# THE APOSTLE" by Guy Aldred.

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[WEEKLY.]

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### L'ANCIEN REGIME.

THE GOOD OLD RULE.
By JAMES THOMSON.

Who has a thing to bring

For a gift to our lord the king?

A writer brought him truth;

And first he imprisened the youth;

And then he bestowed a free pyre,

That the works might have plenty of fire,

And also to cure the pain

Of the headache called thought in the brain:

Truth is a very bad thing

To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the king?
The people brought their sure
Loyalty fervid and pure;
And he gave them bountiful spoil
Of taxes and hunger and toil,
Ignorance, brutish plight,
And wholesale slaughter in fight:
Loyalty's quite the worst thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring

For a gift for our lord the king?

A soldier brought him war,

La gloire, la victoire,

Ravage and carnage and groans,

To the pious Te Deum tones;

And he got in return for himself

Rank and honours and pelf:

War is a very fine thing

To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring

For a gift for our lord the king?

A harlot brought him her flesh.

Her lusts, and the manifold mesh

Of her wiles intervolved with caprice;

And he gave her his realm to fleece,

To corrupt, and ruin, and gave

Himself for her toy and her slave:

Harlotry's just the thing

To bring as a gift for our king.

Who has a thing to bring
For a gift to our lord the king?
Our king who fears to die?
A priest brought him a lie,
The blackness of hell uprolled
In heaven's shining gold;
And he got a guerdon for that,
A see and a cardinal's hat:
A lie is an excellent thing
To bring as a gift for our king.

Has anyone yet a thing
For a gift to our lord the king?
The country gave him a tomb,
A magnificent sleeping-room:
And for this it obtained some rest,
Clear riddance of many a pest,
And a hope which it much enjoyed
That the throne would continue void:
A tomb is the very best thing
For a gift to our lord the king.

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# The Rand Industrial Revolution.

By B. KREEL.

The Rand Revolution of 1922 will continue, under the influence of the mine magnates' Press, to be described as a Nationalist rebellion mixed with Red Communism and Bolshevism, inspired by foreign money. Thus in every class struggle the exploiters endeavour to break the unity of the workers' revolt against them.

Why did the workers lose the Rand strike?

The Press.

From January 10th, when the strike was declared, the capitalist Press was active against the workers. That was to be expected. The worker need not expect anything else from his master's Press; but why did not the workers on the Rand prepare their own Press to serve them in this great struggle? Did the workers altogether forget the power of the printed word, or did they possibly intend to take over the capitalist Press when the struggle should arise?

Why did the Rand strikers neglect to call out the newspaper workers, to add their strength to that of the miners? At first the sympathy of the great majority of the population was with the strikers. The Press succeeded in changing that sympathy to hostility. Remember that for future occasions!

The Negotiations.

The mine magnates' trick of continuing negotiations increased the prospects of victory for the exploiters. Why should the workers have spent two and a-half months in negotiating? That long delay weakened the workers greatly. It consumed their funds, it led to apathy amongst the rank and file, it undermined public sympathy, it alienated the support of other unions who were ready to join the miners in the beginning. It gave time for the exploiters to work up antagonism between the white and coloured workers. Torrents of talk and reams of correspondence were spent in trying to secure patched-up compromises. Three and a-half million words were poured out—a prisonous diet for the workers, a benefit to their enemies.

The strike commander believed that the strike could be won in thirty-six hours. Quick action might have brought the workers' enemies to their knees in that space of time. Useless negotiations destroyed such hopes.

Trade Unionism.

The most important factor in bringing about the workers' failure was the old-fashioned trade unionism. Every trade union here regards itself as independent of all others, and often it is to be found opposing another union on strike. Thus in this struggle the railway, transport, and other unions opposed the miners on strike, on the plea, put forward by the capitalist Press, that the strike would create unemployment and thus bring about the reduction of wages in other industries also. The reduction of wages was already proceeding automatically. Trade unionists did not see that the capitalists were clever enough not to reduce wages in all industries at one time, but that wage reductions would come to all sections of workers, whether they were on strike or not. It is sad that the worker should be so keen on the few extra shillings a week he gets before the reduction takes place in his own industry, that he opposes the strike of workers in another industry in the hope of maintaining his own wage.

The exploiters' Press hurries to praise the workers who oppose the strike for their "loyalty," and to discourage the inactive ones

from coming to the aid of their comrades in need. The ignorant workers fail to understand that they are to be the next victims of the capitalist attack on working-class conditions.

Trade Union Leaders.

The excessive power over union policy of the trade union leaders, who dictated the policy of discussion and delay, was a no less important cause of the defeat.

It remains to be seen whether the workers will learn from this defeat the lesson that for their future struggle they must replace their leaders by a proper form of organisation.

The Council of Action formed for the strike, on the initiative of the rank and file workers, set a good example and showed the importance of setting up a new type of organisation formed of workers' committees in every industry, and acting on their direct initiative.

Industrial Unionism.

It is admitted on the Rand that without the Council of Action the strike would have been lost or sold from the beginning.

Every class-conscious worker on the Rand regards this strike as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the class-struggle. During the strike the workers were organised on a commando basis and protected by their own commandos.

There is now much talk on the Rand of industrial unionism organised just as the strike commandos were formed. It is urged that each commando (the term is still used) shall be formed from all existing industries. The commandos shall elect from their number a central executive committee, to be called a Council of Action.

The Farmers.

An important feature of the Rand strike was the help given to the miners by the poorer farmers, though they are regarded as middle class.

Hundreds of tons of foodstuffs of all kinds were sent from all parts of South Africa to the great industrial centre Johannesburg for the strikers.

General Smuts is warning the farmers against their nationalist attitude, and the capitalist Press declares that the strike was a nationalist movement. Yet this was not so, and the farmers' sympathy for the strikers arose from economic causes.

Let us examine the conditions of the average small farmer. He occupies a little hut with practically no windows, no floor, no lights, a wooden table and benches as furniture; sweet potatoes, pumpkins, black bread, smoked fish, and a little meat, black coffee, often taken with salt instead of sugar, tea without milk, no stockings or socks, second-hand khaki military jacket and trousers. The existence of the poor farmer is a miserable one. When the dirty, shabby, grey-bearded old farmer appeared at my house armed, "to do his duty" by searching it, the absurdity of his position almost overwhelmed me.

The young farmers are all in whole-hearted sympathy with the strikers: the Government cannot depend on the young farmers any longer. As I explained in a previous article, the majority of the Dutch miners have been farmers.

The reactionary old grey-beards amongst the farmers are always ready to assist the Government against the workers, and the acceptance of the old farmers as a military force was necessary to suppress the workers in the late strike. But the old farmers are dying out:

### RED NIGHTS.

A STORY BY L. A. MOTLER. (Continued from last week.)

He had wisely suggested that Commissioner food ships. Smith would send his best men to watch the It was about ten o'clock when we gathered words of blasphemy and sedition as they de meeting in order to get hold of the revolu- in Bride Street, outside the offices of the Post. nounced the intelligent, cultured, and leisure tionary leaders should they make any indiscreet Bagoff had told me that both groups were near rulers and administered the law, and discharged speeches. Nobody would have guessed that the at hand, so we proceeded to carry out our pro-Anglo-Russian Ore meeting was really a secret gramme. Milly and I had previously obtained good of the people.

conclave of these leaders. get together and arm another dozen. And so hair, set off so well by her dark eyes. on, in snowball fashion, the guards were raised, He asked me to be seated, and proferred me

he personally pledged his responsibility. Groups 36 and 38-for such each dozen of the great coup.

-were allotted to us. Our objective was to to follow him. I need not describe all the poraries, the despised third-rate men that always seize the printing offices of the Daily Post, the various departments we passed through. Suffice are. First-rate men of later epochs, in support best equipped in the metropolis. This was to say that I found we should need an extra only one part of a huge plan.

ber of Headquarters was allotted a certain task more departments than I had anticipated. prisoner until Bergner, who was charged with to the lift, and we soon joined Bagoff.

much attention. sufficiently dark, when it is natural for men near by, and on my telling him of our need and things to settle down, and when the swift of another group he at once sent a cyclist to counter-movements possible in daylight are not inform the Head. so easily performed. If this coup was success- By the time eleven o'clock struck we were inful, then the Head would assume the reins of side the building and had all the staff shepgovernment, and by the help of the Press we herded in various rooms. Milly was at the were to take possession of, as well as the Govern- 'phone waiting for the word to come through ment wireless, inform the world next day of from the others.

The Head was certain of getting control of the Army, which had shown much restlessness, knew we had command of the wireless. That and which had been paid attention to in the naval officer of Bagoff's had stood us in good matter of propaganda. Placed as it was in stead. isolated regiments among crowds of restless workers, discipline was showing signs of break. ing down. When we got the Army under control, it would then be possible to get it to deal with the loyalist guards.

The Navy had proved more of a thorny problem at first, but eventually the indispensable Bagoff, who was new in his element, had put things straight. He had asked to be excused from the meeting for a short time, and in half an hour he had brought in a man from the That was his classification in the accepted order Loyalist Club, whom we recognised as a rising of public men. But then all apostles are thirdyoung naval commander who was regarded an rate individuals. Jesus of Nazareth, the tragic authority in up-to-date marine matters.

action, but he soon allayed their suspicions. The country. The first-rate men wore purple and naval officer turned out to be a red of the reds. fine linen, and despised the carpenter-agitator. He had for some time been contributing those They ruled the Sanhedrin and discoursed in the articles to The Blast on unrest in the Fleet, Synagogue whilst he tub-thumped at the streetwhich had led the authorities to arrest a naval corner or by the wayside. They occupied the gunner found in company with the editor of chief seats at the public festivals, secular and that revolutionary weekly on suspicion of having religious. Their words were reported, and their written the articles.

it is not necessary to disclose, answered all ques- political and economic power, and served a tions put to him, and it was decided that he despotism that wielded supreme authority. should co-operate with Menton, who was dele- They interpreted and even manufactured the law. gated to seize the Admiralty. But this particu- They disdained and scorned the common people lar item took up the most time of the meeting who cringed before them. If agitators arose on account of the necessity of guaranteeing food among the latter, they were scourged, imsupplies during the revolution until such time prisoned, and executed. Agitators were but as the country could supply itself or come to third-raters who spoke under threats of outlawry week, £4 1s. 61d. Total, £249 9s. 61d.

terms with some other part of Europe that might to hungry multitudes in the mountains and the follow our example. There would have been valleys, and sometimes tramped with their and almost insuperable difficulties in our way if we ences into the wilderness. Like attracts is had the Fleet blockading home ports and seizing The mob heard them gladly. The vulgar, seeth

an appointment with one of the sub-editors to Time passed. Emperor and Gladiator Pater What passed at this meeting was felt to bring show us round the building. We were supposed cian and Plebian, Pharisee and Publican line the mass unrest of the workers to a head. A to be Americans with a keen desire to see how their little day and ceased to be. Death sun programme was set out, and after an amend- the greatest British daily (as it called itself) was moned them one by one from the banqueting ing discussion was agreed to. The worker produced. We therefore mounted to the sub- halls of life to the couch of eternal sleen guards had now been established on the lines editor's office, and the young man came forward this way are we all called from the stressful way laid down in the second booklet I printed. to meet us. I need not say he seemed particuties of life's fitful fever to the peace of Each member of Headquarters knew a dozen larly struck with Milly, for she was quite the solemn silence that knows no dreams and dread trusty comrades, each of whom was pledged to pretty modern young lady, with blonde bobbed no nightmares.

each man in his turn raising a dozen, for whom a box of cigars. I took one and lit up, for I wanted Milly to have time to make her im-Bagoff, Fox, and myself, together with our pression deeper. Besides, we had nearly an new comrade Milly, whom we had invited to hour before us, and Bagoff had to make his own take Talmour's place, and who amply filled it, arrangements about keeping in touch with the were excused from this. We were constituted other Heads. Motor-cyclists had been told off already the official printers to the Head, so more to keep each section informed as to the disposicould not be expected of us. In the scheme that tion of the others. Thus we made sure that all was propounded at the Cannon Street Hotel, were at their appointed positions by eleven however, we were prepared to take a share o'clock, which was the time selected for the Their names are remembered for a generation or

worker guards were now called, each numbered Presently the young man rose and invited us first-rate that were and more of their contemgroup, since each department was in communica-The details were briefly these. Each mem tion with the other by telephone, and there were

and a sufficiency of groups to carry it out. Each As we left him we shook hands and he showed of the Government offices were to be seized, and us downstairs, apparently loth to leave my girl the entire staff and officials were to be held comrade. However, he left us when we came

this part of the programme, sent round armed I inquired whether the artisans had arrived, the truth that their conduct proclaims to the cars to pick up the prisoners and convey them We had arranged for these to come from the to Wandsworth Prison, which another of the printers' union offices, so that we could set the Headquarters would seize. Wandsworth was printing machinery going as soon as the coup considered the most isolated, and thus more was an accomplished fact. The morning papers easily carried by assault without drawing too for the provinces had to be got ready by midnight to catch the north-bound trains. Bagoff The coup was to be carried out when it was informed me that they were in a Lockhart's,

Ting-a-ling a-ling. "The Admiralty!" shouted Milly, and we (To be continued.)

### THE APOSTLE.

By GUY H. ALDRED. (One of many MSS, written in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.)

### CHAPTER I.

THE GLORY OF THE THIRD RATERS. He was, of course, a third-rate individual. failure of Calvary who became the light of a At first the Head was aghast at Bagoff's world, was a third-rate man of his time and wisdom received Imperial approval. On all In crisp accents the naval officer, whose name sides they were honoured, for they possessed

ing, ignorant, despised mass hearkened to their

July 29, 1922.

"Not sweeping up together in whirlwind or

In the hush of summer weather, or where storms are thundering loud,

But one by one we go, in the sweetness none may know."

And sometimes in the sourness also. For the grand imperial tragedy does not always seem sweet to its first-rate victims. They are buried amid acclamations of honour and respect, with pomp and ceremony, and fanfare of trumpets so. Then slowly one hears less of the honoured of their pretensions to dignity and place, adopt what Bacon terms "a new cringe." accept as their passwords the watchwords the old third-rate men whom their forefather persecuted. Strange to say, they learn nothing from this fact. They are too cultured, too leisured, too learned to learn anything from simple facts of life. And so they do not see poor. But the poets and prophets of misery see it, and proclaim as a gospel of glad tidings unto the disinherited throughout the earth. word of it passes from mouth to mouth until it becomes the epic of revolt. And as general and is sore." tion of power succeeds to generation of power. Margaret Gomley, Lindley Moor, aged nine: authority burdens its burdensome basis of "Am very tired." tyranny only to be met with increased assur. James Mitchell, aged twelve, Messrs. Holt and learned though Calvary succumbed for a time: so much makes it bad." the resurrection and the immortality of third rate; the fact that a first-rate man is good Mr. Rawson's colliery: "I am always very tired optional.

only for one generation. a cheap thing maintained for a day by privilege and fear, utterly devoid of intrinsic worth. A its owner's age as something clownish and despicable, because of some contemptuous de his career on a gallows tree in the prime of sionally working in water." the ante-chamber. Perhaps Juliana, Countess great exhaustion.

poral than that which is eternal." Yes; it is better to lose temporal fame than of eternity than to the titled braggarts of time And the autocracy of eternity is recruited from the ranks of the third-rate men of time.

(To be continued.)

### ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIS MEETING:

FINSBURY PARK,

Sunday, July 30th, 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Clara Cole, N. Smyth.

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# How Fortunes were made in the Mines.

YOUNG PERSONS IN COAL MINES, 1841-43.

Further Heart-rending Evidence Given by the Child Mine-workers.

Shame and a Disgrace for Girls to Work."

zabeth Eggley, sixteen years old: "I find ork very much too hard for me. I hurry It tires me in my arms and back most. n sure it is very hard work and tires us very to eat." it is too hard for girls to do. We somego to sleep before we get to bed."

Wilson, aged ten and a-half, Messrs. colliery: "Sometimes the work tires n we have a good bit to do; it tries me back. I hurry by myself. I push with

beth Day, hurrier, Messrs. Hopwood's Barnsley: "It is very hard work for us all. harder work than we ought to do, a deal. been lamed in my ankle and strained in

Mary Shaw: "I am nineteen years old. I in the pit you were in to-day. I have

een much tired with my work." nn Eggley, hurrier in Messrs. Thorpe's col-The work is far too hard for me; the weat runs off me all over sometimes. I'm very ired at night. Sometimes when we get home ht we have not power to wash us, and on we go to bed. Sometimes we fall asleep chair. Father said last night it was both e and a disgrace for girls to work as we t there was nought else for us to do. The rirls are always tired."

### "I Push the Corf With My Head. It Hurts Me."

abeth Ibbetson, at Mr. Harrison's pit, ersal: "I don't like being at pit; it's too hard work for us. It tires my legs and arms. I push the corf with my head, and it hurts me,

ance of resistance from the oppressed. For the Heblewaite's: "I am very tired when I get grand lesson of Capitol and Calvary has been home; 'tis enough to tire a horse, and stooping

the William Whittaker, aged sixteen, Swan Bank, when I go home."

His fame is identical with his popularity— William Sharp, Esq., F.R.S., surgeon, Bradford, states: "That he has for twenty years sionally attended at the Low Moor Ironnegative value, remembered sometimes beyond works; that there are occasionally cases of deformity, and also bad cases of scrofula, apparently induced by the boys being too early sent scription, some sally of biting scorn, some into the pits, by their working beyond their derisive witticism of a third-rate man who ended strength, by the constant stooping, and by occa-

an ill-starred life. The martyr holds his im- Lancashire.—Various witnesses examined by mortal court, and the well-famed purple waits in Mr. Kennedy describe their labour as producing

to her son William on April 4th, 1577, as Green: "Do you find it very hard work?follows: "It is better to lose that which is tem Yes, it is very hard work for a woman. I have been so tired many a time that I could scarcely myself. I could scarcely ever wash myeternal worth, better to belong to the aristocracy self at night, I was so tired; and I felt very dull and stiff when I set off in the morning.'

ames Crabtree, aged fifteen, Mr. Dearden's, lear Todmorden: "Is it hard work for the lads in winter? My brother falls asleep before his pper, and the little lass that helps him is often

I Used to Hear Her Complain of the ls on Her Back, and Her Legs Were Ali Eaten With the Water."

Peter Gaskell, Mr. Lancaster's, near Worsley: Has four sisters, and they have all worked in pits; one of them works in the pits now; sometimes complains of the severity of her Three years ago, when they had very work, I used to hear her complain of the on her back, and her legs were all eaten the water; she had to go through water

to her work; she used to go about four or five o'clock in the morning, and stay till three or four in the afternoon, just as she was wanted. I have known her to be that tired at night that

### "They Throw Themselves on the Ground Like Dogs."

North Lancashire. - Mr. Austin, after giving a deplorable picture of the labour of young children in the thin-seam mines, illustrates its effects by the words of the parents of some young workers: "I wish," one of them states, "you could see them come in; they come as tired as dogs, and throw themselves on the ground like dogs (here pointing to the hearth-stone before the fire); we cannot get them to bed."

North Durham and Northumberland .- The chief employment of children and young persons in the coal mines of this district-namely, in putting, is very severe. All collieries situated so than for others." within half a mile north of the great ninetyfathom dyke, which has intruded itself into the northern depository of fossil fuel, are necessarily subject to "banky" or hilly putting, as the seam rises from nine to ten inches to the yard, and then dips correspondingly. Their labour (that of the helpers-up) is necessarily severe, as they are only employed in emergencies.

The Sub-Commissioner further states that the youngest of the putters, those called "foals, are greatly to be commiserated; that many of them declared that the severity of their labour was such that they would willingly suffer a proportionate diminution of wages to secure a limitation of the hours of work; that in endeavours temporarily to increase his earnings, the putter is frequently regardless of fatigue, and, were he permitted, would oft-times only terminate his toil by entire physical exhaustion. Yet, notwithstanding, that is so well known a characteristic of the putter, the agents represent the labour as perfectly voluntarily, and, even in cases of double and treble shifts undergone by the same boy, state that the undertaking is quite

"The Bad Air Makes Them Sick." Twenty boys at the Walker Colliery: "The twenty witnesses, when questioned collectively.

say that the way is so very dirty, and the pit so warm, that the lads often get tired very

Nineteen boys examined together, of various ages, of whom the spokesman was William Holt, seventeen years old, putter: "The bad air, when they are whiles working in the broken, makes them sick. Has felt weak like in the legs at those times. Was weary like. Has gone on working, but very slowly. Many a one has had to come, before getting a fair start, from the bad air and hard work. Hours are too long. Would sooner work less hours and get less money. Twenty-three witnesses assembled state: "That their work is too hard for she would go to sleep before she had anything them; that they feel sore tired; that some of them constantly throw up their meat from their stomachs; that their heads often work (ache); the back sometimes; and the legs feel weak."

"Fell Asleep and was Lamed by Horse." John Wilkinson, aged thirteen, Piercy Main Colliery: "Was in for a double shift about five weeks ago, and fell asleep about 1 p.m. as he was going to lift the limmers off to join the rolleys together, and got himself lamed by the horse turning about and jamming one of his fingers. Split his finger. Was off a week from this accident. Sometimes feels sick down the pit; felt so once or twice last fortnight. While his head works (aches), and he has pains in his legs, as if they were weak. Feels pains in his knees. Thinks the work is hard for foals, more

"Thirty-six Hours in the Pit."

John Middlemass: "Sometimes, but very rarely, they work the whole double shift; that is, they go down at 4 a.m. and do not come up till four o'clock in the day after that, thus stopping down thirty-six hours, without coming up sometimes; and sometimes they come up for half an hour, and then go down again. Another worked for twenty-four hours last week, and never came up at all. Another has topped down thirty-six hours without coming up at all twice during the year. When working this double shift they go to bed directly they come home."

George Short, aged nearly sixteen: " Heists a crane. His head works (aches) very often, and he feels sickish sometimes, and drowsy sometimes, especially if he sits down. Has always been drowsy since he went there. Twice he has worked three shifts following, of twelve hours each shift; never came up at all during the thirty-six hours; was sleepy, but had no time to sleep. Has many times worked double shifts of nineteen hours, and he does this now nearly every Friday night. A vast number of boys work in this shift, ten or eleven, sometimes more. The boys are very tired and sleepy."

(To be continued.)

### OLD GRANDFATHER.

Lack-lustre eyes and mouth in-drawn; hands that have almost lost their power; patient and sad. Thy mouth a little trembles, and the tears well up at times.

Old cords: they'll last thy life, I think. The shoddy coat wears badly. Thy stick was cut from the hedge more years ago than thou carest to mind on now.

Thou'rt shaven clean, but with a ragged hairiness beneath thy chin; it pleased thee once; of Stolberg, visioned this truth when she wrote Rosa Lucas, aged eighteen, Lamberhead and thine old woman liked it so. Some chauffeur's cap, picked from the road where it had lain since night; there where its wearer lost it; tweaked by the wind impertinent that did not show respect to squire's livery, nor to kings no more.

Thy nose is pinched—that's hunger's stamp; for thou'rt hungry always, and thy life poor and striving; yet thou'st spent a precious penny for that flag there, for the hospital, because she lay there; she whom thou calledst wife, who bore thy children; lay and wasted there, and died slow, of a lingering sore complaint.

Old boots, stiff; not one in the 'bus could wear them: the gentry and the semi-gentry and the nesh townspeople with their squeamish ways. Boots hard and old; no give to the foot's spring, or its corns and soreness. Clump, clump, thou goest in them over the dusty ways, and the stones and the soft mud of the lanes and boggy patches. Clump, clump; many a mile, many an hour thou'st tramped it.

Riding to-day; for thou'rt old. No motor-'buses in those days, or thought of riding, when thou wast hale; but thou'rt old now, and stiff with rheumatism.

Help him out, now: the old grandfather, with the eyes that fill with tears, and the limbs stiff and painful.

Not so old as he looks; but the foul fiend, Hunger; he the black-hearted and cold; he that grips the vitals of men and women; Hunger, the vampire, has drunk old father's blood.

Back bended and bowed, he goes with the eyes lack-lustre; clump, clump, in the old stiff boots, as he leans on the stick cut from the hedgerow, more years ago than he cares to mind E. S. P.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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# THE OUTLOOK.

The Daily Herald, the organ of the Labour Party, is taking the side of British Imperialism in the Irish struggle, just as it did in the world war. Its special correspondent accuses the Republicans of "wanton destruction of property and "callousness" towards the sufferings of the people, as though the violence of the Free State troops were altogether blameless.

On the other hand, Sean McLoughlin writes to us in defence of the Communist Party of Ireland, claiming that it has fought with the Republicans, and the Left-Wing Industrialists have also taken the Republican side. The Communists and the Working Class Left of all sections are undoubtedly convinced that the cause of Irish working-class emancipation can best be served by securing first a break-away from the British Empire.

We, of course, are for the Republic, because it is a step in advance of the monarchy; because the freeing of a small country from the domination of a great Empire is in line with the development of freedom; because Irish Independence is a step in the break-up of the British Empire, system; because the Irish workers will have greater opportunities to make headway against their own weak middle class than when their employers are reinforced by British capitalism.

It is a matter of history that since Easter week, 1916, when the Nationalist struggle entered its recent acute phase, the Irish workingclass movement has made tremendous strides, and, under cover of the struggle between rival employers and landlords, has attained an independence of action unknown on this side of the

Towards such developments the British Labour Party and its organ the Daily Herald feel no sympathy—they are Imperialists.

The Daily Herald says: "The British Government has made a great effort to give Ireland a chance of saving herself."

The fact is that the British Government has made an effort to make it appear that the Irish have chosen to remain in the British Empire of their own free will, not merely to avoid a war of coercion which is literally the case.

The Herald, smug organ of a smug Party, is aiding the British Government to bolster up that monstrous lie.

### The Men Who Shot Wilson.

The men who captured the men who shot Wilson have been presented with gold watches and chains by the wealthy inhabitants of Eaton Place.

The two lads who did the deed are awaiting the hangman, and many mourn for them and bless them in Ireland and wherever the Irish poor are found to-day. Lie as you will, O proud and powerful rulers, you cannot crush out the love that is born for those lads by millions of humble folk. That love will raise up a monument of remembrance more enduring than any that has been wrought in stone for the Imperial

churlish and small-minded to prevent Joseph shop stewards' militant industrial unions. O'Sullivan and Reginald Dunn from saying what like the I.W.W., and any of the old they would in defence of their action at their Trade Unions that could be induced to trial for the murder of Sir Henry Wilson.

might not "use the occasion for political pur- their backs on the militant industrial organisaposes." He even sought to keep political refer- tions and have declared for supporting the old ences out of the last statement which every pri- Trade Unions and for a United Front with the re-

soner is formally invited to make as to why the sentence shall not be passed; yet this was a political trial; the killing of Sir Henry Wilson had a political motive. What else than political motives and political happenings could the prisoners bring forward?

It is a new judicial ruling that a prisoner tried for a political offence may not discuss politics. It is a judicial ruling which may create a very disastrous precedent.

In the statement which Reginald Dunn was not allowed to read he said he came back from the War in France to find that self-determination had been given to other small nations but denied to Ireland. A Government had been set up in July 29, 1922. Ulster, under which outrages which are a dis grace to civilisation are being perpetrated, by men in uniform and in the pay of the Belfast Government. The statement continued:

"Who was Sir Henry Wilson? What was his policy? The Irish nation knew him not so much as a great British Field-Marshal but as the man behind what is known in Ireland as the Orange terror. He was at the time of his death the Military Adviser to the Ulster Government, and, as military adviser, he raised and organised a body of men known as the Ulster Special Constables, who are the principal agents in this campaign of terrorism.

"We do not propose to go into details of the horrible outrages committed on men, women and children of my race in Belfast and other places under the jurisdiction of the Ulster Government.

" Among Irishmen it is well known that about 500 men, women and children have been killed within the past few months, nearly 2,000 wounded, and not one offender brought to justice. More than 9,000 persons have been expelled from their employment and 23,000 men, women and children driven from their homes.

"Sir Henry Wilson was the representative figure and the organiser of the system that made these things possible.

"The same principles for which we shed our one of the strongest bulwarks of the capitalist blood on the battlefields of Europe led us to commit the act we are charged with. You can ondemn us to death to-day, but you cannot derive us of the belief that what we have done reas necessary to preserve the lives, the homes, and the happiness of our countrymen in Ireland. You may by your verdict find us guilty; but we will go to the scaffold justified by the verdict of our own consciences.'

> That statement will reverberate throughout the world. The Press may boycott it. It will be heeded with sympathy not alone by people of Irish race, but by all who are honest and truth loving, all who are fair and free in their judgments. It will find its way into the minds of men and women the more surely because the men who made it stood for the truth of it with

> O smug Labour Party organ, O cruel rulers who organised the atrocities against which these two men struck, the truth of that statement shoulders past your pale hypocrisies and your brutal death sentence: you cannot silence for ever the voice of accusing truth.

The M.F.G.B. and the Red International. The decision of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain not to assent to the proposal of the South Wales Miners' Federation to affiliate to the Moscow Red International of Labour Unions is not of any practical importance. The Red International was actually formed in 1920, when the Moscow Bolsheviki had already begun to lose hope of an early international revolution and to stretch out feelers of compromise towards the Reformists. The original conception of the Red International began at the time when Moscow was prepared to make war on the old Reformist Trade Unionism and to set up a new organisation in its place. In 1920 the Bolsheviki were hesitating between two policies. Therefore, they decided that the Red International a pie-bald international consisting of extra-union It was, perhaps, illegal: it was certainly rank-and-file organisations like the English join it. Now that the Moscow Bolsheviki Justice Shearman declared that the accused and their Third International have turned

actionary Labour Parties and Social Democrati their logical course is to drop the Red Inter national and return to the fold of Amsterdar We expect this to happen presently.

Right-Wing Communists and Labour Portu The organ of the Right-Wing Communists d voted the greater part of its space to numeror articles protesting against the refusal of the Labour Party Annual Conference to accept the affiliation of the Communist Party.

One or two concrete statements were to found in the various long declarations.

The Right-Wing Communist Party " has finitely and in set terms accepted the Labor Party constitution."

The Right-Wing Communist Party is deter mined, "whether affiliated or not, to assist the Labour Party to become the ruling Party in the

The Right-Wing Communist Party believe that " any hostility to the Labour Party to to be mistaken for (and in its outcome to a practical aid to the bourgeoisie."

The Right-Wing Communist Party " wil make whatever sacrifice is necessary " to secure

The Right-Wing Communist Party repudiate the charge that it has attempted to split the

Labour movement or the Trade Unions. As to the charge of splitting the Labour movement, the Right-Wing Communist organ sa This is "the most damaging" indictment " can be brought against a political party." As to the charge of splitting the Trade Unions

the same organ says: This is "a lie." We rather think the Right Wingers, in heat of controversy, have overlooked the meaning of their words. Surely Comrade McManus, Murphy, Bell, Gallacher, and rest, when they were fighting in the Shon Stewards' and Workers' Committee movem were making very strenuous efforts to fight old Trade Unions, to smash them up and build a new organisation in their places.

Surely the memory of the Right-Wing ( is not so short as to forget that the avoy object of the Third Interational, at its incept was to split the Labour movement from to bottom, in order to separate the Commi Revolutionaries from the Reformists.

Those who follow a leadership which dictates rapid changes of policy make themselves ridi culous when they denounce thus their own former policies to which they may presently return.

munists had always been willing to accept Labour Party programme and to give it their support, then it would have been simpler make this plain from the start, in which the Labour Party would have received C.P.G.B. affiliation without question, and many honest Communists would not have joined C.P.G.B.

It should be noticed that the Right-Wing Communist organ says:

"Whether the workers are to rule through a Soviet Dictatorship or through a Parliament Democracy is a very important question. so long as the workers, instead of being in a Captain Ramm, docks superintendent position to rule, are content to submit and serve. P. and O., said: its discussion (to the exclusion of action) ma be inept. When the Labour Party is in power the best men for responsible positions in manning the question can be raised as a vital and immediate issue. It can be discussed in the light accomplished facts and in relation to ascertained and urgent needs."

There are two things to be noticed about that statement. Firstly, that the C.P.G.B. abandoned the establishment of the Soviets an essential part of its policy, and has thus gone back to the old B.S.P. attitude in the days prior to Moscow's intervention in its affairs.

Secondly, it should be observed that to the officials of the C.P.G.B. the Soviets mean die tatorship. They have no conception of a Communist life in which the Soviets of workers in the industries will administer the production and distribution of the social product.

House of Lords Reform. Parliament is an out-of-date institution. will cease to exist under Communism.

Government, in advancing proposals for re- native land? ing the Lords, should have failed to set th a definite plan, and should have left mosty of the points to be decided by others.

The Government suggests a House of Lords 350 members, composed of four classes of ons: the number of each class is left in te. The four classes are: (1) Peers of the Royal, Lords Spiritual and Law Lords; inated by the Crown.

ands are to hold their seats for a term of years how long the Government does not suggest), honourable name Social Revolutionary. and shall be eligible for re-election.

The reformed House of Lords will not interere in money bills, but a committee drawn shall decide which are money bills. Thus is prented the thin end of another wedge.

### The Lascars on the Egypt.

When it was reported in the Press that the Lascars on board the sinking Egypt had shown cowardice, many British people swelled out their lests and thought, with a glow of pride, "Rule Britannia; we are the sailor race that nands the sea; we are the brave, strong eople who always display heroism in the hour of danger." The average man, however consure to prove true metal when the big things ome along. The man who is uneasily conscious that whenever a big thing has appeared in his ife it has had an economic aspect before which he has gone down like a ninepin, he is, perps, the readiest to feel bolstered up in his of race by the belief that other races are

The Lascar panic aboard the Egypt appears now to have been a figment of the panic-stricken rains of some of the British passengers; but it is exceedingly difficult to get at the truth, because the P. and O. Co. is most anxious to defend its employment of Lascars aboard its If it were true that the Right-Wing Com- liners. The company is desirous of maintaining the prestige of its line in order that its custom may not fall off, and it is also desirous of continuing to employ Lascars, because, of course,

> they are cheaper than British sailors. In the course of his evidence at the Board of Trade Inquiry, Captain Sir Frank Notley, the P. and O. Company's marine superintendent, paid high tributes to the Lascars and Goanese: "I have been in many tight corners, and ! should never wish for better men than Lascars

"I have rarely, if ever, heard of Lascars But showing funk."

"He would not say that British sailors were

When asked:

we the falls of your lifeboats in the hands of Ramm answered with emphasis, "No!"

When the Attorney-General inquired as to the main reason why Lascars are carried by the P. O. Co., Captain Ramm answered that the Lascars can stand greater heat than the British, and are better suited to the work.

n the question of cost, Captain Ramm, faced that economic pressure which so often lakes men lie, replied that the Lascars were d almost as much as the British.

I do not think I can answer that question," said, when asked whether the total cost of mploying Lascars was greater or less than tish sailors were employed.

wiets will supersede it when the workers de- The evidence given by the P. and O. Com- sengers and crew sat on a grassy bank and mine to end this infamous system. There- pany's representative should cause the Lascars talked. One of the axle-boxes of a Pullman proposals to reform the House of Lords to consider their position. If they are re- car got hot. A negro porter, asked who would ne us unmoved. Nevertheless, we are not garded such fine fellows by their British em- oil it, said: wised that those who still believe in the ployers, why should the same class of British dness of Parliament should be amazed that maintain an autocratic rule over them in their

Italian White Terrorists in Germany. Musolini, whose lawless bands of White Ter-> rorists have waged war upon all working-class organisations in Italy, whether Communist, Socialist, Industrial, or Co-operative, has gone

to Gernany, to found similar White Terrorist bands there.

That the opposition to working-class emanciembers elected, either directly or indirectly pation and the coming Communist is inter-Government has not made up its mind national is clearly seen every day. Yet, instead high). "from the outside"; (3) hereditary of taking steps to combat the spread of such elected by their orders; (4) members altogether evil products of a degenerate capitalism as the Fascisti, the Labour leaders are All except Peers of the Blood Royal and Law making friends with the Russian White Terrorists who fought under the cloak of the once France and Reparations.

Labour Party's Strange Attitude.

In the interests of British trade, Germany om both Houses, presided over by Mr. Speaker, must be given a respite from reparations payments, say British manufacturers. "We always said so," says the Labour Party; although, of The sooner the old machine becomes im- course, in the General Election the Labour Party sible, however, the sooner will the new take declared Germany must pay! Lloyd George is eager to arrange Germany's respite in order that British manufacturers may benefit. The French Government replies that if Germany is to have a respite from paying reparations to France, in the interests of British trade, then France must have a respite from paying its war debt to Britain. Lloyd George is said to agree: but a strange thing happens. That God-fearing, turnthe-other-cheek pacifist newspaper, the Daily Herald, instead of welcoming an act of selfsacrifice by the British Empire, which seized ntly he may excuse himself for failure in the the German Colonies and the Mesopotamia oil, things of life, likes to believe that he is shrieks out like a very Shylock that France must pay her pound of flesh to Britain.

> Strange, is it not? Ramsay Macdonald and Arthur Henderson are following strange tactics and worshipping strange gods. Does this indicate a coming Labour coalition with the capitalists opposed to No, it does not rain now; the sun shines.—Do alliance with France? Certainly these tortuous you drink tea?—Yes, I like it very much.—Do

> intrigues have no connection with Labour politics you take sugar and milk in your tea?-I tak. and the class struggle-still less with Socialism. a little milk and no sugar.-Where shall you go War with France is certainly being prepared, for your holiday?—Possibly I shall stay at home

War '' demonstrations. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

### UNDER THE STAKS AND STRIPES.

Eugene Debs is suffering from heart trouble as a result of his long imprisonment.

James Mulroney, I.W.W., was released from Leavenworth penitentiary after four years' incarceration, suffering from tuberculosis and nosed Mulroney's complaint as mild bronchial trouble, and gave him some tablets.

'In an emergency, would you not prefer to Eureka some weeks ago. The defence is contesting the Judge's ruling.

that one out of every four inmates of Wisconsin taro-ne samtempe, unufoje por ĉiam, liberigprisons are ex-soldiers. The Governor has com- ante la tutan socion el ĉia ekspluatado, subpremuted the sentences of twenty-two ex-soldiers made, interklasaj distingoj kaj interklasaj bataloj. who showed that their offences were committed when they were out of work and hungry. He will continue to pardon prisoners who offer tangible evidence of this nature.

At Klamath Falls, Oregon, 2,000 men have been on strike four months for the eight-hour day. Two hundred and fifty Mexicans have been imported as strike breakers.

During the U.S.A. strike of railway shopmen trains are moving like cripples. Two hours out of Chicago a certain train got stuck. Pas- protests.

"If it gets oiled, one of the officials will do it. There's nobody else to do any oiling. They can't get any men to come in and work now except fellows that don't know anything about trains. Most everybody's scared to take the shop jobs; it's too long a chance." J. N. Beffel writes on the strike:

"The strike against an inordinate wagecut goes on, with little likelihood of the shopmen winning. They have not only powerful propaganda and forces and troops arrayed against them, but thousands of other workers in their own industry have given them no cooperation except sympathy. Engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen continue at work, many of them shame-facedly, but nevertheless they stay at their jobs. And even those who take the strikers' places in the shops have a 'moral right' to do it, according to the dictum of the Railroad Labour Board. The Baltimore and Ohio is advertising for mechanics and helpers at rates ranging from 43 to 70 cents an hour.

"Men who have had some experience in mechanical work, also young men for helpers, are wanted, says the company, these to be placed under instructions. They will be advanced to positions carrying higher rates as soon as they become efficient.

"In accordance with resolutions issued by the U.S. Labour Board, July 3rd, new men accepting employment are within their rights and are not strike breakers, and have the moral as well as legal right to engage in railroad service, and will have protection of every branch of Government, both State and

### ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 7.

Sit down, Sir, I pray. Does it rain now?and meanwhle the jingoes are throwing dust in and play with my children; possibly I may go the eyes of the people by holding "No More to Paris if the trains and steamers are not over-

# MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA

Car la " Manifesto " estas nia kuna produktaĵo, mi opinias min devigata diri ke la fundamenta propozicio kiu estas ĝia esenca centraĵo, apartenas al Marks. Tiu propozicio estas: ke en ĉiu historia epoko, la plej ĝenerala modo de ekobroken beyond repair. The prison doctor diag- nomia produktado kaj interŝanĝado, kaj la socia organizo necese elkreskanta el ĝi, formiĝas kiel la fondaĵo sur kiu estas konstruata, kaj laŭ kiu Judge Macolm Glen has refused to permit sole povas esti klarigata la politika kaj intelekta Attorney Elmer Smith from continuing his de- historio de la homaro (de la disiĝo de la primitiva fence of the eleven I.W.W. prisoners charged genta societo, tenanta teron en komuna posein California. The alleged reason is that Elmer deco), estas historio de interklasaj bataladoj, kon-Smith has not been formally admitted to prac- kuradoj inter ekspluatantoj kaj ekspluatatoj, retice in California. Yet he recently defended gantaj kaj subpremataj klasoj; ke la historio de Casdorf and Firey at Sacramento, California, tiuj ĉi interklasaj bataladoj estas serio evolucia and he defended in the Omar Eaton case at en kiu, nunatempe, estas atingita punkto kie la ekspluatata kaj subpremata klaso—la proletariaro -- ne povas atingi sian liberiĝon el la regado de J. J. Blaine, the Governor of Wisconsin, says la ekspluatanta kaj reganta klaso—la kapitalis-

### C.P.I. and Republicans.

Seán McLoughlin writes from Ireland repudiating Economic Section's statement that the Communist Party of Ireland was not fighting with the Republicans. "The members of that Party, to a man, participated in the fighting," he

# From Russian Workers,

The Group of Revolutionary Left-Wing Communists (Communist Workers' Party) of Russia on the Failure of the United Front.

stant danger of imprisonment, they, more than ence-private property and exploitation of the any other party, have to work along illegal lines working class. in their endeavours to appeal to the proletariat.

festos they have drawn up, and which they have achievements of the proletarian revolution? circulated among the Russian proletarians in And yet this same proletarian revolution can numerous typewritten copies.

hand them on, and read it out to people!

tionary proletariat\_

strous exploitation. palatable to you, as were employed in every de- and the genuine class fight! ception of the working class in the past? Is Group of Revolutionary Left-Wing Communists this United Front of the working masses the very thing they are in need of, and which they should strive to bring about? Don't you understand, comrades, that the projected union with the yellow parties is solely in the interest of the capitalists, and of their profits which accrue through exploitation alone? And all talk about the reconstruction of world economy signifies nothing but the secret intention of the parasites to throw all the burden of this reconstruction upon your shoulders; in other words, you workers are to be exploited, to be made to work yourselves to death, which will spell the pauperisation and degeneration of wide strata of the working classes, just as it did formerly. But if we are going along this path back to the old bondage, why on earth did we fight for the revolution? What was the idea of fighting for the class interests of the proletariat, for the annihilation of private property, and for the aboli-

tion of the wage system?

The genuine Communists in Russia, who are Proletarians, you have not yet succeéded in making a stand against the United Front and gaining an emancipation of such a kind; and, State capitalism, and who are upholding the what is more, you will never get the better of standpoint of the Communist Workers' Party of the bourgeoisie and be able to act as a properly Germany (not to be confused with the un- organised class so long as you do not give up principled and backboneless leaders of the so- lending an ear to these apostles of the United called "Workers' Opposition"), are engaged in Front, so long as you do not give up believing a courageous and strenuous conflict. In face of in co-operation and peace with the bourgeoisie the most trying circumstances and of the con- on the basis of its essential conditions of exist-

Does your class-consciousness not tell you how We are herewith publishing one of the mani- chaotically your leaders have dealt with all the alone lead you out of the blind alley into which Make more copies of this, distribute them, capitalism and the traitors to Socialism have brought us. The world-wide economic crisis To all comrades, workers and peasants of and the catastrophe our economic system has Soviet Russia who are of or with the revolu- suffered will not be surmounted by any kind of conference for the mutual assistance of each Congress. After the Internationals—the Amsterdam, the other or by the outward effect of elections and Second, and the Two and a-half-had given the Parliamentary action. Political intrigues of proletariat sufficient proof of their yellow taint, your leaders must not be allowed to turn you and after it had become clear to everybody that aside from the inevitable course of the proletarian these organisations are the most powerful inter- revolution! There is just one thing that will national bodies that co-operate with the capitalis- belp to carry you forward—a clear consciousness tic bourgeois, one course only was open to all of the true interests of the proletariat and ruththose proletarians who have come to realise that, less criticism awakening the revolutionary spirit be the stage of the revolution's development of the proletariat and aiming at the will to vicwhat it may, there must be no talk of combin- tory. To see to the fulfilment of this your hising with the exploiters and reformists for the toric task and duty, our group of revolutionary purpose of a common objective and a common Left-Wing Communists is now appealing to you! path. There was nothing for it but to line up It makes you in part responsible for the mistakes in the Communist International and the Red that have up till now been allowed to hinder Trade Union International, hoping thereby to the course of revolution. It is the duty of the get the world-wide revolution on the march proletariat to see that these mistakes are made again and to be able to give the utmost support good. You must advance to victory with firm to the dictatorship of the Russian revolutionary step and overcome blunders, defeats, and proletariat. But the Red Trade Union Inter- treachery. Do not forget, workers and peasnational had not been a year in existence before ants, that in this fight you have nothing further it began to use revolutionary phrases to cover to lose than your chains. As revolutionary Lefttactics that were totally unrevolutionary, and, Wing Communists, it is our task always to point consequently, both these Internationals sank up out to you, and to you first of all, the dangers to the eyes in the slough of opportunism and that threaten the revolution; to bring home to reformism. Their Press came out with appeals to you the seriousness of the moment! You yourthe working classes automatically to join with selves will have by now clearly recognised the the Menshevists in building up a United Front. difference between, on the one hand, Capital's And to-day this artificial front, this new inven- United Front from Lloyd George to, and includtion of your leaders, is now neither project nor ing, Lenin; and, on the other, the United Front phantasy. Already it is becoming a fact to be of the revolutionary working class-fighting for reckoned with, having been established under its dictatorship, a dictatorship still real enough the noses of those who were supposed to have to-day to strike fear into the ruling classes. had it in hand. With the aid of this farce and You have had enough of those lessons the bourthe Conference of Genoa the irreconcilable an- geoisie and the social reformers serve you up! tagonisms that exist between the proletariat and It is just about time the opportunism of the capitalism, between the exploited and the ex- Communist and "Red" Trade Union Internaploiters, are to be forcibly bridged. In spite tionals was put beyond dispute. We have not of the fact that capitalism is at present shaking space to go into theoretical principles. You tariat. He who has no commodity to sell canat its very foundations, Russia, thanks to the must yourselves think about these things and diplomatic trickery of those in authority, is to get to the bottom of the matter. All we wish be made the irrevocable sacrifice of the inter- to do is to proclaim: Down with co-operation national bourgeoisie and the object of a mon- with the bourgeoisie! Down with Lenin's peaceable United Front! Long live the Opposi-Have you still failed to notice, comrades, how tion of the Workers! Long live Left-Wing a technical question of production. the same Menshevist sophistries are being made Communism! Long live the revoultionary Leftuse of in the attempt to make this United Front Wing Workers' Movement that is out for action can be put again on peace basis, capitalism will the

Fifth Special Congress of the K.A.P.D. in

From June 4th to 5th .- In spite of great financial difficulties, no less than ten industrial districts were able to send delegates to discuss the political developments from a K.A.P.D. standpoint. There was also one representative of the Dutch K.A.P. and one representative of the Left-Wing Communists of Russia. The Reformist endeavours to cause disruption when the party broke down in face of the united and solid will of the party to carry on an uncompromising class fight. The progress of the K.A.P.D. idea. Election of President and officers and

1. Political situation. 2. Communist Workers' International.

3. Party and youth.

4. Party and union.

5. V.R.U.K. 6. Re-organisation.

7. Sundry matters.

Com. O. reviewed development and the causes of differences within the Party which led to break with reformist tendency. The decline of capitalism is, because of its strenuous endeavours to stem same, having a demoralising influence upon working masses. As the revolution for the time being is at a standstill, it is quite comprehensible that some comrades should look to capitalism and see in partial demands the next objective of the class fight. But the reason for forming the K.A.P.D. was opposition to reformism. Naturally, the real state of affairs being what it is, many comrades, tired of the heavy conflict, followed the reformist leaders of the Berlin Opposition, as a good opportunit for withdrawal; but the K.A.P.D. did not suffer much by the loss of these members. The cris passed thanks to the genuine revolutionaries i the party, but much work remained to be done to build up the organisation again. To find ways and means of doing this was the object of present

The Representative of the Dutch Communist

Workers' Party. His contention was that on the question of tactics and other disputed points that led to the workers' party, for only then will it be able break with the German K.A.P., the K.A.P.D. to repeal with force all the influences that are maintains the original attitude of the old K.A.P.D. Proof was given of the lack of principle in the Berlin Tendency. The Dutch servants of Capital-the specialists. K.A.P. stood solid with the K.A.P.D. and looks The Workers' Opposition proposes to register

The Representative of the Group of Revolutionary Left-Wing Communists of Russia

Gives some interesting particulars about his experiences with the Berlin Tendency. He spoke very deprecatingly of the peculiar method interviewed prominent men in the Berlin Ten- working conditions before he becomes eligible for dency, have read their written statements on enrolment into the Party. tactics they advise, have heard them speak in to accept the view of the old li.A.P.D., whose amongst the proletariat of the whole world, he brought his interesting speech to a close.

A message of greeting from the Bulgarian majority therein. K.A.P. was read out.

1. Political Situation.

My task is to show that capitalism will not survive the preesnt crisis. Capitalism is that economic system in which everything becomes commodity, including labour-power of pronot exist in this system. On this question of production the system is collapsing.

Barga of the Third International divides the world into countries with over-production, etc. and the Berlin Tendency sees in the crisis merely quently, according to these views, if product. have re-established itself firmly. But these conceptions are fundamentally false. The crisis one of finding markets for goods, and not of pro-

We, unlike the Berlin Tendency and the Thi International, could not, as K.A.P.D. and K.A.I., justify our existence if this crisis was

The Second and Third Internationals are ain ing at the reconstruction of capitalism—they vocate the selling of the labour-power of the pl letariat. They use their power to sell labour-power as a political lever-a fundamentally unrevolutionary attitude.

The bourgeoisie cannot see their way to s proletariat's labour-power, so the Second Third Internationals of the Berlin Tendence jump at the idea of a United Front to along capitalist reconstruction.

But there can be no doubt that the final crisihas come. Conditions are becoming again they were in 1918. Action is expected in (Continued on p. 8.)

WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from last week.) The Workers' Opposition, together with a of responsible workers in Moscow in the e of party regeneration and elimination of ucracy from the Soviet institutions, deods complete realisation of all democratic ples, not only for the present period of

e but also for times of internal and extension. This is the first and basic conion of the party regeneration, of its return he principles of the programme, from which ctice it is more and more deviating under pressure of elements that are foreign to it. The second condition, fulfilment of which with Il determination is insisted upon by the Workers' sition, is the expulsion from the Party of non-proletarian elements. The stronger bemes the Soviet authority the greater is the wher of the middle class, and sometimes even ation of these elements must be complete and thorough, and those in charge of it must take into account the fact that all the most reolutionary elements from the non-workers had

ing brought to bear upon it by the pettybourgeois elements, peasants, or by the faithful all members who are non-workers and who joined the Party since 1919, and reserve for

joined the Party during the first period of the

October revolution. The Party must become a

from the decisions arrived at, in order that they might join the Party again. At the same time, it is necessary to establish of these people. The representatives of the re- "a working status" for all non-working elevolutionary Left-Wing Communists of Russia ments which will try to get back into the Party, have had plenty of opportunity since coming to by providing that every applicant to member-Germany of informing themselves as to the ship in the Party must have worked a certain causes of difference in the K.A.P.D. They have period of time at manual labour under general

them the right to appeal within three months

The third decisive step toward democratisation assemblies, and without hesitation have decided of the Party is the elimination of all non-workers' elements from all the administrative positions; headquarters are at Essen. In calling upon com- in other words, the central, provincial, and rades to propagate K.A.P.D. ideas in Russia and county committees of the Party must be composed so that workers closely acquainted with the working masses would have the preponderant

In close connection with this point of the sition's demands stands the other of converting all our party centres, beginning from the atral Executive Committee and including the vincial county committees, from institutions ng care of routine work, every-day work, into tutions of control over the Soviet policy.

We have already remarked that the crisis in Party is a direct outcome of the three distinet cross-current tendencies that correspond to he three different social groups-viz., the working class, the peasantry, together with the middle ass, and the elements of the former bourgeoisie -that is, specialists, technicians, and men of

problems of State-wide importance compel the local and central Soviet institutions, ing even the Council of People's Commissars the All-Russian Central Executive Committo lend an ear to, and conform with, these e distinct tendencies of the groups that comse the population of Soviet Russia; as a result, class line of the general policy is blurred. and the necessary stability is lost. Consideraof the State interests begin to outweigh inteersts of the workers.

in order that the Central Committee and Party littees may stand firmly on the side of our policy, and call all our Soviet institutions 10 order each time that a decision in the Soviet becomes obvious (as happened, for intance, in the question dealing with the trade ns) it is necessary to disassociate the preroes of such responsible officials who at one he same time fill up responsible posts both but, on the contrary, represented a hetero would prefer to trust Thomas.

geneous social conglomeration, and, therefore, But this does not explain a Thomas. Here the State authority is compelled to reconcile all we are faced with a difficulty. It is not dising the middle ground.

formation of Party centres, which would really staggers you. The King, the Prince, the serve as organs of ideal control over the Soviet Queen, and the lords and ladies of "our land." institutions, and would direct their actions along "Our land" is a term we all use, but it is clear-cut class lines. Moreover, in order to in- not correct; it should be "the land of our crease party activity, it is necessary to carry out masters." They take these things for granted. everywhere the following measure: at least one- "They have always been so," that is their stock third of the actual Party members in the centres benly hostile elements, joining the Party. The must be permanently forbidden to act as Party reality the necessity of a crowned head after the members and Soviet officials at the same time.

The fourth basic demand of the Workers' Opposition is this: the Party must reverse its policy to the elective principle.

Appointments must be permissible only as exceptions, but lately they began to prevail as a support the class State. The historians of the rule. Appointments are very characteristic of bureaucracy, and yet at present they are a of our modern Labour Party and of the comgeneral, legalised, and well-recognised daily occurrence. The procedure of appointments produces a very unhealthy atmosphere in the party, and disrupts the relationship of equality amongst the members by rewarding friends and punishing enemies, as well as by other no less harmful practices in our Party and Soviet life. Appointments lessen the sense of duty and responsibility what it was 2,000 years ago. The Labour to the masses in the ranks of appointees, for they Party and the Thomas's trade on that menare not responsible to the masses. This condi- tality just as the other political parties do. tion makes the line of division between the Whichever party can throw the "sprat" leaders and the rank and file members still nearest the psychology of the mass, that's the

Every appointee, as a matter of fact, is beyond

make the party more healthy, it is necessary to worker. In fact, it is not for any respectable revert to that state of things where all the car- member of the bourgeois State. dinal questions of Party activity and Soviet Your modern Labour M.P. and leader are policy are submitted to the consideration of the the heads of the blind army, and nearly always rank and file, and only after that are supervised fighting on the side of their enemy, because by the leaders. This was the state of things it is popular. "The world to them is flat." when the Party was forced to carry on its work They would fall over and lose all if they went in secret--even as late as the time of signing any further. Such is their psychology. the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

### PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

LABOUR LEADERS.

By Tom Anderson.

With the advent of "Mad Communism" we have been treated to a mad crusade against Labour leaders. One should be very careful before he calls the kettle "black," for it may just be possible that the teapot is "black" through "the blood of Jesus" is a stunt nearly also. I am contemporary with all the old equal with the modern one, "The world war Labour leaders, and I have come into contact for human freedom." Ask the heroes-the with very many of them; and I could not say most ignorant of them-and they laugh and say. of any of them that they required watchingwhat they required was teaching.

Take, for example, J. H. Thomas. Would with their blind Hodges. I pity the engineers. you be correct in saying he was dishonest, or the boilermakers, and transport workers, and that he required watching? I don't think so. all the allied trades. I pity the working class-You would be nearer the mark by saying he blind, stupid, and dense and dull on things that was "bred back," but that does not imply he count. I pity the Daily Herald," the Labour e Soviet institutions and in the Communist is dishonest. From personal observation, there Party Conference, and the Trade Union Congress centres. We must remember that Soviet are a few men in the Communist Party who —they are all apeing at being respectable, and ssia so far has not been a socially homogeneous require "watching"; and as for honesty, I there is no class struggle, and their pals on the

these, at times even hostile interests, by choos- honesty that makes a Thomas a patriot or a Privy Councillor, any more than that you may In order that the Central Committee of our find a scientist a member of the Roman Catholic Party could become the supreme directing centre Church. You must look for that in his psychoof our class policy, the organ of class thought logy. Thomas is a child of the bourgeois State and control over the practical policy of the by training and education, plus the mentality Soviets, and the spiritual personification of ou. of a slave. He is unable to grasp the class basic programme, it is necessary, particularly in struggle in human society. Yet it is so apparent the Central Committee, to restrict to a minimum that men of far less ability can see it quite the multiple office-holding by those who, whilst easily. Thomas is also backed in his outlook being members of the Central Committee, occupy by the great body of the railway workers. It high posts in the Soviet Government. For this in very pitiful to speak to the average railway purpose the Workers' Opposition proposes the workers. Their mentality on things that count

> answer. Can a sane-thinking human admit in modern pattern, or of a House of Lords, or similar institutions? All these movements are but the centres of social "sprats," to play on the mentality of the rising generation. To mould them so that they will fall into line and future will write in concise terms the history ponent parts of it-Thomas, Clynes, Tillet, Jones, Henderson, McDonald, Snowden,

> Barnes, etc., etc. To-day the working class still think, as the serfs did. Sir James Fraser says, in his "Golden Bough," that the mentality of the workers of Europe is not much different from

party that gets into power. That's why the Labour Party Conference any control, for the leaders are not able to watch wanted to kill Communism at Edinburgh. It's closely his activity while the masses cannot call a "sprat," and it has come off. But might J him to account and discharge him if necessary. tell them that the Communist Party is only As a rule, every appointee is surrounded by an a political party largely on "bluff," like thematmosphere of officialdom, servility, and blind selves, playing at the throwing of "Sprats"? subordination, which infects all subordinates There are Communists in Britain; possibly their and discredits the Party. The practice of ap- numbers are not very great, but they are there, pointments rejects completely the principle of and they have a message—a human message—to collective work; it breeds irresponsibility. Ap. all men. And that is, the 'world is theirs.' pointments by the leaders must be done away We don't say of your Labour leaders that you with and replaced by the elective principle all are dishonest in all things; the bulk of you have along the Party line. Candidates shall be eligible not that ability. Many of you are worms, many to occupy responsible administrative positions of you, like the street pickpocket, are "fly," only when they have been elected by conferences a few of you have " made good," others among you are trying. But there is no class struggle. Finally, in order to eliminate bureaucracy and Such an idea is not for a manumitted wage-

Some of these brave leaders go to Church and lecture the poor. Arthur Henderson, for example, is a past-president of the "Brotherhood." Could anything be more childish or slave-like than that? I don't think so. He may be quite honest; but, if so, would someone ask him to read the Illustrated London News for July 8th, 1922? And, if he is able to read, would he then make an apology for the ignorance he has displayed in the past?

To tell the workers that they will be saved "You are coming it!"

I pity the railway workers. I pity the miners, (Continued on p. 8.)

### "NO MORE WAR."

The village of Wakering, in Essex, fellow-worker, is as quiet and sleepy-looking a village as you can imagine.

It has a little old church and a big stately vicarage with a big, well-cultivated garden. It is not the Vicar who cultivates the garden, fellow-worker: he cultivates souls and pays a gardener and others to do any real work about his place.

Behind the church, and right out of sight of the village, is the Common. On the Common, fellow-worker, stands a battered old German gun. A pit was dug to wedge it in right up to the axle of the wheels, so that no one could move it. There it lies in sight of the cornfields, with the larks singing overhead. The flowers grow round it, the children play about it, and a fat old black sow roots about it, snuffing at it with her curious snout.

Roughly written in white paint on the gun are these words:

" Placed here at night, July 20th, 1920, by . . ."

The rest of the inscription is partly illegible, it seems to read:

" I.N. S.C.B. H.P.T.S."

Strangers ask what it means. The villagers are not very communicative, fellow-worker. There are one or two things connected with the story they do not want to disclose. If a stranger asks, "Who did it?" they answer, "We don't know—some men."

Then, bit by bit, the tale is told. The Vicar and others "on the Committee" "wrote up" for a German gun to put in front of the new Memorial Hall—a cheap, ugly shanty.

"Our boys who had been to the War did not want the gun: not one of them."

The night the gun was placed in front of the Memorial Hall "our boys" therefore threw it in the village pond.

Later on, when the pond was cleaned, it was put on the Common, and there it rusts.
"We don't want any more war; we've had enough of it," say the villagers; "but there

is going to be more of it."

They shake their heads very dismally, fellow-worker, feeling they have good reason for their predictions.

Over there, near the sea, is a great military encampment and aircraft station; they see

Not far away, too, they see, cutting through the cornfields and pastures the new road from London to Southend. "Twice as wide as an ordinary road," they say it is.

"Why another road?" they ask. "There are plenty of roads," they say.

The unemployed from London are working on it. "Why make roads when people a

The unemployed from London are working on it. "Why make reads when people are needing houses?" They grumble, "It's a waste of money."

It is a military road," that is what the villagers believe, fellow-workers; they believe

it is being made for the next war, and some of them say it is being made because the Government cannot be sure that it will always be able to rely on the railwayman, whatever happens.

Have you noticed, fellow-worker, how busy the hardened war maniacs are with the nomore-war demonstrations? The villagers are right, fellow-worker; the next war is preparing

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.—Cont. from p. 7. other side are laughing. If we could but waken them and show them the "three-card trick " that is worked on their mentality, there would be a chance. The poor co-operators, with their little Bethel ethics and their leaders living in bourgeois land, playing "whist" to raise a cenotaph, is enough to make angels weep. The Church and the State join in, and their power is sufficient to "kid" all the Labour leaders in the country. And some of them sing "God Save the King" and push out their belly, and adorn their fingers with big gold rings, and their swelling vests with heavy gold Alberts, like their pals on the other side. But there is no class struggle. Whom the gods love they make stupid. Fellow-workers, I appeal to you as an old man who has seen every side of the picture. I appeal to you to make the resolve to come out and fight for a classless State; and in doing so you will be doing what every valiant fighter in the past has done. If you do that, the Labour leaders will come your way. But they will only come when you make it possible. One way towards that end is to help the paper that is fighting for you against great odds. Then to every reader I say, put your shoulder to the wheel--Communism will only grow as we work.

under cover of it all.

FROM RUSSIAN WORKERS.—Cont. from p. 6. many in the coming winter. The psychological conditions are not so favourable, but the only thing to do is to make the workers think critically.

2. Communist Workers' International.

Com. S. gave a survey of the international connection and of those K.A.P. parties in other countries that have joined the Communist Workers' International. Starting with the state of the movement in Holland, when a small K.A.P. was formed after the September Congress, he touched upon the conditions in England, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slovakia, and South Africa, in which places a firmly founded organisation of honest and resolute K.A.P. comrades have come into existence. It was good to hear that in Russia the dam had been broken through, and that, in spite of the greatest difficulties and

hindrances on the part of the Soviet bodies, a K.A.P. had been formed. Then they had to work illegally, but have shown themselves far above comparison with the weakly so-called Workers' Opposition. Their manifestos and the words of their representatives show them to be of the same way of thinking as the Communist Workers' Party of Germany. The development of affairs in Russia will bring this small party into prominence. There is a split in the Bulgarian Communist Workers' Party. The next International Congress that takes place in August of this year, in Germany, will bring us full particulars of this development. We have also established connections with other countries. The K.A.P. idea is making good progress everywhere.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

Follows discussion on basic problems of K.A.I. as a preliminary to tackling the question of organisation.

Follows discussion on your theses.

Election of provisional organisation of Communist Workers' International "Proletarier"

as organ of C.W.I.

3. Party and Youth.

This question has been wrongly given a secondary importance. The Communist Workers' Parties must not merely get affiliation with those organisations of the young people that are already in existence, but must see to it that the proletarian youth is educated to its rôle in the class fight.

Proletarian schools are of outstanding importance. These organisations of young proletarians must become a corporal part of the Party organisation.

THE TROUBLE AT THAXTED.

"The parishioners of Thaxted," as the cooked Press put it, did not petition against the flags. A small minority of Thaxted's Churchpeople, aided by a number of nondescripts from outside the Church membership, applied for a "faculty" to have the Red flag and Sinn Fein flag removed from the church. They won, of course, although the whole of the twenty members of the recently elected Church Council, as well as the churchwardens, were in favour of the flags remaining; and, although not one of

the "loyalist" minority was elected to that Council. But they won because the flags did not happen to be imperialist flags, and the people who came to Thaxted to tear them down did not happen to be Communists. Had that been the case, then the raiders from outside the town. not the flags, would have been the cause of the disorder, and the civil authorities would have been expected to maintain law and order. Prominent among the agitators against the flags was a Nonconformist grocer of the town. This grocer is a great "patriot"; he flies the Union Jack on Boy Scouts' Day (" Empire Day ") to let the people know how patriotic he is. But on less "holy" days than May 24th, this grocer, when the price of butter or what-not goes up, sends round to his brother grocers in the town, telling them the price " is up," which is an instruction to the others to charge the new price even on old stock. And this patriot wrote to the paper saying he was "insulted" by the Red flag and Sinn Fein flag hung in the church. He is no fool, however, in his fear of revolutionary Christianity, but probably knows that the kind of Christianity Conrad Noel stands for would quickly put an end to the anti-social trickery of trade, that of grocery included.

The flags down, the opposition may next be expected to try and suppress the preaching. Efforts must be made to put down such dangerous doctrines as that Empire-building is wrong; that love of country is one thing, and the dominating and bullying of smaller and weaker nations another. The Church must be made "a proper church to go to." Then good sound imperialism will be preached from the pulpit, and the lady of the manor will be able to sit in the best seat, the smaller "gentry" in the second best, and so on, "down to" the factory girls. These girls are among the Red Vicar's most ardent supporters, and a local rag calls them "saucy," presumably because they now (the seats being free) sit where they like in the church, are encouraged to wear bright colours, and some of them have even been elected to the Church Council over the heads of the Thaxted "big pots." All this is not seemly. and the Morning Post is hurt. One item of news did not appear in the cooked Press. When last May the strangers to Thaxted invaded the town for the purpose of tearing down the flags and creating disorder, the principal inn of Thaxted refused to put them up. What is more, mine host of "The Swan" has since then left the opposition, taken down his Union Jack, and joined the Vicar's side. Others have done the same, and more will do likewise when they understand.

### REVOLUTION.

By L. S. BEVINGTON.

Ah, yes! You must meet it, and brave it;
Too laggard, too purblind to save it;
Who reeks of your doubting and fearing
Phrase-bound "Evolution"?

Do you not hear the sea sounding it?
Do you not feel the fates founding it?
Do you not know it is nearing?
Its name Revolution.

What! stem it, and stay it, and spare it?
Or will you defy it, and dare it?
Then this way and that you must change it
For swift restitution.

Do you not see men deserving it?
Do you not hear women nerving it?
Down with old Mammon; and range you
To aid Revolution?

The last hour has struck of our waiting,
The last of your bloodless debating,
The wild-fire of spirit is spreading
Us on to solution.

Do you not thrill at the uttering?
Do you not breathe the breeze fluttering
Round the brave flag of our pleading?
The world's Revolution!

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