati- check.\*\* It chokes even the living source from And yet on top of these declarations the first cally contradicts it. According to Trotski's which all the innate shortcomings of social instep Lenin took after the October revolution was theory, each elected Assembly reflects once and stitutions spring, and at which alone they can to disperse the very Constituent Assembly to for all only the mental make-up, political be remedied. This source is the active, unhinwhich the Soviets were supposed to be leading. maturity, and mood of the body of the electors at dered, energetic political life of the great masses What could have been the reasons for such a the very moment it casts its vote. The demo- of the people. startling development? In the above-mentioned cratic bodies, according to this conception, re- Let us take another striking illustration: the pamphlet Trotski discusses the matter in detail. main the reflected image of the masses at the electoral franchise elaborated by the Soviet election time, just as the Herschelian firmament Government. It is not quite clear what measure "We take it that the months that preceded shows us the heavenly bodies, not as they are of practical importance can be ascribed to this the October revolution were characterised by a when we look at them, but as they were at the franchise. From Lenin and Trotski's criticism movement towards the Left on the part of the moment they sent out their rays to the earth of democratic institutions we are led to believe masses. At that time we witnessed a steady from such inconceivable distances. All vital cor- that they are on principle opposed to representa-Bolshevist camp. Very well, then, this process and the body of electors, all lasting action and intend to rely solely on the Soviets. Why there explains how it came about that within the reaction between both are dismissed as improb- should be, then, any need to elaborate a universal

sentative bodies, entering into them and con- body with this franchise as a foundation. It is "In addition to this we have to take into trolling them. How otherwise could we explain probably nearer the truth to suppose that it is

Impossible! The reverse is the truth. It is just by Lenin and Trotski, the right to vote devolves As the Constituent Assembly had been elected time being, in a most wonderful way upon the open to them was to get this rejuvenated and class relationships. It thus reflected the pro- \*\* The substitution of the Soviets for a Parliaadvanced Russia to elect a new Assembly. gress of the revolution up to its culmination ment would have meant not a setting aside,

the abolition of the House of Lords, the execution of Charles, and the proclamation of the

Moreover, did not the same wonderful course of events repeat itself in the French States General, in the Censor Parliament of Louis Philippe? Indeed—and Trotski knew this last. most striking example at first hand—we have it again in the fourth Russian Duma, which, elected in the year of grace 1909, during the most rigid rule of the counter-revolution, suddenly, in February 1917, experienced its second love in a passion for the subversion, and so became the so became hmhm rfrf dwdwluy uhrdl mfwy gkgi starting-point of the revolution.

All this goes to show that "the clumer mechanism of democratic institutions " has it powerful corrector in the living movement of the masses and in the uninterrupted pressure these masses exert. The more democratic the instituis the effective operation—in spite of rigid party programmes and out-of-date voting systems, etc.

electoral franchise is beyond comprehension. be viewed within those social and economic conditions and relationships to which it was made to conform. The electoral franchise elaborated by the Soviet Government is specially intended for the transitional period when the bourgeois capitalist form of society is giving way to the Socialist form. It is intended, therefore, for the period of the proletarian dictatorship. In view of the interpretation of this dictatorship upheld it is withheld from all others.

Now it is clear that such a franchise can only obtain in a society that is economically in a position to make it possible for all who wish to work to live from their own labour, and yet be comfortably off, and able to attain to a certain standard of culture. Does that apply to the Russia of to-day? Cut off from the world market and from the sources of its most necessary raw materials, Soviet Russia now finds herself confronted with tremendous difficulties. Not only is there an appalling general dislocation of the economic life, but all those conditions under

(Continued on page 8)

\* On this point we disagree with Rosa Luxem-

Instead of taking this course, Trotski lays from the submissive gesture of a kneeling but a development of democracy had they func-

WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollantay. (Continued from last week.)

What, then, is it that the Workers' Opposiion wants? What is its service?

If its service consists in that it put up before the party all the perturbing questions, that it subdued agitation in the masses and led non-partisan workers ever further from the rty; that it clearly and fearlessly shouted to the leaders: "Stop, look and think! Where do you lead us? Do we not go off the right It will be very bad for the party to find itself without the foundation of the dictatorship, the party will remain by itself, and the working class by itself. In this lies the greatest danger

to the healthy class call of the wide working masse. Through the creative powers of the rising Marxians, as men of science, we shall answer mic basis; it does not belong to the transition class in the form of industrial unions we shall go toward reconstruction and development of

In a basic yet brief outline we have already plained what it is that causes the crisis in our Now we shall make clear what are the most important points of the controversy between tion. There are two such points: The part to the requirements of a class. be played, and the problems confronting the

tariat. Only the Bubnoff group of so-called politi- recruited. cal centralism may be so near-sighted as to underestimate its importance and to say: "The question concerning trade unions at the present ROSA LUXEMBURG. Continued from page 6. sents none of the theoretical difficulties."

development of the productive forces of our coun- compromise with the bourgeois co-operative socie-(From Shliapnikoff's report, December 30th.) with. Take notice, comrades, "only if the entire system of control is changed." What does it mean? "The basis of the controversy",goes on the report-" revolves around the quesmaye form to all that heretofore was causing only tion: by what means during this period of transformation can our Communist Party carry out its economic policy whether by means of workers organised into their class unions, orover their heads-by bureaucratic means, through canonised functionaries of the State." The basis of the controversy is namely this: Whether we - That is an absurd state of affairs, which shows shall realise Communism through workers or over the Utopian character of this electoral franchise their heads, by the hands of Soviet officials. and stamps it as being a product of the imagina-And let us, comrades, ponder whether it is pos- tion without any basis in social reality. For sible to attain and build a Communist economy that very reason it cannot be a serious instru-The task of the party at its present crisis is by the hands and creative ablities of the scions ment of the proletarian dictatorship. It is an to fearlessly face the mistakes and lend its ear of the other class; who are imbued with their anachrenism, an anticipation of the conditions routine of the past? If we begin to think as when Socialism is established on a proper econo-

The root of the controversy and the cause of In view of the fact that the middle classes, creative forces of the country; toward purification the crisis lies in the supposition that "practical the bourgeois and petty bourgeois intelligentsia men," technicians, specialsts, and managers of boycotted the Soviet Government for months to it; toward correction of the activity of the capitalist production, can suddenly release them- after the October revolution; that they disrupted party by means of going back to democracy, selves from the bonds of their traditional conceptube railways, post and telegraph services, and freedom of opinion, and criticism inside the tions of ways and means of handling labour, crippled the educational and administrative which had been deeply ingrained into their very systems in the expression of their revolt against THE PART TO BE PLAYED BY THE TRADE UNIONS, flesh through the years of their servce to capital, the Workers' Government, it was only natural and acquire the ability to create new forms of that they should be made the object of all the production, of labour organisation, and of incen-repressive measures. These measures (depriving tives to work.

categorically and explicitly-" No!"

truth that a system of production cannot be stern course that had to be taken in order to the leaders of our party and the Workers' Opposi- changed by a few individual geniuses, but by break this resistance. It was just the very thing

Just imagine for a moment that during the which cannot allow itself to be frightened out trade unions during the reconstruction period transitory period from the feudal system, founded of its biggest display of might when a certain of the national economy, coupled with the organ- on slave labour to the system of capitalist pro- measure that is going to affect everybody has to isation of production on the Communist basis, duction, with its alleged free hired labour in the be enforced or done away with. On the other and the question of self-activity of the masses industries, the bourgeois class, lacking at that hand, this electoral franchise ostracises politically soupled with bureaucracy in the party and time the necessary experience in the organisa- whole strata of society, placing them outside the tion of capitalist production, were to invite all framework of society, whilst economically it is Let us answer the first question, as the second the clever, shrewd, experienced managers of the unable to create a place for them within its is the sequence of the first. The period of feudal estates who had been accustomed to deal borders. The disfranchisement, moreover, is not "making theses" in our party has already with servile chattel slaves, and entrust to them a concrete measure taken for a concrete purpose, ended. Before us we find six different platforms, the task of organising production on a new capi- but has to be regarded as a general rule that six party tendencies. Such a variety and such talist basis. What would happen? Would these will be in operation for an unlimited period. minute variations of shades in its tendencies our specialists in their own sphere, depending on the This particular application of the right to vote is, party has never seen before, and the party whip to increase productivity of labour, succeed therefore, not something necessary for the furthought has never been so rich in formula on in handling a "free," though hungry, prole- therance of the dictatorship. It is an improvisaone and the same question. It is, therefore, tarian, who had released himself from the curse tion that cannot possibly maintain itself in existobvious that the question is a basic one, and of involuntary labour and had become a soldier ence. The Soviets come as near to being backor a day labourer? Would not these experts bone as the Constituent Assembly to a genuine And such it is. The whole controversy wholly destroy the newly-born and developing product of universal suffrage. simmers down to one basic question: Who shall capitalist production? Individual overseers of build the Communist economy, and how shall it the chattel slaves, individual former landlords, be built? This is, moreover, the essence of our and their managers, were able to adapt themprogramme; this is its heart. This question is selves to the new forms of production, but it was not less, if not more, important than the ques- not from their ranks that the real creators and tion of seizure of the political state by the prole- builders of the bourgeois capitalist economy were

moment has no importance whatsoever, and pre- which production had formerly been carried on have suffered shipwreck as a consequence of the 12 p.m., to meet Comrade Tom Anderson, who will It is, however, quite natural that the question sudden changes in the estimation of and atti- deliver a short address. Music by East London seriously agitates the party as it is in reality the tude towards property in agriculture, industry, Labour Band. Admission, 1s. 6d. Refreshments at question: In what direction shall we turn the and commerce. It stands to reason, therefore, popular prices. wheel of history—shall we turn it back or move that unteld human lives will have been uprooted, Saturday, June 10th.—3 p.m., Catherine Road, i' forward? It is also natural that there is not hurled from their proper sphere, and left with- Beckton Road, Canning Town. Subject, "Athenion, a single Communist in the party who would out any objective possibility of finding some use the Slave King." remain non-committal during the discussion of for their labour power within the economic Sunday, June 11th.—3 p.m., Peckham Rye. Subthis question. As a result we have six different mechanism. That applies not only to the capi- ject, "An Episode of the Paris Commune." 3 p.m., of we begin, however, carefully to analyse all greater part of the lower middle classes and to "John Davidson." 8 p.m., Water Lane, Stratford. the theses of these most minutely divergent the working class itself. It is undoubtedly a fact Subject: "The Idea of a King." groups, we find that on the basic question—who that the closing down of one industry after an- Tuesday, June 13th.—Noon, Albert Dock, Conshall build the Communist economy and organise other has resulted in masses of urban proletarians naught Road. Subject: "The Fat Bourgeois." production on the new basis there are only streaming out into the country to find some sort 8 p.m., Tottenham Corner. Subject: "The Story of two points of view. One is that which is ex- of livelihood there. Under such circumstances pressed and formulated in the statement of prin- a political franchise that presupposes a general ciples of the Workers' Opposition, and the other conscription of labour is a measure that appears berwell. Subject: "Pro'etcult." is one that unites all the rest of the groups, totally incomprehensible. The trend of the deThursday, June 15th. Noon, Arsenal, Woolwich. differing only in shades, but identical in subvelopment indicates that it is only the exploiter Subject: "Across the Ages." 8 p.m., Minerva Cafe, who needs to be politically ostracised. Whilst At Home. What does the statement of the Workers' the labour power of the masses is being up- Friday, June 16th.—Noon, Victoria Road, Custom Opposition stand for, and how does the latter rooted, the Soviet Government sees itself, time House; 8 p.m., East India Dock Gates. understand the part that is to be played by the after time, compelled to hand over on lease, so Saturday, June 17th. 3 p.m., Clapham Common; trade unions, or, to be more exact, by the in- to speak, the national ndustry to the former 8 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith. dustrial unions at the present moment? "We capitalist owners. In the same way the Soviet Sunday, June 18th.—11 a.m., Victoria Park; 5 believe that the question of reconstruction and Government saw itself compelled to come to a p.m., Trafalgar Square.

try may be solved only if the entire system of ties. Furthermore, it was found that the sercontrol over the people's economy is changed." vices of bourgeois experts could not be dispensed

> Another consequence of the same phenomenon is that ever-increasing numbers of proletarians as Red Guards, etc., are maintained by the State at the public expense. In reality these things have estracised large and increasing numbers of lower middle class and working class people, for whom the economic organism provides no means whereby they can avail themselves of the labour conscription.

period of the proletarian dictatorship.

them of political rights and of economic means To suppose that is to forget the incontestable of subsistence, etc.) were called for; it was the that gave expression to the Socialist dictatorship

(To be continued.)

## TOM ANDERSON IN LONDON.

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

Wednesday, June 13th.-Noon, Leather Lane. Subject: "Rebel Songs." 8 p.m., Wren Road, Cam-

## UNEMPLOYED.

I met him in Trafalgar Square, fellow-worker. He was an old soldier, discharged medically unfit. He was not fit when they conscribed him. As a matter of fact, he ought to have been doing a seaside rest cure years before the war broke out; but civilisation in the hub of this Empire on which the sun never sets cannot afford such amenities for the ordinary poor labourer unless he is an "exceptional case" or some exceptional person takes an interest in him.

The Army soon broke down the remnants of his health. He was discharged without pension. Someone took his case up and he got a few shillings a week for a few months, but the pittance was soon stopped.

Now he is "down and out" he gets no pension, no insurance dole, no relief from the Guardians.

How does he live? He hardly knows, fellow-worker; he exists somehow. His eyes are half shut; he has boils on his face and neck; he is as pitiable an object as anyone you could see. He is "down and out," fellow-worker, and there are many more like him. I saw him at the unemployed meeting in Trafalgar Square, in a crowd of men and women in all stages of breakdown.

Mr. Clynes was not there, nor Mr. Henderson, nor any of the leaders of organised labour. In Parliament and out; such distinguished people have little to say about the unemployed. Your misfortunes have become chronic, fellow-workers who are workless; other people have got used to them; have you?

The Poplar Guardians are getting into trouble again for being too lavish in relieving the unemployed. But if you go down to Poplar, fellow-worker, you will not see the people there looking like the men and women of Mayfair. You will see broken boots, shabby clothes, undernourished bodies, drawn and worried faces in undue numbers in Poplar, in spite of the so-called " frenzied Labour finance."

The fact is, fellow-worker, the fuss that is being made about Poplar's expenditure is simply a warning to the other Boards of Guardians to harden their hearts towards the unemployed. The Guardians of most districts are taking the hint: they do not want to be surcharged, nor do they want to go to gaol or be made notorious.

Therefore, they line up solidly on behalf of "sound capitalist finance," and in a large and growing number of cases refuse any relief save the Workhouse and the Poor-Law schools to the

women and children, and the Labour Colony to the men. The unemployed who do not wish to accept imprisonment in the Workhouse, slavery on the Labour Colony, and the breaking-up of the family, choose the alternative of starvation.

How long is it to go on, fellow-workers?

Mr. Lloyd George is not disturbed in his mind by your extraordinary apathy; nor is Mr. Asquith, nor Lord Northcliffe, Lord Rothschild, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the King, or any of the other members of the ruling classes. On the contrary, they are pleased by your fortitude in suffering: they hope that your fortitude in suffering may increase, and yours also, fellow-workers, whose wages have been reduced beneath subsistence level. May you all continue cheerfully to sacrifice yourselves for the sake of the rich and powerful: the few who play the part of the horse-leech in our land! Be assured, fellow-worker, the comfortable upholders of capitalism are not going to stir you up to any revolt. They greatly prefer that you should content yourselves with a chance of winning a shilling or two through the bookie.

But you, fellow-workers, when will you wake up to the fact that the power to change all this is in your own hands?

The workers, with the aid of modern machinery, have the power to produce more of everything the community needs than the community can consume. They have only to set to work to supply without charge all that the community needs, to end all this misery and want.

How shall they do it? They should begin by organising on workshop lines in One Big

Revolutionary Union, and take control of the industries and transport.

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Tickets can be obtained from-Miss N. Smyth, 132 Fleet Street, E.C. 4. Mr. John Cox, 5 Brunswick Street, Poplar. Mr. Sam Young, 69 Salmon Lane, Limehouse. Mr. Mack, 149 East Road, Charlton. Mrs. Crabb, 23 Selwyn Road, Bow. Mr. Golub, Osborn Street, Whitechapel.

### MEETING.

SUNDAY, JUNE 18th, 5 p.m., TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

UNEMPLOYMENT: ITS CAUSE AND CURE.

Speakers:

Tom Anderson, Clara Cole, T. Hodson, SYLVIA PANKHURST, and others.

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