Resolutions of United Front Conference

workers' 32 Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

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[WEEKLY.]

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THE LLOYD GEORGE WAY IS THE CAPITALIST WAY.

It was in the height of the White invasion of Soviet Russia, in the early days of the Soviet Revolution, when Communist fervour ran high. The press had reported that Petrograd was about to fall to the White invaders.

As I rode home in the 'bus to the East End I gaw groups of people clustered under the lamp posts, reading the evening papers.

The fear sprang to my mind: "Petrograd has fallen." The thought was so sharply painful that I shrank from confirming my fears by questioning anyone or buying an evening paper for myself. Yet, reaching home, I could not rest in suspense, and set forth again to ascertain the news. When I returned to the Roman Road the crowds under the lamp posts had disappeared, the shops were shut. Under a lamp post I found lying the Evening News. The stop press news was printed in large blue letters:—

"BECKET BEAT McCORMICK."

Petrograd had not fallen .

I had forgotten that the great mass of workers were still unaware of the overwhelming importance to them of the workers' Revolution.

Petrograd did not fall then, nor has it since been taken by force of arms. Yet the Red Petrograd of those hopeful days has been vanquished. By capitalist pressure, by threats and intrigues the Workers' Republic has been taken for Capitalism. Every bulletin issued by the Russian Government; every speech made by its representatives confirms this tragic fact.

Is Petrograd to Provide a British Naval Base?

A startling statement is repeated by The Times, which appeared in the Paris Excelsion. The special correspondent of this paper as'ed Trotsky:—

"Are not your relations with England excellent?

"Have you not in your dossiers on English proposal asking, against certain conditions, for the extra-territorialisation of a considerable zone of the port of Petrograd, which zone would eventually become a British base?"

"What!" exclaimed Trotsky, not a whit disconcerted, "you know that? It is true, as a matter of fact, that the Soviets are studying this question, which might become an interesting one for England and Russia. No reply has yet been made."

Whether the conversation reported by the Excelsior is, or is not literally authentic, it is certain that the proposal it touches upon is in harmony with many that are being intrigued for by the Capitalist Powers to-day. China is graning under just such burdens as this which Irotsky is supposed to have said is being considered for Petrogad at the present time.

To grant extra territorial rights to subjects of a foreign Power means to place those persons above the law of the country in which they are residing, and in practice gives them tremendous apportunities of unpunished aggression against the natives of the country. Even the good-matured capitalist politician expresses pity for the Chinese because the Western Powers possess extra territorial rights in China, and China is endeavouring to free herself from this intolerable appression. Will the Russian Soviet Government roluntarily accept extra-territoriality for Russia, in return for some elusive promises of thade, trade credits, or famine relief?

Has the Soviet Government already admitted extra-territoriality in the zones which it has based to the capitalists?

"Impartial tribunals are to be set up for this purpose" and these tribunals must not be

Lloyd George, in moving the Commons reso-

lution approving his Government's Genoa

policy, on April 3rd, again made clear the con-

ditions under which the Russian Government's

delegates are invited to Genoa. These entail

the complete restoration of the old rights of

private property, restoration of the property of

other nationals which was confiscated during the

revolution, and compensation for disturbance.

All the mines and factories and other enterprises

into which Russian and French capital was

poured, are to return to the old shareholders, with

compensation.

"creatures of the Executive." That really means that they must not be workers' tribunals or Communist tribunals, but tribunals of persons who are devoted to Capitalism; persons, too, of whom the capitalist governments approve.



Whilst Farmers and Dealers are Contending for Profits, the Children are Lacking Milk.

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words appear to mean, and no doubt that is the the Communist Revolution. literal intention. Such attacks as that of Poland The world has never seen a grimmer tragedy. upon Soviet Russia may therefore be made when- In return for some shadowy promises of Governments, just as they did during the way ever the capitalist Powers desire it, without any trade credits and famine relief, the Russian Go-

vernment in other countries must cease. Lloyd foreign investors infinitely greater wealth than George complains that it has not ceased as com- anything that may be tardily given or lent. pletely as he considers it should.

Genoa Conference:

investors must be assured that their property as saying :and their rights will be respected and the fruits of their enterprise secured to them. "3.—The sense of security cannot be reestablished unless the Governments of countries

desiring foreign credit freely undertake-(a) That they will recognise all public debts and obligations which have been or damage caused to them when property has munism. been confiscated or withheld.

established political system in other countries way:than their own.

"If in order to secure the conditions necessary for the development of trade in Russia the Russian Government demands official recognition, the Allied Powers will be prepared to accord such recognition only if the Russian Government accepts the foregoing stipula-

following outline agenda was approved by the continued:-Supreme Council:-

"1.—Examination of the methods of putting into practice the principles contained in the resolution reached at Cannes on January 6th, " 2.—The establishment of European peace

on a firm basis. "3 .- Essential conditions for re-establishment of confidence without injury to existing

" 4. - Financial subjects.

(a) Currencies. (b) Central banks and banks of issue. (c) Public finance in relation to recon-

(d) Exchanges. (e) Organisation of public and private

" 5 .- Economic and commercial subjects.

(a) Facilities and guarantees for the im-

port and export of commercial products. (b) Legal guarantees for the re-establishment of commerce.

(c) Protection of industrial property and copyrights.

(d) Status of consuls.

(e) Admission and position of foreigners in regard to the conduct of business.

(f) Technical assistance to industrial reconstruction.

" 6.—Transport.

ternal economic administration of a country are to let us plainly say it, independent capitalist Gobe discussed by the Genoa Conference. It will vernments in Georgia, Armenia and the Ukraine. not be the administration, however, of Britain, That cordon sanitaire may next be used as one France, America, Japan, the dominant strong means of defeating a Communist revolt in capitalist Powers, that will be discussed, but the Germany.

The Russian Government is to undertake not administration of Russia mainly, and, to a certain Very significant was the statement is to attack its neighbours, and to place itself under extent, also that of Germany, Austria and some representatives of the Second International the control of the League of Nations; but the other weaker nations. Russia will be the main Berlin, that a general Socialist International League of Nations will not take the responsibility victim of the Genoa vivisectors. The representation Conference of Nations will not take the responsibility victim of the Genoa Conference of Nations will not take the responsibility victim of the Genoa Conference of Nations will not take the responsibility victim of the Genoa Conference of Nations will not take the responsibility victim of the Genoa vivisectors. of defending Russia, should her firontiers be tatives of the Soviet Government go as bond- of the Capitalist Governments is concluded attacked. That, at least, is what Lloyd George's slaves to assist in the slaughter of what remains of Why?

intervention by the League of Nations. vernment is now fastening upon the unfortunate Furthermore, propaganda by the Soviet Go- workers of Russia, obligations to provide for the

The hopes of 1917 have fallen low indeed! That Lloyd George was not merely talking at Lloyd George exults over this gigantic capitalrandom, is shown by the following extracts from ist victory: what are the paltry by-elections bethe resolution adopted by the Supreme Council side this tremendous thing? In the Commons at the Cannes Conference, as the basis of the debate of April 3rd, he declared that Lenin had admitted the failure of Communism. "Never." "2.—Before however, foreign capital can he said, "had there been such a condemnation be made available to assist a country, foreign of the doctrines of Karl Marx. He quoted Lenin

> "If Capitalism is going to win and grow, so will industrial production, and with it the During the war, as everyone knows, the United proletariat. Inasmuch as the large capitalist States Government set up a Shipping Board industry has been ruined and works and fac- create a vast merchant service, in order that the tories have stopped, so has the proletariat dis- capitalists of America might make fortunes

Deliberately or not, Lloyd George misrepre- to be mistress of the seas. may be undertaken or guaranteed by the sented Lenin, who was undoubtedly arguing, as The Shipping Board, having served its imme State, by municipalities, or by other public on other occasions, that through the growth of diate purpose of building up a merchant service profit. bodies, as well as the obligation to restore or Capitalism in Russia would be developed an in- more rapidly than could otherwise have been of course, no one could write such a book expecting school-room in New York. An unprotected and red of course, no one could write such a book expecting school-room in New York. An unprotected and red of course, no one could write such a book expecting school-room in New York. An unprotected and red of course, no one could write such a book expecting school-room in New York. compensate all foreign interests for loss or dustrial proletariat which would establish Com- accomplished, now desires to scrap the Shipping

Lloyd George, as Lenin has observed, is a some of their war profits in the shipping line. (b) That they will establish a legal and realist; he is, moreover, a lawyer, and familiar President Harding, obedient to the will of h juridical system which sanctions and enforces with the doctrine that possession is nine points masters, proposes to abolish the Shipping Board commercial and other contracts with im- of the law. Let Capitalism, and above all British sell its 1,400 vessels to capitalists, and subsidie dividend-hunters and exploiters, get themselves American ship-owners, in order that they may 4.—An adequate means of exchange must firmly established in Russia, and to treat them with the wise and experienced old people? Are they be available, and, generally, there must be deavour to make their position secure, whatever A St. Lawrence Canal scheme is also promised dignity and love; but, alas, sometimes we discover exempt from such mistakes?

The intentions of the capitalist Powers in re- to the ships. "5.—All nations should undertake to refrain gard to Russia's army are not hidden. Lloyd Under the Subsidy Bill, vessels which and the corn merchants, took out the wheat and divided from propaganda subversive of order and the George, on April 3rd, said, in his own theatrical documented under the laws of the United State interest and any notice and the George, on April 3rd, said, in his own theatrical documented under the laws of the United State interest and any notice and the George, on April 3rd, said, in his own theatrical documented under the laws of the United State interest and any notice and the George, on April 3rd, said, in his own theatrical documented under the laws of the United State interest and any notice and the George, on April 3rd, said, in his own theatrical documented under the laws of the United State interest and the George in the control of the United State in th

shaken, while there are constant rumours of ports. This is an inducement to shipping to reduce the countries of Europe to the same importance of this move does not appear till was condition of desolation."

It is highy important to observe that the the ignorant, sincere church and chapel goers,

"I hope hon, members will consider this matter seriously. I am sorry to say these rumours are not without some foundation. There are, as I say, rumours of such an intention by the revolutionaries to reduce the countries of Europe to the same terrible condition of famine, pestilence, and desolation in which Russia is. Naturally there is great apprehension. You cannot tell what is happening there. It is an impenetrable jungle."

That means, of course, that Russia is to be disarmed and placed completely at the mercy of the exploiters. But do not denounce Llovd George: his way is the way of Capitalism. He George: his way is the way of Capitalism. He has acted throughout in response to the wishes What will be the result of the Subsidy Bill II We when recording purishment would be more of the most dominant capitalist interests in this country. The Unionists who are attacking him have a policy which in large essentials is the same as the Lloyd George Government policy: it only differs in regard to some of the methods by which tile same aim may be achieved.

And the Labour Party? And the Second International, of which the Labour Party forms a section? Is their policy so altegether different from that of Lloyd George?

In Berlin, where the Third International is Britain a stage nearer. following the will-o'-the-wisp of a united front of all the so-called proletarian parties, the Second International is playing the capitalist game of creating a cordon sanitaire of Capitalist States INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO arcund Soviet Russia. That is what is behind Observe that all the main branches of the in- the enthusiasm for independent Menshevik, or,

Because the Labour leaders of the Second ternational take their cue from their car E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

THE PARABLE OF THE WATER TANK.

We regret that in our last week's issue omitted to give the author's name to "Parable of the Water Tank." The author I'dward Bellamy, and the parable is taken from his book, " Equality," which may be obtained from the Workers' Dreadnought, price 2s, 6d

BRITISH-AMERICAN TRADE WAR

Board, in order that American capitalists may no

financial and currency conditions which offer Lenin may say in his speeches. to assist U.S.A. farmers in getting their productions

will be entitled to a mileage subsidy for for for to obey their parents, and to obey quickly and without humane warnings. "The nerves of commerce have been trade, even though they do not touch Ame or breaks out. The game that the British have America in regard to shipping.

If, in spite of the subsidy, American ships cannot be induced to compete with British or with an open fire-place. Of course, it is a monstrous other shipping, the Subsidy Bill provides for a band horrible thing that a child should be brought doubling of the subsidy. The American up in the presence of an open fire-place; it is as if Shipping Board reckons that a single ship, the had to live in the room with a devouring demon. Leviathan, 54,000 tons, will earn a subsidy of John way to heat it, so I deliberately took this little £140,000 a year, in making 14 trips between by and burned his finger with a match, so as to teach Europe and America.

"This sum would be quite enough," says mother cried, and how very cruel it seemed, but it The Syren and Shipping, "to render the ship a never go too close to the open fire-place, and never veritable stormy petrel in the North Atlantic play with matches. Dr. Liber will have to explain

passenger trade." Not only is American shipping to be subsidised. The answers that he would reason with the child, I but it is proposed by the Bill to insist

it becomes law? Firstly it will compel the U.S. workers as a whole to subsidise U.S. shipping, in order that the possibility, we can use reason, and not until we have

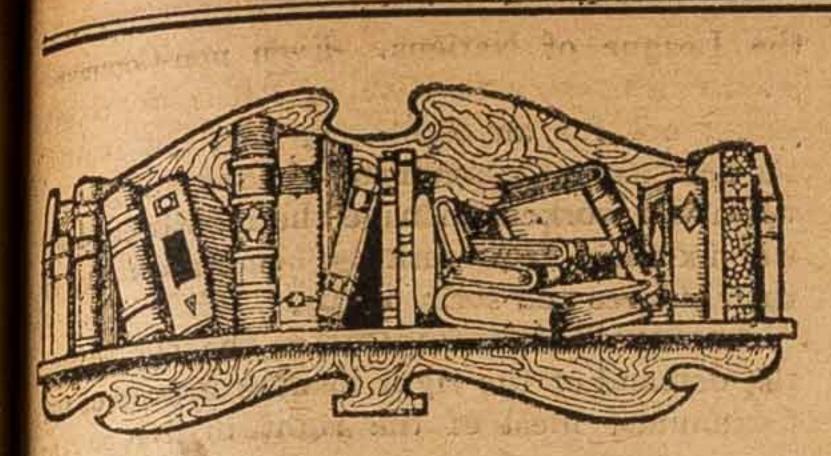
may be run at a loss. Secondly it will compel the workers in the British shipping industry to work harder, longer found that my little boy was of a high-strung disposi and at lower rates, in order that their em may struggle to compete against subsid U.S.A. shipping.

Thirdly it brings war between America and

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April 15, 1922.

liber's book begins curiously enough with a v Upton Sinclair, whose views on Education opposed to his own. Dr. Liber proreply to Sinclair's Preface before enlarging is own theories. His ideas and their opposicommon old conceptions of parental authority

ommend such a book from which people will derive "Years ago I used to watch the children of kinder- large sums for those days. Now everyone talked of the

"In the same way, I found with my boy when he judges that it is deserved. was a year or two old, that he had to play in a room him fear of fire. I remember vividly how the child's and the effect of making sure that the baby would how he would advocate solving such a problem. If wint out to him that he could never be sure that hild might not disobev, and one act of disobedience the immigrants coming to America must traver might cost the child's life. By my act of "cruelty," My rules regarding punishment would be more licated than Dr. Liber's. I should say, first, hat we should never use compulsion where, by any given reason a proper trial. We should use just as ultle compulsion as possible, and we should watch refully its effect upon the child. For example, I lon, and physical punishment excited him violently. But when he had misbehaved himself. I put him on nair and compelled him to sit there until he was ry, and this always solved the problem perfectly. ully agree with Dr. Liber that it is a bad idea to ke children obey—except when it is necessary. But en it is necessary, then I think they should obey, bey promptly, and above all things they should arm that when the occasion for obeying arises, there be no possibility of their getting out of it by

e Dr. Liber will be so hurt by these ideas he will not appreciate my praise of other things his book! At any rate, however, my objections will him to clear up his own ideas, and, perhaps, to all swer in advance, objections which will be sure to

the Author:expected such disagreements. My book may e been able to convince Mr. Sinclair that all

UPTON SINCLAIR.

punishments as punishments are wrong, but it may have more luck with others. At all events, if it provokes thinking and discussion on the subject of children's bringing-up, I am fully satisfied.

"Mr. Sinclair's objection has been answered in advance in the book. But I wish to add a few

"Even if the parents were always perfectly inclligent and reasonable human beings, if there were ne doubt as to their mental superiority over the child, if they were surely right in the discords arising between them and their children, I would not think that children should ever be "compelled to obey" their parents "quickly and without discussion," that CATIONAL UPBRINGING OF CHILDREN. By is, just as soldiers are supposed to obey their officers. n Liber, M.D. Rational Living Press, New Such children would become, as many do, liars and hypocrites, and totally or partially mechanical men with greatly atrophied and much debilitated thinking

"All the children know the difference between the sidewalk and the street. It is not difficult to explain to a normal child that the sidewalk is safe because the vehicles do not run there. The children learn that e proper training are so well brought out in the themselves, and anyone watching them impartially will find that they are quite careful, even if they do not show it. Of course, accidents happen. But don't Liber has sent me this book on the care of they happen to adults, to parents? A very small child and I have read the work with the greatest is usually not left alone and should not be left alone I do not see how anyone can it explained, and, barring an evident and im-It is evident that the writer mment great danger to his life, as pointed out in the book, there is no need of using force, and there is selling goods to Europe. Thus Britain ceases them both with intelligence and love. His health rever any need of bruising his hand. Wherever poswhice is excellent, and his talks on the subject of sible, and as long as possible, I would leave the small National Debt was 1,646 millions, and the annual deficit

garten age in Mrs. Ferme's famous little play- and financial ruin of France. that any other man would agree with every word of it. hot stove was standing in the middle of the room, The Third Estate, as the representatives correspondiber has sensibly offered t answer objections and the children ran and danced round it as savagely ing to our Members of Parliament were called, were his readers, so I will supply him with one sub- as they could. Nobody reminded them to be careful; not daring or extreme in their demands, but the I think he is too absolute in his but they never burnt themselves. I have seen children popular revolts had emboldened them somewhat. Their ent to the effect that children never by any playing in many places near hot stoves and open fire- more extreme demands were that the tax on bread mossibility need to be punished. This is one of those places without the slightest mishaps. Usually things and meat be fixed according to the average prices, general statements which are born of our do not happen as we, grown-up people full of sus- that wages be fixed periodically according to the feelings about life; but which cannot always picions and too much prevision, foresee them. Again, daily needs, that work should be guaranteed to all arried out in practice. We wish to recognise that sometimes a child may burn himself. But how about able-bodied poor.

"To teach the child that fire is hot by forcibly burning his fingers with a match, is not only cruel, had brought corn to market, to sell it at what were "I think it would be an easy matter to demonstrate" but is not efficient. If the child is very young, he called "honest" prices. Sometimes they preceded to

discussion. For example, in our cities, children have Just as an inoculation of a disease with a needle, forced to forego their dues upon flour, municipalities play in the streets, because they have nowhere else although it produces symptoms, is not a proof that were compelled to increase the daily wage. to play, and if a parent has to teach a very young the disease, when acquired in the usual way, will While famine was severe, the town workers went great armies being built up, of hordes of savage panies whose shareholders belong to all nation the same symptoms, so your match is not into the sountry to collect wheat. They broke open revolutionaries to be precipitated upon Europe alities, to be United States Companies. The full convincing to me, and probably much less to a very the granaries of religious communities, merchant urderstand the distinction between sidewalk and little child. He may think that he knows how to be monopolists and private persons, and thereby provided heet, and the enormous importance of this distinc- coreful with the fire-place, even if he could not fight the bakers with flour. hor. The parent may reflect that it would be far less against you and even if he must submit to your Bands of peasants, woodcutters and contrabandists Members of Parliament laughed, but this tried to play in inducing the big oil companies to willage to village seizing corn, plundering hypocrite who wishes to appease the conscience of be British is being played in another way by have the child's bones crushed by an automobile you are not as kind as blind nature would be. She the great houses and burning land registers which logically waits with her punishment until she . . . registered the feudal dues, and compelling landlords

him to sit there and think it over until he was sorry.' "Vive la Liberté" arose everywhere. He may have told you that he was sorry, but how can but the real test is their relations with children."

UNDER THE HOLLOW TREE. By Viteslav their own class. Their demands were granted. Halek, translated from the Czech by Sir W. W.

Strickland. Bakunin Press. Price 6d. dramatist is one that we can recommend to people of dreed and maximum prices fixed. When the owners all ages. It transports one from the dreary life of and traders protested, they were stoned, trenches were cities and dry-as-dust theorising. It evokes in the dug before their eyes, which might serve for their reader a longing that life may be sweeter and kinder, graves; or coffins were brought out to impress them more joyous. This little book should be read in every with the need of compliance. They capitulated with-Proletarian School, and every one of the scholars will out need of bloodshed.

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HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

(Continued from our last issue.) The taxes alone devoured half and often two-thirds of what the peasants could earn in a year. Beggary and rioting were constant. The middle classes profited by the impoverishment of the peasants to get them into their factories, and took advantage of the administrative demoralisation to seize upon monopolies and enrich themselves by loans to the State. A time came, however, when they feared for their property, and they encouraged the people to revolt, in order to break down the power of the Court and establish their own political power. The debts of the King and State were accumulating at an alarming rate. Minor reforms were ineffectual and failed to allay discontent.

The Assembly of Notables met at Versailles on by are exactly right. It is a pleasure to be able to child alone, under my supervision, even in such case. increasing by a hundred and forty millions annually—

In the Spring of 1789, the insurrections became more serious: peasants armed with knives, scythes and cudgels, tlocked to the town and compelled those who pay for it after the next harvest. Landowners were

to forego such privileges. At Peinier they forced the "When your child 'had misbehaved himself'- lcrd to sign a paper renouncing his feudal rights. which usually means that the parents had misbehaved Peasants refused to pay tithes and feudal dues. After themselves-you 'put him on a chair and compelled March 1789, no one paid feudal taxes. The cry of

At Agde the people threatened to sack the town if you be sure he was not glad to have 'misbehaved'? the price of all provisions were not lowered, the pro-"Yes, it is easy for Radicals to speak about liberty, vincial dues on wine, meat and fish were suppressed, and

the duty on milling reduced by half. They also wished to nominate consuls drawn from

In Provence, Aix, Marseilles, and more than forty large villages and towns abolished the tax on flour This beautiful story by a Bohemian poet and at the demand of the people. Food prices were re-

The people saw more than half the land lying idle in the hands of the nobility and clergy. They understood that so long as they did not seize and cultivate it, famine would continue. During the winter of 1788-1789, convoys of wheat were plundered in the Jura every day, and the tribunals refused to judge Kropotkin, in his "History of the Great French

Revolution," says :-

"The initiative came from the middle classes certainly-chiefly from the lower middle classesbut, generally speaking, the middle classes took care not to compromise themselves, and the number of them who opposed the Court, more or less openly, before the convoking of the States-General, was very limited. If there had been only their few attempts at resistance, France might have waited many years for the overthrow of royal despotism. Fortunately a thousand circumstances impelled the masses to revolt. And in spite of the fact that after every outbreak there were summary hangings, wholesale arrests, and even torture for those arrested, the people did revolt, pressed on one side by their desperate misery and spurred on the other by those vague hopes of which the old woman spoke to Arthur Young."

"'Something was to be done by some great folk for such poor ones'; she did not know who, nor how; 'but God send us better,' said an old woman, in 1789, to Arthur Young, who travelled through France on the eve of the Revolution."

(To be continued.)

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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A.E.U. LEFT IN THE LURCH. Engineers' Front Broken.

The first effort of the vaunted National Joint Council as represented by Mr. Henderson, P.C., has resulted n a split in the Unions of the engineering industry. Mr. Henderson has certainly fulfilled his mission as a Privy Councillor. The Executive of the 47 Unions have urged their members to remain at work, and have agreed to further neogtiation, whilst the A.E.U. still refuses to compromise. That the members of the 47 Unions voted to stand by the A.E.U. is a fact that is ignored. The members of the 47 Unions have condoned the action of their executives by obeying it.

On April 5th, the employers, with Mr. Henderson's assistance, secured a division in the ranks of the Unions, the A.E.U. being deserted by the other Unions. The Daily Herald, on whose policy Mr. Henderson is one of the advisers came forward on April 6th with a leading article, saying :-

"This is precisely the sort of situation from which may arise a danger greater than itself. readers. If the various Unions allow themselves recrimination one against the other, the employers' game of 'divide and conquer' will have far. SEND WHAT YOU CAN! scored perhaps the greatest triumph it has ever

We do not know who wrote that sentence; the policy behind it is futile, cowardly, and consciously for unconsciously dishonest. It is simply On another page we publish the Resolutions this: the Unions are divided; but do not say so. passed at the Berlin Conference of the Second, German and pro-Austrian sentiments, whi The A.E.U., mainly representing the skilled Third, and "Second-and-a-Half" Internationals. men, is still locked out; the forty-seven other What feeble, futile resolutions they are; how Reparations sentiments of the Reconstructionist casion—probably Dean Inge, not Conrad Noelit lover. The employers' policy was to divide Front. and conquer: they have divided; they will con- During the Conference, Rights and Lefts in the deep, apathetic despair of the workers, what stodgy and priggish advice to young men. quer; but do not say it was because the Union poured bitter recriminations upon each other, who see no hope of preventing a continued executives were divided. Do not give that as a accusing each other of worthlessness, treachery worsening of their standard of life, is the moment

The article continues :-

of the workers. But these are matters of clude the Communist Left? domestic concern. They are matters for the The Executives of the Second, "Second-and- success is as hopeless for the reformist as for the the workers should present a united front."

unskilled workers, the fact that in some in- compromise with reformism. dustries some workers are technically even the em- The object of such a conference is transparently ployers of other workers create superficial con- clear; it is to put an end to Communist and Reflicts of interest between different groups of volutionary propaganda and agitation. "This workers, but every effort should be made to is not the time for such work " is the message, a eliminate such differences, for they are a source greatly mistaken one, which the Berlin Conferof weakness and confusion.

overtime, and Union prestige, however, there can ganda, because the Third International, at the lift their burden and create for them the be no question of conflicting interest as between Berlin Conference, expressly took credit to it- in which "all shall be better than well!" different sections. The principle involved self for having expelled its Left elements, and obviously applies to all sections equally. The put this action forward as a proof that its object discuss Communism with anyone, but we Daily Herald reiterates "no blacklegging," but in calling for a United Front was not to sabotage never lend ourselves to compromise. No promise and definition of the compromise of the compromi while the A.E.U. is out. The Herald says: - International.

that it is RIGHT to fight, but that it is POLITIC Conference are purely reformist:to go on fighting, the rest of the Movement must refuse to weaken it by blacklegging, just as the A.E.U. must refuse to blame the rest

of the Movement for not taking the same view as itself. But the question for the A.E.U. is more than whether it CAN win by holding out; it is whether the noblest thing, from the point of view of the Movement as a whole, is not now-to go back, to thrash out the problems with the other Unions, and THEN to raise the issue; but to raise it, in that case, with the united fromt that is now lost. It is heroic to fight on; it may be more heroic to yield."

Such reasoning seems to us wholly false: if the A.E.U. think the fight worth while, they eannot be expected to abandon it, because others will not fight. The point is, however, that the membership of the 47 Unions instructed their representatives to fight side by side with the engineers. The representatives have disobeyed the rank and file vote, and abandoned the Engineers.

The split is another proof of the inefficiency of the Trade Unions as fighting organs, and the lack of class solidarity with the workers amongst Union leaders.

Moreover it is evident that there is no chance for the workers to win any great industrial struggle unless they will use other methods than that of the mere sectional strike. Certainly, if the employers are really serious in their determination, the strike weapon is not enough. No forward move will be made till the rank and file are prepared to organise themselves and to take action.

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COMMUNISM THRUST OUT. The Unity Front Retreat.

Unions, mainly representing the unskilled men, halting and poorly drafted! Their clumsiness Free Traders. The Third International, domine would not be likely to oblige with anything so are at work and arranging a settlement with the springs from the fear of being committed to any ated by the Russian Soviet Government, has been fine as Cobbett's sermon on "The Rights of the employers; but do not complain: do not use hard definite action, any binding principle on the part come purely pro-Russian, with all the good and " Poor," But it is the Cobbett of "Rural Rides"* words or tell the truth about the matter: gloss of the non-Socialists of this so-called United bad which that entails.

and dishonesty; yet now they pretend to have when the bright hope of Communism is most formed a United Front. The United Front is, needed, when it will be most eagerly received. "It has got frankly to be admitted, not only indeed, a Dis-United Front. In every direction The workers cannot secure palliative reforms at now at this moment of crisis, but always, as this is manifested—from the wrangling at Berlin this time: every struggle for minor improvements part of the general fact of the Labour Move- to the split amongst the engineering Unions in which they may make is bound to fail if ment as at present comstituted, that there are London. Even the Reformist Right is disunited: employing classes seriously resist them. Granted conflicting interests between different sections how, then, can there be a unity which shall in- that the workers are not ready yet to change the

Unions to settle with each other. What is a-Half," and Third Internationals are proposing revolutionary. Surely, then, this is indeed essential is that, ON THE GREAT ISSUES WHICH a broader conference, in which, not merely the time for preaching Communism and the end of DIVIDE THE CAPITALISTS FROM THE WORKERS, parties represented by them shall be present, but the capitalist system? also the actual Left; for the Third International This is a decidedy pernicious doctrine. The has become Centrist of late; the anti-Parliamentdivision of the workers into Unions of skilled and ary revolutionary industrial Left which refuses to

ence has sent forth. It is clear that the object In regard to the question of management, of conferring with the Left is to stop Left propait supports the 47 Unions in remaining at work the Trade Unions which dominate the Second of official position, or party advantage, can der

"So long as the A.E.U. believes, not merely The slogans that have issued from the Berlin

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY .- A demand largely into power, until the minds and desires of established in this country, and conceded in people have been prepared for Communi principle even by the Labour Department of Communism cannot come.

the League of Nations. Even non-Commun ist British workers have agitated in recent years, not for an eight-hour day, but for the six-hour day. Communists, of course, urge that when the workers manage the industries, the will fix their own working hours according to their desires and social needs.

AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT .- The old Labour rist demand of the right to work instead of the Communist ideal of the right to live and to use without stint, the comforts provided abundance by the community for the

UNITED ACTION OF THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE. Such unity is glaringly impossible at present : t parties called proletarian parties are not united in the desire to attack the capitalist offensive The Second International as typified by Vander velde, Otto Wels, Henderson, MacDonald and the others occupying official positions in it ate with it-not to meet its offensive with counter-attack.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC AND of Russian Communism.

concluded, is another of the many indications that the leaders of the Second International are Church in the 16th century." But had Cobbett still Social Patriots following the lead of their mentioned these things, he would merely have respective Governments. The Second International is an International of leaders with some lians, from Fox to Hume, had repeated ad dumb, unconscious masses, who take no part in their decisions, behind them.

are referred to as of London, of Moscow, of Vienna. In the Second International the British Labour Party dominates. With the Government Soull ists of the countries whose Governments allied with Britain, the British Social Patrols completely control the Second Internation policy. The Vienna Two and a Half International naturally mix without difficulty with the anti- an extra-special sermon for an extra-special oc- Quakers. :-

In all this Communism is thrust out. Yet now system, the chance of securing any present

If a crisis comes, what chance shall we have of securing Cmmunism, unless we have prepa the workers to know Communism and to des

It is said that the masses cannot understan Communism; but if all those who profess to Communists would but work and agitate for Communism and not for something else, then a great movement would arise amongst the peoples; for Communism alone can cure their wounds and

We Left-Wing Communists are always read us from our undeviating work and propagal for Communism and the Soviets. We know, whatever party, which ever individuals, may ch

A NEGLECTED REBEL.

April 15, 1922.

Husbandman, agitator, editor, historian, orator, narian, publicist, writer of sermons; Illiam Cobbett (1762-1835) was not that overted modern phenomenon, an "expert."

Without spending his life in the study of nmar, this amazing Surrey farmer yet wrote English grammar which remains still one of the best of English Grammars, quite holding its with that of the "expert" grammarian, Lindley Murray. Without qualifying himself the task by special study, Cobbett dared to what he called history," and wrote a "History of the Protestant Reformation,"* continues to be printed, and to find a place hably on as many bookshelves as the standard ry of that event, for writing which its author, Bishop Burnett, received the thanks of

Cobbett, of course, pointing out as he did, that desire to conciliate Capitalism and to co-oper- the Reformation killed old English hospitality, pauperism, and let loose the moneyender, previously suppressed, did not receive the thanks of Parliament for writing his History. POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND He was sneered at, even by his friends, for his ALL THE CAPITALIST STATES .- In this matter " intrepid ignorance " in attacking " the three the three Executives are pushing an open door; or reat reformers, " Luther, Calvin, and Beza; the Capitalist Governments have re-established and in saving that Cranmer was a scroundrel, relations with Russia, and Genoa is the proof Latimer a blackguard, Cromwell a robbing blackof this. The price has been the abandonment smith. Henry VIII "a rotten lump of beastliness." and so forth.

The decision that a workers' International These friends of Cobbett's complained that he cannot meet till after the Genoa Conference has a said nothing in his History about "the corruption, tyranny, avarice, and rapacity of the Romish been repeating what nearly all the other histornauseum. Cobbett's History, "droll" though it may be, biassed and exaggerated as it It is not for nothing that the three Internationals admittedly is, remains, nevertheless, a valuable

> who is most needed to-day, before Cobbett as istorian, cottage economist, or writer of some-"Rural Rides" is a series of letters written by Cobbett between 1821 and 1832, the fruit of rious journeys on horseback through rural and, and all of them redolent, as perhaps no other letters in literature are redolent, of the

In the first letter of all, we discover that ett does not like "parks." They suggest to im something artificially created for the personal pleasure of a "Fundlord retired to be a country to restore the greatness, the freedom, and happiness of England, which, in the last letter of "Rural Rides," he says he will make his duty and endeavour to restore.

Cobbett quite clearly estimates the difference between the old "easy" landowners, and the new rack-renting gentry; the former " attached the soil, known to every farmer and labourer

last are our new John Bulls, successful men," who do not earn money, but make " it; and they have a fondness for big houses in Cobbett's native Surrey. They not decreased in numbers, these new and country squires, since 1821-32. Cobbett

might be writing of present conditions in the passage which follows the above :-

"The war and paper system has brought in nabobs, negro-drivers, generals, admirals, governors, contractors, pensioners, sinecurists, commissioners, loan-jobbers, lottery-dealers, bankers, stock-jobbers, not to mention the long and black list in gowns and three-tailed wigs. You can see but few good houses not in possession of one or other of these."

Indeed, it is remarkable how many of the passages of "Rural Rides" are applicable to

the means of paying rent, while the present to sanity and reality. taxes and tithes remain. Something must be taken off. The labourers' wages have already been reduced as low as possible. All public

interest of the debt ought to be reduced."

written in 1922. Only Cobbett did not know the "Advice to Young Men," 3/6. was treading on holy ground in mentioning the interest of the debt. To suggest that the " patriots" who had a conscientious objection to giving their money to the State during the war (while they sneered at others for far less The burden of Cobbett's complaint is that the tains law and order; Unrest is an outlaw. non-producers increase in numbers while the pro- There was a time when Unrest had no resason productive gamekeepers to patrol their useless the silent hours " in peaceful security? coverts, to the exclusion of the creative peasant But that was before the intrusion of Might. from the countryside.

needed antidote to the vast mass of equally Cobbett is especially hard upon the class he family from a neighbouring field, not only rene-sided history written to please the money- aptly calls "tax-eaters." What would be ay tains his own harem, but has assumed jurisdicis; the descendants of those who benefited to our "health visitors," policewomen, Labour tion both over Unrest's hens and over his foraging le plunder of the monasteries, the church Exchange officials, and other additions to the glebes, rights and privileges. and the guilds; the " nobles" and their Dead Weight carried by the producers, thanks to And now (is it believable?) Unrest wants his "progress" since Cobbett's time? He is some- own again; he cannot understand this law of Even Cobbett's sermons will compare favour- thing of an anti-Semite, but his dislike of the Force which deprives him of the benefit of the is dominated by the bourgeois pacifists of the ably with half the sermons written and delivered Jew is mild compared with his scorn of the sect law. So he rebels; he is a dangerous incendiary; U.D.C. school, greatly coloured by pro by "experts" in preaching. The cleric most who won't play at cards, but who will play at he disturbs the peace: he causes unseemly hich likely to be "rung up" by the Daily Mail for Stocks, Lottery Tickets, and Mark Lane-the trouble as much by courting the hens that were

would think that their religion bound them acquired. under a curse not to work. Some of the people of other sects work; do something that is useful to other people; but here is a sect of buyers and sellers. They make nothing; they cause nothing to come; they breed as well as other sects; but they make none of the raiment or houses, and cause none of the food to come." been made. He does not like superfluous resignation:-

"Give me none of that " light " or of that "grace" which makes a man content with oatmeal and water, or that makes him patiently lie down and die of starvation amidst plenty of

know that the way to make them good . . honest . . . dutiful . . . kind to one another is to enable them to live well; and I also know that none of these things will ever be accomplished by Methodist sermons, and by those stupid . . . malignant . . . and roguish things called Religious Tracts."

In our day, Cobbett would say that none of garet W. Folsom. Fifty years ago, then twenty-five their childhood, frequently mixing with these things will ever be accomplished by Insur- years old, she was committed to a private hospital for in in those pursuits where artificial distinc- ance Cards and Labour Exchanges. We have lost the insane, having been judged incompetent to manage in those pursuits where artificial distinc- ance Cards and Labour Exchanges. We have lost her \$365,000 estate. To-day, eighty and blind, she still sits in her private suite in the hospital, but her lony, from habit, and not on calculation "; still believe that the lot of the worker is eased estate is valued at \$1,928,806. "Superior intelligence" latter "only now and then residing at all, by more and ever more bureaucratic departments; has earned over one and a half million dollars in ig no relish for country delights, foreign in and it is only a few "reactionaries" who under- fifty-five years! manners, distant and haughty in their be- stand that all the new departments mean simply viour, looking to the soil only for its rents, that the worker must pay more in taxation, in ving it as a mere object of speculation, un- order to find jobs for an increasing number of mainted with its cultivators, despising them futile administrators; or, as Cobbett would call to go on strike for two weeks, as a protest against the empty pews in his church. Looks as if his congrega-

Of the capitalist system, Cobbett says:-"This vile paper-money and funding system; this system of Dutch descent, begotten by Bishop Burnet, and born in Hell; this system

agents to carry on gambling. They reside here in the Wen; many of the gamblers live in the country; they write up to their gambling agent, whom they call their stock-broker; he gambles according to their order, and they receive the profit or stand the loss. Is it possible to conceive a viler calling than that of an agent for the carrying on of gambling? And yet the vagabonds call themselves gentlemen: or at least look upon themselves as the superiors of those who sweep the kennels."

Cobbett did not succeed in restoring greatness, freedom, and happiness to England. We have "Let loan-jobbers, stock-jobbers, Jews, not abolished the Dead Weight, the countless and the whole tribe of tax-eaters say what they swarms of tax-eaters, the money-lenders, jobbers, will, you know that it is impossible, as it would sinecurists, place-hunters, et hoc genus omne. be cruelly unjust to wring from the labourer But "Rural Rides" still points the way back

S. HUGH SIMCOE.

* BOOKS BY W. COBBETT .- " History of the pay and salaries ought to be reduced, and the Protestant Reformation, 2/6; "A History of tithes ought also to be reduced. . . . The the Last Hundred Days of English Freedom. 8/-; "Rural Rides (Two Vols.) 5/-; "English This was written in 1822. It might have been Grammar," 2/6; "Cottage Economy," 3/6;

May be obtained from Dreadnought office.

THE OUTLAW.

In our field, of two chanticleers therein, one offensive conscientious objections) should be asked is a big bird representing Might; the other is a to pay for the war and its results, is blasphemy. smaller bird representing Unrest. Might main-

ducers decrease. "All the useful people become or desire to be an insurgent. What, indeed, had less numerous." The parasitic money-lenders he to rebel against, when he lived with his hens and jobbers buy rural estates, and employ on- in tranquil domesticity, foraging, and "sounding

Might, a Nietzschean bird, imported with his

his before Might appropriated them, as by illegal "Here is a sect of non-labourers. One trespassing on Might's foraging grounds, newly

And both birds look their parts: Might, the upholder of Law and Order, is big, burly, respectable-looking as he stands four-square about the field, keeping a watchful eye on Unrest, who, harried from pillar to post, looks the disreputable, dissolute disorderly outlaw he has

One day I heard Might, in a generous mood, teling Unrest that if he was not satisfied with the field, its laws and its happy constitution, why, then, did he not leave it: no one compelled him to live in the field, stirring up strife.

And Unrest, who, as a good Rebel, knows his He dislikes those who give stones for bread :- "England, Arise!" could only reply, too dis-"I know that the labouring classes are in gusted to quote correctly: "Yes; all monopolists nire." He sees nothing in a " park" calcu- rags, and that they have not a belly-full; and say that; but I know this: 'A robber bird has seized my hens, and I'm an Exile here!" "

SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE.

How often have we been told that accumulated wealth is the fruit of superior intelligence! Apropos of this ancient wheeze we will cite the case of Mar-

A GENERAL STRIKE.

The Rev. Adam Hamilton, of Blackpool, threatened tion had struck first.

OTIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

Chinese literary men are fighting against international copyright laws; they say it should sufficiently has turned everything into a gamble. There his fellows. Who said that the Chinese were a backare hundreds of men who live by being the ward and uncultured race?

THE UNITED FRONT.

I, III, AND III INTERNATIONALS IN BERLIN. THE RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the text of the Resolutions just adopted by the Berlin Conference of the Executives of the Second, Second-and-a-Half, and Third Internationals:-

The Conference of the Executives of London, Moscore and Vienna unanimously agrees that, however desirable may be the unification of the class organisations of the proletariat, there shall be not immediate question except of common de- Second; and Frederick Adler, Bracke and Crispien ili agis kontraŭ vi? Kial vi timas ilin? liberations for concrete objects by all the for the Two-and-a-Half. tendencies represented at this Congress.

The Conference therefore proposes that the Executives give their assent to the constitution of an organising committee of nine members, and on the way to Fez. having a mandate to organise further conferences to which shall be invited parties not belonging to either of the three Internationals. Each General Liantey. Executive shall be free to choose as it pleases the three persons who are to represent it. In this tions; if mention is made of England, the com- Ankaŭ mi, ankaŭ mi, kriis la anaso kaj elected by all the other shareholders. organising committee no decision shall be taken ment invariably is that we are gone mad and are koko. by the majority; its mission is to express the on the eve of losing our Eastern possessions. — Tio ĉi estas tre kurioza, diris la leono. Mi "The term bonus is not to be confounded with points of view which are common to the three French officers, who swarm here and are well in neniam audis tian aferon, kaj ne komprenas viajn mostis. A man goes in for two years, and at the Executives as they present themselves at the given touch with Mussulman feeling, always express sentojn. Kion povas fari la fremduloj kontraŭ and of that time, if he wishes to return to his own

UNITED TRADE UNION FRONT.

The Conference considers it useful that the England! organising committee should undertake the attempt to bring about non-binding conversations I have just seen two or three swallows, but com forkuros facile. Vi havas kornojn, vi hav of a united Trade Union front.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES AND

GEORGIA.

made by the representatives of the Communist our English Post Offices. I had long ago re- farus tion, diris la orangutango. International, that the 47 Social Revolutionaries marked what a disgraceful contrast there is be- - Sed ne estas bela. kiam oni laudegas sian may have, in their trial, whatever defenders they tween an average English Post Office and the propran familion. Lasu ilin pace, ili estas tute desire, and, as the Soviet Press announced before palatial building, for instance, at Ostend, with sendangeraj. this Congress, the menace of condemnation to its ten or twelve glass-partitioned desks with pens - Mi volontege diras vortojn por ilia laŭdo, death shall be excluded from their trial; the trial and blotters complete, as against the dirty little diris la hundo; mia piedo estas jam proskaŭ reshall be open to the public, representatives of the corner in England, with a broken pen and a sanigita kaj mi pensas, ke ili estas pli saĝaj, ol beserve that the Committee is to fix wages and three Executives may be present, and for the churlish notice that it must only be used for vi kune. information of their members, may have access telegrams. Well, here, in Rabat, a third-rate - Neniam en mia vivo mi forgesos, kion ili

Executives declares itself willing to receive and floor and seats around, with notices in Arabic and kaj oni vidas. ke vi devenas de bona familio, mi examine the documents expressing the various in French, about the money orders and savings ne kredas, ke la dupieduloj estas danĝeraj kaj points of view on the question of Georgia. The bank, and the mails by steamer and by aero- mi ne intencas ataki ilin. Sed se mi renkontos Conference instructs the organising committee to plane. conference of the three Executives.

tives of the II International have declared that nuisance that must keep moving on upon narrow - Neniu havis kuraĝon, diri ankoraŭ unu they do not think it possible to organise a general pavements with hardly ever a seat or a resting vorton. Silente kiel ili venis, la bestoj desiris. conference in April, because of the sittings of the place in sight, unless it be a "pub." Genoa Conference.

The Conference is nevertheless unanimous on Labour Party sleeps. the principle of the necessity of holding a general of the Executives to inform the parties adhering look well on a bicycle; yet a good many of them loko, kie la fremduloj dormadis. Sed en la conference as soon as possible. It is the mission to them of the progress that the idea of a general congress has made during the Berlin deliberations. The Executives will give their representatives on the organising committee full nower to carry to a definite conclusion the deliberations of the Berlin Conference concerning the calling of a general conference.

FOR THE UNITED ACTION OF THE PROLETARIAT. The organisation of a general conference for the reasons indicated above.

the united will of the conscious international pro- of Islam, a much cleverer standpoint.

demonstrating with the greatest unity possible for slow-which is lucky for the Moors!

The eight-hour day. of the Capitalist Powers.

For united action by the proletariat against the capitalist offensive.

For the Russian Revolution; for faminestricken Russia; for the re-establishing of political and economic relations between Soviet Russia and all States.

the proletariat in all countries and in the Inter- koko.

The signatories were: Clara Zetkin, Radek and diris la leono kaj ĉirkaŭrigardis per siaj vaste Frossard for the Third International; Otto malfermitaj okuloj. La plej pacemaj kaj timemaj Wels, Vandervelde and J. R. MacDonald for the bestoj de la arbaro volas ataki la fremdulojn. Kion

IN MOROCCO.

I am on the sea side in West Africa, at Rabat,

Fez is the inland stronghold of the Sultan of in tiradus kaj ŝiradus min, diris la bovo. of the three Executives, also larger conferences Morocco, but he now lives in a palace at Rabat, — Mi frostrotremas kvazaŭ mia tuta lanaro under the patronage of the French Resident, estus tondita, diris la ŝafo.

No one here worries about the English elec- en fajro kaj manĝus min, diris la ano. the same opinion, and I cannot persuade them vi? Nude kaj sennome ili marŝadas inter ni, and I cannot persuade them vi? Nude kaj sennome ili marŝadas inter ni, and I cannot persuade them vi? Nude kaj sennome ili marŝadas inter ni, and I cannot persuade them vi? Nude kaj sennome ili marŝadas inter ni, and I cannot persuade them vi? that Curzon and Churchill are not the whole of prenas jen pomon, jen orangon kaj ne faras ie on some other project, he can be given some

The Swallows.

between the representatives of the Amsterdam the greater number of these birds are further ungegoin kaj dentojn. . . . Kion vi povas letrograd, or live on academic phrases from the International and the Red International of South; on the other hand, there are plenty of timi? Labour Unions, in order to examine by what large black and white storks, sitting in their means may be assured the re-establishment and rough nests along the battlements of the old novaj bestoj estos nia pereo. La danĝero minacas munist? Why should anyone in Russia walk maintenance, both nationally and internationally, town walls, reminding one of Germany and vin kiel nin ĉiujn. Northern Spain: I wonder why we have no storks in English villages?

A Palatial Post Office The Conference takes note of the declaration The more I travel, the more I travel, the more I travel, the more I am ashamed of the declaration The more I travel, the more I am ashamed of the declaration The more I travel, the more I am ashamed of the declaration The more I travel, the more I am ashamed of the declaration T to the shorthand reports. Moroccan town, I find a spacious marble hall, feris al mi. The Conference records that each of the three with writing desks, pads and pens, a tesselated - Vi estas prava, dinis la leono, vi estas bonulo

draw up a report based on the conclusions drawn It is a good thing that an Englishman looks at arta afero. La malsateco estas ĉies estro. Sed from the examination, for submission to a future upon his home as his castle, for he certainly is hodiaŭ nokte mi estas sata kaj nun mi iras not welcome in any of his own public buildings, hejmen, mi volas dormi. Bonan nokton The Conference observes that the representa- and even in his own streets he is considered as a gesinjonoj.

Private enterprise sees to that, while the

Burnous and Bicycle.

camels, while the women, on foot, trudge along, the latter see their way is a mystery, they peep with one eye only, between the folds of the'r white wraps, their bare feet only showing underneath

The Cross and the Crescent.

I have not yet come across a single Spaniard during the course of this month was impossible, in Rabat, although in other parts of Morocco they are fighting the Moors. The Spaniards are The present Conference declares it to be an less successful in Morocco than the French, beindispensable duty, in view of the offensive by cause they look upon their war as one between the alporti matenmangon por si kaj por sia virino. international capitalist Imperialism, to manifest Cross and the Crescent, whereas the French help immediately, in an international mass action, the Moors to repair the Mosques and holy places

The Conference therefore invites the workers soldiers expect the priests to go ahead with a of all countries to organise during the Genoa Con- crucifix in their hand, to bless the battlefield estas tiu ĉi? Kion vi permesas al vi? Kaj mi ference on April 20th, or, if that is impossible, before the fight, and as the priests are not partion May 1st, powerful gatherings of the masses, cularly keen to go too far, the conquest is pretty volis vin mortigi!

Some of the wealthy Jewish and Arab families Li rompis brancon de la arbo kaj bategis To combat unemployment, which is infin- here still cherish in their possession the keys of kelkfoje la orangutangon, kiu kriegante forkuris itely increased by the Reparations policy the houses in Granada and Cordova from which en la arbaron. they were driven centuries ago by the Spaniards!

April 15, 1922.

April 15, 1922.

LA DUPIEDULO. (Daŭrigo.)

ESPERANTO.

- Mortigu ilin, mortigu ilin, ekkriis la ŝafo kaj la kapro kaj la cervo kvazaŭ unubuŝo. Apn The reconstruction of the United Front of tion, agu tion, kriis la anaso, la ansero kai la

- Neniam en mia vivo mi aŭdis tian aferon.

- Mi same tiel ne povas tion klarigi, kiel la bova, diris la ĉevalo. Sed mi sentas, ke ili estas danĝeraj. Mi sentastion en ĉiuj miaj membroj.

m.m, min, kiam mi pensas pri tiuj-ĉi du, kvazaŭ

- Vi ankoraŭ pentos tion, diris la bovo. La Really! does Tom Barker call himself a Com-

— Mi nenian danĝeron kaj nenian timon konas, siggest a Kuzbas worker should walk from diris fiere la leono. Sed efekt ve neniu estas tie l'etrograd to Vladivostok. Of course we consider či, kiu parolas bonan vorton por ili?

itin malsate iatage, mi manĝegos ilin. Tio estas

I a nokto pasas kaj komencis taĝigi oriente.

Tiam subite la bovo, la ĉevalo, la ovo kaj la kapro revenis kure. Post ili venis, kiel rapide ili povis, la ansero, la anaso kaj la koko. Plejantaŭe An . Arab in white flowing robes does not la bovo kiu kun mallevitaj kornoj kuregis al la look well on a bicycle; yet a good many of them here in Morocco manage to tuck up their burnous sama momento la hundo eksaltis kaj ekbojis to the printed scheme sent by Tom Barker, there divorced her shortly after. and ride among the donkeys and horses and furiozege. La du dormintoj vokigis, kaj suprensaltis. Kaj kiel ili estis starantaj altaj kaj graciaj entirely wrapped in white from head to foot; how kun siaj blankaj membroj, klaraj okuloj kaj kiel la suno lumigis ilin. la atakintoj ektimiĝis kaj rekuris sur la vojo, sur kiu ili venis.

- Mi dankas al vi, mia malnova amiko, diris la dupiedulo kaj karesis la hundon.

Lia virino ekrigardis la malsanan piedon kaj parolis al ĝi per sia mola voĉo.

Dankema ĝi lokis ŝian manon. Poste la novaj bestoj banis sin en la riverto kaj kiam tio estis farita, la dupiedulo rampis sur pomarbon por Sur la arbo sidis la orangutango kaj maĉis frukton. — Foriru! diris la dupiedulo kaj minacis per la

fingro. Tiu ĉi arbo apartenas al mi. Sciiĝu kaj It is currently reported here that the Spanish ne havu la impertinente con ec unu pomon tusi. - Diablo! diris la orangutango. Kia parolo

— Foriru, vi abomena simio! diris la dupiedulo.

FINIS.

KUZBAS OR COMMUNISM?

In reply to our criticism of the Kuzbas eme. Tom Barker writes:

and originators of the scheme, say:

Tom Barker says: cutting up the profits."

- Mi havas la senton kvazaŭ oni senhaŭtigus What is the difference between Kuzbas and an These States form one-third of India. ordinary capitalist co-partnership firm, each employee having a share and therefore a vote in the

Can Tom Barker tell us? One difference is - Mi havas la senton kvazaŭ oni rostus min that the Soviet Government, which in this case is the employer, can vettor or dismiss the directors

Tom Barker says:

la plej malrandan malbonon. Ili marŝas sur du set the portion of his product to do so. Do you mizeraj kruroj kaj vi havas kvar, per kiuj vi suggest that a man should work for two years, works of Marx and Engels?"

when trains are running? Of course, we do not he should ride: what are trains for but to ride question of payment.

Inder Communism everyone will be entitled Sir John: "You are right there: wages have got to a live grasped that. His ideas of Communism seem to be mere petty capitalism. Moreover,

bonus, without reference to the workers. Comrade Barker's defence of the Kuzbas bonus is the defence employed by every upholder of

Tom Barker says: "Out of the seven members of the Manage- the provision of such extravagances, the workers ment Board, six will be on the job; three in toil hard and long, and go short of necessaries. ON SALE NOW.

"Shall we go in now, we conscious industrial- penses of the nursery.

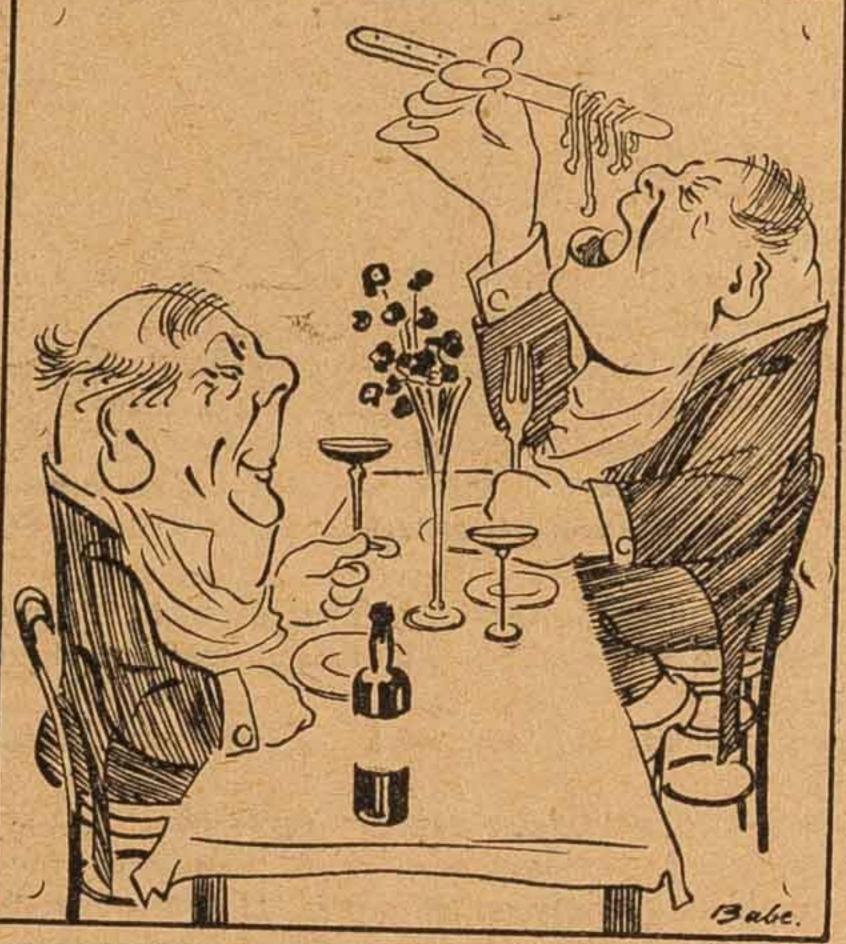
is to be no workers' committee or Soviet manage- Whilst she was still Lord Cathcart's wife, the much that is interesting amongst the mosaic of im-

the Foreign Workers' Unit." oreign Workers' Unit when, obviously, the £3,000 on her account.

AN INDIAN MASSACRE.

the Russian peasants, it is because they will not selves declare that 2,000 of their number have "a certain position to maintain.", and cannot work with their maximum efficiency been killed. Moti-Lal was not captured, so that The judge said that, "in view of his rank," the pretext for firing upon the unfortunate Bhils the Earl was "a distinctly poor man." still remains.

"There are no dividends. The Kuzbas organi- Our correspondent states that since the no- man? tion is not a co-operative, with the participants co-operative movement in British India is undermining the British power there, the British Vet there are to be wages in Kuzbas and a Government is increasing its hold on the Indian bonus. What is the difference between Kuzbas States under its control, where slavery, illiteracy and an ordinary productive co-operative society? and penury exist in shamelessly naked forms.



make free use of social products without any Lord George: "The engineers are still standing out." of payment. Tom Barker does not seem Sir John: "Let them starve a bit longer: that will Lord George: "That, of course, is why we locked

THE WORKERS' BURDEN.

The gowns of Lady Cathcart and other society women are part of the burden borne by the workers. To produce the surplus necessary for

Kuznets Basin at Kemerovo, and three at Nade- Lady Cathcart had an allowance of £960 a jonski Kavod in the Urals, where 50 per cent. year from Lord Cathcart. Out of it she had to SOVIET RUSSIA "I the incoming workers are going. There will diess, "pay her cab fares" (of course, she by one member in Moscow. They will be elected never goes in a 'bus, or a tube, like you and me, from the BOTTOM UP. What's the objection?" fellow worker)) she was also expected to pay for BY E. SYLVIA PANKHURST her children's governess and some small ex-

ists, and try out our theories there?" Lady Catheart considered the allowance The objection is that this is bureaucratic do- 'hopelessly inadequate,' she never agreed to pination from the top. The "conscious indus- accept such a sum. Indeed, she seems to have rialist" if he desires workers' management of felt her position of poverty, as Lord Cathcart's industry, cannot try out his theories under the wife, so keenly, that she went off to Deauville present Kuzbas constitution, because, according with the Earl of Craven, and Lord Cathcart "There is a vast mass of information in this book

control by the committee of seven elected by the one afternoon, eight gowns varying in price from "Foreign Workers' Unit," once a year. The £21 to £33. Having spent her allowance, she "Miss Pankhurst has a clever pen and a genuine gift Seviet Government in Moscow has the power to left these gowns to be paid for by the Earl out for acute observation . . . one has to confess that question, whether all the Russian workers and wife out very often. Her dress allowance and reasants living within the Kuzbas area, including other extravagances he could not spare out of his chose employed by the Unit as unskilled, will be- income, but sold out property to raise the cost of come automatically members of the Foreign keeping a wife. Soon after his marriage he, a Morkers Unit, with the same economic status gave her a banking account of £1,500, but within and rights of control and management as the ten days she had spent it, and came to him for time, one believed that her noted sympathies with Why is the Unit called a more money. Shortly after, he had to pay Bolshevist policy and her considerable knowledge of

bought from Miss Gray, Ltd., and the case was (In certain respects) one's hopes were justified. There taken to Court. Then it was stated by the sales- is plenty of enthusiasm and there are plenty of woman at Miss Gray's that there was nothing facts. . . . Miss Pankhurst, as might be antici-Indian correspondent informs us that the unusual in a lady's selecting eight such gowns in of the Indian State of Gujarat ceased an afternoon. A countess, or even the wife of a infant education." Paying taxes as a means of securing the redress baronet, requires, said the saleswoman, between

of grievances. The British Government of 50 and 40 day and evening gowns, a dozen sports Bombay, on pretence of arresting Moti-Lal, an suits and a few extra gowns for special occasions, agitator for social reform, who, it was said, for one season only: the year, of course, has four The Russian worker on the spot does not might resist, fired upon the people. Not a single seasons! £500 to £600, the chairman of Miss turnish \$300.00. His stomach will be as full as casualty occurred amongst the Government Gray, Ltd., declared to be "a quite ordinary ine I guess the houses will be of twin design." forces, but one Government report stated that dressmaking bill " for the season of a lady in Why, then, does Rutgers, one of the sponsors 20 Bhils were killed and 29 wounded, whilst society. Such bills were, indeed, apt to amount another Government report put the number at to £1,000. Taxation had made no difference to "If the American workers receive more than 200 killed and 29 wounded. The Bhils them- the number of dresses ordered by ladies who had

What do you think of it, Mr. and Mrs. Work-

TO MY LITTLE SON.

BY RALPH CHAPLIN. I cannot lose the thought of you, It haunts me like a little song. It blends with all I see or do Each day, the whole day long.

The train, the lights, the engine's throb, And that one stinging memory: Your brave smile broken with a sob, Your face pressed close to me.

Lips trembling far too much to speak, The arms that would not come undone, The kiss so salty on your cheek, The long, long trip begun.

I could not miss you more, it seemed, But now I don't know what to say; It's harder than I ever dreamed With you so far away.

The writer of these lines is serving twenty years in the U.S. Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, for work as an I.W.W. organiser. 29 other class war prisoners are at Leavenworth, serving sentences of five to twenty years, and more than a hundred others are in other U.S. prisoned for life. Sacco and Vanzetti are under sentence of death.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought Forward: £133 12s. 9d. I. A. Cahill (monthly), 10/-; W. Buckley, 2/-; Minerva Café Tea and Collection, £1 9s. 4½d., B. L. Bowers, 15/3; J. Eads How, 11/2; J. A. Kershaw, 2/-; J. Hulley Rawlins, 15/4. Total for week, £4 5s. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. Total. £137 17s. $10\frac{1}{2}$ d.

AS I SAW IT

(WRITTEN BEFORE THE POLICY OF REVERSION TO CAPITALISM WAS INSTITUTED).

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

. . . and those interested in Soviet Russia will find

dismiss "members of the Committee elected by of his tax-paid income of £4,000 a year. The Miss Pankhurst is interesting and illuminating in her unfortunate Earl was so poor on that income that report on the Communist Theory in practice, and her We are still waiting for a definite answer to our he "could not afford to entertain," or take his pages are documentary evidence of considerable

-Glasgow Herald.

"Courageous and sincere."-The Wheatsheaf. definite record of Miss Pankhurst's views at any "Apart from the peculiar historic interest in having the British Labour movement might result in a the will vastly outnumber the foreigners The Earl refused to pay for the eight dresses obtained in many previous treatments of the subject. pated, is at her clearest and most interesting on such matters as divorce, marriage laws, child welfare, and

-Labour Monthly.

Marxism and Darwinism (Pannekoek) 8d.

The Rights of the Masses (George "

WAGE SLAVES LOCKED OUT TO PROVIDE LUXURIES FOR THE RICH.

When you read that society women buy fifty or sixty dresses costing £20 to £50 each in a season, remember, fellow workers, that you provide the wealth from which such senseless luxury is maintained. Remember that your wages are being cut down, in accordance with the fall in the cost of living. That is to keep you on the bare subsistence level, in order that there may be an abundance of surplus wealth for the very rich. Capitalism does not trouble about keeping you in the pink of health, and now that labour is a surplus commedity, Capitalism regards it as quite consistent with national economy that you should have far less than was considered necessary to keep the soldier fit for fighting the battles of the boss in the late war.

The South African Mining Review of Johannesburg says :-"Reference was made in the report of the Van Ryn Company to the enhanced cost of the augmented diet scale laid down by the Native Affairs Department. It certainly pays to feed natives well, and for years some of the groups have given their natives a much more

liberal diet than that prescribed by the regulations." The South African natives at the present time are in favour with their bosses: this desire to train them to replace the white workers, because the natives will work for lower wages than whites demand.

The South African miners have been beaten in the Rand Lock-Out, and the South African

Peview, a mild Lib.-Lab. paper, says of the position: "Thousands of white men are going to be thrown on the streets of Johannesburg and the other parts of the Reef. The embargo against the introduction of natives from north of latitude 22 is going to be lifted by the Government, and 200,000 of these poor creatures are going to be brought in to work the mines at a shilling a day."

"Supervising these will be a few white men at 20s. a day and as few coloured men at

10s. a day as the Mines can possibly help.

The Chamber of Mines has no more use for Union natives at 3s. a day, than it has for

whites at eight times that sum.

"That is our forecast, and we think we shall not be found far out, eventually, though at first this Government-Chamber of Mines programme will be camouflaged by a great show of consideration for the workers on the gold fields-especially on paper-newspaper! The compound system will be adopted, as at Kimberley, and, in fact, the gold fields will be run on Kimberley lines, with the same supreme disregard of all interests save those of the plutocrats of Park Lane and Berlin."

The South African Review is undoubtedly correct in its forecast. The fact is, fellow workers, the capitalist has got you at his mercy, and you will not be able to put matters right till you abolish the capitalist system.

Just to make the white worker in South Africa feel his position as a beaten wage slave,

special humiliations are being put on him just now.

Unemployed men on relief works in Cape Town are paid 3s. a day for single men, 3s. 6d. for married men, with 6d. for wife and 3d. for each child. Thus a married man with four children, employed on relief works has to keep himself and family on 5s. a day. How inadequate this is, having regard to the cost of living in Cape Town, is shown by the fact that natives doing similar work with pick and shovel, close to the Relief Works, are paid 6s. a day. You may be quite sure that the native gets no mere than a very bare primitive subsistence.

"But what about the South African Revolution?"

What about it, fellow worker; well, there was not a revolution: make your mind up about

that. There was a cold-blooded murder of the workers.

At the inquest on the three strikers shot dead at Boksburg, Mr. Hill, an Assistant Magistrate, gave evidence. You can believe his evidence, Mr. Respectability, since he is an official personage, with mind legally trained. Mr. Hill was an eye-witness of the shooting. He testified on oath that the strikers were doing no harm and threatening no harm, when suddenly Captain Fulford caused a squadron of police to charge the strikers. Mr. Hill "saw no outward cause necessitating the police charge."

Nevertheless, in the South African Parliament, a Member said he heped Captain Fulford

would understand that his conduct was viewed with admiration by the House!

General Smuts and his Government have efused an inquiry into the murder of strikers, and Smuts has protested that it is most magnanimous of his Government not to try the strikers by Court Martial, but by the ordinary Courts. Meanwhile people are being tried for such paltry matters as wearing a red rosette, and it is reported that "magistrates are running about Johannesburg, sentencing people pell-mell and holding trials even in the cells."

Meanwhile, some people are demanding that a special military railway shall be built when there are disturbances in the gold fields. It is a rotten civilisation: is it not, fellow workers?

Why not change it? THE SEARCHLIGHT.

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