pesirable Mansions by Edward Carpenter.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR STRUGGLE.

With the bombardment of the "fortress" of Fordsburg, the Rand Strike ended. The Revolun that never existed was crushed. The massacre was accomplished. Smuts and the hamber of Mines were triumphant.

When I undertook to tell the history of this, he biggest struggle on the Rand-the biggest in the whole labour history of South Africa, in fact-I had not anticipated the tragic turn of events that I should have known would be inevitable since the 1913 precedent.

It will be understood from my previous letters that the war spirit was entirely absent from the strike commandos, in so far as this presaged a revolutionary struggle. That some sort of struggle was necessary was obvious, but this was not anticipated as meaning more than the same sort of thing that happens in British Labour struggles. The statement that the police found documents on captured spies, exposing a revolutionary plot, is an incredibly ridiculous piece of nonsense. It is just as easy to invent spies as it is to invent a revolutionary plot and to forge the necessary incriminating documents.

What I want to point out-and on this I place he firmest insistence—is that it takes the revolutionary spirit to make a revolution. There must be not only the tyrant and the rebel, but there must also be a revolutionary purpose. To imagine that the Rand miners were out for a revolution, is to imagine a vain thing. It is to imagine A THING THAT NEVER EXISTED.

The first encounter between police and strikers occurred on February 27th.

The use of commandos for "pulling out scabs" and been prohibited by Chief of Police Truter. The use of pickets had been forbidden under an old Boer law concerning liberty. When, therefore, the police saw a commando moving at Boksburg, they tried to disperse it. The result was many casualties—on the side of the strikers.

Hitherto the commandos were absolutely peaceful. The harrying attention of the police could not, however, fail to raise a fighting spirit. But as late as March 6th the commandos were still unarmed. A press report of this date describes Johannesburg filled with mounted police with rifles at the carry and the strikers were only armed with red flags and "bludgeons, such as pick-handles."

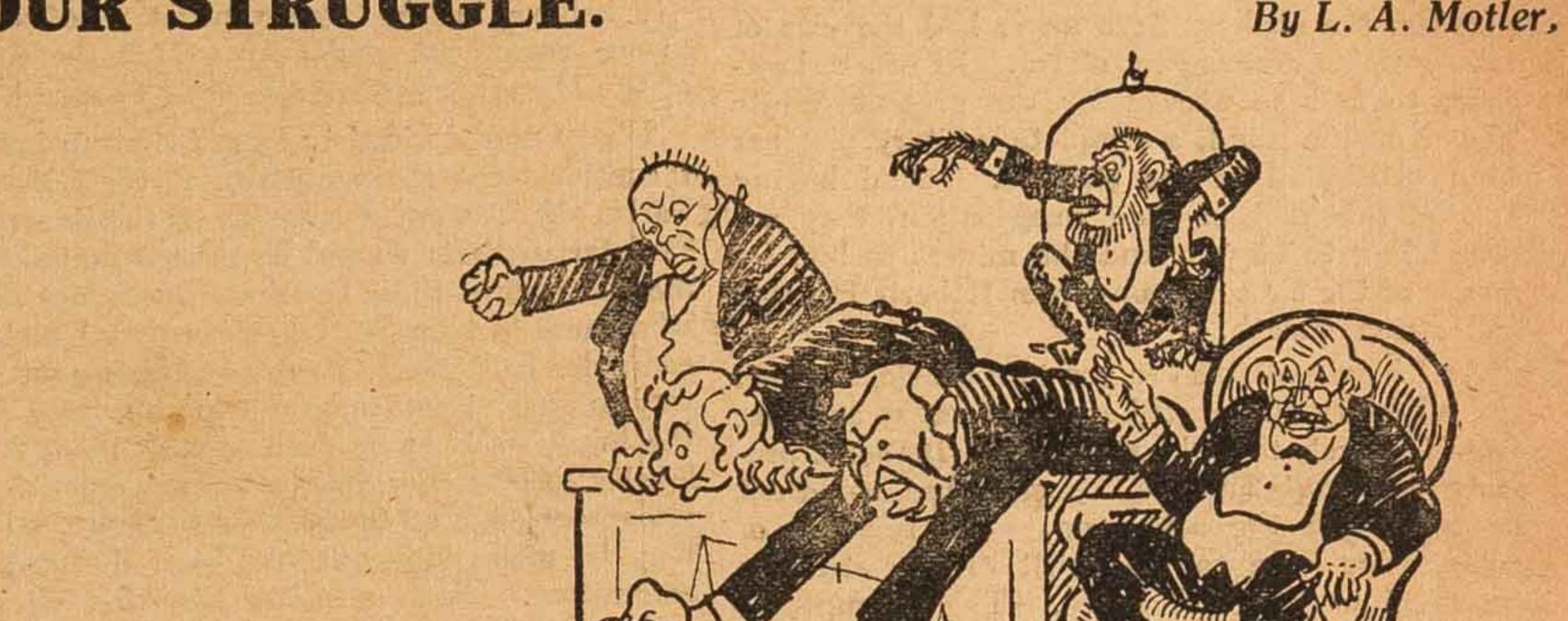
Skirmishes were now the order of the daythe aim of the police being to break up the commandos in body and spirit. Bayonet charges were common.

The Strike Executive had at last proclaimed the ing-delayed general strike. This was distinctly failure, and the commandos moved about trying make it effective. But the police were everywhere blockading, obstructing and terrorising.

On March 7th some firing occurred near the lative quarters, and an Indian woman was killed; it this firing occurred at night; and if the idea as is alleged by the police, to terrorise the ticks, it was singularly ineffective. The firing has therefore resumed next day and six natives were said to have been killed in the Vrededorp listrict, 19 being being wounded.

The S.A.I.F. Executive however, condemned le attacks on the natives, and it is doubtful if was the actual work of strikers. Vrededorp is e poorest district in Johannesburg, and contains great deal of the hooligan element. It lends self well to the work of provocateurs.

It should be remembered also that, as far lack as February, the Communist organ in ohannesburg, warned the strikers of the Mobable attempt of the police to embroil the



NATIONAL ECONOMY.

"We don't want to save you any longer: you are too expensive. Your milk bill must be cut down, and your numbers limited."

when the round-up of the Red elements amongst the strikers began. .

It is at this point that events began to take

their most serious turn so far.

On Friday, March 10th, martial law was declared, and the police occupied the Town Hall, which the strikers had hitherto been using daily for their meetings. The Trades Hall was also occupied. This building houses most of the Trade Unions on the Rand.

Aeroplanes and machine-guns began to be in evidence, and the police were reinforced by the military. The G.H.Q. at Pretoria issued military communiques in war fashion. The strikers were officially described as revolutionaries and as being in possession of machine-guns and hand grenades.

All the Government aeroplanes carried bombs, and these were dropped indiscriminately wherever bodies of men were found. The Government having now discovered a revolution, they proceeded to wipe out the bogey of their own imagination in blood and iron.

When he was at Pretoria, Smuts had seen representatives from the strikers, the Chamber of Mines, and the Nationalist and Labour M.P.s. The result was that he issued an appeal for the men to return to work, promising more than ample police protection. Having launched this attempt to split the ranks of the strikers, he returned to Cape Town where Parliament was now opened. There is no doubt, however, that by this time he had mobilised all his forces.

To prove this, it is only necessary to state that -in the words of a capitalist sheet-within 70 hours of martial law being declared, the revolution was crushed.

All that was necessary was for the military and police to co-operate in rounding up the strikers and concentrating them on outside dorps where they could be wiped out. In this way it is stated that over 100 were killed, 500 wounded, and 11,000 prisoners taken. The last I believe to be

an exaggeration. After the military and police had taken Brakpan and Benoni, they wer easily able to concern

whites with the blacks. No wonder that the trate on Fordsburg. This was the pièce de re-Editor of this paper was subsequently arrested sistance of the revolution, and was watched by Smuts and his friends from a comanding position. No doubt his lords of the Corner House were there to see he did his duty. The result, everyone knows.

> The strike has thus been brokn by force, where guile failed. The miners had stood solid for 60 days; then a five days' reign of terror was instituted and they succumbed.

> Without a doubt the formatio nof commandos had a great deal to do with the enthusiasm and solidarity displayed. The strikers became a visibly coherent and solid body. All attempts to undermine their spirit could only fail. Is it any wonder, then, that a "revolutionary plot" was discovered, and a full military movement set on foot t ocrush their steadfast spirit?

> Smuts and the Chamber of Mines are jubilant. There can be no question of running the mines as they think they should be run-with a plentiful supply of cheap black labour and a minimum of highly-paid white workers.

> The moral effect or other workers who think of resisting approaching wage-cuts is obvious. Now the progress of "economy" will be a triumphal march.

What the master-class has accomplished in South Africa may well be accomplished elsewhere. The masters are not slow to learn from each other.

For the workers of Britain—who have stood by whilst this massacre has been going on-here is a terrible lesson.

The master-class is international. methods are international.

Let the British working class look out!

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CORRESPONDENCE.

DEAR EDITOR-

I have just returned to England, and I am not surprised at the alarmist accounts of the " revolt " on the Rand.

Now in order to have a revolt, there must be something to revolt against. This " something," from the miners' point of view has always been ary, and, incidentally of course, the dictatorship of the Chamber of Mines.

In spite of their "commandos" and marching parades, the strikers have never had the idea of taking Johannesburg by storm. In order, however, to find an excuse for the present White Terror on the Rand, a complete military plot has been attributed to the strikers. And having I consider that the sympathy of the Communist erected this plot in their imagination, they are Party, if it were a genuine revolutionary and proceeding to blow it and the miners to bits by Proletarian Party should have been unitedly with means of the air squadrons from Roberts Heights me and against those timid and inefficient persons and Baragwamath.

As I have explained to you in a previous leteer, the solidarity of the strikers has been so amazing from the first, that the methods of 1913-14, projected by Smuts and the Corner House, could not be applied at the beginning. The forming of commandos gave to the spirit of the strike a corporeal basis of solidarity. The attempts of the Government, the Press, and the police to break up this spirit and this body were so futile that the present operations are 'he result. now proceeding, it has been by no means any act jealous. of the strikers, except their unbounded enthusi-

The Press talks of the "retrenchment of a agree with the policy of the Party. few redundant whites," which would have been I do not agree that the Communist Party should bombs. Than this I can say no worse.

The Press says: "It is now known from the capture of spies and documents, that the money cipate themselves by their own action. for this Red Revolution came from abroad."

Spies! Of course, if spies do exist and have been captured, then spies carry incriminating documents and tell everything they know, don't they? There is no more money in this revolution than there is red in it.

It is from first to last a massacre of 'he white workers, and the Press knows it. Hence their sensational stories of pitched battles and strategic moves, as if the strikers were a compact force supplied with tanks, aeroplanes and artillery. And when this bloody murder is over, Smuts will pass himself a Bill of Indemn'ty and be the guest of the Chamber of Mines at a Victory Luncheon at the Carlton.

ANOTHER EXPULSION.

Comrade Arthur Carford has been expelled from the Sheffield Communist Party for sending to the Workers' Dreadnought a letter, entitled "How Sheffield Unemployed Took a Hall," which appeared in our issue of February 25th. This was the second attempt to expel Comrade Carford for sending communications to our

Comrade Carford was obliged to be in London on business on the date on which his expulsion was to be discussed. He requested the matter be postponed till his return. On this being refused, Comrade Carford resigned. We print below his letter of resignation :-

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SHEFFIELD COMMUNIST PARTY,

183 WEST STREET, SHEFFIELD.

DEAR COMRADE-

sured by the Sheffield C.P., for writing mis- years and eighteen months.

leading letters to the Workers' Dreadnought, my second letter to that paper appears to be " a deliberate flouting of branch authority."

My letter to the Dreadnought regarding the Government's anti-Turkish policy is to be WHITE TERROR ON THE RAND. unemployed and the halls is not misleading, but tained and that there is to be more repressite true in every particular. Therefore I feel my- India. Gandhi's arrest is the signal for self perfectly justified in having sent it. I think We do not think the independence it important that the movement should be in- ment will be at all retarded by the arrest formed on these matters, both as to the special believe it has acquired a momentum which mel case in point and as to the general methods of it quite independent of outstanding leaders taking halls. I thought our Sheffield example More coercion will certainly add fuel to the was one that should be followed all over the of the enthusiasm for independence and nor country. I also considered that those who operation. the colour-bar, since the strike started in Janu- stepped in to interfere with the plan had made a great mistake which certainly should not be

I believe in the free ventilation of opinion showing the thoroughness of the spirit in wh in our movement, and I knew that the columns the Indians are tackling the problem of a of the Dreadnought are also open to such matter. pating themselves from British Capitalia

I have now decided to hand in my resignation. who came in to spoil the action that I and other comrades had taken. Instead of going out of its way to quarrel with me for exposing their action. the branch should be dealing with them for disloyalty to comrades and to the movement. I am altogether opposed to the view that no good move may be made unless it has been dictated by a committee. Such a policy stultifies all action and initiative, and prevents the growth of a genuine revolutionary movement and cripples

have not been able to read the papers for the last Those who tried to destroy the result of our three weeks, owing to being on the high action, did so merely because they were conscious seas; but whatever started the bloody struggle that they had been inactive and were therefore

The main reason of my resignation is, howasm, their solidarity, their unwillingness to see ever, a broader one, and I have been seriously 5,000 of their fellow workers thrown out. considering this step for some time. I do not

necessary. Since the Corner House could not get take part in Parliamentary and local governthem retrenched by ordinary methods, they have ment elections. I consider this is only throwing now proceeded to remove them by aeroplane dust in the eyes of the workers, and that our business is to turn their hopes from such bodies and lead them to realise that they can only eman-

> I disagree with the policy of seeking affiliation to the Labour Party I consider that we must continually impress upon the workers, firstly, that the Labour Party is a Reformist Party bolstering up the capitalist system, and secondly that the Labour Party will fight against the Workers Revolution. We cannot make this clear to the workers if we go into the Labour Party.

I do not agree with the policy of "boring within " the Trade Unions. I consider that our duty as Communists is to build up revolutionary workshop committees and thus prepare the way for the Soviets and the seizing of industry by tae workers, and its administration by the industrial

I do not think that revolutionaries can work hand in hand with counter-revolutionaries. Revolutionaries can never make any headway so long as they attempt it.

I do not think Communists can work hand in hand with anti-Communists: that is what we a e obliged to do when we support Labour candidates and seek affiliation to the Labour Party.

Yours fraternally,

A. CARFORD.

Carford's Arrest.

Comrade Carford of Sheffield was arrested on Thursday, March 16th, charged with being in possession of firearms, which he says had been brought to him to mend.

Comrade Carford has long been one of the most active members of the movement in Sheffield. He has suffered much persecution, is in poor health, and recently had a serious operation.

A Defence Fund is being raised. Collecting sheets for this Fund may be obtained from Mrs. I have received your letter of February, in Carford, 183 West Street, Sheffield. Comrade which you state that as I have already been cen- Carford has a wife, and two children aged five

INDIA.

The resignation of Mr. Montagu from of Chief Secretary for India means the

Karmi, an Indian paper "devote the cause of clerks and other wor publishes an article on non-co-oper article is by Dr. C. P. Ray, and was writ foreword to a pamphlet by Mr. Satis Das Gupta, of the Bengal Chemical and ceutical Works, Ltd. Here is an extract:

"For introducing the habit of spin every one, every adult man and wome Bengal, must take a vow to spin at lear hours a day. When once the habit is for spinning will be a permanent feature of homes, as in the old days. The intrduction home spinning is a great end in itself. that end the rich and middle classes in will have to take to Charka, even as a r exercise for the service of the country and poor, man and woman, old and must, in all solemnity. fulfil this great task namely, the introduction of Charka is homes of Bengal.

"There is another point. In order to sno cessfully introduce it we must be satisfied with coarse yarn and rough cloth. It has been found that in a definite time proportionately greater quantity of coarse yarn can be sn than fine yarn. We must all, therefore. Khadi, or coarse cloth, for the present. is the greatest sinner in the matter foreign cloth. All Bengalis, rich or poor their eyes on fine cloth. In the Punja or Central Provinces, it is still customary use home-spuns to a certain extent, l Bengal we are absolutely dependent on other

for our clothing. "It will not be possible to succeed if on up the cause. Think for a moment to should induce others to do the same. the Rajput woman of old did not tolerate husband who fled from the field of similarly should the women of the present conserved Dick Barbour. treat those husbands with equal abhorres who wear fine clothing.

"This yow to wear home-spun has not the Penman agreed, and continued reading :have the elementary right to maintain ourselver aid" is to be placed under the democratic control on the produce of our soil, so we have the same of the " working people.", sort of elementary right to clothe ours from cotton grown in our fields and spun in our homes

"In conclusion, I have to add that Satis Chandra Das Gupta, who has write this pamphlet on 'Charka,' is the Su tendent and one of the principal workers the 'Bengal Chemical.' He knows the bene of the modern machinery and their bilities thoroughly. I had, myself. doubts about the feasibility of introdu Charka. In fact, in these days when spini machinery has been brought almost to pe tion, the idea of handspinning by appeared at one time to me to be and deserving of no consideration. and figures have convinced me. I lieve that if we four-and-a-half crores Bengalis are determined to use Charka wear cloth from Charka-spun yarn, shall not have to look outside the province meeting our clothing necessities."

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON

tem. I think, became more evident to Marx. dealers for more chain. lling it out and opening it.

noting the Gotha programme here. It says: - every other district." "To pave the way for the solution of the social problem, the German Labour Party demands the introduction of co-operative societies, her. with State aid and under the democratic control of the working people. In manufacturing, instry, and in agriculture, productive co-operaives are to be called into existence to such an extent that out of them the Socialistic organi-

" Marx replies to this :aw of wages," the prophet's panacea! He is sarcastic, you see. Then he goes

ation of collective labour will arise.'

'In place of the existing class struggle, 'the social problem '' for whose "solution " we are " to pave the way." '

"" The Socialistic organisation of collective labour " is to " arise," not out of a revoluexpenses our people have been driven on are to be " called into existence," not by the the chain-making rates had so fallen.

That is one of the big problems of Russia,

fou weary me with these arid discussions love. phrases," Miss Mayence interjected. nat does the pamphlet tell us of Communism? ant to see the golden apples in her gardens, ee the play of the light upon their shining tes. I want to feel the breath of Communism's e garments; to hear the coming of her feet, white feet gleaming upon the flowery I want to know her stainless joys; beace away from this sordid life of money-

ayed in the Black Country once. Do you It is where chains and nails are made: us district. That country had been lovely:

said Penman, "I think it should be the glowing cinders of forges. By day all is that Marx was living in England when blackened. No trees. The grass, even, scarcely abolition of property in land and con- grows; it is sooty and scanty. The sky is heavy of ground rents to the State ' one of his with smoke, from countless chimneys, that pours porary slogans of the transition, and, at the up and up in streams of various tinted grey. The time only suggested a partial abolition of people are herded together in little hovels in all ely-owned industry. In England the the most desperate stages of dis-repair. There of nationalising the land is a less com- are factories where the great cables are made, one than the nationalising of industrial pro- and little domestic workshops; tumble-down brick and distribution, because, broadly speak- boxes, threatening dangerously to fall on those ere is in England but a small class of large who use them. Everyone is at work: men and whereas industry and trading have women, boys and girls. Babies sit on the forges amifications in almost all sections of the at which their mothers are working, whilst sparks and consequently an enormous mass of fly past and sometimes scar a baby hand or a baby cheek, eyes, too, always run a certain countries where there are peasant owners amount of danger. Old grandmothers are blowand where land-owning is not mainly ing the bellows for the forge: everyone working mentrated in the hands of a few persons, the against time: haste, haste, haste, to earn a few lesis of opposition to nationalising the land is shillings. Then breaking their hearts when the urse broadened. The impossibility of secur- work is done and they are kept waiting, perhaps partial socialisation within the capitalist a day or two, for the next demand from the

think his critique of the Gotha programme "What dirt! What squalor! What utter proves that. And surely we at this stage ought neglect of sanitation! The roads are unpaved; to be able to realise it still more clearly than Marx all ups and downs and humps and hollows. The solised it? I have got the critique of the Gotha rubbish is tipped as you please and left to rot. amme in my pocket," added Penman, One would imagine it were no one's business to attend to such matters; yet, I suppose there are "Take this passage, for instance: Marx is the local authorities in chain-makers' land, as in

> "The Black Country is not the only place where sanitation is neglected," the others told

example of all the most squalid districts.

"One day I chanced upon a road away from control of industry altogether." that dismal blackness. I found myself in a "The new economic policy,' which is the old country of trees and leaves and sunshine. There policy of reversion to Capitalism, makes was hardly a building by the wayside. Then I workers' control of industry an impossibility," 'In accordance with the Lassallist "iron came to an old nail-maker's house, with her observed Bistre. "But have I not recently seen workshop and forge close by. The walls were something bearing upon this very point? Have covered with ivy, and there were warm red I not seen that there was recently a proposal to tiles on the roof and the floor. The old woman disband the Russian industrial unions, but they wore a flowered apron when she was not refused to be disbanded? Was there not a heated we are presented with a journalese phrase, working at the forge, and a black chenille controversy on this very point quite recently in net on her white hair. She talked of the good Russia?" times long ago, when better prices were paid for "Have you read what Kollontay says about nail-making, before the machine-made nails were the Workers Opposition?" asked Penman. "I introduced. She explained to me why a hand- read an article by her in the Workers' Dreadonary process of social transformation, but out wrought tack is superior to a machine-made one. nought, some months ago. She said that the women do not whole-heartedly and nobly take of the "State aid" which the State is to Chains, she said, are always made by hand and Workers' Opposition is composed of Trade Union mish to co-operative societies, societies which never by machine. She was puzzled to know why members and the most advanced sections of the

account of this vice; this hankering necessitate workers, but by the State. It is worthy of "As I came away I was thinking of all that the use of underwear, such as chemise, blouse Lassalle's imagination, this idea that with a countryside as it might be. The chain shops built "Kollontay says that only the pick of etc. These luxuries may be at once curtailed Government loan it is as easy to build a new away from the houses, so that the tapping would the proletarian revolutionaries have stuck to the by using coarse cloth. My earnest appeal to social order as it is to build a new railway!' not disturb the home. All that blackness and Trade Unions and to the masses: the others have our women is that they should take a vow not "It sounds like the Fabians, doesn't it?" smoke abolished. The houses and workshops taken high positions as Soviet officials. She to use fine cloth any more. They should not added Penman, "and especially the stunts we well-built, with flowers around them. Near by says that the proletarian industrial workers are only clothe themselves in coarse cloth, but leard so much of at the beginning of the war. the nursery gardens: fruits grown under glass leading, in Soviet Russia, 'the miserable ex-The stunts with which the reformers and social and in the open; tomatoes, grapes, cucumbers, istence of inmates of a house of correction.' ters were bribed into supporting the war." gooseberries, strawberries, raspberries groves of Certainly it is quite a mistake to say with the 'It sounds like something else beside that," apples and pears: poultry-farming carried on authors of this pamphlet that the tendency is for yonder: those fields across the valley, gold the Trade Unions to bulk larger in Russia: the with the ripening corn.

"There are sounds of music. The workers sing at their forges. And when the half-day's work is slightest tinge of hatred in it. Just as we . "From very . . . shame the "State done, they study and play. This one is design- "You are arguing again, instead of telling us Yes, that is like Kuzbas. Marx goes on: - to discover a readier method of producing chain. Russia." "'First of all, in Germany, amongst the That one seeks to increase the yield of the soil: working people" there are more peasants he is experimenting in chemical fertilisers. This say:one, again, is composing a sonata; and these, in the exuberance of their youth, are merely dancing and playing upon the green and making

"No longer is any part of England made into a dismal 'Black Country.' No longer are any people condemned to live in squalor or fi'th." The others smiled with indulgent eves upon

'The pamphlet tells you nothing of that," Frank Penman said gently. "Its authors, indeed, would dismiss you as a poor foolish

"Sentimental," said Barbour.

"In fact, a little 'touched,' I should say, Frank Penman added.

s and dales; but now it is blighted. At "No doubt the authors explain Communism he hills are aflame with furnace fires and much more wisely than I can," Miss Mayence

answered humbly; "but tell me, please, something they really say, instead of teasing." Frank Penman read:-

" Stated in the terms of modern psycho-

"Oh, cut the cackle!" objected Barbour. "Hush!" said Miss Mayence. "I want to

Penman continued:

". . . this means that man has a group self as well as an individual self, and that freedom cannot be secured for the individual self alone. The new society will be based, not upon the specious freedom of the individual voter, but upon the freedom of self-governing occupational groups or Soviets—self-governing in so far as is consistent with the needs of the whole of Communist society."

"Jargon!" muttered Barbour.

"Don't interrupt," Penman replied, then continued reading.

" This Soviet idea is the most characteristic idea of twentieth-century Communism. It may be that the largest kinds of occupationaid groups under Communism will be the great industrial unions which play so large a part in the guild conception of society. Certainly the "professional unions" are at this stage coming to bulk more and more largely in the organisation of Soviet Russia."

"I dissent from that," said Dick Barbour; "obviously it is not true! Every report the Russians publish shows more clearly that the present tendency in Soviet Russia is all towards one-man management and away, both from the workshop or Soviet and from Trade Union con-"I know," she said; "but it seems the classic trol. (Trade Unions, by the way, are not Soviets). _ The Soviet Government has scrapped workers'

proletarians who were the advance guard of the

tendency is quite the other way."

" Quite so," said Barbour.

But Miss Mayence objected:

ing a beau'tiful fresco for the walls of the library, what the pamphlet says about Communism. We this is busy in his laboratory where he is trying are all agreed they have not got Communism in

"The authors of this pamphlet are not. They

"Yet in the interval Marx and Engels had seemed more interested in what we should now term 'social democracy' than in what Russia is realising in the form of revolutionary Com-

"Be just!" said Miss Mayence. "This pamphlet must have been written some time ago. before the decline had set in in Russia; and when it was thought, at least, over here, that Russia was moving towards Communism."

"Perhaps you are right: I thought the pamphlet had only come out during the last few

"Will you please tell me at last what they say

"Of course I will; but there isn't much more. I read you what they said about Soviets, a minute (continued on page 7.)

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN MASSACRES.

In the South African Strike the fact that the capitalist Government always helps the masters in the Labour struggle was once more revealed in startling colours.

" Parliament can do nothing," said General Smuts, during the strike debate in the Cape Parliament. " Parliament,' he said, is a deliberative and not an executive body. It is not for me to approve of the economic factors which government and the world have to submit to."

Parliament certainly did nothing in the strike; Parliament never acts; its uselessness is not over-rated by Smuts; but Smuts and his Government could act when they chose; and did so, and most drastically. An early act of the Government was to suppress the Transvaal Post, the strikers' organ; a mild, conservative sort of sheet; by no means revolutionary. The Transvaal Post, however, would give true accounts of the massacre of the workers by Government troops. The one newspaper which supported the workers was suppressed; the several newspapers supporting the employers went on as before.

munist spirit, without payment. Finding that and for affiliation to the Labour Party. the strikers could not be starved into submission, As a concession to the restive Left Wing, the the Government adopted violent measures to in- Executive proposed, and the Conference con- say that he is not the agent of the Chamber and hyperatrophy of the central power. The dictator, sure the victory of the employers. The frame- firmed, that the Communist Party might " supup and the bomb flung from aeroplanes were port the formation" of workshop committees, actively employed against the strikers, as well as but these must only work with and not in

ditions of work and pay unaltered. As Comrade Motter rightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there for experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved that the frightly points out, there is no experience has proved the first points out, the first poin volutionary spirit. Some Communists express How bitterly they fought the Shop Stewards' Ministers to represent payment for services as a revolutionaries that the frightful hunt after the of obtaining wages or hours concessions. The ised by the Shop Stewards during the Armistice. South African example is the latest instance of in February 1919, in order to prevent the present

the futility of such a view. ist Government and the employers were the con- executives and officials of the Trade Union then scious perpetrators of the crime, it was workers dismissed the district committees and officials, who made the South African massacre of strikers who supported that strike in obedience to the

THE LOCK-OUT OF ENGINEERS.

The Lock-Out of Engineers proceeds quietly: whilst Trade Union officials confer and make Parliamentary speeches, the working engineers are already going through the second week of the sort of hunger strike which the employers and Trade Union officials have mapped out for them.

The Trade Union officials continue appealing to the Government to settle the dispute. The Government haughtily replies that it will not even consider whether to intervene till the 47 other Trade Union organisations which are balloting on the employers' terms are prepared to accept

them or to be locked-out like the engineers. question, on March 20th, J. R. Clynes declared that in all the great disputes of recent years, the selves by making the insincere protests of those workers had been on the defensive. Were this who might have acted, but preferred merely to true, it would be a conclusive proof of the failure complain that others were not acting?

of Trade Unionism in not having enabled its SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMEN members to make any fight for improved conditions. That Clynes, the Parliamentary leader of the Labour Party, should make such a statement, as though it were something to be proud of, shows how low the Trade Union officials rate the Trade Union machinery and the rights and needs of the working class.

Clynes voiced the typical official Labour point of view when he asserted in the debate, that there is "a mutual interest" between employers and employed. Official Labour in general, and Clynes in particular, has no ambition for the working class that reaches beyond the realms of wagedom. Labour leaders desire emancipation for themselves from the position of a wage-slave in the factory, the dockyard, the footplate, or the mine. We find that some of them have not only emancipated themselves from the factory worker's life terests. and the factory worker's wage by securing official positions, but have also dabbled in investments and become directors of great manufacturing and trading companies. They have emancipated themselves from wage-slavery, but they approve the system which makes wage-slaves, and cannot conceive the possibility of ending it.

The Labour Members of Parliament cheered those factors? Mr. Hopkinson (an employer of labour, but not a member of the Employers' Federation) when impotence of Governments and Parliaments, he said that employers who complain that " their regard to the vital interests of humanity, is ce men will not do what the employers wishes" are tainly most useful. It means that Governmen "utterly unfitted to employ British workmen." including the Union Government, merely exist The Labour Members cheered because, like Mr. for the purpose of arranging things within a pre-Hopkinson, they refuse to recognise that the scribed field, the limits of that field being la worker is entitled to overthrow the system which down by some higher power than Governme makes him a servant and a wage-slave, and which "That higher power has its headquarters in makes the product of his labour the property of the great banking trust, which was formed to-

more clearly the fact that the capitalist system troller of employment, and the terms on which it never known liberty, accustoms itself to the ought to be abolished, and that the Trade Unions would allow employment (the means of life to dictatorship. The government setting forth on the will never accomplish the task.

the Rand, supported the strikers: they furnished has again, by a large majority, declared for as in London, New York and Paris, and ite them with ample stupplies of food, in the Com- working with and through the Trade Unions, representatives in this country are the Chan

all the new and old measures of regular warfare. antagonism to, the official Trade Unions. This The strikers did not desire a revolution; they means that the workshop committees can only were only fighting to maintain their actual con- act in obedience to the Trade Unions. It they be the conomic sense, that it be the government which has chosen this way story. act independently, antagonism will at once arise; haves as if it were the agent in the ordinary must logically pursue it to the end. The people As Comrade Motler rightly points out, there for experience has proved that the Trade Union the strange belief that the Communist order can Movement, which became so extensive during the be established in some miraculous manner through war! How ruthlessly they punished those who a strike in which the workers are merely desirous took part in the strike for reduced hours, organunemployment, which, of course, was antici-Very sadly we must admit that whilst the capital- pated. Is it so soon forgotten that the national districts affected? Is it forgotten that the Union mining rather than reduce the price of diamonds— procedure and a numerous personnel of function— watches." Perhaps they were not workers who bombed officials even went so far as to evict from their does not the Government in this case also act like. Wery rapidly this the strikers from the aircraft, since such engines home (which happened to be in Union premises) an agent of Big Finance? of destruction may be operated by but few the family of Harry Hopkins, during his imprisonment by the Government for his part in agent; it is an agent."

> It is undoubtedly the case that if the workshop committees act when the Unions fail to act, fierce (LEFT-WING ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNISTS)
>
> State, the Anarchists were with them. will arise. Attempts to build up workshop committees, to act in harmony with the Unions, must fail, unless they are an integral part of the Union machinery and subordinate to the Union executives. In that case, no action need be expected of

Another great working-class tragedy of long drawn-out privation and wholesale victimisation s obviously preparing. Its victims will be the engineering and shipyard workers.

Workers, in other industries, are you still unpre-In the House of Commons debate on the pared to do more than watch the enactment of another Black Friday? Will you content your-

AND THE STRIKE.

Are Governments and Parliaments Worth While?

According to Smuts—Certainly Not! The South African Review, a mild Reform Labour paper, says:

" Parliament can do nothing; it is a deliberative, and not an executive body. " It is not for me to approve of the ec nomic factors which Governments and the world to-day have to submit to.'

"In the above two statements, during speech in the Strike Debate, the Prime Minist clearly confessed that Governments and 1 ments are subordinate to powerful private

"If Parliament is not an executive body, what is it, who is it, that controls the daily l' of the people? Who but the Money Power?

"If "Governments and the world have to submit to 'economic factors,' and have no say the Money Power is the creator and controller of it deserves attention.

"This admission by a Prime Minister, of the

wards the end of the war, in order to entrench Monstrous power corrupts and slays equally its Every great industrial dispute brings out still the position of Finance as the creator and conthe masses) to be given.

The farmers opposed to the big capitalists of Yet the Right-Wing Communist Conference "The banking trust is as potent in South of Mines and De Beers.

in the same breath to confess that he has no say in the despot is always full of fear; he sees treason regard to economic factors, no power to settle the always and everywhere, and the more the despot strike, no executive power in anything at all but fears, the more it seems to him that he is suronly deliberative power.

"It is because the Government is the agent of him hate and repulsion. agents of Big Finance.

representative of De Beers, when it awarded and of free labour were proclaimed to be middle- the same lines as your Biblical story: Bewarplaatsen funds to the mining houses, did to class ideas and prejudices, tentatives of the it not act like an agent?

COMMUNIST WORKERS

WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT MEETINGS.

ST. LEONARD'S ACADEMY. 698 HIGH ROAD, LEYTONSTONE. SUNDAY, APRIL 2ND. Discussion on "Communism and the Unem-

ployed." Opened by Sylvia Pankhurst.

PORTSMOUTH COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY. TRADES HALL, FRATTON ROAD.

SUNDAY, MARCH 26TH, AT 7 P.M. Sylvia Pankhurst on "Communism."

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Whilst the Russian Soviet Government was the torget of capitalist abuse, Communists all over the world long refrained from criticism. In this duntry the Soviet Government and the leaders of the Communist Party have been widely eulosed. Now that the chorus of praise is swelled the bourgeois politician, now that the Soviet enment has introduced a " new economic " of reversion to old Capitalism, now that tcherine, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet lovernment is praising the policy of Lloyd corge; whilst Lenin and his colleagues are going negotiate with the Capitalist Powers at Genoa, think it time that the case should be coned, of those Russian workers who declare the proletarian revolution is being betrayed. The following article by a Russian comrade has heen translated from " Le Libertaire." The somrade who was long resident in France, but amelled during the war, is well known to " Le libertaire." The writer has watched events as resident of Russia, not as a visitor. Though refused. Those who escaped death were im- "The great whale got sick and God sent it in the creation of economic factors, then who but the article perhaps contains some exaggerations,

It solves, mechanically, insoluble systematic character. blems. Psychologically it explains itself as a state of defence, as the necessity for getting rid responsibilities, in order to deliver more effective blows at the enemy; but the principles of errorism strike an inevitable blow at liberty an l

enemies and its servants. The people, which has path of terrorism inevitably severs itself from the people, it must limit to the greatest extent possible the circle of people armed with extraordinary powers in the name of its safety; and then it is only what one can call the panic of "It is a contradiction for General Smuts to Power, the cause of which is to be found in the "The True Story of Jonah." I have since rounded by enemies, the more he sows around

adversaries of the C.P. took place.

amission has become, not only a bugbear of The Government does not merely act like an the real or imaginary counter-revolution, but also deous sore for the whole country.

(917), when the labouring masses abolished in- great king. actively the system of private property and the

The Revolution of October 1917, pursuing the path pointed out by the popular explosion, quite arally reflected the Anarchist tendencies: it sished the ancient State machine and put orward, in the political domain, the principle of rederation of the Soviets. It had recourse perty and in taking back the land again from the whale swallowed the golden throne---, fords and landed proprietors; the banks, inorial enterprises, the real estate and capital the traders, the manufacturers, and the the golden throne." Thus, at this time, the Anarchists "Oh, that's different," I said. "If God did Orking parallel with the Bolsheviki. Among;t Mr. Esterson."

mention Justin Jouch, a worker in the powder swallowed. The two hundred black slaves were his revolutionary post, combating the counter- them also--- " revolution; it was he who turned out the Con- "Impossible!" I said. stituent Assembly.

But immediately the Bolsheviki had taken swallow them." possession of the movement, the forms and "Oh, that's all right," I said, "if it was God character of the social reconstruction changed that did it." completely. The Bolsheviki, under cover of the "Still the storm did not abate. At that Dictatorship of the Proletariat, directed all their point the sailors saw Jonah sleeping in the bow efforts towards the building up of a centralised of the boat, and went and wakened him, saying: and bureaucratic State, and then all who under- 'Do you not know of the great storm?' Jonah stood the social revolution as the self-organisa- looked up and said: 'I am the cause of all the tion of the labouring masses, as the birth of a trouble: I have disobeyed the order of my God, really free. anti-State Communism, all these the creator of heaven and earth; the sea and all began to be proceeded against.

against the critics of the Left: the Anarchists. children.' And the sailors did marvel at so great In the month of April, 1918, the governing a God, and did fall down and worship him. Then party undertook the liquidation of all the the captain said to Jonah, 'What shall we do Anarchist organisations. On the night of with you?' Jonah said: 'Take me and throw me April 12th, Anarchists' clubs were surrounded overboard, and all shall be well.' And the and cannons and machine-guns pointed at them. sailors did as Jonah commanded them. And the The Anarchists present were summoned to give great whale did swallow Jonah, the storm ceased, themselves up, and fire was opened on those who and the sailors did each pray to his own god.

From then on, persecutions against the contain a message.' The Terror is tempting, by its multiple possi- Anarchists and their organisations took a "What do you think they found, Mr.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

BY TOM ANDERSON.

The True Story of Jonah.

During the school holiday season in our city (Glasgow), the School Board gives the Jewish community the use of the Public Schools, to hold

I was invited by one of the Hebrew scholars to give a lesson to their school, which I did. In return, my friend, Mr. Esterson, called on me

given this story as a lesson at our Schools, and should anyone think it frivolous, remember it was related to me by a Hebrew scholar, who speaks five languages, and he told it with such a childish delight, that he made me much interested in it. So to you, my readers—old and young—I tell the

commercial sense. In truth, even the latter were silent, and rightly, it was in their name, they did 3,000 years ago; if you can do that then,

Mr. Esterson said: "Mr. Anderson, I have When the Government gave over the Far All shapes and forms of human liberty were 'The True Story of Jonah.' You know the East Rand to the financiers, when it appointed as turn up by the roots; freedom of speech, of the story of Jonah, as given by your Bible. Yes, chairman of the Far East Rand Commission a press, of opinion. of association, of assembly, well, this is a better one, but it follows; much on

"Jonah was commanded by God to go to "And now that the Government enlarges on The organ of governmental Terror is the Jonah did not do so, but went and took a ship the terrible disaster to the country attending the Latraordinary Commission—the "TCHEKA*",— that was going to Tarsus. In that ship was a stoppage of the gold mines, whilst allowing De simed with unlimited powers, in fact, outside all Golden Throne which was being sent to a king who made the South African massacre of strikers who supported that strike in obcdience to a king possible Workers conveyed the troops to the majority decision of their Union members in the mining rather than reduce the price of diamonds— which was being sent to a king mining rather than reduce the price of diamonds— mining rather

> "Mr. Esterson," I said, "a thousand gold watches! Surely, never?"

"That's right, Mr. Anderson, a thousand gold om the commencement of the Revolution also two hundred black slaves being sent to the watches; that's part of the story, and there were

"On the second day, when they were out at sea, a great storm arose, and all the seamen were Such Councils cannot emancipate the workers afraid, and each one prayed to his own god, and, whilst Capitalism remains. Indeed, we do not lo and behold! when they looked over the side support their formation. The fact that capitalists of the vessel, a monster whale was following them. find them useful is, however, another instance Then the captain of the ship said: 'Someone has of the fact that workers' management of offended his god; what must we do?' and he industry is not the impractical dream that looked at the golden throne and commanded the some "Socialists" and "Communists" would direct expropriation in abolishing private sailors to throw it overboard. Lo and behold! have us believe.

> "Mr, Esterson," I said, "impossible!" "Mr. Anderson, God made the whale swallow

fighting for it with all their might, and it, that's all right. He is your God and mine,

thousand gold watches, which the whale at once ceived, as a memory and as a document.

factory of Schlissembourg, who died heroically at then thrown overboard, and the whale swallowed

"Mr. Anderson, God made the great whale

it contains, and of everything that moveth on These persecutions made themselves felt first the earth; the sun, moon, and stars are his

prisoned, and on the morrow their whole press ashore, where some fishermen saw it. The king was seized and the publication of their papers of the fishermen saw it and said: 'God hath sent it; pull it ashore and open it up; it will

I was langhing—so was Mr. Esterson.

"Well, when the fishermen ripped open the belly of the great whale, there was Jonah sitting on the golden throne, selling the gold watches by auction to the two hundred black slaves."

AUSTRIAN WORKS' COUNCILS.

Emmy Freundlisch, a Socialist Member of the Austrian Parliament, describes the Works' Councils established by law when the Social Democrats held a majority in the Austrian Parliament after the overthrow of the Emperor.

The law requires that every factory employing more than five workers shall have an annually elected Works' Council, to take part in managing

"The Councils are charged, in the first place, with the duty and the right to watch over the carrying out of collective agreements, to inspect the pay-rolls, and to defend the workers' interests. In some plants they have also been permitted a voice in the hiring and discharge of workers. They may at all times make suggestions to the management for the improvement of hygienic arrangements and of the productive processes and the internal

organisation of the plant. "The management is obliged to meet in monthly conferences with the Works' Council, and to discuss all questions relating to the administration of the plant. There are firms operating very large factories, which discuss with the Works' Council even the'r new orders, the general business condition of the enterprise, and many other matters, because they realise how much is gained in zeal for work when the worker develops an interest in his industry. In the case of corporations, the Works' Councils are entitled to send representatives into the board of directors, and to inspect the books.

"The law relating to Works' Councils, notwithstanding strong opposition from all sides, even from some of the Trade Unions, has been a great success for the working class,"

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

fighters who remained faithful to the end "Yes, yes," he said. "But the storm still the author during her six months' imprisonment tideas and tactics of Anarchism, we must kept raging. They then threw overboard the in Holloway Gaol, and is printed as then con-

After all, why should we rail against the rich? I think, if anything, they should be pitied. In He is born in the lap of luxury, he grows up fore breakfast; that sort of thing-eh?" surrounded by absurd and impossible ideas of "Yes, when I can," I reply with ambiguous bongustaj. life, the innumerable chains of habit and circum- intent. stances tighten upon him, and when the time "Well, I call that wonderful," says an elderly ili ne faras honoron al la familio, kaj certe cage for the remainder of his days, a spectacle of know." boredom, and a warning to gods and men.

kitchen I meet with rosy smiles, kissable cheeks, before half-past nine. and hear sounds of song and laughter. What is This is not a good beginning to the day; but apartecon kaj iliaj ungegoj tute ne estis grandaj this? Is it possible that the real human beings the rest is like unto it. I find there are certain Tamen io devas esti en ili. live with Jeames below-stairs!

some "desirable mansion" rising from the certain way of putting your knife and fork on leonino. for himself. So it is—a prison. I would rather the evening you must put on what the Li kuŝiĝis la altan herbon kaj faris kvazau li ne spend a calendar month in Clerkenwell or Hollo- Yankees call a claw-hammer coat. It is not pripensus plu pri ili. way than I would in that desirable mansion.

such a mansion, used, with her sisters, to teach a societies, evidently such a casualty has never been ili ĉiuj okupiĝis je la novaj bestoj. class of factory girls. Every now and again one contemplated. I have heard such people seriously Dume la dupiedulo kaj lia virino migris ĉiam of the girls would say:

lady like you!"

Then she would answer:

"she is not allowed to go out walking when she said before, you are in prison. So submit to the — Tie ĉi ni logu, diris la dupiedulo kaj montris likes—she is not allowed to out walking when she prison rules and it is all right—attempt to go amindan, malgrandan herbejon, kie la rivereto

when you like. Reader, did you ever spend a does not matter (possibly some of them had sense proksiman arbaron, kie densa ombro kuŝadis sub day within these desirable walls? I have, many. once; but it must have been a very long time la arboj kaj kie la tero estis kovrita per molega a I wake up in the morning. It is fine and bright. ago); the people are good people, no better nor musko. I think to myself: I will have a pleasant stroll worse in themselves than the real workers, the - Kiel kurioze sonoras iliaj voĉoj, diris 'a before breakfast. Yes-man proposes. It is all real hands and hearts of the world; but they are najtingalo. Ili havas pli multe da tonoj ol mi. very well to meditate a morning walk; but where, condemned to banishment from the world, con- - Se ili ne estus tiel grandaj, mi petus i.in O where are my clothes? I cannot very well go demned into the prison houses of futility. The nestiĝi apud mi en la kanaro, diris la kanpasero. out without them. What can have become of stream of human life goes past them as they gaze La du novaj bestoj iris pluen kaj ĉiam i them? Suddenly it occurs to me: James, honest wearily upon it through their plate-glass windows; trovis pli belan loketon, kiu pli bone placis al il soul, had taken them away to brush. Good! I the great Mother's breasts of our common kaj ili ne povis decidi, kie ili restadu. Tiam ili wait. Nothing happens. I ring the bell. James humanity, with all its toil and sufferings and renkontis la hundon, kiu treege, fumis, car ili appears. "My clothes, James." "Yes, sir." mighty joys are withheld from them. Dimly at vundis sian piedon per akra stono. Again I wait—an intolerable time. At last the last I think I understand why it is their faces are familiar jacket and trousers appear. Good! Now so chill and sad, their nourished lives so unhealthy I can go out. Not so fast - where are your boots? and over-sensitive. Truly, if I could pity anyone, Boots, good gracious, I had forgotten them.* I would them. Heaven knows where they are-I don't. Prob- By the side of the road there stands a little ably fifty yards away. I creep downstairs. All girl, crying; she has lost her way. It is very is quiet. The servants are evidently at breakfast. cold, and she looks pinched and starved. It would be madness to hope to get boots "Come in, little girl, and sit by my cottage picket duty, by a blackleg. The blacklegs are brushed at such a moment. I would like to clean fire, and you'll soon get warm; and I'll see if I allowed to carry revolvers and other weapons, and them myself. In fact, I am fond of cleaning my can't find you a bit of something to eat before are escorted home by policemen. When strikers own boots; the exercise is pleasant, and besides, you go on. . . . Eh! dear! how stupid I pass the policemen they are greeted by: "Keep it is just such a little bit of menial work as I am-I quite forgot. I am sorry I can't ask you on walking, you bum. Why don't you get a job would rather do myself than have others do for in; but I am living in a desirable mansion now— and stop bumming around?" me. In the first place, in this house, where every and though we are very sorry for you, yet you see one is fifty yards away from everything one we could hardly have you into our house, for your wants, I have not the faintest idea where my dirty little boots would make a dreadful mess of boots are, or the means and instruments of black- our carpets, and we should have to dust the ing them; in the second place, an even more fatal chairs after you sat upon them, and you see Mrs. When there is a meeting in your district where objection is that, if I did succeed in committing Vavasour might come in, and she would think it the Dreadnought might be sold, write to us at this deed of darkness, the consequent uproar in so very odd; and I know cook doesn't like 152 Fleet Street. Give us as much notice as you the house would be perfectly indescribable. The beggars, and—O dear!—I'm so sorry for you— can. outrage on propriety would not only shock the and here's a penny, and I hope you'll get home feelings of the world below-stairs, but it would safely. put to confusion the master of the house, upset the whole domestic machinery, create unpleasant qualms in the minds of the other guests, and possibly make me feel that I had better not have lived. Accordingly. I abandon the idea of my pleasant stroll. It is not worth such a sacrifice. The birds are singing outside, the flowers are gay in the morning sun-but it must not be. Within,

in the sitting-rooms, chaos reigns. Chairs and

tables are piled in cheerful confusion upon one

another, carpets are partially strewn with tea

leaves. To read a book or write an aimless letter

to some one (the usual resource of people in

desirable mansions) is clearly impossible. To do

anything in the way of housework is forbidden-

it being well understood in such places that one

may do anything except what is useful. There

remains nothing but to beat a retreat to my

chamber again—put my hands in my pockets and whistle at the open window.

"Who was that I heard whistling so early this morning?" says my kindly old host at breakfast. "Oh, it was you, was it? I expect, now, you're nine cases out of ten, it is not a man's fault. an early riser; get up at seven, take a walk be-

comes that he would escape, he finds he cannot. matron, not likely, as far as appearances go, to be haves malbonan finon. He is condemned to flop up and down in his accused of a similar practice: "such energy, you

"What a strong constitution you must have komprenis tion, car alie li tute ne estis timema I go into the houses of the rich. In the draw- to be able to stand it!" remarks a charming Sed la du novaj bestoj havis tiel mirajn okuloj ing room I see chill, weary faces, peaked young lady on whom it not yet dawned that the kaj marŝadis tiel maltimeme kaj ĝoje sur sia voi features of ill-health; downstairs and in the vast majority of human kind have their breakfast ke li kredis, ke ili posedas sekretan povon, el kin

things to be done—a certain code of things that Li do kun mallevita kapo lasis ilin pasi. Often as I pass and see, in suburb or country, you may do, a certain way of doing them, a - Kial vi ne mangegis ilin? demandis ground, I think: That man is building a prison the plate. When you come down to dinner in — Mi ne estis malsata, li respondis. certain (and that is just the grisly part of it) what La aliaj bestoj imitis lin, car li estia la plei A young lady that I knew, and who lived in would happen if you did not do this. In some eminenta. Sed neniu el illi estis sincera. Interne "Eh, Miss, how I would like to be a grand was missing—what could be done, where one pli ili estis mirigitaj de la belego kaj pompo de la could be borrowed, etc.; but, clearly, it did not tero. occur to them that anyone could dine in his Ili ec ne suspectis, kian miron ili kaŭzis kaj ne "Yes, but you know you wouldn't be able to natural clothes. Sometimes, when in a fashion- vidis kiel ĉiuj bestoj sekvis iliajn postsignojn. do everything you liked; for instance, you able church, I have wondered whether it would Kien ajn ili alvenis, tie la arboj kunmetis siajn wouldn't be allowed to go out walking when you be possible to worship God in a flannel shirt; but kapojn kaj murmuretis, la birdoj akompanis il I suppose to go out to a dinner party in such a en la aero super iliaj kapoj kaj el ĉiu arbeto aŭ si "Oh, dear!" they would say to one another, costume would be even more unthinkable. As I folio fikse rigardis post ili scivola okulo. beyond them, and you are visited with condign serpentumis inter floroj kaj herboj. Certainly you are not allowed to go out walking punishment. The rules have no sense, but that - Ne, tie, ekkriis la virino kaj forkuris en la

* A friend of mine tells me once, to revenge himself for this sort of trifling, he concealed his pay postage and supply posters free. nether garment under the mattress, and then in the morning, slyly watched the footman as he vainly sought round the room for it. The consequence was, however, that he fell much in the estimation of the latter, who, doubtless thought that, like Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, his master's visitor "had gone to bed with his

(to be continued).

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LA DUPIEDULO.

ESPERANTO.

- Ili devas esti tre bongustaj, diris la leon Mi havas la deziron provi, ĉu ili ekektive estas

Volonte mi konsentas, diris la orangutanco

La leono proksimiĝis al ili, sed kiam li starie antaŭ ili, subite perdis la kuraĝon. Li mem ne

li nenion povis vidi. Iliaj dentoj havis nenian

discussing—in cases where the required article pluen en la mondon kaj ju pli pluen ili iris, des

(Daŭrigota).

CLASS WAR POINTS.

Andrew Soukup, a young clothing worker of Baltimore, was shot in the spine, when on strike

HOW TO HELP.

Send to us for Dreadnoughts to sell at publi meetings and branch meetings in your district Our terms are 1/6 for 13 papers. We take back unso'd copies if returned within six weeks.

See that your newsagent stocks the Dread- have endorsed such a move by a referendum nought. Get him to show a poster. Get a collection for the Workers' Dreadnought taken at all meetings held in your district.

Take a second collection, to enable you to give copies free, or at half price, to the unemploy See that the Dreadnought posters are on sh everywhere. Get yoor organisation to displa one at its public meetings and in its branch room Fly-post them on the walls of your district. one in your window, or, better still, on the wall

of your house. We supply back numbers, to give away, at a quarter cwt., carriage extra.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS.

March 25, 1922.

Aldred is still serving sixteen months' imment in Scotland. McClean is on hunger strike in a Scottish (Daŭrigo.)

> the U.S.A. the sentences are longer. On August 17th, 1918, 93 men, who had albeen held in prison, waiting trial, for months, were sentenced to a total of 807 and to fines amounting to 2,700,000 Their crime was that of organising the Congress of the R.T.U.I.

ters on the industrial field to secure better ons. 125 such victims of the Class War demanded. ing comrades who are natives of Britain: - tion Committee.

Sam Scarlett of Glasgow, an old member of A.S.E.; Richard Brazier of Birmingham, metal worker, and Charles Lambert are erving 20 years.

Bert Lorton, J. A. Macdonald, Don Sheridan and Fred Esmond are in for 10 years.

Joe Oates, a miner from Cleator Moor, in the strike area, on February 16th. Harry Lloyd, Ted Frazer from Manchester, Herbert Mahler and William Moram have nearly served their term of five years.

is an American method as yet unknown in this meetings, and nobody returned to work. country. The minimum sentence expires at "Some of the mines have made a start with pleasure of the authorities.

which is generally interpreted as anything that returned to work.

itate for the immediate release of all these practice!

HIGH-HANDED ACTION. Attempt to Force Lumber Workers Into R.T.U.I.

he Red International of Labour Unions was "We had a great meeting in Brakpan last strial Union of Canada.

These comrades report that the General Execu- "To-morrow the whole of the East Rand meet the members of the Edmonton District: We expect about eight thousand. . Until such time as they elect officials who

from which we take the following extracts:-

of the R.I.L.U." passed a resolution dealing with the s'tuation,

We hold that you have no power to suspend a district for refusing to abide by the rules of the R.T.U.I. until such time as you ave referred the matter of affiliation to the rank and file by a referendum vote, and further, hat no convention or G.E.B. have the power affiliate this organisation with any other such organisation until such time as the rank and file

The resolution further protests that the District should have been notified of the proposal to suspend it, and have been given an opportunity to reply.

It continues:—

"We have investigated the credentials given to Gordon Cascaden by our district officials. and we find that they have acted in accordance with the instructions given by the membership of this district."

Cascaden was sent as a delegate to the Moscow

A referendum of the Union membership is

already been nearly four years in prison. The resolution, which was unanimously Amongst those who are serving sentences of adopted, is signed by Dick Carroll, O. P. Gus-5 to 20 years in the U.S.A. are the fol- tayson, Jerry Hollerand, who acted as a Resolu-

FROM A SOUTH AFRICAN STRIKER.

This letter was written by a miner at Brakpan,

"A few lines to let you know some truths concerning the strike.

Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow, a member of the "We are perfectly solid, and do not intend Amalgamated Clothing Workers, have been returning to work on the Chamber's conditions. sentenced to an indeterminate sentence of from Jannie Smuts, the Prime Minister, appealed to us five to ten years. This indeterminate sentence to return, but our answer was to hold monster

five years, the rest of the period expires at the only the officials working; some are even working their batteries; but no rock is being broken. Larkin was convicted of "Criminal Syndi- What they are crushing now is just what was in calism," a "crime" which is undefined and the bins before the strike. No engine-drivers have

interferes with capitalist exploitation of the "The manager of the New State Areas was workers. "Criminal Syndicalism" is only a showing how to work the hauling engine; he to expect an immediate revolution; but if they crime in certain States which were able to rush pulled only one skip to the head-gear think the revolution is near, how can they leave it through their legislatures during the war and into the engine room, the other is in the our whole policy after the first crisis of the revsteria. It was framed and is used exclusively sump at the bottom of the shaft, with five volution to be worked out afterwards? It is all against the workers. Larkin was one of its thousand feet of cable on top of it. The shaft, of very well to talk about details being worked out course, is wrecked. So much for theory versus later, but this is a question of fundamentals. In

every morning, with nobody turning out.

of meal, potatoes and cattle, and we shall not be writing in that paper, The Masses, that only ran starved into submission. "It is a fact that nobody has gone short of one particular rush against the wall of Capitalism, as

meal yet. It is there for the asking, and nothing they said, might succed in pushing it over. With

called" a piebald International" by many of its week, when the Benoni Commando paid us a resent supporters when its constitution was visit. We met their Commando half-way. One ulated. It is not so Red as many advanced hundred mounted men led the way, followed by forkers desire. Bear that fact in mind when the women's Red Cross, numbering about eighty. onsidering the following facts submitted by Then came about four hundred foot, with amn Olson, Chairman, and Carl Berg, Secretary bulance waggons, etc., finishing up with about he Edmonton District of the Lumber Workers' six hundred cycles. There must have been about four thousand on the Square.

Board of the L.W.I.U. of Canada has sus- in Benoni. I am on the Brakpan Commando.

"No hotels are open, and drink is unobtainabide by the aims, purposes and constitu- able.

A members' meeting of the Edmonton District the papers. According to these we are creeping surprised that a Communist Party would sell any back to work, but such is not the case. We know pamphlet which fails to make that perfectly every 'scab.' Their names are posted up out- clear." side our strike offices and there are six names only. "Arguing again!" cried Lily Carter, rushing quiet in Brakpan, and no rioting. We don't in- done?" tend to give Jannie Smuts the chance to proclaim

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £101 15s. 9d. Two Reds, 7/6; J. Clark, 1/9; W. Pentney, 5/-; F. H. We shall continue to consider ourselves as Symonds. 9/-; L. M. Brown, 3/6; R. Lees, embers of the organisation until such time 2/6; A. J. and F. E. Symes, 3/-; H. Morris, as you have put this matter to a referendum 5/6; A. Hodson, £1; M. Tidey, 2/6; M. Melvin, vote of the rank and file, and they have had a 2/6; H. Hersey, 10/-; G. Sear, Jnr., 7/6; ance either to uphold or repudiate your auto- Per E. F. Dean, £1; V. Lemmon, 5/-; cratic action. We shall further appeal directly J. Bailey, 2/6; M. E. Marsh, 1/-; W. Holdsthe rank and file of the entire organisation, worth, 1/6; Two Comrades, 10/-; S. Davie demand that they take action to see that the Street, Edinburgh. 10/-; Discontented, 5/-; THE GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLU-Institution is upheld and that they be given S. H. Simcoe, 2/6; F. W. Chandler, £3; G. L. e right to vote by a referendum vote on the Jones, 2/6; I. Opperman, 5/-; J. Schaffer, £1; matter of affiliation and constitutional amend- H. J. Smith, 2/; S. Hickton, 2/6; M. A. and W. J. Paul, 5/-. Total, £113 11s.

THE POMP OF ROYALTY AND WEALTH.

Aye, there they are-

Nobles, and sons of nobles, patentees, Monopolists and stewards of this poor farm, On whose lean sheep sit the prophetic crows. Here is the pomp that strips the houseless orphan, Here is the pride that breaks the desolate heart, These are the lillies, glorious as Solomon, Who toil not, neither do they spin, unless It be the webs they catch poor rogues withal. Here is the surfeit which to them who earn The niggard wages of the Earth, scarce leaves The tithe that will support them till they crawl Back to her cold hard bosom. Here is health Followed by grim disease, glory by shame, Waste by lame famine, wealth by squalid want, And England's sin by England's punishment.

A troop of cripples, beggars, and lean outcasts,

Dragged for a day from cellars and low cabins And rotten hiding-holes, to poin't the moral Of this presentment, and bring up the rear Of painted pomp with misery.

FRANK PENMAN .- Continued from page 3. ago, and about the Trade Unions. Then it goes on-I haven't left anything out :-

" But to the Communist, the guild scheme seems a premature and Utopian attempt at the detailed formulation of methods that will have to be worked out in actual practice." "

"Good Lord!" said Barbour, "I'm always telling those fellows in the C.P. they are fools Glasgow and Belfast and the Port of London: "It is amusing to hear the hooters blowing when there was the engineers' strike that didn't come off; old Eden was saying the Revolution "The farmers are sending us huge quantities was coming, right then. I remember the Pauls three or four numbers. They suggested that that a revolution having taken place in Russia and Hungary and half a revolution in other countries. these folk still talk as though what is to happen after the Revolution is something we mustn't even speculate about. If they don't want to formulate a Communist policy for after the Revolution—other people will: that is a certainty.

It's a necessity, too, what's more!" Miss Mayence broke in:

"But Guild Socialism is anything but Communism! Surely they ought to have said that, instead of calling it premature. The Guild Socialists want a Parliament as well as the Guild Council, and they want buying and selling by the Guilds, and wages, even unequal wages! Cer-"You must not believe anything you read in tainly Guild Socialism is not Communism. I am

We know just what is going on. Everything is up to them. "Will you people never have

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TO THE HUMBLE-MINDED WORKER.

At an open-air meeting the other day, fellow worker, the speaker was talking about Communism-explaining what it is, you know.

"That means the Revolution, doesn't it?"

Well, not exactly, fellow worker. The change from this system to Communism would be a revolution, of course; but Communism means holding property in common-not your watch and chain, or your overcoat, of course; but watches and chains, before they are put to use.

Under Communism, the land and the means of production and transport shall be held in common, and we shall all use what we want of the common produce, just as we want it. because more than enough to go round can be produced and there will be no stint. There will be no money you understand; neither will there be barter, which is exchanging one commodity for another. Of course, there will be no employers and no employed, no rich, no poor, no money, no wages.

The administration of production and transport will be by those responsible for the actual work. That is what is called Soviet administration.

There was a big crowd at the meeting: it was estimated by the local capitalist press at 700 or 800: probably a thousand or more people were present. Most of them were workers, and a big proportion were unemployed.

After the explanation of Communism, the speaker asked for questions. None were forthcoming. The speaker expressed surprise; but several voices shouted:

"We're all converted."

The speaker then asked for a show of hands from those who believed Communism possible and desired to have it. The hands went up in a mass: hardly anyone refrained from raising both hands.

After that came a question, "Seeing that the workers cannot understand Communism, how do you propose to take advantage of this situation? Can't you suggest putting forward some proposal that they can understand, so that we can take advantage of the present situation?"

The speaker was a member of the Communist Party; one of those superficially-book-learned people who imagine the rest of the world to be incapable of learning anything. That is always the way, fellow worker. It is not the humble-minded working man and woman who cannot understand Communism, but the sophisticated individual, who has stuffed his brain with jargon and politicians' palliatives and catch-cries, so that there is no room for thought and simple common sense and the entrance of an idea that is new to him.

Such persons belittle your intelligence, fellow workers. They believe that you will always go round and round in your squirrel-cage after the baits of higher wages and lower hours. declare you will never use the key to unlock the cage, though it is in your hands.

Such persons imagine that the only way to free you, fellow workers, is to keep you very rigidly under their discipline, because they alone have the intelligence to use the key. They propose to continue dangling the old palliatives before your eyes, just as the people do who are not Communists at all. They believe that if they do that, you will become their obedient tools, just as you have been the obedient tools of the Labour leaders, who believe that the squirrel-cage is the proper place for you. Having made you willing to be their tools, their obedient flock of humble sheep, these clever ones mean to guide you. They promise to use the key hat you have not the intelligence to use.

Meanwhile, in case you should join their organisation, they have resolved to place new nembers and delinquent members "upon probation."

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