Wilson Murder: Who is to Blame?

MOURETS SE DECAMONISM. Founded and Edited by

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SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

SYLVIA PANKHURST

PRICE TWOPENCE.

UNDER THE UNION JACK.

The streets are all thronged with the weary and sad,

Under the Union Jack.

Under the Union Jack.

Under the Union Jack.

Jooking for work that is not to be found,
Or toiling for pittance like any slave bound,
Day after day, just the old weary round,
Under the Union Jack.

Men working from dawn till the long day has fled,

Under the Union Jack.

Ind women are selling their bodies for bread,

Under the Union Jack.

Frockets are bare, one is vagrant, and so
It's a crime to be poor, and to gaol you must go,
I'ar better be rich than honest, you know,
Under the Union Jack.

Under the Union Jack.

But the "Fat Men" said "No! let them have flags instead,"

Under the Union Jack.

they keep Empire Day, and the Union Jack waves,

While they sing "For we Britons shall never be slaves,"
But the food is denied that the famished child

Under the Union Ja.k.

their graves 'neath the veldt many dead soldiers sleep,

Under the Union Jack.

Under the Union Jack.

forgot,
heir country has left them in workhouse to rot,

wing or dead, does it matter a jot?
Under the Union Jack.

Under the Union Jack.
Under the Union Jack.

Under the Union Jack.
Under the Union Jack.
Under the Union Jack.

hen the shirkers have ceased to batten and swell,

here will be a tale of true glory to tell
Under the Union Jack.

S. M.

Written in 1915 after a trumpet-blowing lecter on the Union Jack by Mr. Collingwood aghes.)

ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE.

"Until absolute confidence springs up between he two sides [Capital and Labour] no truce is ossible."—John Hodge, M.P.

As there cannot be absolute confidence, there hould therefore be no truce; but Hodge thinks therwise. He declares there is a truce between employers and workers in the iron and steel tides, of whose confederation he is president.

Capitalism Triumphant.

Woolwich Arsenal will probably be let to a mivate contractor.

The Committee on Crown and Government ands proposes the sale of Crown farm lands and the Crown properties in Regent Street, Pall all, and St. James. It is suggested that other moverties may be bought with the proceeds, but mivate enterprise will see to that.



(Returning from the Brilliant Court at Buckingham Palace, June 22, 1922.)

Yes, dear, these people would do away with our little pleasure—they would even live on the profits we have made out of them! Sauce!!

FREE SPEECH IN BRITAIN.

FELLOW-WORKERS,-

Are you going to let yourselves go under? Our rulers are going to suppress your efforts to emancipate yourselves if they can. They have started; will you submit?

The Proletarian Schools are going to fight this question. We want for Glasgow a stand in each district, with the right to sell literature at all meetings. We want to keep intact all the streets that have been stands for meetings. We shall put a comrade up in every district, and keep an active committee in each district. We shall make it Free Speech, and that only. Will you roll in and join up?

Come to our meeting on Glasgow Green any Sunday night at 6.30 and join. Other towns might send on their notes to the Workers' Dreadnought, at 152 Fleet Street.

Tom Anderson.

"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 them.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due.

The high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

bour, " but I can't say I agree with that." "With what?" asked Frank Penman.

Notice the sword? "

trialist you used to think yourself."

they would make of it. Seeing that practically boomerang that is as likely to strike them as all the N.A.C. of the shop stewards' movement not. They aren't out for coercion and interferwent into the C.P.G.B., and several of them are ence, and they aren't out for a change unless on the executive, how was anyone to know they they believe it will be a change for the betterwould leave the rank-and-file movement in the why should they be? They take a lot of conlurch and just go out after official jobs in the vincing; I admit that—oh, a lot of waking up; Unions and the Labour Party?"

"Well, you have been a long time finding no mistake about that. them out, that's all I can say; and I think you "A thing like that cartoon doesn't appeal to are still a member of the C.P., although you the average man and woman—it revolts them. It

" Must belong to something."

you really believe in-One Big Union, or the one object-to get yourselves in power. That is I.W.W., or whatever it is? Why do you always what the average man and woman say about wait for the thing to grow up before you will you." do a hand's turn for it? "

may not do as much as I might for the move- George wouldn't be Prime Minister, nor Lord ment, but in so far as I support anything, I sup- Northcliffe the successful newspaper proprietor port the propaganda I agree with and wish to that he is if what you say of the average man succeed. You, on the other hand, denounce the and woman were true." C.P. policy, yet you are a member of the C.P., support of the Labour Party. The C.P. pro- can be stampeded into following others. of movement of which you say you approve."

nothing else to be done; the time isn't ripe for industrial unionism."

"Are you ripe for it? My opinion is you are not, or you'd get something started."

in the workshop. You don't know anything about the psychology of the mass."

answered. He was bored with Barbour. The boredom was mutual. They separated, and moved amongst the crowd in opposite directions.

Near the curb Penman met Jack Harker, one of the R.C.A. students, who was not in the movement.

"I thought I'd stop for a moment to listen to your crowd," Harker said. "I've just bought some of your papers. One of them talks was exhorting you to come forward and play the a good deal about psychology; but you Com- great man in the public interest? I must say munists don't seem to know anything about psy- you are not overcharged with modesty, old chology. Look here!"

He flourished the Communist triumphantly.

"Look at that cartoon! What impression do ing towards the great light when it rises. At Relief Committee. you suppose a thing like that makes on the average man or woman? Probably you never took whole of your movement as might come from a for girls between 16 and 18, 8/-, if the the trouble to think. I'll tell you. The average man and woman are decent folk-in spite of the

are religious; I'm not. My dad was a Brad- things we believe in till some great marve "I'm a fighting man myself," said Dick Bar- laughite, and one doesn't go back to religion if hero comes along. The fact is, you won one wasn't brought up to it. The average man recognise the great personage if he or she we and woman are not religious; but the average man come amongst us. Most of the really "With that cartoon," replied Barbour, hand- or woman do believe—in spite of the war, mind people haven't been thought specially remark ing to Penman the Communist, which he had you—that the thing to be admired is not mere till after they were dead, or at least very just bought from a paper-seller in Trafalgar brute force, but intelligence—the power of the In any case, if we are poor little mediocritic mind. The average man and woman do believe must just do our best in our own small way "It's a curious point of view," observed Pen- that to-day, and that is the best thing in the "We admit you can't be great if you was man, taking the paper from Barbour and examin- average person. I tell you it's a mistake, a big born so," Harker answered, "but the order ing the cartoon. It was a drawing of Arthur mistake, for you people, who think you are man and woman won't touch you unless you Henderson, of the British Labour Party, and pioneers and social regenerators, to try to under- show that your system is better than the Leon Trotsky, of the Russian Soviet Government, mine that feeling, that decent feeling in the aver- system; that your ideals are more generous both regarding the statue of Oliver Cromwell, age man and woman. It is a bad thing for you civilised than those current; and that you who stood outside the British House of to try to do that; but you can't succeed, and it much for your movement as they do for Commons, which holds a sword and a Bible. The is beastly stupid to attempt it. You only flout various hobbies and recreations." cartoonist had made his Arthur Henderson say: the best instincts of the average man and woman "I agree with you there," said Penman "A great man! Notice the Bible"; while his At the same time, the average man and woman though I am willing to admit that some Trotsky answered: "True; a very great man! are not cranks. If you were to come to him or movement do not reach the standard vo her and say: 'These are our ideals, but we can't many get much beyond it, at least as far as "If the only difference between the Labour realise them because those fellows in possession last point is concerned." Party and the Communist Party is that the Com- won't release the plunder; what are we to do? " It ought to be so, if you mean to and munist Party is willing to use his sword, and Then if you put the ideals first, explained them, anything," Harker said. the Labour Party isn't; then God help the Com- and proved them to be good, proved you were munist Party," said Barbour. "I don't wonder out for something more just, more advanced, and the Industrial Unionists are backing out of it." nobler than the present plan; if you could get "You've been rather slow to wake up to the the average man and woman on your side by Party's deficiencies, in my opinion," said Pen- appealing to the best part of them, then they'd man, "considering how long you've been be willing to say you were right in taking any amongst them and what a revolutionary indus- strong measures that might be necessary-necessary, mind you. You've got to remember the "Well, I admit I didn't realise what a mess average man and woman know that coercion is a I know that; but they are decent at bottom-

simply revolts them. They go home and say you are a pack of bloodthirsty degenerates; wanting "Why don't you get out and work for what to revert to the habits of the middle ages with

"I don't think the average man and woman "The same criticism applies to you, I believe." have that amount of sense," Penman protested. "To a certain extent, but not entirely. I "It's easy to talk heroics about them; but Lloyd

"I say the average man and woman are decent you pay your dues to the C.P., and speak on folk," persisted Harker. "I say it deliberately, its platform. There isn't any real difference be- but I'll qualify the statement. I'll say they are tween your support of the C.P. and the C.P. decent when they are left to themselves. They fesses to be superior to the Labour Party, just as admit; they are sheep-like because they you profess to be superior to the C.P. You both are not sure of themselves; not confident support what you pretend to despise, whilst you of their own judgment. The Press gets ignore those who are trying to build up the sort hold of them and stampedes them into doing things and thinking things by head-lining: "That sounds very fine, of course; but there's 'Everybody's doing it,' till they think they must be peculiar if they don't follow suit. They don't like to be peculiar, because they are too modest to like it. Only conceited, egoistical people have the courage to be peculiar. The ordinary decent "It is very easy for you to talk; you're not man and woman never step out of the line unless they are swept out of their reserve by admiration for someone who has taken a distinctive line. "Any old Tory could say that," Penman But that sort of thing wouldn't arouse admiration in anyone. If you want to succeed you've got to make men and women believe there is something noble and great about you. A movement run like yours is to-day will never arouse admiration and abnegation in average people."

"It isn't exactly my movement," Penman "I didn't suppose it was. Did you think I

Harker laughed provocatively. "Why. One hundredweight of coal weekly you're one of the little moths that will be dash- in addition, and boots, at the discretion of the little moths that will be dash- in addition, and boots, at the discretion of the little moths, to honeycomb the present you haven't got so much light in the For boys between 16 and 18, 10/- is

tallow candle, as far as I can see." "You don't know anything about the move- is made on account of the earnings of chi war. The average man and woman look at that ment. You are a sentimentalist, a romancer, and which are below 15/- a week. cartoon and take it that you Communists are an impossibilist," Frank Penman retorted hotly. This scale provides no occasion simply barbarians—simply bullies. Some people "You think we should just do nothing for the plaisancy.

pamphlet form an answer to the Government we gave freely.

The pamphlet further claims:

planted by the spirit of humanity."

pathways trodden by Bumble.

Bumble still says "No" at Laindon, welf with papers and a passport to it. Colony. The Local Government Board says theme I was the first to offer myself to carry

BREAKFAST.—Bread, 2 oz.; porridge, 12 pm de plan was unfolded. tea, 1 pint; milk, 1 pint.

Lunch.—Bread, 4 oz.; cheese, 1½ oz.

1 pint; sausage or pressed beef, 3 oz.

we shall let them eat their fill—that is an essent ones that need count.

Out-Relief.

The total outdoor relief in money and

is on	the fo	llowi	ing	basis:	
		1000			 12/6
NAME OF THE OWNER OWNER OF THE OWNER OWN	THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY	PET TO THE			20/0
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Man,	wife,	and	2	children	 31/6
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,,		,,	4	,,	 41/6
,,		,,	5		 46/6
,,		,,	6	,,	 51/6
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The same of the same of	THE PARTY OF			TO FEEL THE PARTY OF THE PARTY	71/6

,, 10 ,, ... 71/6

RED NIGHTS. By L. A. MOTLER.

an old man now. Some there are who et my head hangs none too securely on ders. I am looked upon sometimes as he has almost got both feet in the grave. Il have the strength in those feet to stand anks. There is enough vitality left in body of mine to do something, be it only erature. Would many of the young ld say as much, instead of gaping round and perhaps thinking they are doing in " leading the applause."

there is still that fire in my heart, now ering low, ready to blaze up when the day me, and with it the word "Go."

t it is not of these things I wish to write. are some periods through which I have e telling of which I think would, perof benefit to others, or would entertain And of those which I mostly remember

called them by this name, for the time ime of darkness, lit only by the red glow many if us thought was the dawn of the coming. That many of us were deceived Poplar pleads "Guilty, and proud of the matter, since it was no fault of ours The Poplar Board of Guardians has published fore than his best no man can give; and of

charges of over-generosity to the poor and we had a small house in Islington, and a few memployed. Poplar's defence leads off we lis lived there, keeping a small shop below the sale of literature. Our counter was open "Pure religion and undefiled before God, sort of publication, so long as it dealt the Father is this, to visit the fatherless the revolution in some aspect and enwidows in their affliction.—James i. 7." I thened the people. For we cared not to long to any particular branch of the movement, "The poor and the needy, the sick and withat we could get the people to know of the infirm, the fatherless, the widows and the order oming of the day. And of the four of us, each have been properly and decently treated. The belonged to a different organisation. It was spirit of Bumble has been driven out and this wise we kept in the forefront of everythat was of the movement.

other Boards but do not boast so! Our ind lears been known to those of the Special Branch ment against you is not like that of the Gover Scotland Yard whose duty it was to keep ahead ment, that you are too generous to the poor, to the doings of such as ourselves, and to make that you are too complacent in your view of I watch on our movements. But I had grown a poverty of your neighbours and of any littered and altered the colour of my hair; and, alleviation of their hardship that you may grat hat with the leisurely time I had had in Our indictment is that you still follow closely merica, I had grown stouter. Then, coming ck, I had changed my name and had furnished

Poplar sends men down to Laindon Far Hence it was that when Talmour launched his dietary at Laindon is too generous. In reality it. And it was deemed that I was the fittest is a meagre dietary for men engaged in man of the job, since the others had been very active work in the open air. Here is a sample date late and were not sure that they were not

DINNER.—Boiled mutton, 4 oz.; vegetal remember that period when the engineers Supper.—Bread, 8 oz.; butter, 3 oz.; to sfelt with certainty that the transport workers a little farm. come into the struggle if the others did, When we begin to treat people with human indeed these four unions were felt to be the

position of Oliver Twist-if, being hungry, being hungry, better. Each of our organisations had been con- only my leetle bisniss pour gagner la vie." ask for more food, Bumble still says "Not with passing resolutions of support and openans. But Talmour told us he felt the Free we understood each other. ialist Party would most likely take drastic' He belonged to the Frees himself, and new the executive had had a secret session, th he had been unable to get access. For now in those days the movement had many Special Branch as members, and so the had grown of electing mere show execuwhilst an inner council, whose identity was guarded, performed the real executive

mour said that whatever action the Frees take would be of very little might unless strikers were sympathetic and there was high revolutionary leavening amongst them. with a few rebels armed with propaganda of the right stuff, printed in sufficient mbers, and a constant supply be guaranteed.

interature we could issue.

citizens should do.

of food distribution, which was the prime factor; the setting up of councils, and the enrolment of guards for protecting the shops where were sold in ordinary times either food or clothing. These shops were later to be turned into distributive centres. And many similar matters were dealt with.

Our little booklet set out only the first steps, for when we discussed the matter we found how intricate even the beginnings of a revolution might be. We had, indeed, to decide on enlisting the support of the four organisations to which we belonged, and to get their approval, for so then the shop delegate came in. The shop delemuch depended on their members to take the gate is a great man; something of a "knut." place of guards. None of us, except Bagoff, Many of them have had a look at Marx and then knew the real executives of the parties-Bagoff, joined the Labour Party, so as to be able to conindeed, knowing only one member in his own duct it through the economic waters. "What's party who sat in the secret conclave. He was, up?" says the delegate. Old Tom replied they Poplar, Poplar; you may be better than so I was none too young then, and I had for some therefore, entrusted with the task of getting at were discussing the nationality of Jesus. "The the other excutives through his own.

printer friend. It was in a narrow street, to hell are you laughing at?" said the delegate. which main access was under an arch, one of Old Tom shook his head, saying, "I think we many buildings which had formed a mews, that would be better to stop the discussion." The his shop was to be found. The district it was in delegate would have none of it. "How," he used to be quite a bourgeois centre, and so differ- said, "could Jesus have a nationality when He ent to what Pentonville is now and was at the was born of the Holy Ghost?" That was a time of which I write. Fonson, for that was his poser. The "young blood" laughed. "You name, was a Frenchman, and he did a good busi- will be telling us next," he said, "that a woman ness for the French Ambassador, so none would can have a kid without a man." At this explosuspect it as being the centre of our literature. sive the hooters blew, and each one hurried off He had from time to time let me print a few to his job. notepaper headings for our shop; and, although atched. Therefore, I listened most carefully as he was by no means in our movement, so many Party, and Jesus is a Jewish workman; everyone of his friends were revolutionaries he had sympa- admits it. Old Tom has completed 50 years It was the time of the Great Black Strike, as thetic leanings. He was a good man at heart, in the Union and draws a partial pension. He the newspapers were pleased to call it. You but ever afraid of losing his "leetle bisniss"; has also been 45 years in Fairfield engineering though I suspected he had a goodly sum put 8 oz.; bread, 2 oz.; pudding (bread), 6 cm been locked out and there was great talk by wherewith he would settle in some spot in the miners and railwaymen joining hands. It the North of France, a la campagne, with perhaps

"En bien," he said, when we were in that small office of his which was a boarded-off corner of his workshop, "It is all right, my friend beginning. The men at Laindon are still in the We had all discussed the bearings of the Smeet, you will be circumspect, hein? I have

He talked in an odd mixture of French and elief funds in the columns of their official English, although I spoke French myself. But

(To be continued.)

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CLYDE WORKER.

By Tom Anderson.

Old Tom Taylor was a craftsman, an engineer. He had served his "time" in the usual "old who had never spoken. Speech to him was craft way," and so he was one of the "old golden. He belonged to the beast age. school," not your modern machine-made crafts- "Aye," he said, "old Tom's gone, but it's man. Old Tom was a "Tory," a good staunch a hell of a pity he has not lived till to-night; "Tory." He believed in the King, the he would have had a full week's pay to lift." Church, and the "Constitution," and he was a no income. No deductions in the parents that had been passed, and this staunch Trade Unionist—that is, he paid his card Catened all printers who should issue matter up to date every quarter, and was never in arrears, Was likely to cause sedition, with the destruc- but he was dead set against "levies." Levies, tion of Proletarian Schools should write "Proletheir printing machines without subse- old Tom would say, are for the wastrels. He tarian Schools" on the envelope.

quent compensation when the so-called "interim did not believe in strikes, or "direct action" period" was past. However, I, being a printer, of any kind; he was just an old Trade Unionist. told them that I imagined it could be managed, Sometimes they would discuss in the meal-hour so we proceeded to discuss the best form of about having a Labour Party. Old Tom would say, "What do you want a Labour Party for, We could only be certain of a limited quantity when you have plenty of good men willing to at first, because I telt that the printer triend of do the work for nothing? A Labour Party! whom I meant to apply would only give me one How would a workman know how to speak in night for our purpose. After a long talk, the the House of Commons? They would only make three comrades—lalmour, Fox, and Balgonsky a fool of you and give you away. It is im-(whom we called Bagoff, in our familiar tashion) possible. It is impossible." Some of the more -agreed to my proposal to issue a small booklet. brave spirits would say, "But, Tom, we could This was to be of such a size that it could easily educate ourselves." "Yes," old 'I'm would be slipped into pockets and carried conveniently. say, "I have no doubt about that; you could As to the matter within the booklet, you will educate yourself to leave the workers and get a have heard of the tamous "Don't Strike" soft job." One brave spirit among the crowd leastet with the imprint of the Loyal Citizens' remarked, "Tom, was Jesus not a workman?" rress. On the front page we had printed "Why At this old Tom got very angry, and said, Strike? " and had the constitutional arms above, "Don't take your Master's Name in vain." so that it looked quite a loyal publication at first This young blood remarked, " Nonsense, Tom; sight. But the real gist of he thing was come Jesus was a Jew, and I am a Scotsman." This to inside, where we announced the dawning of seemed to knock old Tom out. "Do you tell the revolution and set out a list of things all good me that? I thought Jesus was a Scotsman. I am surprised to learn that." A general smile These, if you remember, explained the means passed over the company at this reply of Tom's.

> "I tell you what," said the young blood, "I have read that God was once a stone they carried

"What do you mean?" said old Tom. "You will be telling me next that He was a Jew." The "young blood" smiled. "You are very thick, Tom. If His Son was a Jew, well, the Father would have to be that also." Scotsmen being very logical, dead silence prevailed. Everyone was afraid to continue the conversation. They were treading on dangerous ground. Just nationality of Jesus," said the delegate, "He Whilst he was gone I went round to see my had none." Everybody laughed. "What the

> shop and gets a small donation from the firm, with an easy job. He is not much changed.

The Great World War for Humanity came. Old Tom was a patriot of patriots, and his sons went to the war to kill the "bloody Huns"that's how old Tom said it. One Monday evening he escorted his youngest son to Queen Street Station to see him off, and his spirits were higa as he gazed on his boy in khaki. "Kill them, Jimmy," he said, "Kill them! Give them no quarter. They are swine." They had a drinkthe average workman in Scotland drinks-and as the tran moved out of the station old Tom, bareheaded, was singing "God Save the King." In the excitement he staggered and fell, and when we lifted the old man up he was dead.

Next day, in the workshop, we were discussing old Tom's death, his many good qualities, 55 years in the Union, 50 years in Fairfield's; never lost a morning; an honest, upright, Godfearing man. "He's away," said one of the old fellows, "one of the grand old school, gone home." We all concurred. Another old fellow

Correspondents desiring advice on the forma-

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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NOWHERE TO LIVE.

Vol. IX. No. 16. Saturday, July 1st, 1922.

In Ormeside Road, near the Old Kent Road, London, S.E., is a passage three feet wide. It one of the hoops. Comrades who came with or not he shall carry arms? Who is the judge. leads to a row of wretched houses, the most for- Clara Cole carefully put the barrels out in the of what is a special occasion? More information lorn and dilapidated that eyes ever looked on alley, and the barrel continued to leak. or hearts were saddened by.

to the dirt and congestion of the alley.

The one-storied hovels were constructed without any regard to building regulations: one brick thick, and the floor-boards laid on the ground. The hovels were made to stand—that is all one can say; and now they have long been the worse for wear. There are five closets for seven houses, and one of the closets cannot be used. " Perhaps it will be repaired?" one asks the tenants. "I don't think so," they answer in anison, most emphatically. "Experience," it is said, "teaches children and

The inhabitants are poor, and some of them, to aid in maintaining existence, keep hens boxed is as bad as that of the human beings.

Each hovel has three rooms, about 8 ft. by declared that the oil was worth £25. 10 ft. The rent is 6/3 a week, but the tenants Mrs. Cole went to prison for 28 days; she reof one house pay 6/6, because there is a little fused the option of paying a 40/- fine. The patch of ground between their hovel and the other comrades were remanded. things.

to quit last December. to be desirous of building an extension of his should be injurious. factory on the ground where these hovels are

standing. Be that as it may, he has grown sharp with his tenants. They have all, or nearly all, had notice to quit and been up at the County Court, and are paying their rents to the Court or to the for several months, and he and his wife have taken Assizes on July 10th. to hawking. They are paying their rent and J. W. Barker, aged 38, was struck on the its severance from Russia. He does not were unable to pay; next week they offered 22/-. It was refused, but eventually accepted.

three families, and the evicted families allege might have been caused by a blow; it had dethat he and one of the workmen assisted the veloped ten days after the blow-a usual time bailiff to put their furniture out in the alley. for a wound to cause lockjaw.

One of the evicted families, in which there are four little children, tramped off towards Tonbridge, carrying the babies as best they might, in the hope of getting some work at fruit picking in return for a shelter.

One family, in which there are two children under two, slept out in the alley and was drenched to the skin. Their miserable flock and straw mattresses fell to pieces, and the remnants

littered the alley. As for the other family, the mother and five little children were taken into one of the hovels. The father and elder son slept in a tiny hutch built for chickens, far too small for a person to stretch outright. The young woman who took in the mother and children had one little child In the debate on Sir Henry Wilson's murder of her own, and was expecting to give birth to the Labour Party took no part. No member of a second at any time; yet she took the other that or any other party denounced the Govern family in, for her tender sympathy could not ments of Lloyd George and Sir James Craig, Mrs. Moschewitz, 1/-; Norwich Meetings, leave them there outside in the rain.

On Monday, June 26th, came Mrs. Clara Cole pogroms, in revenge for which two men bin and saw their plight. Her good common sense Sir Henry Wilson. and heart of gold forced her to act. Already A Daily Herald headline on the debate of eight months ago Clara Cole had broken into a "ULSTER MURDERS TO CEASE!" But Wingt house which had been standing empty for years, Churchill gave no such pledge: he merely su and had installed there a number of homeless that the British Government had supplied Illed people, who have since remained unmolested.

The doors of these hovels had been roughly nailed up by the landlord. Mr. Crook did not Craig. fear that the nails he thrust in would further disfigure his tumbledown property: a few more scars would make no appreciable difference.

Clara Cole took an instrument and prised out the nails: it was easily done.

Crook had placed some barrels of oil. One of may use them when they choose on special occathese barrels was leaking. The boy who rolled sions is interesting. Does that mean that it down to the hovel had accidentally knocked off young constable on the beat may decide whether

It was three o'clock in the afternoon, and now The unpaved pathway before their doors is five up comes Mr. Crook. A policeman, too, was police go unarmed at their own desire. If it or six feet wide. Their landlord, Walter Crook, on the scene. Mr. Crook ordered the constable true that the constables are allowed free choice who owns a factory near by, tips on this path- to arrest three comrades as trespassers because in this respect, we commend them for their wice way piles of rusty old-iron shavings, and so adds they did not live in the alley; but this was fur- decision. They are safer unarmed, and other ther than the policeman could go.

Mr. Crook asked Mrs. Cole and Comrade Dallas to go to his office to negotiate. From thence they were taken to the police station with Comrade Rust, who arrived later and had nothing to do with the eviction.

The three were tried at Tower Bridge Police Court on June 27th. The magistrate there showed his incapability and lack of human sympathy and understanding by asking, when he heard what Mrs. Cole had done: "Was the lady drunk?" Apparently he thought no educated woman would intervene thus on behalf of the poor if she were sober.

up in the alley-way. They look out through Mr. Crook, the landlord, claimed that the their bars like prisoners. Poor birds! Their lot doors of his hovels had been disfigured, and that the oil had run out of the leaking barrel; he

next, on which they used to grow a few green Meanwhile, one of the evicted families has remained in the hovel in which Clara Cole re-They used to grow green things; but they installed it, in spite of the order of Mr. Crook have not done so this year, because, after occupy- to leave next morning. The young woman who ing the hovel for eleven years, they got notice had sheltered the homeless gave birth to her baby at six o'clock on the day of the arrest, Mr. Walter Crook, the landlord, is thought and the nurse is alarmed lest further disturbance

> The other evicted family has been taken in by a neighbour in the alley.

Sheffield Eviction.

As a result of the conflict with the police lawyer. He has refused to accept rent from which arose at a Sheffield eviction recently, all some of the tenants since last December. One the prominent leaders of the unemployed have man, who is a fish curer, has been out of work been arrested. They are to be tried at Leeds

4/9 a week arrears, 11/- in all. One week they back of the neck by the police during the evic- Ireland, India, or Egypt to go out of the Brita tion fight. He died of lockjaw soon after. The Empire. Can it be that Mr. Macdonald desire Medical Superintendent of the Ecclesall Institu- a Government of Georgia to be controlled by On Tuesday, June 20th, Mr. Crook evicted tion where Barker died said that the disease

The One Big Union.

The Communist Workers' Group in Sheffield has been propagating the idea of One Big Revolutionary Union amongst the unemployed, and the idea s beginning to take root there.

Glasgow Eviction.

The seventeen comrades who attempted, as recently reported in our columns, to reinstate an evicted couple in Glasgow, will be tried on July 4th by Sheriff and jury.

Ulster and Murder.

which have organised the anti-Catholic Nationalist Total for week, £9 2s. 6d. Total, £231 10s.

with 50,000 standard arms, and would continu to support the pogrom Government of Sir James

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

ARMED POLICE.

The Home Secretary's statement that there are The families entered; but in one house Mr. arms in the police stations, and that the police should be demanded.

It is, moreover, instructive to learn that the people are safer because they are unarmed.

Armed Guard for Sir Edward Carson

Whilst thousands of unfortunate working fol have been fired upon and driven from their home in Belfast, Sir Edward Carson, one of the makers of strife in Ulster, is provided with an armed policeman to guard him-at our expense!-

SOCIAL PARASITES v. USEFUL WORKERS.

How fine is the ideal of Edward Carpenter Kropotkin and the other seers of the new days simple living, some useful productive toil each day, combined with the study and practice of the arts and sciences.

Contrast that with the parasitic life of Court, the lavish extravagance and dis Descriptions of "sapphire blue and gold bro embroidered in blue and gold diamanté, and pleted by a magnificent train of Irish lace l with gold tissue " arouse only disgust i minds of those who realise the burden that extravagance places on the people who t the hideous extremes of poverty which face the displays of wealth at the other end of the soc

Many a worthy mother, instead of gowns gold and silver tissue, has not even a change dress or a water-tight pair of shoes.

J. R. MACDONALD AND GEORGI

One wonders why Mr. Ramsay Macdonald so anxious to secure the independence of Georg party affiliated to the Second Internati order that the Georgian Government may b the Second International what the Russian Sov Government has been to the Third?

It will be remembered that at the last I.L. Conference Mr. Ramsay Macdonald used all h influence to defeat a resolution expressing grati tude to the Bolsheviki for their stand against

The resolution, in spite of Mr. Macdonal efforts to defeat it, was carried by 53 votes to

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND. Brought forward, £222 8s. 1d. T. E. Selle 2/6; P. Cautherley, 2/-; T. Wilson, £1; Powell (monthly), 5/-; S. C., 4/-; Per T. Ellison, 18/-; Per T. Hodson, 3/6; M. rope, per sale of gold chain, £1; Per M Marsh, 6/6; I. S. 5/-; A. Pannekoek,

WAS WILSON MURDERED?

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

In view of the shooting of Sir Henry Wilson, certain questions demand an answer. Is it true that the following outrages upon Catholic Nationalists have been committed in Relfast between July 21st, 1920, and June 21st, 1922, as alleged by Dail Eireann?

23,560 persons driven from their homes, 3,000 being driven out in broad daylight since

8.586 driven from their employment. 7,800 persons seriously wounded.

429 persons murdered.

The life of every one of the persons murdered in Belfast, be the dead person never so humble. oust be considered as much as that of any Field-Marshal.

Is it true, as claimed by the Dail Eireann Publicity Department, that these outrages against Catholic Nationalists are not the work of unorganised mobs, but are officially organised by Sir James Craig's Government and the armed forces at its disposal?

Is it true that Sir James Craig's Government, in its little domain of six counties, has at its disposal, as Dail Eireann alleges,

3,000 Constabulary, armed and equipped by the British Government. 5,000 "A" Specials 20,000 "B" Specials An indefinite number of "C" Specials 19 battalions of British Crown forces.

Is it true, as alleged by the Irish Bulletin issued by Dail Eireann, that: "Only Irish Nationalists are attacked by the Specials?"

"The English military assist the Specials?"

"The cars, rifles, bombs, and petrol used are Government property?" "Looting and burning takes palce under the eyes of the police and the military?"

"No Loyalist is punished or arrested for arson or murder?"

Is it true that in March last Sir Henry Wilson was engaged by the Northern Government restore order in the six counties, and that, as Dail Eireann alleges, he organised the above outages upon Catholic Nationalists in Belfast?

If the Dail Eireann allegations are correct, then the Governments of Sir James Craig and vd George are responsible for the actions of their servant Sir Henry Wilson.

If the state of affairs is such as Dail Eireann represents, the men who shot Sir Henry Wilson must be treated as prisoners of war, and their lives must be spared.

Will Ramsay Macdonald and Arthur Henderson, on behalf of the British Labour Party, make this claim? Will they agitate for the lives of the men who shot Wilson as they are agitating for the Social Revolutionaries who raised war against the Soviet Republic in Russia?

IRISH NEWS

llowing paragraphs appeared in the Weekly Bulletin, issued by Dail Eireann Publicity De-

Pogrom against Catholics started July 21st, 1920. "Killed to date, 428; wounded, 1,766. The war of extermination has grown in intensit ince Sir James Craig, early in February last, repudiated his agreement of the Boundary Question with

Mr. Michael Collins, Chairman of the Provisional ere are the figures for the first five months of

s year:	CATH	OLICS.	PROTE	STANTS.
		Wounded		Wounded.
January	8	20	4	13
February	28	70	17	27
March	42	58	22	38
April	26	37	15	36
May	46	103	29	63
	156	288	87	177
From May 31	st to Ju	ne 18th	inclusive:-	

CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS.

the 93 Protestants killed since January 1st, owing to pressure from Orange Lodges :lyer Road. He was an Orange sniper killed by "No of Protestants driven from their emmilitary on January 2nd. On March 8th Herbert ing into a street where Catholic children were " (Of this number over 3,000 have been driven about. An eve-witness has made an affidavit out in broad daylight since May 31st.) what he was, fired a shot. Hazard thereupon rolled "Number of Protestants driven from their over stone dead. At his funeral the Orange gunmen homes ther victim of Sinn Fein gunmen.

On the way to the barracks he tried to escape but Road. . . . okes, a native of Ballymena. Vokes was evidently similar conspiracies against their lives.

not in the worst Orange portion of Belfast in mistake letting them in. . . .

On April 18th Wm. Johnston, 100 Louisa Street. Thomas Best, Louisa Street, was shot accidentally

"On April 24th William Steele, Disraeli Street, was not accidentally, as was Ellen Greer, of Enniskillen teet, who was killed by a revolver belonging to

her brother-in-law, an "A" Special. Mary Donaldson, of Spamount Street, was killed military on May 19th, as was Robert Dudgeon, of 74 Westland Street.

"On May 24th John Moore 79 Hooker Street, was shot by an Orange sniper, and on the same day Victor Kidd, 44 Brookvale Avenue, was shot by military.

"On May 25th Wm. Shields, 32 Delaware Street, was shot by a Protestant sniper. Alex. Morrison, Ballyclare, was shot in the Albert Bridge Road by an Orange murder gang. (Fourteen Catholics have now been done to death at this spot by Orange

"John Jennings, a blind and paralysed old man, lodged with Jane Doran, a Catholic, at Peter's Place. During the terror on May 31st an Orange mob of "Specials" and hooligans threw a bomb into this house. This bmb killed the residents. The remains of the blind Protestant and his Catholic landlady were

subsequently found by the Fire Brigade. "The bulk of the remaining Protestants were shot by 'Specials' in the course of indiscriminate firing. A few, undoubtedly, have been shot by desperate avengers of Catholic victims.

Of the 203 Protestants wounded, the same may be said. Five of them were 'Specials' who were shot while attempting another massacre of Catholics.

Nationalists Victimised "Catholics (a) driven from their employment by Orange mobs, or (b) dismissed by Protestant firms

"From July 21st, 1920, to date ... ployment in Belfast during same period . ard, of 16 Earl Lane, was lying flat on the street "No of Catholics driven from thei rhomes 23,000

shot up Greencastle and killed and wounded several "The incidents reported this past week include the knew it. It was only a short time before this le. He was represented by the Orange Press as destruction by 'Specials' of altars and religious massacre that I was shown the cheque for £2,000. emblems in Catholic homes; looting on an intensified "The man was pretty pleased with himself at the On March 12th the military arrested a man in the scale; simultaneous attempts at wholesale murders of time, and I should say was inclined to be a bit boast-

On April 14th Mat. Carmichael and John Sloan Curfew on Saturday, June 10th, to murder two soldiers. It is a noteworthy fact that when the police visited

"On Tuesday, Edward Smith, a Catholic sailor, party who had murdered the men folk in the house home on leave, was murdered in North Queen Street half an hour earlier. by an Orange sniper. All through the Big War he "The description of this person tallied in all parbraved the perils of the submarine.

"During the week a number of Catholic officials in one of the chiefs of the murder gang." the G.P.O. have been arrested. Attempts were made "On June 1st, after Grosvenor Place had been to arrst others. Their only crime is that they burned, a mob of women came to the house of Mrs. occupy responsible positions under the British Govern- Jamison. 65 Grosvenor Road, at 6.30 a.m. A respectment. Orangemen want these positions.

and bombers. This was published in the Press the legs that would make her glad to go away, as

throughout the world on Saturday and Monday last. On Tuesday Mr. W. H. McConnell, director of Messrs. John Robson, Ltd., the owners of the premises alleged to have been attacked, wrote denying there was the slightest truth in this report. 'A bit of rotten spouting fell thrugh the glass roof and broke a pane of glass,' so wrote Mr. McConnell. . . .

"On Thursday, at 10.15 p.m., a military officer in charge of a patrol of Seaforth Highlanders came into Leeson Street on the Falls, went over to a young lad and hit him on the stomach with the butt of his revolver. A woman cried 'Shame!' and the 'officer and gentleman' took a rifle from a soldier and hit her on the back with it. He then fired down Cairn

"At 10 p.m. the 'Specials' in a Lancia car arrested two boys in Albert Street. After searching them they took them to the Shankill Road and released them. The boys had to run the gauntlet of the most savage of the Orange cut-throats on the way back. "On Thursday a Lancia car of 'Specials' proceed-

ing along Carrick Hill suddenly opened fire, without

even the semblance of provocation. "While Shaw's Soap Wo ks and the Popular Picture House, Newtownards Road, were being burned out on Friday last, Orange mobs and 'Specials' looted McKeag's public-house, Newtownards Road, and Mr. Hatch's public-house, in Keenan Street. Both are Catholics. The same mob looted Reid's shop in Keenan Street. Mr. Reid is a Protestant. Broadminded, intelligent Protestants have all along foreseen

"Some of the 'Specials' urged the mob to attack Young's Row, a Catholic Street. This was not done. "In the case of the murdered Catholic youth, Hugh McDonnell, aged 20, Saul Street, who was taken off the Newtownards Road tram at Memel Street on May 21st, by 'well-disposed' persons, this is the description given by his mother of the remains after the 'well-disposed' persons had done with him: 'He was kicked to pulp, all his body was a mass of bruises. It was riddled with bullets, and the Sign of the Cross was slashed on his throat with a knife. His mother is a widow, left with six children when her husband died. Another son, Andrew, joined up in the Highland Light Infantry in 1915, and after serving four years was killed in action at the close of the war. "A Belfastman who recently completed a term of imprisonment on a political charge in the Crumlin

this extarct: "I was in a cell at the rear of the prison. Two Special Constables belonging to the platoon at the gaol were in the yard beneath the window. They were

Road Gaol has made an affidavit from which we take

discussing the attack on the Mater Hospital. "No. 1 said: "Rifles are no use for a stunt like that. Bombs would be the stuff to give 'em." "No. 2: "It was a scandal to attack a place like

that at all, with sick people in it." ". No. 1: "It was a scandal doing it unless it was done right, and a thing like that shuld be done with bombs. What about a raid?"

"'No. 2: "Look at what the papers would say." "'No. 1: "Oh, never mind the papers, they are playing the game all right." (No. 1 had been one of the party told off for the firing operations on the

Fanaticism Plus Greed.

"The following is an extract from a Statutory Declaration made by an ex-Civil Servant in Belfast: I know a B Special, named ---, living at ---, in Belfast. He is employed as manager of a publichouse, in addition to his public duties as 'Protector' of the Catholic minority there. For the past six months he has blossomed forth as a speculator in Catholic public-houses. In this he has discoveerd a gold mine. Some time ago he showed me a cheque for £2,000, the porceeds of one deal.

" The modus operandi is quite simple. First the Catholic publican is threatened with being bombed out, burned out, or shot, or all three. Then this man, who is behind the scenes, comes along and buys the business for a song. He sells it to an Orangeman within a week at a pretty good profit. In this he has practically a monopoly.

"'Orangemen who do not belong to the murder gang are warned off from butting in on this business. There was an atrocious massacre of a Catholic family engaged in the liquor trade quite close to where that she saw a soldier come up behind him, and, seeing "Of these, there are now homeless in Belfast 3,000 this man lives. Now the instruments engaged in that massacre knew the lay of the house pretty well. Nil. Evidently they had been tutored by someone who

al Avenue. They deprived him of his revolver. Catholics attending picture-houses on the Falls ful. At all events, he confided to me and those present that he had other big deals coming off. From imperialism and their publication of the secret was shot dead. That man was Special Constable "The Catholics have received intelligence of further all the facts of the case, I am morally certain he was instrumental in arranging the massacre as a pre-"An attempt was made by two 'Specials' during liminary to a further deal in Catholic public-houses. shot (according to the Belfast Press) under in a Catholic area (North Queen Street). The soldiers the home of the McMahons, after the massacre on derious circumstances.' In other words, they were escaped by reason of a Catholic opening his door and the morning of March 25th, Mrs. McMahon's niece gave a description of the person in charge of the

ticulars with the description of District Inspector ---

able Protestant woman named Mrs. McKegney, Athol "The Belfast News Agencies sent out thrilling Street, was in the crowd. She declared to the mob accounts of the alertness and vigilance of the brave that she did not believe in killing people as she was 'Specials' in repelling an attack by Sinn Fein gunmen a Christian; but if they would shoot Mrs. Jamison in

crowd to hold her tongue as Mrs. Jamison was inside, created City Commissioner of Derry." but she said she did not care, as she wanted it to be heard.

"When Mrs. Jamison left she went to Durham Street via College Street, and immediately on coming into Durham Street the Whippet armoured car which followed her opened fire into Durham Street (Catholic end) where all was quiet. A demand for protection on May 31st was made to Cullingtree Road Barrack by Mrs. Jamison. It appears that armoured Whippet tank was sent for protection, but went to wrong number deliberately.

"Between 3 and 4 p.m. on June 1st, Mrs. Jamison was ordered to clear out in ten minutes. On that day the houses of Catholics in Grosvenor Road were taken in retaliation. Mrs. Jamison had to leave, though the Whippet car was outside No. 79, and it, accompanied by the Lancia car, patrolled the district all day and never attempted to intnerfere with the

came back that way again.

found all the clothing, including wearing apparel, bed capitalism. clothing and linen, looted, and the furniture smashed Jamison out because they wanted it for themselves.

How it is Done.

"This incident will appear so incredible to all who do not know the 'Specials' or know Belfast that we think it well to say in adrance that the facts therein recorded are embodied in a statutory declaration and can be substantiated before any impartial

"The narrator in the declaration sets forth that on a certain day towards the end of May he was in a certain palce in Belfast, and was taken to be what he was not. A 'Special' constable from the platoon on the Crumlin Road Gaol was there. He was in good form, confidential and reminiscent. 'You remember,' said he, 'that raid on the prison about a month ago. Did you hear how we worked that stunt? We were around at the back of the prison, and at one of the gates we found a man's glove. That gave trying to get them to write to Havelock Wilson, inme an idea. The Shinners in the prison were singing structing him to take some action about the rotten songs at the time, and I and some other chaps went accommodation provided here for the slaves; but up that the trial may take place without the parties into the prison. I emptied my revolver at a window to the present (three days off Cape Town) they are to the trial; without even the accused person and where one of the Shinners was singing. We saw a either too much afraid or too darned lazy! Just the defending and prosecuting counsel being lot more heads then at the windows of other cells. imagine trying to form a job committee with such a present. and we fired at them. We fired over twenty rounds. lot! " After that we went in and reported that we were

bullets. We got a light and picked up some we had what it was like, and he merely bleated: 'What can

"In the course of the whitewashing inquiry into I advised him to call a meeting of all hands, and the attack on the Mater Hospital, the prison in the to go by their decision. able to point to bullet marks near the windows on (The guv'nor is Havelock Wilson.) I have written by the wing nearest the Mater. If these bullet marks this mail to the "guv'nor." are minutely examined, it will be found that every on of them has an upward tendency, being fired from the ground, whereas if fired from the roof of the Mater they would have a downward tendency.

Whu It Is Done.

"One of the causes that contributed to the launching of the Pogrom might be briefly stated here. The Labour movement brought Catholic and Protestant closely together in the Big Strike of 1920, and on the election of the City Council that year religious bigotry had to be invoked by the bosses to prevent this. On July 12th, 1920, Carson warned the Orangemen against being 'entangled by Labour parties.'

'In a territory with a population not as large as that of Glasgow there are at present 49,000 armed 'Specials,' besides twenty-four battalions of English soldiers. These 'Specials' have been described by a Belfast non-Catholic as 'largely composed of looters, incendiaries, and untried murderers. Many of them have been convicted of horrible crimes, and the bulk of them are the very dregs of the population.' They are personally interested in continuation of the reign of terror and murder.

"These men are out to create an atmosphere poisonous to peace. They are led by the very officers who created the reign of terror of Sunday, July 10th last. That 'Bloody Sunday' was intended by the perpetrators to make the truce of July 11th a dead

The Crocodile's Tears. "The evil work in Belfast is being carried of late into the six-county area. This is being done under the eyes, and with the approval, of the authorities. Here is a specific case: There is a district inspector not far from Derry. He is a Celt-by name at least. Some time ago, after one of the biggest and most re volting massacres by 'Specials' in the six-county area, he came on the scene, visited the houses where the victims were being waked, made inquiries of the families as to the assassins, expressed his horror at the crimes, and conveyed to the relatives his deepest sympathy in their bereavment. He then went to the nearest barracks, assembled the R.U.C. and the 'Specials,' and recounted to them the ghastly sight he had witnessed. Then, lowering his voice and speaking with the utmost deliberation as if repeating a statement committed to memory, he said: 'It is for the Constabulary to see that this thing is repeated in every town and village in Ulster. There is no generation to generation of property owners.

she wanted that house (Mrs. Jamison's) for her other way to end this thing.' There is talk of this married daughter. She was told by some of the man being promoted to a new appointment to be

In the House of Commons on June 20th, 1922, Mr. Churchill, replying to a question arising out of the the old lines. invasion by English troops of Irish Free State terri-

"I am holding for the time being fourteen prisoners who were taken at Pettigo. They are in Ireland. . . . I am not prepared to go any further than to say that I am provisionally holding the men lated against them." (Hansard, Vol. 155, No. 80.)

SOCIALIST ESPERANTISTS.

At a special and enthusiastic meeting on Whit "Mrs. Jamison went back to the house, and at 7.30 Sunday, on the occasion of the thirteenth Congress of fixing maximum and minimum penalties for each went out for milk. On the way back, two Protestant British Esperantists, the British League of Esperantist women living in Durham Street-Mrs. McAuley and Socialists was re-formed. It has for its object the Mrs. Halliday-swore they would murder her if she propaganda of Esperanto as the workers' international language, with the idea of making real inter-"Mrs. Jamison left the house until Saturday. She nationalists who have personal friends in many lands, then went to Cullingtree Barracks and obtained pro- and thus ach eving a true international understanding tection to visit the house. When she entered she and consequent solidarity towards the overthrow of

The League proposes to form groups, and to deliver beyond repair. The Protestants would not burn Mrs. lectures everywhere, and to publish leaflets, pamphlets, etc., as well as transplanting British Labour and Socialist literature into the international language.

Every Socialist or Communist Esperantist can obtain full particulars by sending a penny stamp to the Secretary, 6 Windermere Avenue, N.W. 6.

The Workers' Dreadnought new Posters are which must not be given. For the second group very striking. Send for one and get it displayed.

AT SEA.

"We have on board here something like 200 'heroes," including stewards, firemen, and sailors. I have been

This reminds me that the N.S. and F.U. official attacked, but that we beat them off. The Head Con- was here to see that we were all sober and fit for stable sent us out to search for spent cartridges or work. I got him along to the fo'csle, showed him

Crumlin Road was examined, and the authorities were His answer was: 'What would the guv'nor say?'

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY. CAPITALISM TRIUMPHANT.

The news from Soviet Russia is ever more depressing. The restoration of the private property system proceeds apace there. Kursky, the concessionaires enjoy possession for a period People's Commissary for Justice, in a report to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, on May 13th, recorded that a decree of January 1921 limited the classes of private property to which confiscation could be applied. A decree of May 1921 put a stop to any further extension of nationalisation and established the right to private ownership of movable property and the means of production. A decree of November 1921 abolished the general power of requisition and confiscation, which could henceforth only be exercised in exceptional circumstances.

A new draft decree gives legal sanction to or confiscation." mortgaging private property, to lease land, to protect inventions, patent rights, and authors' rights. Thus the spread of knowledge will be checked in Soviet Russia as in all capitalist

The new draft decree further establishes the right to inherit property, which, since the revolution, had been confined practically to articles f a domestic nature or forming part of a domestic industry.

Right of Inheritance Re-established.

With the re-establishment of the right to inherit property—even though the inheritance be electricity, trams, etc., by some German local taxed—the attempt to establish a new social order authorities. virtually ends for the time being. There can be no pretence of building up Socialism whilst pro- ternational, which was so harsh in its criticism perty can be accumulated and transmitted from of Soviet Russia when its progress was towards

The draft decree establishes the right to conclude contracts relating to hire, purchase, sale. loans, guarantees, insurance, articles of association, bills of exchange, tenders, and so on. In fact, the machinery of capitalism is set up on

Criminal Code.

With the return of capitalism in Russia, the criminal code re-emerges. Kursky submitted a draft panel code to the Soviet Executive, which who were taken at the capture of Pettigo, although has been adopted in principle. He observed it is by no means clear what charges can be formu- that three methods are possible. Firstly, the Tsarist method of fixing the punishment for each offence; secondly, the method practised since the revolution of leaving the treatment of the offenders to the social consciousness of the judges: thirdly, the method, which he had adopted, of offence. This is the ordinary method under

Compulsory labour without deprivation of liberty is a form of punishment introduced since the revolution which is still retained, but which has lost its meaning and will prove obnoxious now that capitalism has returned to Russia.

The draft code abolishes the death penalty. except where pronounced by court-martial.

Crimes are classified in two groups. The first group includes crimes aimed at the Soviet Order: the second covers crimes which are called survivals of the old order. For crimes of the first group minimum punishments are fixed, less than maximum penalties are fixed which must not be exceeded. Political offenders will therefore have a hard time of it. It is to be feared that the Left Wing, having no powerful influences to protect it, will suffer more seriously than the

A bad feature, which is peculiar to the present Soviet penal code, was reported by Krylenko, of the People's Commissariat for Justice. It

The Beecham Trust in Moscow.

The Beecham Trust, an English company, and Anglo-Russian Union of building engineers, have a concession to rebuild Moscow on truly amazing terms. The Russian Information and Review says:

"The concession places at the disposal of the two companies inhabited and partially inhabited dwelling houses and unfinished buildings, on the condition that they be placed in a good state of repair, and plots of building ground for the construction of new dwelling houses.

"No payment or rent is to be made to the town for the building or ground leased. In the case of buildings requiring only slight repairs. of eighteen years, and in the case of buildings requiring a compelte overhaul, with structure repairs, thirty-six years. Where the repairs involve entire reconstruction, or, in the case of newly constructed buildings, the concession is for a period of fifty years.

"The concessionaires have the right to let the buildings in their charge freely, on terms to be arranged entirely between themselves and t lessees, without reference to the standards of rent in force ut the present moment or in the future. Such property is not to be subject to requisition

Trusts in Russia.

The Soviet Government is fostering the formation of trusts for home and foreign trade. In these trusts the Departments of the Soviet Government take shares, and also private capitalists. This is a curious procedure, wholly obnoxious from the workers' standpoint. The State becomes the open partner of the capitalist. The worker has less freedom than ever in fighting his battle with the employer. A precedent for this Russian procedure is the taking of shares in certain capitalist combines to supply

It is interesting to observe that the Second In-(Continued on page 7.)

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

abilities along new lines.

July 1, 1922.

and thus to create a new economic order of things the working class—to the industial unions. anded on the Communist basis. Only workers anising labour as well as running industry.

the development of technique, and the efficient tive forces. ganisation of labour by means of increasing proof human existence.

secondary role in comparison with the second of economic necessity. with the advanced capitalist countres in the established between capital and labour. matter of development.

away with. Therefore, new possibilities are ance frankly and openly before the party. open for the werking class that had been freed

asserts that administration of the people's weakened, marred, or entirely lost. economy is the trade unions' job, and, therefore,

it is more Marxian in thought than the theoretically trained leaders.

The Workers' Opposition is not so ignorant as To every thinking worker it is clear, however, technical progress or the usefulness of technically had to walk three miles through the rain.—I that putting in glasses, being as useful as it may, trained men. It les not, therefore, think that regret it. Did you suffer for it?-No; I am, has nothing in common with running the indus- after electing its or body of control over the happily, quite well to-day.—Now we still expect Productive forces and their development industry it may safe! dismiss the Supreme Count two friends.—Shall we then be all here?—Except do not find expression in this work. The really cil of National Ecciomy, the central industrial one, who is ill. important question still is: how to develop them, committees, economic centres, etc. Not at all. how to build such a state of economy by squaring And yet the Workers' Opposition thinks that it Mi ĝojas ke vi venis, knaboj. Ĉu vi havis temthe new life with production, in order to eliminate must assert its own conrol over these technically pon por legi vian ekzercon?—Ne, ni bedaŭras ke the unproductive labour as much as possible. A valuable administrative centres, give them theo- ni estis tre okupataj.—Cu vi ne revenas hejmen party may bring up a Red soldier, a political retical tasks, and use their services as the capi- frue je la vesperojn?—Ne, estis ofte post la sepa worker, or executive worker to carry out the pro- talists did when they hired the technicians in aŭ eĉ la oka de tiam kiam ni estis tie-ĉi. jects already laid out, but it cannot develop a order to carry out their own schemes. Specialists creator of Communist economy, for only a union indeed can do valuable work in developing the offers an opportunity for developing the creative industries; they can make the workers' manual labour easier; they are necessary, indispensable, Moreover, this is not the task of the party. as science is indispensable to every rising and The party task is to create conditions—that is, developing class; but the bourgeois specialists. ive freedom to the working masses united by even with the Communist label pasted on, are ommon economic industrial aims, so that they powerless physically and too weak mentally to could bring up a worker-creator, find new im- develop productive forces in a non-capitalist oulses for work, could work out a new system state; to find new methods of labour organisato utilise labour power, and might know how to tion, and develop new incentives for intensificaistribute workers in order to reconstruct society, tion of labour. In this, the last word belongs to

When the class of rising bourgeoisie, having can generate in their mind new methods of reached the threshold leading from medieval to modern times, entered into the economic battle This is a simple Marxian truth, and yet at pre- with the decaying class of feudal lords, it did sent the leaders of our party do not share it with not possess any of the technical advantages over us. Why? Just because they place more reli- the latter. The trader—the first capitalist—was ance on the bureaucratic technicians, descendants compelled to buy goods from that craftsman or creativeness of the working masses. In every and primitive spindles, was producing goods both make it the adjective your. other sphere we may hesitate as to who is to be for his " master," the landlord, and for the outbureaucratic specialists, be it in the matter of trade agreement. Feudal economy having education, developing of science, organisation of reached a culminating point in its organisation,

Who could have found and evolved the new ctivity and finding new incentives to work. methods in the sphere of industrial reorganisa-This has been true during every period of trans- tion? None but those class representatives who formation from a lower stage of economic develop- had not been bound by the routine of the past, ment to one higher, throughout all the history who understood that the spindle and cutter in the hands of a chattel slave produce incomparably Ligo, tiam lokitan en Kolonjo. La membroj estis In a labour republic the development of pro- less than in the hands of supposedly free hired ductive forces by means of technique plays a workers behind whose back stands the incentive

tactor, that of the efficient organisation of labour, Thus, the rising class having found where the and creation o a new system of economy. Even basic incentive to labour lies, has built on it if Soviet Russia succeeds in carrying out com- a complex system great in its own way; the pletely its project of general electrification, with- system of capitalist production. The technicians out introducing any essential change in the system have come to the aid of capitalists only much control and organisation of the people's later. The basis was the new system of labour economy and production, it would only catch up organisation, and the new relations that were

The same is true at present. No specialist or Yet, in the efficient utilisation of labour power technician imbued with the routine of the capiand building up a new system of production, talist system of producion can ever introduce any able creumstances, which give her the oppor- the fields of labour organisation, in creating and tunity to leave far behind all the bourgeois capi- adjusting the Communist economy. Here the talist countries in the matter of developing the function belongs to the workers' collective. The productive forces. Unemployment as an incen- great service of the Workers' Opposition is that tive to labour in Soviet Russia has been done it has put up this question of supreme import-

Comrade Lenin considers that we can put from the yoke of capital, to say its own new through the Communist plan on the economic creative word in finding new incentives to labour field by means of the party. Is it so? First of and the creation of new forms of production all, let us consider how the party functions. which will have had no precedent in all human According to comrade Lenin, "it attracts to itself the vanguard of workers "; then it scatters Who can, however, develop the necessary it over various Soviet institutions (only a part of withdrawal from Siberia, gives a sinister reason. practical methods that can be applied in the Communist-economists disntegrate and decay in Government. process of reorganising the entire system of the the general economic institutions. In such an people's economy? The Workers' Opposition atmosphere the influence of these comrades is

(To be continued.)

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO (key) DE L'EKZERCO No. 3. wholly to under-estimate the great value of the Did you miss your train yesterday? Yes; [

EKZERCO No. 4.

	VORTA	ARETO.	
ıŭ	or	legi	to read
bedaŭri	to regret	ofte	often
de	since	ok	eight
eĉ	even	okupata	busy
esti	to be	post	after
frue	early	reveni	to return
ĝoji	to be glad	sep	seven
havi	to have	tempo	time
hejmo	home	tiam	then
ke	that	tre	very
kiam	when	veni	to come
knabo	boy	vespero	evening
1,00	via	vour	

NOTES.

The word HEJMEN is the adverbial form of HEJMO, home, with an N added to indicate

ESTIS OFTE means it often was.

VIA: It is hardly necessary to point out that of the past, than in the healthy elemental class- journeyman who, by means of hand files, knife, VIA is the word VI, you, with an A added to

control—whether the workers' collective or the side trader, with whom he entered into a "free" MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

the Army, care of public health; but there is one ceased to give any surplus, and there began a La malvenko de la Pariza ribelo de Junio, 1848 place, that of the economy, where the question decrease in the growth of productive forces; —la unua granda batalo inter proletariaro kaj as to who shall have the control is very simple humanity stood face to face with an alternative kapitalistaro—pelis ree en la malantaŭaĵon, keland clear for everyone who has not forgotten of either economic decay or of finding new incen- katempe, la socian kaj poiltikan aspirojn de la tives for labour, of creating, consequently, a new eŭropa laboranta klaso. De tiam, la batalado por It is well known to every Marxian that recon- economic system which would increase produc- supereco estis ree, kiel gi estis estina antaŭ ol la ruction of industry and deevlopment of creative tivity, widen the scope of production, and open revolucio de Februaro, sole inter diversaj sekcioj orces of a country depend on two factors: on new possibilities for the development of produc- de la poseda klaso; la laboranta klaso estis subpremata ĝis batalo por politika "kubutospaco," kaj al la loko de ekstrema flanko de la mezklasaj radikaloj. Kie ajn sendependaj proletariaj movadoj daŭrade montris signojn de vivo, ili estis senkompate ĉasataj ĝis morto. Tiel la prusa polico elĉasis la centran konsilantaron de la Komunista arestataj kaj, post dekok-monata mallibeerco, ili estis juĝataj en Oktobro, 1852. Tiu ĉi fama "Kolonja Komunista Proceso" daŭris de Oktobro 4'an ĝis Novembro 12'an; sep el la arestitoj estis kondamnataj de periodoj de mallibereco en fortikaĵo, diversantaj de tri ĝis ses jaroj. Tuj post la kondamno la Ligo estis formale disigita de la membroj restantaj. Rilate al la "Manifesto," ĝi ŝajnis de tiu tempo esti destinita al tuta malapero.

Daŭrigoto.

Chris. W. Spiller, Secretary of the B.L.E.S., writes: " I find Leakey's Introduction to Esperanto of invaluable assistance in teaching a few Russian labour finds itself in exceptionally favour- new creative motive and vitalising innovation into children from the local Socialist Sunday School.

> Communism, has no criticism to make of these retrograde steps, and that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has expressed approval of the " new economic policy " of Soviet Russia, which is, of course, a return to capitalism. We again urge our readers to study carefully the important series of articles on the Workers' Opposition in Russia, by Alexandra Kollontay, which is appearing in

Why Japan Withdraws from Siberia.

The Japanese Government, in announcing its creativeness and keenness in this sphere? the vanguard gets back into the trade unions, The step is said to be possible because the Soviet Whether bureaucratic elements, heads of the where the Communist members, however, are de- Government has modified its Communist ideas Soviet institutions or the industrial unions, whose prived of an opportunity of directing and build- and because the Powers, by inviting Soviet remembers in their experience in regrouping ing up the people's economy). There these well- presentatives to Genoa and the Hague, have workers in the shop come across creative, useful, trained, faithful, and, perhaps, very talented helped to promote better relations with the Soviet

> Lloyd George's Government has probably arranged the Japanese withdrawal, but whether the withdrawal will be permanent is open to

(Continued from page 6.)

TALKING AND DOING.

After the miners lost the lock-out, fellow-worker, your mates began to grumble. Since the engineers lost the lock-out your mates have gone on grumbling, and they have begun to talk about the One Big Union.

"Will it be only talk?"

Time will answer that question, fellow-worker. Certainly the talk is very widespread. It is going on in all districts. It may be leading up to action; if it should, fellow-worker, you will see things begin to move at last.

When the unemployment first grew large, fellow-worker, the workers grumbled; when it grew

larger they began to talk-

"I thought they did move; didn't they go to the Guardians?"

Well, they talked to the Guardians, and the Guardians gave them some doles; but now the Ministry of Health is stepping in, and the Guardians are getting bankrupt, and the Guardians are getting stingier. Therefore the unemployed are getting turned out of their homes.

Some of them have calmly endured eviction; but even a worm will turn at last, they say. The unemployed are beginning to get back into their houses after they have been turned out, and some of them have resisted eviction and have been left in possession. Some have broken into empty houses, and some have succeeded in staying in those houses, though others have been turned out. Some people have been put to prison for getting into empty houses or for helping others to get there. Nevertheless, the taking of empty houses is spreading, and will continue to spread. People must live somewhere, and the Workhouse is not a residence which appeals to able-bodied men and women. Only the individual with the temperament of a slave is willing to accept, instead of a home, the Workhouse, with its separation of men, women and children.

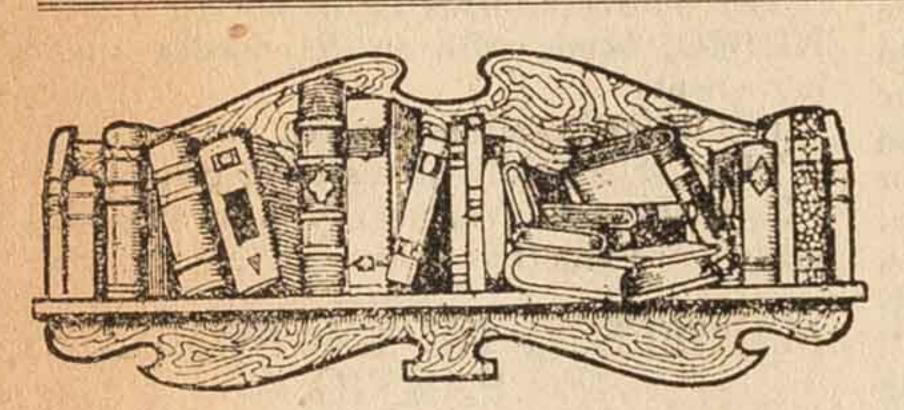
Direct action in the taking of houses is therefore growing, and will grow, in spite of Parlia-

ment and all the Boards of Guardians and Police Courts.

The employed and the unemployed are beginning to form Councils of Action to insure the workers the means of life.

Aim high, and let it be a decent life.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.



RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Second and Third Internationals and the Vienna Union. Official Report of the Conference between the Executives, held at the Reichstag, Berlin, on April 2nd, 1922, and following days. (Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London. Price 1/-.) This book contains summaries of the fencing speeches made by representatives of the Second, Third, and Two and a Half Internationals. It is a futile document, because the speeches were futile. The attempts to build up a United Front between revolutionaries and counterrevolutionaries was foredoomed to failure, and it has failed.

It is important to observe that the Second International refused to make the annulling of the Treaty of Versailles one of the watchwords of the United Front.

This is of special interest to supporters of the British Labour Party, since the British Labour Party is the main pillar of the Second International. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, be it observed, though a member of the J.L.P., was not representing the Two and a Half International, to which the I.L.P. is affiliated, but the Second International. The Report is worth reading to those who are not alread yfully informed as to the political attitudes of the various parties to the Conference.

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