the Searchlight on the Dead End.

Morkers' 3 The Dreadnought for international communism. Founded and edited by Counter the state of the state

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[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

POEMS BY ISAAC NEWMAN.

HOME-LONGING.

heard in the outways of some smoke-veiled city
The far-born labourer play his canzonette;

The far-born labourer play his canzonette; Lonely his lay did voice his own sad solace, His song was joyous, yet it sounded sad.

I heard the languorous ebbing of calm noon-

Where mountain forests tapering shadows cast;
I heard the murmuring of Italian summers
Across the glimm'ring visions of the past;
heard the melodious voice of long-dumb'sorrows;

heard the lone-lorn heart entreat in vain:
Here I am lone, O here I'm sad, I'm weary.
Come, let us thither, let us home again."

VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.

She stood at the prow of a galley,
Wings outspread, head erect, body striving
forward,—

Dashing ahead.
Startling, ploughing through, and shattering
The waves on every side;

Dashing ahead.

Men saw her and said: "This is Victory."

She disappeared.

Tenturies later they dug out from the earth a broken thing.

It neither had arms. nor had it a head—
They were gone—
It had only wings.

And Time said: "This is Victory."

AMERICA.

1.

Imerica, thou marvel of the West,
Thou art yet beautiful, thou art yet young:
O'er thy vast plains and towering mountain
crests

let Nature sings her old, primeval song.

I see thy streams a mesh of silver flung

I'ver thy green continent, thy forests wild

In hazy dreams, traditionless, unsung

In thee hide beauties that no man defiled.

Ita, thou art young, America, thy people—yet

a child.

II

I child of naught else conscious but the urge

If tiding energies, who would disown

The ardour and the passion and the urge

If other forces to the older known.

See in thee a social system grown

If its full height, and this is what it's worth!

If in this very soil, I know, are sown

The seeds of a bright future—the re-birth

If a great mankind, of a better life on earth.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE,

The draft of the Irish Free State Constitution cannot satisfy the Republicans. It leads off by stating that the Free State is a member of the British Commonwealth, and it goes on to emphasise very thoroughly the power of the British Crown in Ireland.

The Irish Parliament, says the Constitution, "shall consist of the King and two Houses." The members of Parliament shall take an oath to be "faithful to King George V., his heirs and successors by law." The Bills passed by the Free State Parliament must be sent to the representative of the British King for his assent. This assent may be refused or reserved, and if it is reserved for more than a year the Bill disappears. The executive authority of the Irish Free State is vested in the King, whose representative shall appoint an Executive Committee, four of whom shall be nominated by the lower House from its members. The other eight, who shall not be members of Parliament, shall be nominated by a Committee of the Chamber.

The Constitution is most involved, but clearly the British Crown retains complete power. In normal times its exercise may appear a matter of form, but should a clash of interests arise, then the power of the Crown could, and would, be exercised. There shall be a Governor-General appointed by the British Crown. The judges are to be appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Executive Council.

War.

"Save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the assent of Parliament."

Does "actual invasion" mean the actual invasion of Ireland? If not, the phrase is meaningless—there is always invasion of some country or other in time of war.

Proportional Representation, Referendum, Women's Rights.

The draft contains some democratic features which have not yet found their way to this country. Women are given complete political equality with men. Proportional representation is introduced. The Referendum may operate under certain conditions, and the initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amendments may be introduced if Parliament made provision for it, or if 100,000 voters petition for it, and a referendum vote of the people afterwards approve it.

Twelve Year Barnacles.

Nevertheless, the draft includes a number of checks upon the working of democratic government. There is a Chamber of Deputies, to which every man or woman over twenty-one may vote or be elected, but there is also a Senate. The Senate is not a House of Lords, but, says the draft Constitution, it "shall be composed of citizens who have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public service, or who, because of special qualifications or attainments, represent important aspects of the nation's life." Members of the Senate must have reached thirty-five years. Each University shall elect two representatives to the Senate. The other members of the Senate are to be elected by persons over thirty years of age from a panel. Two-thirds of this panel shall be nominated by the Chamber of Deputies, one-third shall be nominated by the Senate. Persons who at any time have been members of the Senate are eligible for re-election. The method of proposal and selection for nomination to the panel shall be decided by the Chamber and Senate respectively, "with special reference for arranging for the representation of important interests and institutions in the country."

The Senators are to be elected for twelve years! One-fourth of them will retire for reelection every three years.

A strong reactionary block will thus be built up as a bulwark against change.

From the Lumber Room of History.

Money Bills shall be dealt with by the Chamber alone, but if two-thirds of the Chamber desire it, the question whether a Bill is or is not a Money Bill shall be referred to a Committee of Privileges composed of three members elected by each House and the senior judge of the Supreme Court. Truly this constitution smells very musty! Its procedure is more futile in some respects than that of Westminster, which it largely follows. Why should the Free State have gone to the Westminster lumber-room for the framework of its constitution?

A Money Bill may in any case be sent to the Senate for its recommendations, and must be returned within fourteen days. Other Bills must be sent to the Senate, which may keep them 270 days, or longer, if the two Houses so agree. A joint sitting of the members of both Houses may debate, but not vote, upon the Bill. Eventually, it appears the Lower House will prevail if the House fail to agree, unless the Crown should refuse assent, as it certainly would, in support of a reactionary Senate.

"No law may be made, either directly or indirectly, to endow any religion." From our point of view, that is good; but this is, of course, a British Protestant attack on Irish Roman Catholicism, and therefore an interference with Irish freedom and democracy. Our Tories would cry out against such action by a Communist State, of course.

"No law may be made to divert from any religious denomination or educational institution any of its property except for roads, railways, lighting, or drainage works." If diverted for such purposes, compensation must be paid.

This is interesting, in view of the present British claim that Soviet Russia, and all States, are entitled to nationalise any property on payment of compensation. Lloyd George and his Government are making this claim in regard to Russia because British capitalism wants concessions hitherto held by capitalists of other nationalities. The French and Belgian Governments oppose because they do not desire the oil and other concessions held by their nationals to pass over to the British. The confiscation of Church property by the State is a time-honoured custom. The French Revolution found that to despoil the Church was the readiest measure to stave off national bankruptcy.

Regulating Freedom.

Article IX. is odd: it guarantees freedom to express opinion of assembly, freedom of association or union " for purposes not opposed to public

strued: what precisely does it mean? It cer- it reads well and pleases us. tainly opens the door to coercion.

"peaceably without arms." The Treaty Party, "original sin" had not yet come into the world. property. when it governs, evidently does not propose to And if "original sin" had never come, we As to the resolutions of August 4th, wh grant to others the freedom in this respect which never would have required clothes. That may in principle abolished the feudal rights, the Ki it has insisted upon exercising itself. Article XI. seem strange; still, that is what the story says. wrote to the Archbishop of Arles: "The say further refers to " laws regulating the manner in And whenever you look at people with clothes fice of the first two Orders of the State is first which the right of free assembly may be exer- on you can say that is the result of sin.

Surely freedom requires no regulation!! to sit where it pleases. Is trouble expected in God that made Adam and Eve, but he was

approved by legislation.

Truly this will be named a constitution of compromise in many directions!

The Chamber may not continue without reelection for more than four years. It may not be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council, a Cabinet under another name, with

similar powers. Parliament may create "subordinate legislatures" and "Vocational Councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the nation," on what basis is not specified.

The Paralysing Hand of Privilege.

Persons who object to a law passed by Parliament may appeal to the High Court, and from thence to the Supreme Court, against its validity. The abuses to which this procedure gives rise in the United States are well known. The U.S. Supreme Court sets its veto on most of the mild progressive legislation attempted in the States. American judges come out for re-election from displaced " except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity, and then only by resolutions passed by both the Chamber and the Senate."

Any person who objects to the decision of the Supreme Court may appeal from it, but to one authority alone. He must petition His read the beautiful fairy-story as given in the "Who cared a twopenny dump what Lord So-Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to his Majesty in Council."

The right of the British Government and Crown to intervene in Ireland is fully secured. The checks upon the free exercise of democracy are comprehensive.

From the democratic standpoint the draft constitution therefore leaves much to be desired; whilst to those who are Sovietists, like ourselves, it is wholly unsatisfactory. Of course, that was inevitable.

On with the Soviet movement. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

A CHILD'S LESSON, "ORIGINAL SIN."

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

girls and boys. Still, you have all heard about village, besides having feudal rights over the it, and the teachers in your schools have told lands held by the peasants. Nearly all lands Unionist! you the story of Adam and Eve, the first man paid something, either in money or a portion of and woman in the world. Of course it is not the crops, to some lord or other. Since 1776 true, but they told you it was, because they the impoverished lords and their stewards had were told so, and they are but repeating the been squeezing the peasants to get as much as

or write about "Original Sin." It is the the purpose of augmenting the dues. "Jack-the-Giant-Killer" of our feeble brains. The Church tithes often amounted to a fifth, It is a real "Blue Beard," and so we are all or even a quarter, of all harvests, and the clergy frightened and say nothing for fear we might even claimed a share of the grasses and nuts the

be wrong. made a man (Adam) out of the dust of the a regular salary to its clergy. It was decided ground, and blew into his nostrils the breath of by the Assembly that whilst means to support life. And He found that the man was lonely, the clergy from other sources were being found, and so He caused a deep sleep to fall on him. the tithes should be paid as formerly, and the And as he slept He took out one of his ribs tithes which the clergy had sold to private indi-That is very nice. It is a beautiful Eastern at the price of thirty years' payments.

morality." That phrase may be widely con- story. It is not true, but that does not matter; As to the right of killing game, after

Eve was one day walking in the garden. She decided later that the game could only The right of assembly may only be exercised had no clothes on, neither had Adam, because destroyed upon his land by the owner of inherit

apples on it when another god came along they will never give my sanction to decrees wh Article XIII. gives the Irish Parliament power called the Serpent. He was not as great as the would despoil them." acquainted with all the doings of the other God. Article XI. declares that the right off the Free So he said to Eve "Good morning, lady," and State to national resources of importance shall Eve said "Good morning, sir." "Beautiful not be alienated. That sounds a progressive apples," said the serpent God. It is not usual step, but the article continues: "Their exploi- for a serpent to speak, but the serpent of our tation by private individuals or associations shall Bible story was a god-serpent, and as such he be permitted only under State supervision and had the power of speech. We have never had in accordance with conditions and regulations a serpent that has spoken since. But that does not matter, it's part of our story.

Eve said to the serpent that her husband had been told by God not to eat any of the apples of the "tree of life" or they would be punished; but she said that they could take any fruit or apples from any other tree in the garden. The god-serpent laughed a little laugh and said, "Nonsense, my lady. God is only jealous because He knows that if you eat the fruit of this tree you will know as much as He, and then you will become as gods."

Eve was just a little afraid, but the serpent coaxed her and she did eat. And then her eyes were opened, and she went in search of Adam; and when she found him she coaxed him, and he did eat as well. And his eves were also opened, and he knew he was naked.

You will see from this that "original sin " was the eating of the apple. I wonder what would have happened if Eve had ate an orange instead? The story does not say. It would time to time, but the Free State judges are to have been well for the world if there had been be irremovable like the British. They cannot be no apples; then we would have had no sin, no ported a dinner of the English-speaking L rich, and no poor, no masters, and no servants, at which Lady Astor and Mr. J. H. Thomas no kings and no queens, no getting married or the railwaymen's M.P., appeared to be ver having children because "original sin" means jovial boon companions. having children, and every child that is born "Who wants to look at the pictures of into the world is born in sin. Everyone should owners of the Press? " asked Lady Asto first book of the Bible. I could tell you how and-So thought? Let him think aloud in the the story came to be written, but that would House of Lords." take too long. But I want you to remember "Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., proposing the engagement with someone else. that man was living in the world 500,000 years health of the chairman, said that shortly the before the period of the Adam and Eve episode, was to be an end of the present Government and that is the reason the story has got all mixed up. For all that, it is a good story; and if you to be good enough to give Mrs. Thomas a fer want a fairy-play, make it "Adam and Eve." tips on running the Chequers (laughter)-b

HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

In 1789 there are said to have been 300,000 French peasants attached as serfs to the soil of their feudal lords, unable either to sell their Railwaymen requesting the general secretar goods or to transmit them except to those of J. H. Thomas, M.P., to withdraw from the their children who lived with them. There Privy Council or resign his position as general leaded. She parried his outburst quietly. His society like that," he answered impatiently. were also large numbers of peasants and townssecretary, the members of the Deptford branch complaints flowed on in denunciation of the She was silent. He plunged into an attack This is a curious subject to write about for clergy held, as a rule, half the lands of the they could out of them. In 1780 there had How funny! I always laugh when I think been a wide revision of the land registers for

peasants gathered. The clergy agreed to the The story is given in the Bible that God abolition of tithes, but wanted the nation to give

parently opening this to everyone, the Assemble

but I can only admire it; I will never conse Eve stood looking at a tree with beautiful to the spoliation of my clergy and nobility

On August 11th the Assembly decided publish the resolutions passed by it on the 4th It also accorded to the King the title of "R storer of French Liberty," and ordered that Te Deum be sung in the chapel of the palace The President of the Assembly conveyed messages to the King, who replied that would accept the title with gratitude and would be present at the Te Deum.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED.

For clerical work in the Dreadnought Office at 152 Fleet Street, E.C. For selling the Workers' Dreadnought and

other literature. For the organisation of meetings, etc., in sun

Workers' Dreadnought.

To show Dreadnought posters or to secure their display by others.

SPICE.

LADY ASTOR.

On June 13th the Daily Herald jovially

and he intended asking Lady Lee of Farehan Mrs. Lloyd George had passed him a note saying that she and her husband had not cleared ou yet. (Loud laughter.) "

In the same issue of the Daily Herald, Ja 13th, 1922, appeared also the following:

"In connection with the resolution pu ward by two branches of the National Union place on record the fact that they still reta tary of the Union."

How guileless art thou, O British Tr

AS I SAW IT

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

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

"There is a vast mass of information in the and those interested in Soviet Russia will much that is interesting amongst the mosaic o

RANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

were worried at the office of a Comweekly. The editor looked tired and An atmosphere of suspense held everythere in its bondage. The hideous word seemed to be dancing in the air before eves, whilst all the heroic little daily sacriof the devoted few were striving like frail waifs to blot it out. One felt sure that fore they could end their task the bailiff or other unwelcome stranger might come o heavily up the stairs at any moment. Miss Mayence, warm-hearted, was fired with nd with enthusiasm. She would go to a to-do cousin, who had grown from poverty Aluence in the service of wealthy philanwhose riches had a secure capitalist shrewdly controlled. He had received a hand: he would sympathise with others. d no children to hoard for. Moreover, he Socialist—an old Socialist. He would ire to help. She would go to him.

She went swiftly, as was her wont.

m the dusty sun-burned street, she enthe shade of the spacious leisurely premises. ir magisterial comfort and security made their

moment she hesitated in the wide pas-Then he faced her, unexpectedly emerg- novice in argument, but a little fiercely: from a suddenly opened door. He had

of fifteen minutes ago. They scarcely shook to do that only-" ands. He usherd her into a vast room with windows revealed a green garden.

They looked at each other without any on him: passage of sympathy, exchanging some of keeping with the big heavy frame, and accentuated the impression that his anckles were too hin to support him. His face, bronzed by the n, was hard and expressionless, as though it were carved in wood. He was clean-shaven, and is long upper lip was deeply grooved. He

oked like an American, she thought. ninterested in her, despising her for her p work-a-day dress, he was impatient to now her errand and pass on to his luncheon

She told her tale of the earnest few and their struggles, but lamely, because of his lack of

thought you might help," she ventured. whether he would pull through at all.

expressed polite regret, quietly inlous, ruminating on the substantial comities, the basic wealth in which his interests

e vials of his wrath broke forth against the mentary education." working class for its ignorance in having re- on French militarism: en kind to their servants," he said.

hey give to the movement all they can spare om a bare existence.

Oh, I know what it is to be poor," he said, e reproachfully, a little testily. "I know t is to work; we used to help my mother the grates and take home the washing. I ot speaking from theory when I talk about

en he glided back into what was obviously lavourite theme with him, his voice growing ofter and his face melting into smiles.

e felt good, irreparably good, as he talked:

taken him to the theatre, or the opera, or some Mesopotamian oil. place, and they kept up the drudge till they "We need money just as much as the came home, to see if they wanted anything—a French," he snapped. "The German colonies drink or something when they came in."

"Keir Hardie was working for a society in which there will be no servants," Miss Mayence

"I don't see why, if one is kind to them. was almost shouting. "They don't care for They are glad to work for one, if they feel they are considered and appreciated. Why, at got to suffer because of their policy, their greed, at a little place we've got in the country-my their blatant militarism." wife and I-we've got two maids. When I come in, one or other of them always comes up to take off my shoes. 'You're tired,' they say. They love to do such things for you, if you're kind to them."

He lounged back expansively in his chair. He was like a great cat, purring with pleasure at being patted. To Miss Mayence he seemed to have grown so soft that his visage was literally melting, the eyes and nose and mouth flowing into each other. She was quivering with disapproval. He called himself a Socialist. She felt as though the solid world were changing into the grey intangibilities of space. She broke in, blushing because she felt herself a

"Under Communism we shall all do, for a stouter and stiffer, and had changed few hours a day, some of the manual work, the routine york that is drudgery if one is obliged the greeted him timidly. He recognised her, to work at it constantly. We shall all do our · port of Left-Wing Communism and the Leguse she had telephoned for this appointment share of that, and we shall not compel anyone

> "I don't see it. I like manual work," he ll-gold walls, luxurious arm-chairs, low rejoined. "It is my pleasure to work with the pioned divans, and flowers on polished tables. gardener when I can get away from the office." "" How smug he is," she thought, and turned

"You would not like to work in the garden monplaces. She felt as though she had all the hours the gardener works there. You ever seen him before. His grey morning suit would not like to have only his wages, only his was new and well cut. His silk stockings house and education! Surely you can see that offended her sense of fitness. They looked out everyone ought to have a share of culture."

"What is culture? I've known old men and women who could neither read nor write--- "

"So have I, and anyone can exploit them and take advantage of them. They are dependent seat. on the chance of someone coming along to help them-even to get the pensions they are entitled to. They are liable to be defrauded at the office, they've paid the worst of it for the every turn."

"That isn't a question of culture."

"Would you like to be in that position? Surely you do not condone a system which leaves masses of people in ignorance: deprived of the knowledge of affairs, of history, of science, of the arts, of the discoveries and achievements of civilisation? I thought all who "I'm afraid not," curtly, finally. He told call themselves Socialists or Communists were hat he had lost a life's savings in the past agreed that everyone should have the opportunity tear of bad trade, declaring that it was doubt- of knowing something about everything, everything about something. I thought Socialists and Communists were all working for a society without classes, so that there would neither be the rich and the poor, nor the leisured and educated. and the over-worked workers with only an ele-

tionary opinion of those for whom she had "I can't project my mind into a state of

lords. It is estimated that the nobility and full confidence in Mr. Thomas as general secut uned the present Government. Then he "I admit the poor are suffering; that is beattacked the Labour Party and the Trade Unions cause trade is bad. It will not revive till we for their materialism, and the Socialists for not get peace. The French are preventing that. lying up to their principles. "They are not They don't care what this country suffers, or any country suffers, so long as they get every I don't know anything about that," Miss penny they were promised by the Peace Treaty. answered contemptuously; "the Their behaviour has drawn me much nearer to alists I know; the people I live amongst the Germans. I've no sympathy with the INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO t people who have servants; they are poor, French. They are 'determined to get their pound of flesh at any cost to others."

The softness had gone from his voice. Miss Mayence retorted: "The British capitalists are just the same."

He tossed his head. "The feeling among the German working

class is much finer than among the French." the rest of the world. French capitalists want do this work.

"I remember dear old Keir Hardie telling the indemnities first. British capitalists want to me of some people he stayed with; he said he get on with trade; they have got substantial would never stay in that house again! They had war spoils in the shape of German colonies and

> have got to be developed; the British Empire needs developing; Canada isn't developed; India isn't developed. Meanwhile, the French are holding up everything. It is intolerable." He anyone but themselves. We and our trade have

His humanitarianism had fallen from him like a cloak. His thick neck swelled, his face reddened. He leaned forward, his eyes starting with passion. He had become the embodiment of the jingo "Mr. Fat" whose strident cries will roar-in the next war.

"And he is a Labour candidate," Miss Mayence reflected, as she went her way along the Strand, crowded with grasping business men such as he. The sun poured down on them and on the motor-'buses laden with striving humanity lumbering by, on the massive buildings; on the people who are "down and out," standing in the gutter to sell their trumpery wares, or loafing, empty-handed, at the corners.

The immensity of capitalism presented itself to her in crushing shape. Her young enthusiasm waned and faltered. Visions chased each other through her mind. She saw a woman with children clinging about her, sinking beneath dark waters, with piteous, pleading eyes. She saw poor folk who crouched in the sunny roadway and were ridden down by the flashing motor-cars. She saw a great hall thronged with gorgeously-dressed people, feasting and dancing. A ragged boy crept in and plucked at the jewelled gown of one of the women. The magnificent company turned upon him and battered him to death.

She stepped on, stung by her dreams and by the newspaper placards comparing the punish ment of Jacoby and True.

She met Frank Penman by appointment and unburdened herself to him on an embankment

He rallied her kindly:

"It is not so bad as you say; and as for moment. A few postal-orders came in, as they usually do, and a poor fellow on the dole made up the bill with a loan of a few pounds-marvellous chap! There certainly are some good comrades in the movement. When I go in and see them sometimes I feel a skunk for not duing more myself. I always mean to, but one gets absorbed in one's own work."

"Will there ever be any change: I sometimes wonder? " she questioned.

He answered:

"Of course there will! Do you really suppose people will always go on tolerating things as they are? That affair at Buckingham Palace the other day, for instance, and then the un-

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COMMUNIST PILGRIMS.

"So far as that is true, it is merely due to We continue to receive applications for speakers the capitalist Press. German capitalists at pre- to go into other districts for Communist propasent desire to establish peaceful relations with ganda, and wish to hear from comrades able to

FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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PROPHETIC WORDS.

F. W. Sanderson, the headmaster of Oundle School, who died on the platform of University College after his address on "The Duty and Service of Science in the New Era," uttered in that last lecture of his some prophetic words. He declared that industrial troubles are "due to the fact that the machine invented by scientists is controlled by men of different outlook and vision-hence such inharmonious and unscientific relations as that of master and man.

Evidently this great teacher was a Communist in the fullest sense of the term. Did the scientists who heard him understand the meaning of his declaration?

H. G. Wells, whose sons were pupils of Sanderson at Oundle, told the audience that his boys reported:

"When the old man is talking nonsense it is time to listen. When he seems to be wandering most he is coming to the point."

So it would appear from the teacher's last lecture. Sanderson further observed:

"A member of the present Government has said 'We can't change economics!' That is just what scientists have got to do. Mechcanical changes have rushed in before the organisation they require has arisen. Scientific men are needed to re-write every branch of knowledge. even our dictionaries. The Oxford Dictionary, for instance, has no satisfactory definition of

democracy. "The scientific reorganisation of society will expand from the schools through Labour problems right into the realm of international affairs. Not only laws, but human nature itself, can, and will, be changed. Scientists have to collect

a band of disciples and proclaim a new world." At Oundle, Sanderson said, by introducing engineering and applied service, agriculture, metallurgy, bio-chemistry, a scope had been provided for every boy. Even the dullest had work he liked. Forms and systems of promotion disappeared. The love of work spread and competition dwindled.

"Competition," he said, " is a feeble incentive, and not nearly as strong in humanity as the love to create."

That is our own contention. We like to have the admission from a scientist whose laboratory was a school and whose principal study was the young human being and the way to train it and induce it to work. It is commonly argued that Communism is impossible, and that the old capitalist system, with all its admitted evils, must remain because mankind would not produce a sufficiency to maintain itself without the spur of competition and individual gain. Here, however, we have one of the great scientists coming forward to tell us, as a result of scientific experiment, that the desire to create is 'he greatest of all incentives to human effort.

This great incentive the teacher declared to be strong enough to overcome all need of punishment. As headmaster, he had never taken any part in punishing his pupils. Indeed, he said . "Punishment is not only a crime, but blunder, damaging to the effective vitality of the community." At Oundle punishment had been left to the prefects, but they had entirely abandoned it.

"The modern school," said Sanderson, " is not made by abandoning Greek and introducing science, but by pressing into the service of man every branch of knowledge. Boys soon cease in covered with old oilcloth, with a sheet of tartake part in some great work. At Oundle we They are living thus because, being unemployed, and Reformist ideas which is slowly arising in

do not teach subjects like geography; we teach boys to discover the truth about the standards of life among the Durham miners or the Chinese workers, because thus we may enlist scientific knowledge in the service of mankind."

These were the teacher's last words. How many of his hearers understood their message?

The Poet Completes the Postman.

The Times, in a recent leading article, said: "There appeared recently in our columns a review of the work of a poet who was also a chimneys. postman. The conjunction inspires a first feeling of surprise; but, surely, though unusual, it s neither unnatural nor unparalleled. For all men need, and most men practise, though not live in." all consciously, a refreshing dichotomy of function. The division is normally between the utilitarian and the ornamental; between breadand-butter and recreation. It marks a natural turning from that which makes life possible to that which makes life worth while. Unhappy they who are so immersed in the common task that they have no time, possibly even no desire, for the adornment of existence. They are the lopsided ones of life, shut up in the narrow ring of vain repetitions.. . . So the postman is completed by the poet. . . . Even so the medieval building, the plain and primary purpose of the architect accomplished, broke out rejoicingly into 'grotesque gargoyles.' It is the cry of the abysmal depths of personality' for their just due. . . . The clerk who by day meekly carries out routine instructions may by night sway, with

in which his daytime master is a volunteer." Quite so. The Times leader-writer has here expressed precisely our own view; but the ideal can scarcely be realised when the vast majority of us are, as the writer puts it, "immersed in the 'common task'" so that we are wearied out when we have completed our long day's toil at it, and are beside distracted by penury, and therefore forced into innumerable mean, time-wasting and devitalising economies.

The Times is working to retain the present system, in which the minority are producers, the majority are parasites: parasites who live on rents and interest, parasites who cannot obtain work and exist on the unemployment dole, parasites who work-often too hard-at buying and selling and advertising commodities, parasites who administer pensions and doles, parasites who staff the police force and the prisons, parasites who man and equip the Army and Navy, the parasites connected with one of the largest industries in the country to-day: betting, the parasites who act as flunkeys to the rich. The mass of useless toil entailed by the capitalist system is perpetually growing. The vast number of non-workers and workers in useless. parasitic occupations, who are supported by the minority of producers, becomes ever greater and

The Human Martyrdom.

Now that the fall in foreign exchanges and the extension of manufacturing in other countries, accelerated during the war, and the closing of the Russian market have reduced British exports, not only are the actual producers of export goods visited by unemployment, but also the clerks who kept account of the transactions, the salesmen, and the agents, the railway men, the dockers, the seamen who carried the goods, the people who were employed by the speculators in foreign goods.

As they fall out of employment these people Austro-Hungarian revolutions. The superficial cease to be buyers of any but barest necessities, observer may imagine it has died down, but and so the home market declines with the export

Humanity suffers a martyrdom in its quest for a matter of fact in this country, at least, Re surplus profit. The producers must produce im- formism is only now beginning to suffer its f mensely more than they consume; they must serious defeats. The Russian Revolution left Reexist on a mere pittance in order that surplus formism in this country quite untouched: profit may be made out of their production. power and prestige with the working masses Unless surplus profits can be made, industry this country were by no means impaired by comes to a standstill: the wants of the people great event. The defeat of the miners in

In Camberwell three families are living in a formism here. The defeat of the engineers little hut made out of some rough pieces of wood the workshops to want to make things for them paulin weighted with stones for the roof, and selves or their mother. Their ambition is to divided into a compartment for each family. an evidence of the conflict between Revolutions

they were unable to pay the high rent charged their rooms. They were evicted. They so shelter in an empty house attached to a di brewery owned by the Government. The turned them out of the house, leaving and their furniture on the paving outside brewery. There, at the edge of the street erected their impremptu hut. There they lived for eight months, more miserably gipsies; in the centre of the town, without tary conveniences, without windows

The fathers of these most miserable far served in the war; they are the "boys' whom were promised "homes fit for here

One of these "heroes" secured employment with a builder when first he was demobile but this builder could not find enough work keep the man employed. Therefore, becan the builder cannot obtain orders to build hor this man and his family must go homeless. does not pay the capitalist to invest his me in building houses for the workers: other inve ments are more profitable.

Trial of the Social Revolutionaries

The truculent argument regarding the Social Revolutionaries on trial for their lives in Moscov is by no means elevating. The Soviet Government did not enhance its dignity, we think, when sought to make a bargain regarding the live of the accused counter-revolutionaries a four tion on which to build a political unity from the dictatorial eye of the conductor, the orchestra between itself and the Second Ir national, whom it has denounced. atmosphere surrounding the trial smacks to much of political juggling to be anything offensive to disinterested persons.

Capital punishment is barbarism; but we must point out that neither Arthur Henderson nor Ramsay Macdonald raised a finger to save James Connolly and his colleagues from execution their part in the Irish Rebellion of Easter we

What, morover, are these two leaders of Labour Party doing to save from death the South African strikers who are being tried under obsolete Roman-Dutch law?

What part did these Labour leaders play in the agitations to save the lives of Tom Mooney Sacco and Vanzetti, and other victims of American tyranny? These American comrades, remember, are innocent of the offences of which they were convicted, not confessedly guilty violence like the Social Revolutionaries. these two humanitarians, Ramsay Macdonald and Arthur Henderson, have not made themselves prominent in defence of these comrades.

Why is their careful vigilance lavished upon the Social Revolutionaries, who fought with the Whites against the Russian Workers' the

THE FAILURE OF THE UNITED FRONT.

The Second International Conference London has turned down the United Front. Third International displayed its weakness and the st withdrew from its own revolutionary position when it proposed the United Front.

The conflict between Reformism and Revo tion is older than the Third International. was intensified by the Russian, German, still continues. The superficial observer imagine that Reformism has triumphed, but lock-out of 1921 was the first real blow to the lock-out of 1922 is the second.

The fact that the Labour Party has refused the affiliation of the Right-Wing Communist Party

tr's appeal for affiliation is a proof of the and sold the Right Wing Communists.

The decision of the International Woodkers' Union Conference at Vienna, the other to exclude from the Union an organisation listed to the Red Trade Union International, buding all the Russian woodworkers, is one of siate with those who are even mildly revolu-

These are all evidences of the hostility of the rmists towards the proletarian element ch are rebelling against the old Reformism is hostility springs from that rebell on.

The Third International and its appendage. Red Trade Union International, is unable to with this situation owing to the fact that receded from the revolutionary and Com-

of the welter of penury and uncertainty which the unemployed and employed ekers of London have sunk, has arisen the London Joint Committee of Employed nemployed Workers, an attempt to band er the rank and file for joint International, but the Committee refuses property owner and furniture dealer. ral policy of the organisation." Time was Wales. the only Red Internationalists, the only they might be allowed in also. Now the Australian Labour Party. Atra-Union organisations are thrust out, and the In short, it is a party dominated by the in-Red International has ceased to be Red. Do terests and ideology of Capitalism. air, comrades, the ideas shall grow and ad, even though they who were their mouths prove but weak and vacillating.

from the discontent arising from the failure of the old leadership, the old sectionalism, and the old Reformism in the engineers' lock-out, has arisen a demand amongst the engineers for new industrial Union. The rebel branches fired with this thought have communicated with Red International London Committee, believthat this is the only body which should aid an. The Committee has endorsed the reply s secretary, who stated that the Red Interonal "did not approve at this juncture of more unions being formed, and urging the iches to work inside the present Unions." spite of such rebuffs from those who were thought Red, efforts are being made by

e rank and file in at least one great centre of y, and especially of engineering, to start Big Union for all workers of all grades and the attempt meet with large success? e organisation be genuinely revolutionary,

only will show. things have a beginning. The seed may small, yet the tree be great.

Damping Down the Red Light. An Australian Example.

United Front policy has produced unnate results in Australia, as everywhere else. 1848.] rade, just arrived, gives us the following

Trade Unions of Australia all settle their ances through the Arbitration Court; and that unemployment has weakened the reg power of the Unions, the employers take om to the Court and secure reductions in wages time. The officials put up little resistance. ward spirit has been growing up in the and file of the Union branches affiliated to rades Hall, Sydney. Delegates returning s. A few weeks later the same delegates, labourer-employee.

country, though the Right-Wing Communist Trades Hall to the reactionary Labour Party, which it had been fighting. The Red movement was split for the propaganda group which had formed the Red International in Sydney now dissolved partnership with the Communist Party. Reformism was strengthened by receiving the support of the one-time Reds of the C.P.

The Australian Labour Party, being a party ne sintilar instances of this conflict, and of of unconscious Reformism in office, has attracted another refusal of the Reformist leaders to a host of place hunters. It is as reactionary as the British Labour Party will be when its own opportunity to become the Government is in sight. If Zinovieff in Russia is under the impression that Communists will cement their unity with the masses by entering the Labour Party, it is curious that Australian Communists should not know better.

> Party is Minahan, the member of Parliament for historical basis virtually accurate. He has con-Surrey Hills. He is one of the largest employers sulted the official records of the Commune and of labour in Sydney, a Roman Catholic, so rich a number of authors, as well as "his revoluthat he is able to give his Parliamentary salary tionary friends of Belleville, La Villette, and the away-not to the Labour Party, but to a Catholic Faubourgs Montmartre and St. Antoine" and charity. He is chairman of the board of direc- "certain good comrades of the XIXe Arrontors of the Daily Mail, a capitalist paper of dissement." Liberal politics.

Another Australian Labour member of Par-This body has desired to link itself liament is J. Lang, lately State Treasurer under London Committee of the Red Trade the Labour Party administration. He is a house

sociate itself with that movement of the McGirr, another Labour member of Parliaters. The Committee has replied that it ment, belongs to a wealthy land-owning family annot accept affiliations from extra-Union having large pastoral estates and owning a great He became editor of the London Morning hisations, as this would militate against the part of the town of Parkes, in New South Chronicle in 1823. In 1832 he joined with

In the last Labour Cabinet seven members He worked for the founding of the Mechanics' corters of the Moscow Communists, were out- were Freemasons, six were Roman Catholics, Institutes, which he desired to be centres of indene official Unions. Then Moscow declared Freemasons, and Orangemen, on the one hand; pendent working-class education. The present the Red International was for extra-Union members of the Roman Catholic Federation, on work, "Labour Defended from the Claims of misations, but if the Unions were really truly the other, are powerful elements in the Capital," is an endeavour "to show that the

Communists should build on a new foundation. They will only waste their time, wreck their hopes, and dim their ideals if they enter the scramble for power and office in the old parties. The Russian Soviet Goevrnment and its friends have returned to negotiations with the old parties because they have returned to the poilcy of getting something out of Capialism. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

COURAGE.

Never despair! Let the feeble in spirit Bow like the willow that stoops to the blast; Droop not in peril, 'tis manhood's true merit, Nobly to struggle and hope to the last.

When by the sunshine of fortune forsaken, Faint sinks the heart of the feeble with fear, Stand like the oak of the forest unshaken-Never despair, boys! Oh! never despair.

Never despair, though adversity rages Fiercely and fell as the surge on the shore, Firm as the rock in the ocean for ages, Stand the rude torrent till danger is o'er.

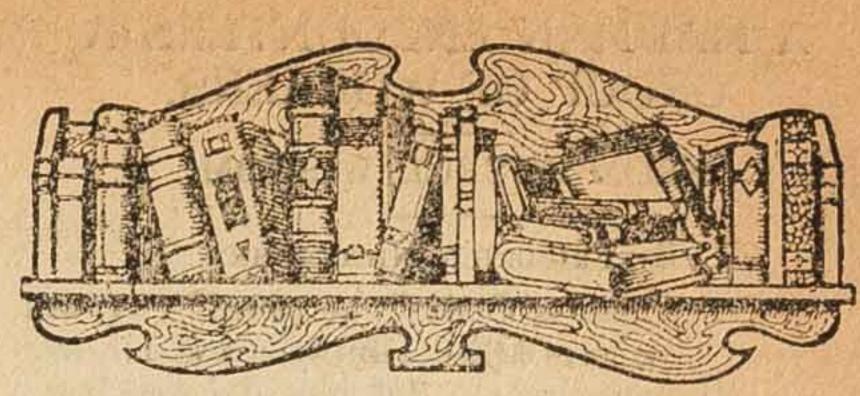
Fate with its whirlwinds our joys may all sever, True to ourselves, we have nothing to fear; Never despair, boys! Oh! never despair. [The above lines were written by William Smith O'Brien on the day on which sentence of death was passed upon him, October 9th,

FARMERS v. LABOURERS.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, at the Conference of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, declared that the Labour Party could best serve the interests of both farmers and workers. He declared there is no need for any other agricul-

It is quite obvious, however, that a trade-Russia obtained great popularity, and union party which is out to secure higher wages Complete with clip. Always ready for use. secured the affiliation of the Sydney and shorter hours for the workers cannot be the des Hall to the Red International of Labour party both of the farmer-employer and the

sation of that Party, proposed and carried employee must be thrown overboard by the of post. olution giving the united support of the Labour Party: which is it to be?



RECEIVED FOR REVIEW. [Books reviewed may be obtained from Dreadnought Bookshop, 152 Fleet Street.]

The Red Republic. A romance of the Paris Commune. By R. W. Chambers. (Putnam, 6/-.) The author declares that the separation A prominent leader of the Australian Labour of the romance from the facts would leave the

> Labour Defended. By Thomas Hodgskin (Labour Publishing Co., 1/6.) This is a reprint of a book written in 1825. Hodgskin was a naval officer who served in the Napoleonic Wars. He attacked naval discipline in an essay published in 1813. He was a friend of Godwin, Francis Place, and Jeremy Bentham. Robertson in founding the Mechanics' Magazine. effects attributed to a stock of commodities, under the name of circulating capital, are caused by co-existing Labour." Also.

The veneration men have for capital and capitalists is founded on a sort of superstitious and transmitted notion of their utility in former times. But they have long since reduced the ancient tyrant of the soil to comparative insignificance, while they have inherited his power over the labouring classes.' More Production and More Poverty. (National Council of Labour Colleges, 2d.) Tells the subjects taught at the Labour Colleges, and why they have been chosen.

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

SOVIET ARMS TRANSFERS. Large size, 12 inches wide, suitable for bannerettes, cushion covers, etc., 6d. each. Smaller sizes, two designs on a sheet, 4 inches and 23 inches in width, 2d. a Sheet.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small Dreadnought show cards with a fine decorative drawing in which the worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the Dreadnought office by those who will display

NEED A UNION SELF-FILLING FOUNTAIN

Does not leak.

Do not miss this opportunity. Send a postal order for 1/1 to-day to the Workers' Dreadmbers of the Communist Party, and on the Either the interests of the employer or the nought, and you will receive the pen by return

Profits to the Dreadnought £500 Fund.

A MADMAN ENCOUNTERS A GROUP OF WORKERS.

FROM JOYFUL WISDOM.

By FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

". . . Where is God?" he cried. "I will tell you. We have killed Him, you and I! We CU is an interrogatory particle meaning are all His murderers! But how did we do it? "query whether." In English questions are How did we drink the ocean? Who gave us put by reversing the order of the words: in the law, which means that they will be tried for the sponge to wash off the entire horizon? What first and third sentences CU VI being with a murder, because the police attacked the strikers did we do when we separated this earth from verb in the past tense we should begin with and people were killed. The Government its sun? Do we not keep moving continually? DID YOU. In the sixth sentence CU NI, brought in a bill to indemnify police and military That is not Trotsky's "club system," not a Backwards, sideways, forward, in every direct with a verb in the future tense, the English for the atrocities they committed. tion? Is there still a height and a depth? Are would begin SHALL WE? we not wandering towards everlasting annihilation? Do we not perceive the indications of the immense void? Is it not colder? Is not the night becoming darker and darker? Must we not light our lanterns at noon? Do you not hear the noise of the grave-diggers who are burying God? Do you not already smell the putrefaction of the Almighty?-for even the Gods decay! God is dead. God will remain dead! And we have killed him. How shall we be consoled for this, we murderers of murderers? He Whom the world held most sacred and most powerful has bled on our knives-who shall wash the stain of this blood from us? In what water can we be purified? What form of expiation can we invent? Is not the very greatness of this act too great for us? Must we not ourselves become Gods to seem worthy of it? Never before was so great a deed performedand all those born after us will, by that very fact, belong to a higher form of history than any that has hitherto existed." At this point tions-and yet you yourselves performed it."

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO (key) DE L'EKZERKO No. 2.

Good evening, comrade; it is a long time since we met. You are late, and you look tired. What shall we do this evening? Perhaps you would prefer to come into my house to rest. Town: I will introduce you to my wife. Give me your hat and your umbrella, and take off your over-

EKZERCO No. 3.

Cu vi pretarlasis vian vagonaron hieraŭ? -Jes, mi devis marŝi tri mejlojn tra la pluvo. -Mi bedaŭras ĝin, ĉu vi suferis pro ĝi? -Ne, mi estas, felice tute sana hodiaŭ. -Nun ni ankoraŭ atendas du amikojn.

-Cu ni tiam estos tutoj tie-ci? -Krom unu kiu estas malsana.

VORTARETO.

amiko	friend	
ankoraŭ	still	
atendi	to await	
bedaŭri	to regret	
ĉu	had to	
devis	query whether	
du	two	
feliĉa	happy	
ĝi	it	
hieraŭ	yesterday	
hodiaŭ	to-day	
jes	yes	
kiu	who	
krom	except	
marŝi	to walk	
mejlo	mile	
pluvo	rain	
preterlasi	to miss	
pro	because of	
sana	well in healt	
suferi	to suffer	
iam	then	
THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE		

through all, entire

NOTES.

TUTE and TUTOJ, both words are from TUTA, entire or all, as an adverb it means ENTIRELY, as a noun plural it means ALL. TIE-CI, TIE means THERE, but with CI

it means HERE. Just as TIO means THAT and TIO-CI means this. DEVIS—this word must be translated HAD TO, because there is no Englsh verb meaning

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

" to be under the necessty of . . ."

DE KAROLO MARKS KAJ FREDERIKO ENGELS. El la Aŭtoritata Angla Traduko, Redaktita kaj yet to come." Alnotita de Frederiko Engels, Tradukis

> Esperanten ARTURO BAKER. ANTAUPAROLO.

La "Manifesto" estis publikigita kiel la principaro de la "Komunista Ligo," unu the madman stopped and looked at his hearers laborista asocio, unue eksklusive germana, poste plucky paper, it is good to help it." again. They, too, were silent, and looked at internacia, kaj, sekve de la politikaj kondiĉoj de him uneasily. At last he flung his lantern to the la Kontinento antaŭ ol 1848, neeviteble sekreta ground, where it broke to pieces and went out. societo. Ĉe kongreso de la Ligo, tenata en "I am too early," he said; "the time has not Londono en Novembro, 1847, Marks kaj Engels yet come. This dreadful event is still on its estis komisiitaj prepari por publikigado plenan way; it is approaching, but it has not yet teorian kaj praktikan programon de la partio. reached the ears of men. Time is needed Verkita germanalingve en Januaro, 1848, la for people to see and understand thunder and manuskripto estis sendita al la presisto en Lonlightning, the glow of the stars, and deeds, even dono kelkajn semajnojn antaŭ ol la franca reafter they have been accomplished. This deed volucio de Februaro la 24'an. Franca traduko lies further from you than the farthest constella- estis eldonita en Parizo, nelonge antaŭ ol la ribelo de Junio, 1848. La unua angla traduko, de Fraŭlino Helen Macfarlane, aperis en la Red Republikano Rugâ) de George Julian Harney, Londono, 1850. Dana kaj pola eldonaĵoj jam estis ankaŭ publikigitaj. Daŭrigota.

FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

Comrade Isaac Vermont writes from Cape

"The Indemnity Bill has now received the assent of the Governor-General. This involves the repeal of martial law in the Transvaal. The printing plant of the International, the organ of the Communist Party (S.A. Section of the Third), and the offices of our party, which were wrecked during the strike, have been put in

"There is going to be another strike. Over 10,000 miners (including all trades) are unemployed; the railway department dismissed in up from the workshop basis. 1921 12,672 workmen, and is still retrenching. Those who are working find their wages have been reduced to a bare pittance. The 'blame' for the strike is now said to belong to the Nationalist Opposition Party. The Labourites have been exonerated by General Smuts in his speech in the House of Assembly.

A cap and robe were found by the police during their attack on the Trades Hall, and described as 'our robe of justice.' The cap was one worn by a young lady as part of a fancy dress, May Day, 1921, while the robe was sent up from Natal by an Indian, to be sold by American auction in aid of the strike relief funds. The charge that the strikers were in possession of Lewis guns has a'so been proved unfounded. These weapons were found to belong to the

Municipality. "The reason for the strike was that the mineowners were spoiling for a fight with the Afrikander miners, and seeking an opportunity for replacing these Afrikanders by some old Cornish miners, who would not expect so much pay. Also, it was hoped that the Government would

break the " too aggressive " power of the Afr kander Labour Party.

"Thus do we enter the struggle against the oppressors. It is all part of the transition drama till Communism is established."

Comrades should observe that 11,000 striker are in gaol in South Africa waiting trial, and that 850 are to be tried for high treason. Many of them are to be tried under an old Roman-Dutch

FOR THE £500 FUND.

Comrades, we urge you to hasten in helping us to collect this sum, necessary to pay off c' and pressing liabilities of the Workers' Dreadnought and to insure the development of the

One of many good comrades who have subscribed to the fund writes from California:

"Enclosed find one dollar for your five hundred pound fund. I wish I were rich and cou' give you the whole five hundred pounds; but I am only a labourer. Yours for Merry England

A comrade in Wandsworth writes:

"In response to your appeal on behalf of the Dreadnought, I enclose 10/-. I wish I had a lof no-bringing; we must notice, however, that banking account and could write you a cheque this also does not recognise the principle of infor a larger amount. But I have not, and it is dependent creativeness of the unions in industry. the most I can do. The Dreadnought is such a In the opinion of Bucharin's group the trade

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

COMMUNIST WORKERS.

POSTERS

A comrade has volunteered to fly-post Dreadnought posters each week. Who will follow this good example?

NEW HALFPENNY LEAFLETS. 4½d. a dozen, 2s. 6d. per hundred, post free. Trotsky's "joining together."

By Alexandra Kollontay

to oppose the Soviet Government's "New munist reconstruction, and by means of "ap- good lectures."

THE GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

Programme and Rules of the Revolutionary Union, which includes all industries and is built

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

By HERMAN CAHN. 10s. 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

PROLETCULT. Price One Penny.

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR THE PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

Edited by Tom Anderson, and published by the Proletarian Bookstall, 94 George Street, From Workers' Dreadnought office, 152 Fleet Street, E.C.

THE IRON HEEL.

BY JACK LONDON. Price 2s.

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

June 24, 1922.

Lenin's opinion the trade unions—that is, working-class organisations-are not the eters of the Communist forms of people's omy, for they serve only as a connectingtok of the vanguard with the masses-" the trade unions in their every-day work persuade masses of that class. . . . " etc.

nedizeval system of education. This is the asses, and keep the masses in touch with the tertainments, etc." nguard, with the party which (remember this!) es not organise production as a collective, but eterogeneous composition, and whereto it

Which system is better?—this is the question, Trotsky's system, whatever it may be in other respects, is clearer, and therefore more real. On ing books and studying examples taken from md-hearted Peters and Johns, one cannot adcance education too far. This must be rememd and remembered well.

Bucharin's group occupies the middle ground

or rather, attempts to co-ordinate both systems unions play a double role (so it is proclaimed active life (notice, comrades—" into the active life but not into the creation of the new form of economy, and search for new forms of production). Besides that, they (obviously the unions) in ever-increasing degree must become the component part both of the economic machine and the State authority. This is from

the trade unions to the Soviet economic machine. initiative possible in the economic field. unions will gradually disappear, dissolve.

ducational part to be played by the unions in subject.

knows that it will do no good or bad for the functions at present on the railways. system of running the industry? For, as a matter of fact, the control over the industry will still remain outside the unions, beyond their reach, in the hands of the Soviet institutions. Bucharin reminds us of those teachers who carry on education in conformity with the old system mehel-Pestalozzi's German system founded on by means of "books." "You must learn that tudving examples. Trade unions must do far, and no further, while encouraging 'selfothing vital in the industries, but to persuade activity' of the pupils in organising dances, en-

In this way the two systems quite comfortably live together, and square one with another. creates the Soviet economic institutions of But what the outcome of all this will be, and what duties will the pupils of these teachers of eclectics be able to perform—this is a different question. If comrade Lunacharsky were to disapprove at all the educational meetings " eclectic heresy '' like this, the position of the People's Commissariat on Education would be precarious,

However, there is no need to under-estimate the educational methods of our leading comrades in regard to the trade unions. They all, Trotsky included, realise that in the matter of education "self-activity" of the masses is not the borrowing powers of the province will be greatly least factor. Therefore, they are in search of such a plan where the trade unions, without tion much longer. The great majority of the any harm to the prevailing bureaucratic system of running the industry, may develop their initia- "As to the soldiers whom the Government in its theses); on the one hand it (obviously "the tive and their economic creative powers. The helped to settle on the land when they were ole") takes on itself the functions of a "school least harmful sphere where the masses could demobilised, only about 10 per cent. can hang for Communism," and, on the other hand, the manifest their self-activity as well as their "par- on. The majority are on the rocks. They functions of an intermediary between the party ticipation in active life" (according to bought land, horses, implements, and other stock and the masses (this is from Lenin's group); Bucharin) is the sphere of betterment of the at from 40 to 100 per cent. above present prices. takes, in other words, the role of a machine workers' lot. The Workers' Opposition pays a "The discharged soldiers are having a bad injecting the wide proletarian masses into the great deal of attention to this question, and yeld time. Here is a case: it knows that the basic sphere of class creation "W. Rowe was discharged as A1 on May 8th. workers' lot is only a part.

In Trotsky and Zinovieff's opinion the production must be created and adjusted by the Soviet "He was unable to get anything but ill-paid institutions while the trade unions are advised casual employment.

Economic Policy" of reversion to Capitalism. pointees," "shake-ups," and all kinds of What is this? A naïve mistaken view, or a and pay up arrears. The wife had got work as miraculous measures promulgated in conformity conscious substitution of organising creative a substitute teacher in the Council School. She with "the shock system" could re-make the tasks in the sphere of production and develop- asked the Council to take the house and let unions so that they might join the Soviet econo- ment of creative abilities, by restricted tasks her pay the rent to the Council, but her request mic institutions by growth and become obedient of home economics, household duties, etc.? In was refused. The wife appealed to the legislawols in realising economic plans worked out by somewhat different language the same thought is ture and fought with the utmost vigour to retain the Supreme Council of National Economy. expressed by Trotsky. He very generously pro- her home. linovieff and Lenin are not in a hurry to join poses to the trade unions to develop the greatest

by men whom we choose. When the trade filling up a pool in front of the factory (from lot." mions have brought up obedient and industrious Trotsky's speech at the Miners' Congress). Peters and Johns we will "inject" them into Comrade Trotsky, take pity on us! For this the Soviet economic institutions and thus the is merely the sphere of "house-running," and if you intend to reduce the creativeness of the The creation of new forms of national economy unions to such a scope, then the unions will be presented to President Harding in July by a depuentrust to the Soviet bureaucratic institu- become not schools for Communism, but places tation of fifty well-known men and women. tions; as to the unions, we leave them the role where they train people for janitors. It is true The Department of Justice in Albany, New York, " schools." Education, education, and more that comrade Trotsky attempts to widen the issued instructions for the arrest of any person found Bucharin bowers. Such is the Lenin-Zinovieff slogan. scope of the "self-activity of the masses" by prisoners. Bucharin, however, wanted "to bank" on radi letting them participate not in an independent alism in the system of union education, and, improvement of the workers' lot, on the job course, fully merited the rebuke from Lenin (that far goes only the "insane" Workers' gether with the nickname of "Simidicomist.' Opposition), but by taking lessons from the arin and his group, while emphasising the Supreme Council of National Economy on this

e not for one difference. The Workers' done by the Supreme Council of National £11 10s. 4d. Total, £222 8s. 1d.

Opposition sees in the Unions the managers and Economy (speech of December 30th). The creators of the Communist economy, whereas teachers from the Supreme Council of National Bucharin, together with Lenin and Trotsky, Economy not only force the trade unions "to leave to them only the role of "schools for Com- carry out" plans, but they also "explain to munism," and no more. Why should he not their pupils their decrees." This is already a play with the elective principle when everybody step forward in comparison with the system that

FROM CANADA.

Comrade A. S. writes from Weyburn, Saskat-

"In our city, for want of funds, the children averaging from six to ten years of age in the primaries and grades I. and II. only attend school part time in order that the same teachers can hold classes in all the three schools.

"At Brandon, the second largest city in Manitoba, all the teachers are out on strike against reductions in wages.

"The Premier of Saskatchewan, speaking here a few weeks ago, said that two million dollars of the Public Revenue Tax, collected by the municipalities and payable by them to the Provincial Government, had not been received by the Provincial Government. Someone would go to gaol if this went on," said the Premier.

"Unless there is a good crop and the farmers receive a fair price for their grain this year, the reduced, and I do not think the system can funcfarmers are hopelessly in debt.

is the creation of new industrial econo- 1919. Nevertheless, he frequently fainted, and mic forms, of which the betterment of the soon after had pneumonia and in quick succession two attacks of influenza and a second attack of

to perform a rather restricted, though useful, "On October 8th, 1918 his wife had taken Dreadnought Publishers, 152 Fleet St., E.C.4. The controversy again revolves, not around the work of improving the lot of the workers. a house at 12 dollars a month. The rent was trade union problems, but around the methods Comrade Zinovieff, for instance, sees in distribu- raised from 12 to 14, then to 18, and finally to THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION. of educating the masses by means of unions. tion of clothing the "economic role" of the 30 dollars a month. The Rowes tried in vain Trotsky stands, or rather stood for, a system unions, and explains: "there is no other more to find cheaper premises. Owing to the illness which, with the help of that introduced among important problem than that of economy; to of wife and children, as well as that of the hus-Describes and explains the Communist Prole- the railway workers, might hammer into the repair one bath-house in Petrograd at present is band, three months' arrears of rent accumulated tarian Movement which has grown up in Russia organised workers' heads the wisdom of Com- ten times more important than delivering five during the tenancy of three years. The company owning the house then served notice to quit

"Finally, on May 12th, by order of the King's Bench, the bailiff came and put the family The unions, they say, shall remain unions. As But where shall this initiative express itself? and their furniture into the roadway. They regards production, it will be run and managed In "putting glasses" in the shop window or took refuge in a little chicken-house on a vacant

THE LABOUR WAR IN U.S.A.

A manifesto signed by a million persons for the release of the United States political prisoners will

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THE DEAD END.

You have come to a dead end, fellow-worker. You admit it.

" Yes."

The unemployed agitation has failed, so far, has it not? The unemployed have been forced to accept a reduction of the dole to half its former value.

"How is that?"

Through the "gap" system. Five weeks on, and five weeks off.

"They can still go to the Guardians during the five weeks off." The Guardians are less open-handed than they used to be. The Blaina and Nantyglo Council in Wales has ceased to function: it is bankrupt. It dismissed all its employees on June 3rd because it had spent all the money it could raise. The President of the Local Government Board says it is "not British" for the Guardians to act as kindly towards the unemployed as the Poplar Board does.

"I saw something about that."

Well, you admit the unemployed are worse off than they were, and their position is getting worse: do you not, fellow-worker?

"I must, because it is obvious."

What about the employed workers? Is their position improving, fellow-worker? " No."

Is there a trade in which wages are not falling?

" No." Have you heard of the great hardships amongst the South Wales miners?

"Yes."

Do you know that the small tradesmen and lower middle class in business are all complaining of bad trade, fellow-worker?

" Yes."

Well, do you not agree we have come to a dead end?

"I don't see how to alter it. You say it's due to so many being parasites. I can see that; but if we were to nationalise the industries, should we not have official parasites getting big wages, and would not the red tape in the Government Department be as wasteful and costly as the dividends paid to the shareholders? Would not the workers have as many costly parasites to support if all the industries were run like the Post Office?

Perhaps, fellow-worker.

"But that is Socialism; I thought you said you were a Socialist!"

That is not Socialism.

"I thought Socialism meant there would be only one employer—the State or the Municipality-and we should all get our wages from there."

Under Socialism you will not get any wages at all, fellow-worker.

"How shall we all live, then? Shall we all draw on our banking account instead of working? "

Would you like that?

"I should say so!"

We should all starve.

"Well, I suppose we should; but how should we get money if we had no wages?"

We should not get money. "How should we live, then?"

Do you eat money?

" No."

Why not do without it, then?

"What do you mean?"

I mean that we should do without money altogether. We should work to produce for the whole people, just as your wife cooks the dinner and cleans the house for the whole family, and as the stuff would be produced we should all use what we wanted of it, as we wanted it.

"Would there be enough to go round?" Why are so many out of work to-day, fellow-worker?

"Because the employers cannot find markets for their goods."

Does not that prove to you there could be enough to go round if we made up our mind to produce enough for all?

"It locks like it, but it seems such a funny new-fangled idea. I've been to a lot of Socialist meetings, and never heard anything of that."

Did you agree with the Socialism explained at the meetings you went to, fellow-worker?

"I can't say I ever heard it exactly explained, but I always had the idea if the industries were run by the Post Office there would be a lot of 'graft,' as they say in the States-people lining their pockets, I mean, at our expense."

If we did away with money they could not do that.

"How do you mean?"

They could not hoard food and clothes in vast quantities as they can hoard money.

"Why not?"

Because the rest of us would not supply them with warehouses for the purpose. Moreover, when they could get as many clothes as they wanted to wear, and as much food as they wanted to eat, why should they hoard such things?

"But isn't it a new idea?"

No; it is old. Communism existed before Capitalism.

"But the other Socialists don't say what you say-I mean the Marxians-do they?" Marx did.

"I never heard it."

Have you read anything he wrote?

"No; but tell me where I shall find it."

You will find it, fellow-worker, in the critique of the Gotha programme.

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