# conditions on S.S. Karl Marx.

# Founded and Edited by COMMUNISM. FOR INTERNATIONAL SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 13.

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1922.

WEEKLY.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## WORKERS, WHAT DO YOU SAY?

## WILL ENGLISH WORKERS FIGHT IN

From the start of the Pogrom by the Belfast Orangemen in the six north-eastern counties of Ulster against the Catholic minority on July 21st, 1920, up to May 28th, 1922, the toll of

victims is: ... 100 Wounded Catholics driven from their employment by Orange mobs ... Number of refugees driven frm their houses in quarters where Catholics

were in a small minority to (a) The Catholic quarters in Falls Road and elsewhere, or

(b) driven outside the six-county area altogether ... ... ... 20,000

From March 30th (date of Collins- De Valera Pact) to May 28th, 1922:--

Killed. Wounded. Catholics ... Protestants

Of the Protestants killed, one was an unknown man with rifle in his hands. Three others were snipers shot by military; five were shot in Protestant areas-evidently victims of mistaken identity on the part of the Orange gunmen. For instance, a few weeks ago one Protestant, a stranger from Derry, a baker coming from his work, was shot in the Crumlin Road on top of a bread-cart, within earshot of Court Street Police Barracks. This man was killed in an exclusively Protestant area, and the suspicion is that his assassins belonged to the same uniformed gang as the assassins of the McMahon family. The same gang shot two others immediately after one a Protestant adjacent to St. Mary's Church, and the other a Catholic further up towards Ardoyne. Even the Orange Press admitted that the shooting of these Protestants "was mysterious."

Belfast Catholics are now quite satisfied that the Orange gunmen on at least five occasions deliberately shot their own co-religionists the better to stir up the ferocity of their fellows, and to make the case that the atrocities on the Catholics which followed these were justified.

With regard to most of the other Protestant victims killed and wounded, the circumstances of their death show they were shot at by one or other of the Orange gunmen or the 20,000 Specials while shooting into Catholic areas. The world outside Belfast has long been deceiv ed by the fact that some of the victims happen to be Protestant.

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

help or hinder.

Herald says:

Northern Government."

n action in the North-Eastern corner of dayl. This country is virtually at war with and on behalf of the Northern Government, which rules over six of the nine Ulster counties. It may be that a compromise will be patched up. It may be that the attack on Ireland is a move to secure 'he formal and immediate abandonment of the struggle to secure an Irish Republic and the acceptance of the Free State Ireaty, which would retain Ireland within the British Empire, with a naval station established in each of her principal ports ready to interfere whenever British Capitalist Imperialism may judge it necessary, and with British war taxes to pay. It may be that this is the sole object of the present attack by the Ulster Orangemen and by the British Government; it may be that the attack will have a temporary success and that the Irish will agree to obey the dictates of Mr.

Fellow-workers and comrades, British troops

the Irish elections. On the other hand, the Irish may refuse to ubmit to armed intimidation by Ulster and by

Winston Churchill ir regard to the Treaty and

In that case, the British Government may withdraw and may compel Ulster to withdraw, nd leave the Irish to settle their affairs as they

On the other hand, neither side may be willing give way. In that case there will be war. It there is war, fellow-workers and comrades,

what are you going to do? Are you going to

the Belfast street fighting, and the Belfast street fighting is the direct sequel of the attempt to drive the Catholics out of the city." It was not weakness on the part of the

help or hinder the Government in prosecuting

this war of coercion? The workers cannot be

neutral in war, for the products of their labour

are used to carry on the war. They must either

In a leading article of June 6th, the Daily

"The trouble in Ireland to-day is the result

This is not correct. The Daily Herald itself

"The border fighting is the street sequel of

of weaknesses on the part of the two Irish

Governments-but mostly on the part of the

proceeds to admit in a subsequent paragraph:

Northern Government which permitted the attempt to drive the Catholics out of Belfast. On the contrary, the Northern Government was animated by malicious intent, for the Northern Government was, and is, the organiser of the driving out, and the Northern Government's forces, aided by British Government forces, are obviously the principal actors in the Belfast pogroms.

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

the Turks gives much concern to many of our publicists, but the Irish atrocities just across the Irish Channel are apparently too remote to interest them.

The Peoples' Russian Information Bureau did an important work in lifting the veil of official censorship and popular indifference when Britain and the other Allied Powers were intervening in Russia. A Peoples' Irish Information Bureau is as greatly needed to-day.

#### BRITISH ACCOUNT.

The British official account of the operations at Pettigoe on June 5th states that " as a result of continued aggression on the part of so-called Free State troops, it was decided that the Pettigoe salient should be occupied by Imperial troops."

"It was found necessary in order to dislodge some snipers in the hills to fire somt half-dozen rounds of high-explosive shell. The actual fighting . . . mainly consisted in a running fight across hedges and ditches.

"Saturday night's operation by water consisted in the crossing of Lough Erne by two companies of the Lincoln Regiment from Portroe Point to Boa Island, and thence to Waterfoot House. Free State troops fired at these boatloads of men, although they were moving in northern territory, thereby adding to the provocation. Waterfoot House is in northern territory. The operations by boat were very successfully carried out.

"The man who was killed was driving a Crossley car. He was not taking any actual part in the operation, and was shot dead in Ulster territory half a mile beyond the border line. The Free Staters, when they saw the troops in northern territory, opened fire on them. The troops advanced on both flanks of the village, and entrance to the town was not made until the high ground was secured.

"After occupation of the village several civilians who were being held as hostages because of being loyal, or because they were in some way related to the constabulary, were released by the military. . . .

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

## IRISH REPORT.

The Irish Republican Army Official Report states:

"With the exception of a portion of one street the town of Pettigoe is in county Donegal. On Sunday, May 28th, our post there garrison replied. During the week sniping continued practically unceasingly from the county Fermanagh side, but our men had definite orders not to fire unless they were fired on.

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

(Continued on page 4.)

## WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollantay.

(Continued from last week.)

The class instinct whispered to the first owners of the capitalist establishments that it is better of experience in search of the new ways and great problem.

intensity. a cautious way, carefully listening to the dictates secures freedom for the manifestation of class not with the theories imposed from above. of their class instincts. They relied more on creative abilities, not restricted and crippled by Oh, people, how many more lessons of their common sense than on the experience of the bureaucratic machine which is saturated with kind must you have before you learn that when the skilled specialists in the sphere of organising the spirit of routine of the bourgeois capitalist you rise with the hope of liberty in your hearts production on the old feudal estates. The bour- system of production and control. The there is no bitterer enemy of the revol geosie was perfectly right, as history has Workers' Opposition relies on the creative powers tionary masses than a "revolutionary" Govern shown us.

We possess a great weapon that can help us mise is deducted the rest of the programme. to find the shortest road to the victory of the But right of this point there begins the deviaworking class, diminish suffering along the way, tion of the Workers' Opposition from the line and more quickly bring about the new system that is followed by the party leaders. Distrust of production-Communism.

circuitous road of blind experiments. we are not justified in going to such an extreme duction. degree of despair, for despair can overcome only To all of them-Lenin, Trotzky, Zinovieff, and other day? the capitalist Governments standing with their Bucharin—it seems that production is such a backs to the wall; after exhausting all the crea- "delicate thing" that it is impossible to get tive impulses of capitalist production, they find along without the assistance of "directors."

no solution to their problems. since the October revolution has been opened shall we remove from them all the teachers of new unprecedented opportunities of economic the Supreme Council of Natural Economy and creation, as well as development of new unheard- let the industrial unions take control over the proof forms of production, with an immense increase duction. It is, after all, significant that all the in productivity of labour, there is no room for theses written by the party leaders coincide in

past, but, on the contrary, give complete freedom unions; for the present we "shall wait." It is to the creative powers of the future. This is also true that Trotzky, Lenin, Zinovieff, and what the Workers' Opposition is doing. Who Bucharin's points of view differ in stating the can be the builder and the creator of Communist reason-why the workers should not be entrusted economy? That class—and not the individual with running the industries just at present, but geniuses of the past-which is organically bound they all unanimously agree that just at the prewith newly-developing, painfully-born forms of sent time the management over the production production of a more productive and perfect must be carried on over the workers' heads by system of economy. Which organ—the pure means of a bureaucratic system inherited from class industrial unions, or the heterogeneous the past. Soviet economic establishments—can formulate and solve the creative problems in the sphere of organising the new economy and its producton? The Workers' Opposition considers that it can be done only by the first, that is, by the workers' collective, and not by the functional bureaucratic socially-heterogeneous collective with a strong tic routine.

"The workers' unions from the present posi- the following despatch:tion of passive assistance to the economic insti- "Berlin, April 30th.—It is officially reported tutions must be drawn into an active participa- from Moscow that the negotiatons between the tion in the management of the entire economic Vatican and the Soviet delegates have resulted structure " (the theses of the Workers' Opposi- in the recognition by the Vatican of the Russian tion). To seek, find, and create new and more Government 'de jure.' The treaty concluded perfect forms of economy, to find new incentives corresponds very nearly to a concordat. Memto the productivity of labour-all this can be bers of the Order of Jesuits and of the Frandone only by the workers' collectives that are ciscan Order receive permission to reside in closely bound with the new forms of production; Russia. with freedom to found churches, schools, INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANT only they from their every-day experience may and humanitarian institutions. draw certain, at first glance only practically im- "The Russian Government guarantees its proportant, and yet exceedingly valuable theoretical tection for these institutions. It also intends to Clear, simple and entertaining for students conclusions, in handling the new labour power create shortly a Russian embassy in the Vatican." all ages. Specially recommended for Proletana in a new labour State where misery, poverty, un- This is the rigorous logic of a " revolutionary " Schools and Classes.

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

To find a stimulus, an incentive to work—this is the greatest task of the working class standing on the threshold to Communism. None other, however, but the working class itself in the to go slowly and use common sense in place form of its class collective, is able to solve this

means in establishing relations between capital. The solution of this problem, as it is proposed and labour, than to borrow the antiquated use- by the industrial unions, consists in giving comless methods of exploitation of labour from the plete freedom to the workers as regards experiold outlawed system. The class instinct quite menting, class training, adjusting and finding out correctly told the first capitalists during the first the new forms of production, as well as experiod of capitalist development that in place pression and development of their creative that ideal is not to be attained by the path of the whip of the overseer they must apply abilities—that is, to that class which alone can another incentive—rivalry, personal ambition of the Workers' Opposition beather the Workers' Opposition beather the Workers' Opposition beather the Workers' Opposition beather the way repression are employed—prison, ill-usa workers facing unemployment and misery. And the Workers' Opposition handles the solution of death; secondly, the workers who, having three difficults problem from which for the control of death; secondly, the workers who, having three difficults problem from which for the control of death; secondly, the workers who, having three difficults problem from which for the control of death; secondly, the workers who, having three difficults problem from the control of death; secondly, the workers who, having three difficults problem from the control of death; secondly, the workers who, having three difficults problem from the control of the control of death; secondly, the workers who, having three deaths are control of the the capitalists, having grasped this new incentive this difficult problem from which follows the off their old yoke, find themselves forced into to labour, this new conqueror of labour, were most essential point of their theses. "Organisa- opposition to a new officialism in whose hand wise enough to use it in order to promote the tion of control over the social economy is a prodevelopment of the bourgeois capitalist forms of rogative of the All-Russian Congress of pro- far off as under the old tyranny from the conproduction by increasing the productivity of ducers, who are united in the trade and indus- trol of their own destinies, so that they may he free 'hired labour to a high degree of trial unions which elect the central body direct- freedom to develop their social organism and ing the whole economic life of the republic." carry on their industries in accordance with the Five centuries ago the bourgeoisie acted also in (Theses of the Workers' Opposition.) This point own ideas and knowledge of their needs. of its own class—the workers. From this pre- ment?

toward the working class (not in the sphere of Good-day, Madam, I am very happy to This weapon is the materialistic conception of politics, but in the sphere of economic creative (seeing) you. I hope that you are well, and history. However, instead of using it, widening abilities) is the whole essence of the theses signed also your daughter. Can you (shall you be able our experience and correcting our researches in by our party leaders. They do not believe that to) visit me to-morrow to drink tea with me conformity with history, we are ready to throw by the rough hands of workers, untrained techni- with your daughter? this weapon aside and follow the encumbered cally, can be created those basic outlines of the Many thanks, Sir; we should be very happen economic forms which in the course of time shall to drink tea with you, but unfortunately to Whatever our economic distress happens to be, deevlop a harmonious system of Communist pro- morrow we shall be busy; would it be equally

First of all we shall "bring up" the workers, As far as toiling Russia is concerned, for whom "teach them," and only when they grow up one essential feature—for the present we shall It is only necessary not to borrow from the not give control over the production to the trade (to be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE. ::

## Moscow and the Vatican.

admixture of elements of the old capitalist type, Under the title "The Vatican said to have whose mind is clogged by the refuse of capitalis- recognised Moscow de jure," the "International " publishes, without a word of comment,

Government, which in the effort to maintain ar consolidate its position (the prime object of Governments, no matter what their professe goal may be) will soon have made every possible compromise with the enemies of Commun Having granted facilities and offered ter ing concessions to those who enslave the worker body, the capitalists, the natural complement of such action is to extend protection to those w would enslave his mind. Soon, it seems, the only remaining enemies of "the official re tion will be firstly the revolutionists are still true to the revolutionary ideal, who per sist in preaching what all history teaches. compromise, and against whom all powers of

E. IRVINE.

## ESPERANTO.

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

convenient to you if we should come on som

### NOTES.

The word interrenkomti is not in the vortareto. but renkonti meaning to meet, it is easy to that interrenkonti means meeting each oth Malfrue also is left out of the vortareto, but than the British. frue means early, and its meaning is reverse

the prefix MAL. Edgino is another word that is not in the vortareto, but you will find edzo, meaning band, and you know that IN turns the word

into its feminine equivalent. Take particular notice of the verbs, remember the future, and US the conditional, and trans-

late these correctly. It is interesting to notice that TIU means that, and TIU CI means this, something after the Cockney fashion of saying "that her thing " for " this thing."

EKZERKO. No. 2. Bonan vesperon, Samideano, de longa tempo ni ne interrenkontis, vi estas malfrue kaj vi ŝajnis laca. Kion ni faros tiu ĉi vespere? vi preferus eniri mian domon kaj ripozi, ni kona-VORTARETO.

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

## LEAKEY'S

## La Lingvo Internacia Price 4d., post free.

## S.S. KARL MARX.

June 10, 1922.

Russian Soviet Steamer in Hull.

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

mrade Dick Beech, a seaman, took it upon elf to investigate the question. He reports hat the comparative pay of British and Soviet to the Union. via seamen is as follows. Note that for purof pay a Russian month is only 25 days, whilst a British month is 30 days. Comrade ech has given the wage in English money in oth cases :-

#### Russian. Per month (25 days).

rer moi	1111 (20	uays				
		L'ALL	£	s.	d.	
Chief cook			14	0	0	
Chief steward	·		14	0	0	E.
Second steward			12	0	0	
Second cook		2	12	0	0	
Boatswain			15	0	0	
Carpenter			15	0	0	
Quartermaster			13	0	0	
Sailors	a seem		11	0	0	
Donkeyman			19	0	0	
Greasers			16	0	0	
Firemen			16	0	0	
Trimmers			13	0	0	
		C I Fell				

#### British. Per month (30 days).

The second second second	The state of	40	£	S.	d.	
Chief cook	1.50	14.00	14	0	0	
Chief steward	F	F	14	0	0	
Second steward			-9	10	0	
Second cook	14.00	in the	9	10	0	
Boatswain			11	10	0	
Carpenter			12	0	0	
Quartermaster	× 10.00		11	5	0	
Sailors			10	0	0	
Donkeyman	7	•••	11	10	0	
Greasers			11	0	0	
Firemen			10	10	0	
Trimmers			10	0	0	
7 4				11 41	· ····································	-

In regard to wages, our readers will therefor observe that the Russian seaman is better off

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

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

Comrade Beech continues:-

"The s.s. Karl Marx is an ordinary cargo ship, wireless operator. A comparison with a similar means of a yearly rent. is due, and can go ashore whenever the ship years. allowed at the option of the captain!

'It is not my intention to exaggerate, but freedom. ad material, etc., to do the jobs with.

l arrived on board at an opportune time. purchase! he local paper, and was informing the men redeemed.

the meeting I talked with the captain—a quiet, honorary offices.

ship delegate, who is elected at a meeting of by election. Union rules. Every worker on board, from the gates.

"Amid-ships I was shown a fine library, with The Assembly further begged the King to take a good selection of books, fiction, educational, stringent measures against the rebellious peasants. supplied with better linen and blankets than one the feudal rights were abolished. Union has the matter in hand."

Press in Hull criticised the fact that the men of the lords demanded payment of the dues, the the Karl Marx crew are paid unequal wages. peasants stormed the châteaux and burnt the It is hardly for capitalists to criticise that.

that the wages should exist at all in a country peasants' crops, were everywhere destroyed. where the workers are supposed to have overthrown capitalism. We know that wagedom still had been taken by the lords, were retaken by the exists in Russia because capitalism has not yet peasants. been overcome there.

men of the Karl Marx should be paid unequal grown up, another phase was now entered wages. We can see no reasonable excuse for a upon. The middle class in organised fashion so-called working-class Government maintaining took sides against the peasants, in favour of the such inequalities.

### HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

On August 4th the effect of the revolution call out the troops to disarm all men without which was convulsing France was seen in the profession, and without domicile, to disperse the National Assembly. Amid scenes of enthusiasm, peasant bands and deal summarily with them. bishops and nobles arose to declare their renun- The municipalty at Mâcon hanged twenty peasciation of their feudal privileges. The renun- ants who refused to pay tithes. Twelve were ciation was, however, but partial and conditional. hanged at Douai. The Provost Marshal of the Reviewing its terms in the cold light of history, Dauphiné went all over the country hanging the one is forced to observe that fear was largely its rebellious peasants. At Cormatin the middlemotive force. Two nobles, Viscount de Noailles class militia killed twenty peasants and took sixty and the Duke d'Aiguillon, and two bishops, those prisoners. At Cluny a hundred peasants were of Nancy and Chartres, moved the resolution to killed and a hundred and sixty taken prisoner. abolish the feudal rights which the populace At Lyone eighty peasants were killed and sixty already ceased to observe; but the resolution post- taken prisoners. poned the abolition for four years, until August

Viscount de Noailles proposed that the personal about 5,000 tons dead weight. The number of services should be abolished without compensamen carried, without officers, are: Deck, 12; tion, but that the dues attached to the land below, 21; victualling department, 5; and a should be redeemed by the village communes by Cahill, 11/-; G. M., per N. S., £13; A. Hod-

British ship would work out: Deck, 8; below, The Duke D'Aiguillon, however, insisted Mrs. Hart, 3/6; Anon., 2/6; Edinburgh Work-12; victualling department, 4; and a wireless that the personal servitude, as well as the dues ing Woman, £1; J. Bernstein, 2/-; Proletarian tigos vin al mia edzino. Donu al mi vian capelon operator. The s.s. Karl Marx has also extra men on the land, should be redeemed by the vassals Schools, £2; per E. F. Dean, 10/-; Minerva kaj vian ombrelon kaj demetu vian superveston. Who look after the sailors' and firemen's quar- only on payment of a sum equal to the annual Café Meeting Collection and Tea, 12/3; Pra-The Russians can draw money whenever value of the dues and the services for thirty kasa Ras, 3/-; R. E., 3/6; A. Rachovitch, 2/-.

> eks, providing, of course, there is no regula- The Assembly decided to adopt the proposal on of the shore authority to stop them. On a of the Duke D'Aiguillon. The peasants, of ritish ship money and shore leave are only course, could not pay this heavy compensation. Therefore, they must continue fighting for their

give the facts as I saw them. As to accom- The few peasants who were in the Assembly nodation, this was far from what I should like. remained silent. No one pointed out the valuecommented on it to the captain, who less character of the renunciations. Le Guen de greed and said that alterations would have Kérangall, a Breton deputy, not a peasant, but een made, but the repair shops in Petrograd "dressed as a peasant," spoke of the "infamous re short of every kind of material, and it was parchments" registering the personal servitude possible to carry out improvements until they "imposed in times of darkness and ignorance," with a fine decorative drawing in which the

h the captain was speaking. He had a copy tithes, but on condition that these should be them.

e contents. Other members of the crew Nevertheless, the Assembly resolved to estaunderstood English had also copies. Mem- blish equality of taxation for all on the basis of of the crew expressed themselves in the income, a drastic step for those times, though sussion as highly indignant at the misrepre- to-day we demand larger measures.

sentation of facts in the British Press. After The Assembly accepted the abolition of

pleasant young man, speaking very good English It accepted the abolition of the Manorial -and other members of the crew, including the Courts of Justice and the appointment of judges

all hands as soon as the crew have signed on. It accepted the abolition of the privileges of His duties are to see that all rules and regula- the towns, their feudal rights over neighbouring tions are carried out in accordance with the parts of the country, and the provincial toll

captain downward, is a member of the one In accepting these things the Assembly was Union. The Union supplies crews for all ships. merely recognising what the people had already Every member pays 2 per cent. of his earnings forced to become the practice in a large part of the country, as we have seen in the early pages.

and so on. I was also shown what they intend Nevertheless, the first article of the Resolution making into a recreation room for all hands at adopted by the Assembly on August 5th declared the first opportunity. This place was also amid- that all feudal rights were abolished, although ships. My next visit was to the sailors' and fire- it went on to postpone and attach conditions to men's quarters forward. This place was more the abolition. Couriers were dispatched from roomy than on a British ship, and the men were Paris to every corner of France to announce that

finds on any British ship, except some of the Naturally, therefore, the peasants refused any first-class passengers liners. I observed that the more to submit to the feudal exactions. Even system of forecastle accommodation wants though they were shot down, they would neither scrapping, and the captain informed me that the pay the dues nor render the unpaid labour. The insurrection spread to parts of France it had Comrade Beech observes that the capitalist scarcely touched, such as Brittany. Wherever registers. The pigeon-houses and game which, For our own part, though, we do not think for the pleasure of the lords, had preyed on the

The lands which had been common, but which

In the East of France, and especially the There certainly seems no reason at all why the Dauphiné, where the peasant rising had first landlords. The lords and the richest people were fleeing away; 6,000 passports were granted to them within a fortnight. The middle class which remaned armed itself in an organised militia. The National Assembly, on August 10th, voted a stern repressive measure against the peasants, giving power to municipalities to

(To be continued.)

## DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £164 12s. 9d. T. A. son, per sale of ring, 15/-; F. Brimley, 12/6; Total for week, £19 17s. 3d. Total, £184 10s.

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

## "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small Dreadnought show cards but he made no objection to the thirty-five years' worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the meeting was in progress in the well deck, at / The clergy agreed to the abolition of their Dreadnought office by those who will display

> ATHENION THE SLAVE KING. FOR PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. Price One Penny.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor Business Communications to the Manager: Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240,

SUBSCRIPTI	ON:			
THREE MONTHS (13 weeks)		Post	Free	The second secon
Six Months (26 weeks)		22	"	6/6
ONE YEAR (52 weeks)			**	13/-

Vol. IX. No. 13. Saturday, June 10, 1922.

## THE ENGINEERS' LOCK-OUT.

The forty-seven other unions have again deserted the A.E.U. and left it to fight alone. Within the court, before the judge, Brownlie, the President of the A.E.U., is ad- There stand six wretched creatures; vising the members to accept the employers' They're lame and weary, one and all, terms, and we anticipate that his advice will be With pinched and pallid features. accepted. The A.E.U. members have borne The father is a broken man, suffering and privations on what was largely a The mother weak and ailing, question of the prestige of the officials; yet the The little children, skin and bone, officials were unwilling to put up a really strong With fear and hunger wailing. and united front. Therefore, the lock-out dragged on without the ghost of a chance of Their sins are very great, and call winning it. Now the officials advise the Aloud for retribution, workers to return to their work empty handed. For their's (maybe you guess!) the crime, The workers alone have suffered: official salaries Of hopeless destitution. have gone on without check.

tion of the employers' terms rejected by the They know the punishment that waits A.E.U. ballot. This modification Mr. Brownlie On those that beg and wander. describes as important. It lays down that, unless the circumstances are beyond their control, the employers, when proposing to make any change calculated to result in one class workers being replaced by another, shall give at least ten days' notice to the workpeople concerned, or to their representatives in the shop. An opportunity for discussion shall be provided, if desired, with a deputation of the workpeople or their representative in the shop. The em- The woman's chill with fear. The man ployers are therein showing a desire to negotiate Implores the judge: " Oh tell us, rather with the workers they actually employ, What will you? With our children small than with the Trade Union officials outside. Relentlessly expel us? When the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Com- Oh, let us be! We'll sleep at night mittee Movement flourished, the employers pre- In corners dark; the city ferred negotiation with the Trade Union officials Has room for all! And some kind soul to negotiation with the workshop committee. Will give a crust in pity. The employers, indeed, denounced the Workers' Committee Movement as a movement against Trade Unionism.

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

THE OFFICIALS AND THE RANK AND FILE. J. R. Clynes, President of the National Union of General Workers, at his Union's Annual Conference, declared that "conflict in the degrees of leadership within the Unions is a serious weakness in Trade Union organisation." He demanded "real power" for the higher officials of the Unions, complaining that at present they The father's dumb-the mother shrieks: are often "mere messengers" of the "masses "My babes and me you'd sever? of workmen." The workman "can be given a If God there be, such cruel act place," he said, in connection with workshop Shall find forgiveness never! problems, but "great national issues" must be. But first, oh judge, must you condemn

left to the higher officials of the Unions. This has been the view of the higher Trade I cannot leave my children dear Union officials for some time past. It was Mr. With you or any other! Arthur Henderson's view when he deported the leaders of the Clyde shop stewards' movement.

It is Mr. Clynes, however, who has taken the initiative in putting the idea quite so plainly that even the most contented worker should make no mistake as to what is meant. Mr. Clynes ignores the fact that he was once a worker; he has graduated out of the working class, and now looks loftily down upon the masses. He is no longer a worker. The worker might really be The judge, alas! has turned away, a lower order of being than the parasitic non- The paper dread unrolled, producer; the worker might be a being whose And useless all the mother's grief, capacities were stamped with a congenital in- The wild and uncontrolled. feriority. Perhaps Mr. Clynes thinks so; per- More cruel can a sentence be haps he believes himself endowed with superior Than that which now is given? abilities such as are possessed by no workman who Oh, cursed the system 'neath whose sway remains at the bench. Be that as it may, Mr. The human heart is riven! Clynes is determined that the Unions shall be

organised as though the worker were an inferior

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

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

## THE BEGGAR FAMILY.

They look upon the judge's face It should be observed that there is a modifica- They know what judges ponder,

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

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

And now the sick man quails before The judge's piercing glances:

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

To death their wretched mother?

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

MORRIS ROSENFELD.

(Continued from page 1.)

June 10, 1922.

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

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

"It was not in consequence of these was after the shelling that the driver of the Crossley car was killed.

rounding hills immediately afterwards. This presentatives will be of any value to the Irish shot had been fired that morning. After the jobs; but the workers will be led once more to with armoured cars.

town in fifteen minutes. We are going to and is still detained.

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

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

workers and poor peasants of Sinn Fein Ireland. Hour movement, to be handed over to the mercy getting a sad awakening. The peasants, with bare and insufficient land, larenegade English reformer? Have the Eng- No matter how one may denounce the Treaty and berwell. Subject: "Proletcult." and the landless agricultural labourers, have workers not punished us enough by being regard such events with horror. They are determined to drive out the Sinn Fein workers who might sow such Red seeds in the six north eastern counties. They welcome the prospect of an Ulster-British invasion of Sinn Fein Ireland which would exterminate Red tendencies the

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

Ireland might go the way of Russia.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

IRISH LABOUR PARTY'S ELEC-TION PROGRAMME.

The walls of Dublin are now placarded with election programme of the Irish Labour A programme is put forward by the There is the same plea for mothers' pensions, lower taxation, for the nationalisation of the always, for compulsory tillage, and the various

sregard that the workers have for constitutional or O'Brien. ethods; when one sees their readiness to fall Macaulay said that, in order to be successful "On Sunday, June 4th, at one o'clock p.m. Wising the enemy's methods to chloroform the way that leads to the Free State Parliament. as the congregation was coming out from workers into a belief in the value of Parliamen-Mass, a shell burst on an adjacent hill harv agitation. Of course I don't suppose Eight shells were fired at the town and sur- the Labour Party believes that Parliamentary rewas without warning of any kind, as not a workers; they are interested solely in their own shelling the British military rushed the town look towards Parliament for their liberation. They will howl like fiends at the ballot-boxes; they will canvass and cheer, and weep tears of "The Divisional Medical Officer, Colonel of if their candidates succeed; then they will

officers. As we hald two cars in the barracks, allowed to fester the sores of wage slavery. In the drivers of which had just come out from Ireland for the last few years we have tasted the sional medical officer asked for an extension of their right arms for the redress of their grievof time to get the drivers, so that the cars were have seen how strong they were could be taken away and all posts notified. when they sought support in the gun and the He (the divisional medical officer) was then bomb instead of the ballot-box. We have seen tangible, the tradition of Irish nationhood. placed under arrest by the British military, that they never erred when they looked at the Of course, in actual fact this tradition has flesh loss as a natural enemy, to be crushed like a the workers feared and triumphant. We tom is held aloft for public worship. lave seen them sweeping beyond the control of The spirit of patriotism, the clan-consciousness of

English comrades are loud in their denuncia-The strike on the job will go, direct The worker and the peasant, quite pleased to be JUST OUT. the Freemason Order in order to got restless and doubting.

We are damned if they will! We have learned branches of the Bank of Ireland, and the politicians Ireland that the only thing that the bosses fear will soar unfettered, etc. idates who are taking the field for labour is force, and we are going to use it at every crites, whether English or Irish, that imagine programme is similar to that put for- common sense and creative ability of the rank nservative Unionists, if they put forward can- the seed of the revolution will always be growware of the real nature of the Irish Labour and not in the Parliaments of the Free State. Party's revolutionism, this programme is not. We will see to it that the militant tradition of rising, but nevertheless it is disheartening. the Irish workers will find expression and life

country it is grossly disappointing to find that to be long-lived and loved in Ireland, a man must the people who should put that manly pro- be a fighter. Wee to them that forsake the amme forward are in the camp of the enemy, narrow path of revolution for the broad and easy

RANK AND FILER.

#### THE SOUL OF A NATION.

It would surprise the philosopher of 2,000 A.D. roundings of the people thereof. In Ireland at the present day it is a common stock-in-trade of the politicians to speak of the soul of Ireland as a thing Commandant Farrell, approached the senior go back to work and starvation while their poli- charcteristic of the soul of Ireland. They ask young British officer to explain the situation to him, begin leaders are holding forth in the assembly men to die, to shed their life's blood that that soul and was told, 'You will have to be out of the sof their masters blithering about mothers' might be saved. They proudly claim that Ireland has a peculiar character, that distinguishes her from the occupy it.' Our troops were immediately There is no hope for the International prole- sons inherit this Gaelic charcter, this spiritualising ordered to leave the town by their own brist while this curse of Parliamentarism is influence, born of the soil and the Irish tradition. They claim this soul to be something apart from the daily life of its citizens, to be totally unconnected Mass and were not at the barracks, the divisor power of the workers relying on the fear factories to be something without form that stirs the heart but never pleases the palate or clothes the body. They claim that the long list of Irish martyrs died not so much to better the conditions of their fellowmen as to save and preserve unpolluted and in

and blood for the politicians. It can generally be repent at the point of the bayonet. We have the common people are concerned, the empty phan-

he land, evicting bourgeois boards and setting only in the most highly developed countries. In Ire-popular prices. their own councils. We have seen them rise in other countries, because here it is always confused heir knees and taking the offensive boldly with the class struggle. The backbone of the Irish gainst the enemy with arms in their hands, national struggle has always been economic. It has nd now they are asked to hand over the defence been the struggle of the small peasant land the better their condition and free themselves from the their rights to the oratorical power of a miser- curse of foreign landlordism.\* It has been the struggle ble traitor of the type of Johnson in a Freak in latter years of the industrial proletariat to better their condition and free themselves from wage slavery. Because the Englsh garrison has been to a large extent synonymous with the economic musters of the people of J. H. Thomas and declaim bitterly against —the landlords and the capitalists—that struggle has Tuesday, June 13th.—Noon, Albert Dock, Con-

taken to seizing land and the industrial workers to the rule of the British Empire for the Irish workers. It has opened their eyes to Subject: "A the real nature of the politicians who were leading on At Home. for the Irish workers. It has opened their eyes to Subject: "Across the Ages." 8 p.m., Minerva Cafe, I Ireland for the last few years without con- to liberty. They now appear in power taking up the stem these tendencies, Dail Eireann has been string on us a gift of their labour traitors? The role of the English. The politicians who have just Friday, June 16th.—Noon, Victoria Road, Custom obliged to establish land courts and to distribute workers is going sold the soul of the nation to the British Empire had House; 8 p.m., East India Dock Gates. some land and to establish conciliation boards, be prostituted to the worship of that most glorious role in the liberation of Ireland. They wove 8 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith. and to make concessions to industrial workers, and to make concessions to industrial workers, and prois and in the foreground strutting claimed him to be the inheritor of the soul of Ireland. declaiming about the justice of cheap tea They have seized the worker eager to get rid of the others' pensions, we still have Labour misery of the slum, and made him the proprietor of

will go, the impossibility of allowing the made the possessors of something, valiantly shielded work out their own salvation will be that soul and those traditions with their brave bodies. The class war will give way to the the politicians have disagreed as to how best the dary development of society, and after a national tradition might be saved; as to what really , perhaps, the workers will be re- constituted the soul of the nation, the defenders have

the value of co-operation with the talking of resting at oases in the desert on the road to the land of promise. Of course the oases have got

a lesson in Ireland from the Sinn Feiners, and have got fairly unlimited letters of credit. The we are going to use it. To hell with Parliaments opposing camp of politicians, with ascetic mien, but well-filled knapsacks, are desirous of tramping on and constitutional action! We have learned in through the desert sands to the elysium where Ireland

In the meantime, the avaricious peasant, having got tired of the proprietorship of his nation's soil while coming elections that smacks strangely of possible opportunity; yes, and use it on traitors, the politicians are quarreling, is seizing the land and gramme of the British Labour Party. too, because they are more dangerous to us than hunting out the English landowner. The industrial our masters. A pest on all the fools and hypo- worker, mistaking the soul of the nation for creameries and mills, is hastening to take these parts of the national tradition under the protection of his brawny themselves heaven-sent saviours of the workers; arms. The leaders, however, look askance at this ther nanaceas for the cure of our modern social they have only succeeded in making the fight still manifestation of ignorance and demoralisation on the harder. The hope of the workers is in the good part of their proletarian followers. This chaos must be ended. This flirting with anarchy must be stopped. The soul of the nation is in danger of being sacriward by the Ratepayers' Association, and I sup- and file. No man can make a revolution, and ficed on the altar of Folshevism. The national tradithat the Sinn Fein candidates will have no man can stop discontent until he takes away tion is being dragged in the gutter at the heels of milar planks in their programme; and even the the cause. While there is discontent in Ireland the despoilers of private property. The smooth-faced politicians, both those who want to have a wayside will have similar planks in their ing. We will see to it that the seed of the remeal at the flesh-pots of Egypt and those who went ation platform. To those of us who were volution will grow in the ranks of the I.C. Army in conference, in order that an agreement may be reached which will prevent the common people from dropping the spiritual fight for national independence and taking up the fight for economic emancipation. The Bishops, the Press, and the politicians, with one One looks around at things here in Ireland and and energy in the cleansing struggle of the class voice, and with fat hands raised aloft, are beseeching the condition of the country and the utter war, and not in the milky vapourings of Johnson the mutinous mujiks to pause and consider before they destroy all the benefits that they have gained in the past. The mutinous mujiks, thinking the Bishops and the politicians got all the benefits in the past, are in line with any manly programme for the lay- under the British Parliamentary system, a man pressing forward more eagerly. They are even disoccurrences? that Pettigoe was shelled, as the ling of the foundation of proletar an rule in the must be a clever and eloquent orator. In order carding the earthly shroud of the soul of Ireland (the tricolour) and espousing in its stead the red ensign of the International proletariat.

Woe is me, O intangible Kathleen Ni Houlihan, thou hast no defenders now save the pot-bellied politicians and the capi'alist Press. All hail the new Ireland of raw flesh and warm blood, land of fat kine and rich fruits; wethy sons love thee, because thou art ours, thee and thy fruits, and we mean to possess thee. Too long have we been foolish enough to imagine that thou wert the property of the politician, the capitalist, the landlord. Forward, fellow-Irishmen, to the reconquest of Ireland for ourselves, even though we have to fertilise the soil with blood of our brothers shed in civil strife; for are not all men brothers? Yet those who turn traitors to the cause of progress must die, must be pucked like weeds and sent to perdition. All hail to the new struggle without flash or blood. They boast of the peculiar that is being born in Ireland! May it bring the message of revolt to our brothers across the channel, so that rising with us in common conflict against the common enemy we may heal the feud of centuries

> RANK AND FILER. \* This is the case in all nationalist struggles.

## GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

## TOM ANDERSON IN LONDON.

Comrade Tom Anderson, of Glasgow, well known as a pioneer of the 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 :-

Friday, June 9th.—Poplar Town Hall, Dance, 7.30-12 p.m., to meet Comrade Tom Anderson, who will deliver a short address. Music by East London heir reactionary leaders, seizing the factories and a race is a natural development which is destroyed Labour Band. Admission, 1s. 6d. Refreshments at

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

Sunday, June 11th .- 3 p.m., Peckham Rye. Subject, "An Episode of the Paris Commune." 3 p.m., Parliament Hill. Subject: "The Two Slaves." Monday, June 12th .- Noon, Tower Hill. Subject : "John Davidson." 8 p.m., Water Lane, Stratford. Subject: "The Idea of a King."

for having betrayed the workers; but can been clouded. The politicians could always point to naught Road. Subject: "The Fat Bourgeois." During the Nationalist struggle in Ireland a picture our rage in Ireland—we who have the oppressing power beyond the sea as the only 8 p.m., Tottenham Corner. Subject: "The Story of Wednesday, June 14th.-Noon, Leather Lane.

Subject: "Rebel Songs." 8 p.m., Wren Road, Camthe Free State, it has at least done one great thing Thursday, June 15th.—Noon, Arsenal, Woolwich.

Saturday, June 17th .- 3 p.m., Clapham Common; Sunday, June 18th.-11 a.m., Victoria Park; 5 p m., Trafalgar Square.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS. By Edward Carpenter. A TELLING SATIRE. Price - 4d.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP. 152 Fleet Street, London E.C.4.

## THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

(Continued from last issue.)

which he and his party friends have taken up. ruary-October, 1917.) This which is true in rich people in our land. A few poor people Precisely because this statement is correct and to respect of political life applies also to economic called Labour Leaders, have been admitted to the point, we are justified in saying that by life. Unless the whole mass of the people take Parliament of late years so as to blindfold the destroying public life they have choked up the part in constructing it, Socialism will be de- mass as to its real object. When I was a vound sources of political experience and prevented the creed or imposed by a dozen intellectuals round a man there were no poor people in the "House." further evolution of public opinion. Or we are table. left t opresume that experience and evolution Unconditional public control is necessary. at that time our class, the working class, said were necessary in order to lead up to the seizure Otherwise, interchange of experiences will take they had "no right to go there, as they had "no right to go there, as they had "cedar Paul. (Communist Party of Great Britain. vidual masters." of power by the Bolshevists, that they had place only within the exclusive circles of the no stake in the country." Owing to the reached their highest stage, and from now on new Government's officials, and corruption will machine coming into being, they had to educate have -become superfluous. (Lenin's speech, be unavoidable. (Lenin's articles, Mitteilungs- our class to be able to operate it, and so we "Russia is over-ripe for Socialism! ")

mands the most intensive schooling of the tion in the whole mental outlook of the masses: seeing, allowed us a vote, and with that vote at masses and an accumulation of experience, it is for the masses that have been degraded by cen- first we voted for them, and do so until this those gigantic tasks which the Bolshevists have turies of bourgeois class-rule. It requires social day. Some of us. of course, voted for the Labour tackled with courage and resolution, and these instincts in place of egoistical instincts, mass man, but our priest told us it was not the right tasks will remain ever impossible in the absence initiative in place of apathy. It requires an thing to do, and so did the great men in the of political freedom.

of the Government and the members of a party ingly, repeats it more persistently than Lenin. bring a revolution, and then we would have no even supposing these to be ever so numerous But he is quite wrong as regards the means to work and no country, for the wicked men would -is no true freedom. Freedom is always free- the end: decreed, dictatorial authority of the dom for the dissenter. We are certain of this, factory supervisor, Draconian punishments of not because we have any fanatical belief in "jus- the people, the terror; these are devices which tice," but because we have learnt to see that prevent a re-birth. The only way that will lead whatsoever political freedom brings in its train, to this re-birth is the school of public life itself, whether it be instruction for the masses, the a democracy that is given the widest scope, public healing of social wounds, or the purification of opinion. The Terror is just the very thing that our public life, it all depends on this condition. demoralises. Moreover, we have also learnt to see that political If all these things are abolished, what remains freedom amounts to nought if "freedom" in reality? Lenin and Trotski have set up

Soviets in place of the speculative bodies called becomes a privilege. The hypothesis that is implied in this theory into being by general elections. The Soviets, of the dictatorship, as expouned by Lenin and they declare, are the only genuine representation Trotski, is that the Socialist Revolution is some- of the working masses; but with the suppression thing for which a ready-made prescription is of political life throughout the whole land, life carried in the portfolio of the revolutionary in the Soviets must also be more and more party, something which only needs plenty of crippled. Without general elections, unreenergy to carry it out. Unfortunately (or thank stricted freedom of the Press and Assembly, heaven, according to how you see it), that is not without free conflict of opinion, life in every the case. Far from being a set of ready-made public institution gets stifled, becomes a life of rules awaiting application, the practical realisa- make-believe in which the only active element tion of Socialism, as an economic, social, and is the bureaucracy. This is a law that cannot tion of Socialism, as an economic, social, and legal system, is a matter that les completely be evaded. Public life gradually loses its some value, but the resolutions have none. It legal system, is a matter that les completely be evaded. Public life gradually loses its some value, but the resolutions have none. It lead direct from the Russian. Evidently one and file of the workers; the Social Democrats regal system, is a matter that les completely wrapped up in the uncertainties of the future. Vitality. A few dozen party leaders of inex-What we have embedied in our programme are haustible energy and boundless idealism take con- tion moved calling on Parliament to do somewhat we have embedded in our programme are small show the few big signposts which indicate the trol and rule. Subject to their authority, the thing; and it is the same to-day as it was them. Bucharin's book is called The A B C of Com- keepers. and to the petty bourgeoisie it direction in which the various courses of action management of affairs is in reality left to a dozen These poor Trade Unionists do not understand munism. As a matter of fact, it is about the general." will have to be sought for; these being mainly or so men of outstanding intelligence, and from what Parliament is. They think that they can be used in achieving the overthrow and from what Parliament is. They think that they can be used in achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action and the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow and from the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the overthrow are the light to the course of action achieving the course of action action achieving the course of action achieving the c of a negative character. On the other hand, no time to time an élite of the working class is by their speeches and resolutions, move the big of capitalism. Of Communism itself it does not Trade Unions, the Labour and Social Democratic Socialist party programme, and no Socialist text- summoned to assemblies to applaud the speeches men in the "House," but that is impossible book can give us particulars concerning the thou- of leaders and to vote unanimously for resolusand-and-one concrete practical modes of proce- tions. At bottom, therefore, the economic life since I was a young man, and they might as nationals is of great interest to-day. It shows The Fourth International looks to the masses in dure, both in the little things and in the big, passes into the hands of a clique—a dictatorship, well never have been heard of. Parliament does how the Bolshevik policy has changed since the workshops. that will have to be added in order to introduce no doubt, but not the dictatorship of the prole- not exist for the poor: it is the headquarters book was written. We give below some extracts, Socialist principles into the economic and legal tariat. It is the dictatorship of a handful of not the rich, and the rich despise the poor. The activities of the community and into social rela- politicians; that is, dictatorship in the bourgeois have passed into law hundreds of Acts to sale enclosed certain words in brackets, and have (Labour Publishing Co. 2/6.)—A slight sketch Solidarity." Donations to be sent to the tionships. That is not a defect of scientific sense, in the sense of Jacobin rule (the proroga- guard their own interests during his visit to Friends' Famine Relief Committee, which should Socialism; it is just where it scores over the tive of the Soviet Congress from three months years; they are doing so now. The poor have Utopian variety. The Socialist system of society to six months!). Furthermore, such conditions no need of Acts of Parliament or law. Parlie should, and can only be, a product of history. When the genteel refined war) great capitalist the ideals of the revolution, but the author's of this would be to protect the sum sub cribed It is born in the hour of fulfilment, cut of its tions, the shooting of hostages, etc. own special school of experience, and out of the Lenin's speech on discipline and corruption. events of living history which, like organic A certain state of anarchy will be unavoidable Nature (of which it is, after all, but a part), has in our case, as in every case. The rabble-prolethe wonderful habit of always bringing forth tarian element is indissolubly compounded with conjointly with the appearance a real social bourgeois society. need, the means whereby it can be satisfied; of As testimony thereto: providing for each task its natural solution. But 1. East Prussia, the "Cossack" plunderings. by the force that it commands. They only allow assistance to the campaign of plunder of minster, 1921. 2/-.) This work consists if that be true, then it follows clearly that it 2. The general outbreak of robbery and lar- reason to come in to blindfold you on things soviet Russia and its oil fields, and the largely of information compiled from Parliamenwould be disregarding the nature of Socialism to ceny in Germany ("Schiebungen," postal and that do not count. Men and women are all exploitation of the workers of all lands. tarv Blue Books and White Papers. attempt to force it upon the world by dictatorial railway employees, the police, total erasement of rated to-day by their social status. You know the locomotive to the purchasing fund to be decree. It presupposes certain modes of proce- the lines dividing well-regulated society from the what yours is; no Parliament will ever change against the criminal bourgeoisie the Socialist here shown that Ulster is not generally more dure backed up by force—against property, etc. prison). The negative tasks, the pulling down, can be decreed; not so the building up, the positive tasks. The new world. Thousands of problems. Experience alone can put one on the right track and upon new paths. Bustling life, life that is not hampered, can alone conceive a thousand new forms and improvisations. Life alone carries the power to create the power to overcome all obstacles. The public life of a State whose freedom is restricted is, for that very reason, poverty-stricken, formal, and barren, because it has closed its doors upon democracy and has cut itself off from the life-giving sources of every kind of intellectual wealth and progress,

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. A CHILD'S LESSON-PARLIAMENT. By Tom Anderson.

June 10, 1922.

Parliament is the Emporium of the Empire It is the place where the differences are adjusted between the conflicting interests. There Here Trotski himself refutes the position (Evidence: the year 1905 and the months Feb- only one class in control of it, and that is the That, you must know, is its other name. Rul blatt, No. 29.\*) The practical application of learned to read and write. Then the good kind In reality quite the reverse! If anything de- ocialism requires that there should be a revolu- gentlemen for whom we worked, being very faridealism that will bear down all hardships, etc. "House." So did all our teachers. They said A freedom that embraces only the supporters No one knows that better, puts it more convinctions, "We must be moderate, or else we might take it all away from us."

works the workers work in. You must always remember it is because he owns these things that he is great; no one can be great in the world of life." (Translated by P. Lavin.) to-day who does not own vast material wealth. And the workers, being poor, are of no account. and their mentality responds to their conditions.

Providence meant it so. . Parliament then cods him about his status in by E. and C. Paul.) and has a week's holiday. The holiday is of

the contrary, they make matters worse. The They are not coming down to you. Why should an one and only antidote: Idealism and social they? They are happy, and God is good and they activity of the masses, unrestricted political the world is fair, and your fathers and moth are beasts. There is no hope unless the beawaken and end for all time their Parliame and set up in its place a Commune. in there shall be no class. Then, and then on shall the children of men commence to h To-day they are beasts, thankful when they get a bone. That is Parliament.

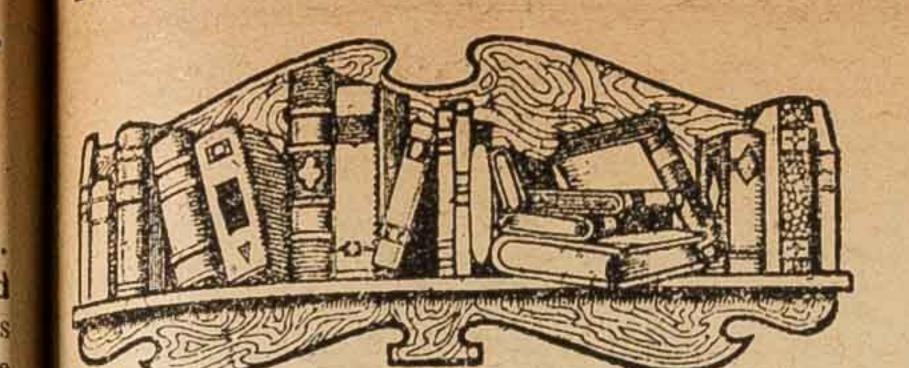
(to be continued.)

THE AXE TO THE ROOT

BY JAMES CONNOLLY.

New Edition, 3D.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.



## RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

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

e A B C of Communism. G. N. Bucharm,

present translation and the earlier one; in sible under the Soviet Government. aparatively few.

how closely alike they are :-

gramme proceeds not from the inner conscious- FIGHT WITH THE PROLETARIAT. ness, but must be created from the conditions Yet the Third International has proposed the

"When the Mensheviks find fault with us Buchann has denounced. on the ground that we have 'repudiated' our Again Bucharin denounces the Second Interold programme, and that in so doing we have nationalists. He says they say:

the Empire, and tells him fairy-stories of what the The similarity of these sentences is typical; tariat utterly astray." Trade Union Congress and moves a resolution, translation, should so nearly have hit upon the capitalism? phraseology later used by the Pauls, who trans- The Communists look for support to the rank

the present situation.

When the workers are not poor, when the Communist Party, Third International, instead of written. cease to be beasts, there will be no Parliament. declaring renewed war upon (the war) Capitalism, foreign Capitalist Concessionaires, as well 110.5; Ulster. 69.9: Connaught. 90.6.

"Having lost the power in Russia, Capitalism cannot compare with those of English cities of had also lost the power of robbing and plunder- similar size and wealth. Before the war, 17,000

But the Bolshevists have invited the capitalists for lack of accommodation. In May 1919 there

"In the very early stages of development the the factory and half-time at school). The halfworker who sat at the same table with his master, time factory child hardly exists in other parts locked upon the master's workshop almost as if of Ireland. Ulster gives only £1 14s. per 1,000 it had been his own, and regarded the master of the population for the provision of scholarnot as an enemy but as the giver of all good. ships. The average for all Ireland is . . . When the great countries had themselves £4 10s. 11d. per 1,000. been converted into State capitalist trusts, the In the death-rate Ulster is second; and Leinworkers continued to display towards these State ster, which contains Dublin, is highest. Ulster capitalist trusts the same sort of devotion that is highest for mortality from tuberculosis, and

suseful to get this book at last in its com- talist employer is a necessity, that devotion must years 1908-12 was 2.00 in Connaught, 6.62 in te form. The excellent translation by P. be displayed towards the State capitalism, that Munster, 6.88 in Leinster, 35.81 in Ulster. A published by the S.L.P., only gave the workers' control of industry is all a mistake, and comparison of cities in this respect gives Belfast, st half. There is a great similarity between that an equal economic status for all is not pos- 129.73; Sheffield (the highest in England and

except for the convenience of having the "... the Jingo Socialists (sometimes spoken 43.34; Cardiff, 43.31; Liverpool. 31.62; Dublin, parts in one volume, the work of preparing of as Opportunists) are transformed into the 16.34; London, 15.11. Anti-Irish Ulster had and edition of the first part might well have open class enemies of the proletariat. During the 52.22 habitual criminals per 100,000 of the been spared, since the labour of making Com- great world revolution they fight in the ranks population; Nationalist Ulster, 3.77; Ireland, sists is so vast and urgent and the labourers of the Whites against the Reds. . . . It is per- excluding Ulster, 5.73. fectly clear that we must wage as relentless a war The condition of the workers in Belfast is Here is an extract from both books, to show against them as against the bourgeoisie. whose appalling. Not only are there a great number agents they are. The remnants of the Second of children excluded from school for lack of "When the Mensheviks reproach us with International, which the members of these parties Very many of us believed them, and so we having broken away from our old programme, have endeavoured to revive, form merely a branch voted for the great men. A great man means and therefore with having thrown over the office of the League of Nations. THE SECOND a man who owns a large soap factory, an iron teaching of Karl Marx, we reply that the INTERNATIONAL IS ONE OF THE WEAworks, a coalpit, or a shipyard, or any of the teaching of Marx consists in this—that a pro- PONS USED BY THE BORGEOISIE IN ITS

United Front with the Second International

in a little box-room 12 ft. by 10 ft., and feel that the essence of Marx's teaching is to coning about the class war, for the imperialist war had to sew 384 for a penny. quite happy, because he has been taught that struct programmes, not out of the inner con- has entailed general exhaustion. It is plain sciousness, but out of life itself." (Translated that Kautsky's theory is an avowal of absolute impotence, that it is calculated to lead the prole-

is willing to do for him, and the poor blind many are even more closely alike. It is remark- What shall we say, then, of Genoa and the worker believes the great men. He goes to his able that Lavin, who translated from the German Bolshevist policy of peace and trade with

to the professional classes, to the small shop-

Parties, the Second International the Right and

and for the illumination of our readers we have In a Russian Village. Roden Buxton. purchase of a locomotive, to be named "British of our own which would apply approximately to Russia with the British Labour Party delegates be asked to hold the monies in trust for the in 1920. It seems on the whole sympathetic to Editor of the Workers' Dreadnought. The object robbers, the modern equivalent of the brigand reconstruction began in (August 1914) 1921-22, opinions are inferred rather than expressed. from confiscation by the British Government in the Socialist, Social Democratic Parties, and the Things are, of course, much changed since it was the event of war being declared upon Soviet

It will go. So will their Army and their Navy and instead of inciting the workers to revolt, Ireland and the Ulster Legend, or the Truth because they are the arms that carry out the lallied to the side of (their respective Govern- about Ulster, by W. A. McKnight. (London: will of Parliament. Parliament exists by force, ments) International Capitalism, and gave their P. S. King and Son, Ltd., Orchard House, West-

that, for if they did they would take their own the Third International (each took prosperous than other parts of Ireland. Amongst Should my suggestion be accepted, the Friends' The war began with the direct support of the tural holdings is also lower. The figures for nought week by week. cialist Parties.) The Capitalist exploitation of emigration were as follows in 1909-1913: Per t Russia and the throwing open of Russia cent. of population: Leinster. 55.8: Munster,

> creation of a native Russian bourgeoisie, The proportion of illiteracy in Ulster 6 per m at the direct invitation of the Russian 1,000 more than in the whole of Ireland. 870 Government and the Russian Communist people per 1,000 in Ulster were classed as able talics the approximate corollary of to-day: of the schools; and Belfast educational facilities do this work.

ing, the power of bourgeois exploitation." Ulster children were excluded from the schools to return. They say that Capitalism is necessary were in the Belfast elementary schools 1,613 halfto Russia's development. time pupils (children, who worked half-time in

Preobrazhensky. Translated by Eden and in earlier days they had displayed towards indi- spends least per 1,000 of the population on remedial measures. The number of habitual The Bolshevists also now preach that the capi- criminals per 100,000 of the population in the Wales), 58.55; Birmingham, 53.36; Manchester,

> places, the schools are also greatly overcrowded. The inspectors in 1909-10 complained of serious overcrowding and of finding "an atmosphere of appalling foulness "-in one case 75 children being crowded into a room only intended for 35.

The sweating of women out-workers is so notorious that the Government appointed a Committee to investigate it in 1911. It was reported that men's wages were so low that their wives must work; that among 531 women, 422 received less than 2d. an hour and 168 less than 1d. an A worker with his family will live all his life repudiated the teaching of Marx, we reply "When peace has come there is no use think- hour. A woman embroidering dots on a cushicn

### BRITISH SOLIDARITY.

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

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

The Editor of the Workers' Dreadnought should issue an appeal for donations towards the Russia, as the proviso would be that, should war break out, the money would be handed over to the Friends for their international war victims'

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

3. The rapid deterioration of the trade union life. And their life consists of all the sunshing the same stand under the heard population the Income Tax assessment Committee would not by the Workers' Dreadleaders. In face of this, the dragooning mea- and roses that are in the world. And yours to bourgeois Government) per head and per family is lower than for the mought of the donations received, and these sures taken by the Terror are powerless. On all the mud, and vice, and dirt and drudger, the would be announced in the Workers' Dread-

> Yours fraternally, JOHN BROWN.

## COMMUNIST PILGRIMS.

We continue to receive applications for speakers to read and write. Ulster is behind the rest of to go into other districts for Communist prepaalso the following passages. We give Ireland in regard to the conditions and standards ganda, and wish to hear from comrades able to

#### TO THE HOMELESS.

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

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

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

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

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

Fellow-worker, you are homeless. Perhaps, patiently do you endure your misery and discomfort.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Who Pays the Taxes (Daniel de Leon) ..... 2d. Socialism and Evolution (H. S. Aley, M.D.) 1d. Marx on Mallock: Or Facts v. Fiction (Daniel de Leon) ...... 2d. Novels, Poetry, etc., with a Communist Tendency Cloth Covers.

Looking Backward (Edward Bellamy) ..... 3/stiff boards 3/6 Looking Beyond. A Sequel to "Looking Backward" (L. A. Geiszler) ...... 3/-Dreams (Olive Schreiner) ...... 3/. The Red Lily (Anatole France) ..... 2/-Penguin Island (Anatole France) ...... 2/-Thais (Anatole France) ...... 2/-

POPLAR TOWN HALL NEWBY PLACE A GRAND DANCE

will be held in the above hall on FRIDAY, JUNE 9th, 1922, commencing at 8 p.m. Doors open at 7.30 p.m.

SAM YOUNG'S ORCHESTRA IN ATTENDANCE.

M.C.: MR. C. W. ANDERSON. Admission, 1s. 6d.

Tickets can be obtained from-Miss N. Smyth, 152 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.

NEMPLOYMENT: ITS CAUSE AND CURE

Speakers:

TOM ANDERSON, CLARA COLE, T. HODSON, SYLVIA PANKHURST, and others.

### FOURTH INTERNATIONAL COM-MUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

Communism no compromise with Reformism, non Parliamentary. Preparation for the Soviets by means of the One Big Revolutionary Union built up from workshop basis.

Write to the Preliminary Committee, Worker Dreadnought Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

NEW HALFPENNY LEAFLETS. 4½d. a dozen, 2s. 6d. per hundred, post free. Dreadnought Publishers, 152 Fleet St., E.C.4

## THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollontay

Describes and explains the Communist Prole tarian Movement which has grown up in Po to oppose the Soviet Government Economic Policy " of reversion to Capitalia

## THE GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

Programme and Rules of the Revolutionar Union, which includes all industries and is bu up from the workshop basis.

## AT HOME,

Minerva Café, Thursday, June 15th, 7.30 p.m., TO MEET TOM ANDERSON. All are welcome.

## SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS-1d. a Word.

-Would like to buy some books on Free Thoug FRANK J. DENT, 156 Whitecross Street, E.C. 1

HAND-MADE STRAW HATS, 10/- each, in all colou plain, and variegated, to harmonise with your material. Proceeds to the Workers' Dreadnought 10 Fund. Apply: Box 1 D, Workers' Dreadnoug Office.

Published by E. Sylvia Panksuret at 152, Street, Lendon, E.C. 4, and printed by B. at 10, Wine Office Court, Floor Street, La B.O. 4.

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT BOOK SERVICE.

152, FLEET STREET

(ENTRANCE, FIRST DOOR ON LEFT IN BOLT COURT FROM FLEET STREET.)

We can supply you with any book, magazine, or newspaper you desire, new or second-hand, from British Colonial, or, foreign publishers Give us all particulars you have, and send a deposit.

By buying books from us, irade discount is transferred to propaganda; for this reason, send your order direct to us, and not through other societies.

At our office you may consult publishers cata logues and place your order for any book not in stock.

If you order by post, you must add. . . the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage.

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price at current rate of exchange. Purchasers will save themselves trouble by opening an account of 10/- or 20/with us, in order to avoid the repeated sending of small postal orders, which means paying useless poundage to the Government.

### WE CAN SUPPLY!

### Books on History, Economics, etc.

Cloth Covers.	1
Woman and Labour (Olive Schreiner)	4/6
Social Theory (G. D. H. Cole)	4/6
Capital To-day (Cahn)	10/-
Government and People (Conrad Gill)	7/6
A.B.C. of Communism (Bukharin)	3/6
The Inequality of Incomes in Modern Com-	1000
munities (Hugh Dalton, M.A.), 8vo	10/6
Creative Revolution (C. & E. Paul)	8/6

Origin of Poverty, and Formation of the Village Community (J. St. Lewinski, D.Ec.Sc., Brussels) ...... 3/6 Justice and Liberty (G: Lowes Dickinson). 3/-The Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain in the 19th Century (L. C. A. Knowles, Litt.D.). 432 pp. 6/6 The Next War (Will Irwin) ...... 7/6 Radiant Motherhood (Marie Stopes) ...... 6/-Married Love (Marie Stopes) ...... 6/-Poverty of Philosophy (Marx) ...... 7/-Science and Revolution (Untermann)...... 3/6 The World's Revolutions (Untermann)...... 3/6 Marxian Economics (Untermann) ...... 6/6 Anarchism and Socialism (Plechanof) ...... 3/6 The Collapse of Capitalism (Cahn) ...... 3/6 Capitalism To-day (Cahn) ...... 10/-The Right to be Lazy (Lafargue) ...... 3/6 Social Studies (Lafargue) ...... 3/6 The Evolution of Property (Lafargue) ..... 3/6 Memoirs of Marx (Wilhelm Liebknecht) 3/6 Origin of the Family (Engels) ...... 3/6 Essays on Materialist Conception of History (Labriola) ..... 6/6 Wages, Prices and Profits ...... 4/6 Men and Steel (Mary Heaton Vorse) ..... 3/6 Capital (Karl Marx) ...... 7/6 Socialism and Modern Science (Ferri)..... 6/6 Economic Causes of War (Achille Loria) ... 6/6 Alphabet of Economics (A. R. Orage) ..... 2/6 Fields, Factories and Workshops (Kropotkin) 2/-Conquest of Bread (Kropotkin) ...... 2/-Hugo Stinnes (H. Brinckmayer) ..... 7/6 International Labour Legislation (H. J. W. Hetherington, M.A.) ...... 4/6 Paper Covers. The Irish Labour Movement (W. P. Ryan) 2/6 Left Wing Trade Unionism in France (Pierre Monatte and others) ...... 1/6 Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power? Oil (Francis Delaisi) ..... 2/6 The Eighteenth Brumaire (Karl Marx) ..... 1/6 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (Engels) 16 Study Course in Scientific Socialism ...... 1/6 No Compromise (Liebknecht) ...... 8d. Marxism and Darwinism (Pannekoek) ..... 8d.

The Right to be Lazy (Paul Lafargue) ..... 8d.