Red Industrialism in Ireland.

Morkers' E Dreaduought enternational communism. Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PAR BILLIS

VUL. IX. No. 22.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 12, 1922.

[WHELT.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

WRITTEN ON THE DAY THAT MR. LEIGH HUNT LEFT PRISON.

What though, for showing truth or flatter'd state,

Kind Hunt was shut in prison, yet has he,
In his immortal spirit, been as free
As the sky-searching lark, and as elate.
Minion of grandeur, think you he did wait?
Think you he nought but prison walls did see,
Till, so unwillingly, thou unturnd'st the key?
Ah, no! Far happier, nobler was his fate!
In Spencer's halls he stray'd, and bowers fair,
Culling enchanted flowers; and he flew
With daring Milton through the fields of air:
To regions of his own his genius true
Took happy flights. Who shall his fame impair
When thou art dead, and all thy wretched
crew?

-Keats.

FRAGMENT: TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

People of England, ye who toil and groan,
Who reap the harvests which are not your own,
Who weave the clothes which your oppressors
wear,

And for your own take the inclement air;
Who build warm houses . . .
And are like gods who give them all they have.
And nurse them from the cradle to the grave. .

What men gain fairly—that they should possess,
And children may inherit idleness.
From him who earns it—this is understood;
Private injustice may be general good.
But he who gains by base and armed wrong,
Or guilty fraud, or base compliances,
May be despoiled; even as a stolen dress
Is stript from a convicted thief, and he
Left in the nakedness of infancy.

-Shelley.

SHELL OIL.

Little wonder the capitalists are scrambling to put their money in oil! The "Shell" transport and trading company has just announced the payment of a dividend of $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., free of tax, for the year 1921. The company made only £7,495,010 profit, as against £8,870,042 in 1920, and a dividend of 33 per cent.; but the shareholders considered it had done very well, in view of the general industrial depression, and they received their chairman with cheers of gratitude at the Cannon Street Hotel. Sir Fortesque Flannery, who moved a vote of thanks to the chairman and directors, said, "We are suffering, as everyone has suffered, from what has resulted from the War."

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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

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The House that was Seize

The Case of Four Homeless Families.

40 South Grove, Peckham, a nine-roomed house, stood empty for years.

Four homeless families—four men, four women, and sixteen children—have occupied it for several months.

The fathers of those families are all ex-Servicemen. So far from having homes "fit for herces to live in" provided for them, they could find no homes at all owing to the acute shortage of houses.

Proceedings have been taken under two ancient Statutes of Richard II. and one of Henry VI. for having "unlawfully and forcibly made entry and detainer of certain lands and tenements situate at 40 South Grove."

The owners make no use of this house. The families occupying it have nowhere else to go.
The Law steps in to protect the rights of the owners and to thrust the homeless families out in the street.

Lambeth Police Court.

The seats for the public, and the standingroom at the back, are crowded with poor people. The elderly magistrate sits on the bench,

comfortable and ruddy-faced.

In the dock are four men, two of them wearing the soldier's khaki puttees with civilian clothes. They are not cowed and ashamed, bu stand stiff and alert, obviously prepared for a struggle.

From the solicitors' benches in front a slim man in black half rises, lolling languidly back, with one hand in his pocket and one foot on the seat.

His tones are mincing; one can scarcely hear what he says. He is appearing, he intimates, on behalf of the Receivers in Chancery, on the instructions of the Master in Chancery, to appeal to his worship the magistrate to deal with these men in the dock, who are occupying a house which "was seized."

"Was seized!" exclaims the magistrate, as though dismayed by the enormity of the proceeding.

"Do they claim that they have a right to

it? What right can they have?"

Greatly shocked indeed is the magistrate by such boldness on the part of these four working men.

The prosecutor explains, in his mincing tones, in which some warmth of disdainful indignation is apparent, that the four men, with four women and sixteen children, have actually been in possession of this house since February.

As a matter of fact, one homeless family moved into the house last December, but the Receivers in Chancery did not discover the presence of unauthorised occupants till a couple of months had passed.

The Master in Chancery, explains the prosecutor, has authorised these proceedings under the Statutes 5 Richard II., c. 8, 15 Richard II., c. 2, and 8 Henry VI., c. 9.

"You are aware, sir," he says, "that they are still in force."

The magistrate knows nothing about these old Statutes. He shakes his head. The ways of the Chancery Court are beyond his comprehension.

The Magistrate: "Why not an ordinary action for ejectment?"

The Prosecutor: "This has come before the Master himself; I am acting under his instructions."

The Magistrate: "But what has that got to do with me? Why have you let all this time elapse? By an ordinary ejectment order you could have got them out much sooner."

The Prosecutor (waxing more indignant—the

Master evidently desires to mark his view that this is a serious offence): "These men should be punished. They have seized this house in grossest violation of the King's Peace."

The Magistrate (looking up from the text of the old statutes): "Do you suggest a fine?"

The officials of the Court confer in whispers. The magistrate continues his study of the venerable Statutes: he ruminates to himself over the ancient language:

15 Richard II., c. 2, A.D. 1891.

". . . them that make entries with strong hands into lands and tenements, or other possessions whatsoever, and them hold with force, and also of those that make insurrections, a great ridings, riots, routs or assemblies, in disturbance of the peace, or of the common law, or in affray of the people, shall be holden and kept, and fully executed; joined to the same that at all times that such forcible entry shall be made, and complaint thereof cometh to the justices of peace, or to any other of them, that the same justices or justice take sufficient power of the county, to go to the place where such force is made, and if they find any that hold such place forcibly after such entry made, they shall be taken and put in the next gool, there to abide convict by the record of the same justices or justice, until they have made fine and ransom to the King. and that all the people of the county, as well as the sheriff and others, shall be attendant upon the same justices to arrest such offenders, upon pain of imprisonment to make fine to the King."

8 Henry VI. A.D. 1429.

"Item, whereas by the noble King Richard, late King of England, after the Conquest, the second, at his Parliament holden at Westminster the morrow after All Souls, the fifteenth year of his reign, amongst other things, it was ordained and established, that the statutes and ordinances made, and not repealed, of them that made entries with strong hand into lands or tenements, or other possessions whatsoever, and hold them with force, and of them that make insurrections, riots, routs, ridings, assemblies in disturbance of the peace, or of the common law, or in affray of the people. should be holden and fully executed. . . .

"And for that the said statute doth not extend to entries into tenements in peaceful manner and after holden with force. . . .

make [any] forcible entry into lands and tenements or other possessions, or them hold forcibly, after complaint thereof made within the same county where such entry is made to the justices of the peace, or to one of them,

by the party grieved, that the justices or justice so warned, within a convenient time shall find us another place to go to? " cause, or one of them shall cause, the said statute duly to be executed, and that at the

costs of the party so grieved." What would Richard II. and Henry VI. have thought, could they have been present to see prosecuted under their Acts, not the powerful robber barons of their day, with their strong bands of armed men, but these four unemployed, homeless workers, with their wives and sixteen children, the youngest of them born in the house they seized?

The Magistrate (looking up from the Statutes of Richard II. and Henry VI.): "First of all, ceed under these Acts."

under-tones as to whether the Acts of their premises in conformity with the law. Richard II. and Henry VI. are all necessary, The shortage of houses, acute in all working. or whether that of Henry VI. will suffice.

the discussion between the magistrate and the

owner of the house. I thought that Mr. Rosenburg might find the landlord and find me a from the Army; but the builder, being short of place to go to."

get people into trouble unnecessarily. We of the insurance dole, he was rendered homemight adjourn, to give them an opportunity to less, and has lived eight months under the clear out.

The Prosecutor mutters objections.

The Magistrate: "If these men say they'll

Nav: " At the time I am accused of making forcible entry into these premises I was at Gibraltar, serving in the Army."

The Magistrate (indulgently): "Then you couldn't be breaking into this house." Keeling: "We are willing to pay rent."

The Magistrate (testily, incoherent): "People don't want tenants forced upon them. . . Law of this country. . . property . . . can't

allow this sort of thing." Nunn: "Would you be prepared to have a

statement from all of us? " The Magistrate (more testily, more incoherent): "Houses cannot be entered in this way . . . rights of property . . . law. . . an injury to all.

This county . . . landlords don't want . . . can't allow. . . ." The Prosecutor (in low tones to the magistrate): " . . . Proceedings in the High Court.

The Magistrate: "Oh, there are proceed-

Nav: "We are all four ex-Service men." The Magistrate: "Ex-Service men can't get into other people's houses."

let no one part man and wife."

Nunn: "We've looked after the house and repaired it."

The Magistrate: "If we were to adjourn, it would give you an opportunity to clear out."

The Magistrate: "No, no; no one accuses you of stealing."

Summerfield: "I was living under the tarpaulin last winter, and my little children were hungry and cold. They wouldn't give them anything but the Workhouse. I was the first one to go in there. I found all the paper hanging down, and it was littered with rubbish. The newsboys used it as a lavatory; it wasn't fit for anyone to go into. I cleaned it

The Magistrate: " Now I shall adjourn, to give you an opportunity to go; if you don't, there will be forcible ejectment under this old Statute."

The Prosecutor: "Tell them there will also be imprisonment."

The men in the dock: "Where are we to

The Magistrate (irritated by not receiving the is all I'll give you."

The men in the dock: "Will this landlord

40 South Grove.

An old house with nine rooms, including the kitchen and a scullery. The unemployed who have annexed it have mended the windows. whitewashed the scullery and outhouses, mended the paper on the walls, and repaired the drains. They have done the best they can to make the place comfortable with the few poor pieces ot furniture they possess and the scanty means at their disposal. One of the men makes toys, for sale on a barrow in the street.

you've got to prove forcible entry if you pro- The place overflows with little children. The occupants are overcrowded, but not more so than The magistrate and the prosecutor confer in many other workers who pay rent and occupy

class areas, is specially acute in Peckham and The men in the dock-Keeling, Dunn, Nay, Camberwell. It was not far from here that the and Summerfield-whose fate is thus being de- Ormeside Road evictions took place. It is not cided without reference to them, break in upon far from here that the fauilies are living in huts made from rough wood covered with oil-cloth and roofed with tarpaulin weighted down by Keeling: "I have been trying to find the stones. One of the men living there with his family got work with a builder on his discharge work, dismissed him. Thus he became unem-The Magistrate (blandly): "I don't like to ployed; and, not being able to pay his rent out

> The case of Keeling, Nunn, Nay, and Summerfield will be heard again on August 23rd.

In the twentieth century, now that modern science and machinery enable mankind to produce more of the necessities and adornments of civilised life than can be actually used by the world's population, people whose only crime is unemployment are living thus.

Is it not time for the workers to refuse to go homeless or to starve in a land of plenty?

Socialise the houses.

Socialise the food.

Socialise all the means of life: the entire range of production and distribution.

In the meantime, regard an injury to one as

Do not allow Keeling, Nunn, Nay, Summerfield, and their families to be victimised.

RED NIGHTS. A STORY BY L. A. MOTLER.

(Continued from last week.) We were well down the fire-escape ere this occurred, however, and making our way through Nay: "We were thrown out on to the streets, the hoardings that were at the back of the huge We had nowhere to go but the Workhouse, newspaper building, where an extension was aeroplane, but the grounds were far too small they will draw from all over the surface of the from which Jesus had preached in those street pleased." He was tenderly grateful unto his which I very much object to; they break up the being erected. Nobody was in the back street for a "take off." As we crossed over to the poor love to tell, in their mother for having borne him. The great blessfamilies there. It says in the marriage service into which we emerged, as attention was con- lawn we saw a huge biplane of a kind new to well as the raw materials they need for their epic of glorious contempt for the deadly dull and ing of knowing his life's work was given unto centrated on the front, the troops having barely us. On each side, besides the usual two planes, manufactures. The steadily increasing speed of most proper synagogues. It no longer inspired him and enriched his life and outlook. Unto arrived. Our own men hall been indiscreet enough to fire at once on seeing the troops Venetian blind. On top, over the body, was relicensing facilities of shipping have contributed judged.' It no longer pleaded for the woman he would return the same a thousandfold if it come up within range.

Milly nearly crocked her ankle on the kerb Nay: "We're accused of stealing and-" the street being badly lighted, but she just smiled and ran on. We turned the corner and darted into a doorway before the troops came round at the double. We could see them clambering out of the half-dozen motor lorries that half brought them, and at the top of the street we could just glimpse a tank, followed by a fast-gathering crowd. As they passed us we stepped out of a doorway and mingled with them. We could not delay, however, and soon made

our way out and were on a 'bus bearing us westwards. As we got to the top of Whitehall we saw a barricade had been erected, packed with troops and police. And we discovered the meaning of the regular chug-chug we had heard when our 'bus neared Chancery Lane. It was a small field piece in action. The whole of Whitehall had been cleared of people, and it was now a regular champ de bataille. Firing came from the Government offices, but it died down as one by one the shells took effect. The Government had given orders to wipe out the customary thanks and promises); "Three weeks revolutionaries even at the cost of destroying the historic buildings. And, above all, they needed

to get possession of the wireless to commun with the Fleet. It was imperative to them know what was going on on the high They wanted to check whatever orders the volutionaries had transmitted before they be to take effect.

I looked at Milly. She turned away, wit set mouth but a suspicion of tears in her e I took her arm and turned across Trafales Square. As I passed up towards Charing Cross a hand was laid on my arm. I turned and me the bloodshot eyes of Bagoff. His dishevelle c'othes had been put into some hasty semblan of order, so as not to attract attention.

"It is all ever," he said. He threw has shot. The whole Army has been turned against let no longer patiently the misery occasioned the rendezvous is fixed for half-an-hour."

We dived into the nearest Underground were soon speeding northwards. As we aligh from Golder's Green station we saw two the Headquarters walking in front of us. did not join them till we had passed out of crowd, then all five of us made for the reservoir We expected to see a motor waiting, but found no sort of conveyance. Nor was there any save our five selves at the rendezvous.

In a minute, however, a gate opened acr the road, and someone came towards us. recognised the naval officer, who had one h bound in white, but was smiling cheerily.

"You're just in time," he cried, and, taking field with decentralised industry—and it will Milly by the arm, led us through the gate into have to provide for "integrated education," the grounds of a well-set house. As we passed which education alone, by teaching both science up the steps of the front door he turned to us and

"I am taking you in for a snack. We have to society the men and women it really needs. only a quarter of an hour left, but that will Each nation her own agriculturist and manube enough to take the edge off your appetites facturer; each individual working in the field You can have a proper meal aboard."

And, ushering us to a room where food drink was laid on the tables, he left us. found five others of the Headquarters therethat remained of the sixteen. Four had l killed in the melee, and the other two shot o of hand when captured. We remained talking between mouthfuls until a young man dressed the in engineer's overalls came in and spoke to u

will join him."

peculiar kind of propeller. bered some recently invented contrivance, c a helicopter, I think, by means of which aeroplane could rise horizontally, and, if need remain in a stationary position in m Then slowly, with gradually increasing spe the plane shot forward and our journey was

Bagoff was seated at the front end, ji hind the compartment where the Comman was piloting the strange craft. I saw him over a table as something began to click-click Then he picked up a piece of paper, and, scanning it, passed it on to us. It was a mess such as are printed on tape machines. a last look at England," it said. And look down I saw we were well over the sea.

The last of our Red Nights. . . .

THE END.

BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM. By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from May 27th issue.)

urse, as long as society remains organised permit the owners of land and capital priate for themselves, under the proof the State and historic rights, the surplus of human production, no such can be thoroughly accomplished. But esent industrial system, based upon a pert specialisation of functions, already bears teelf the germs of its proper ruin. The inol crises, which grow more acute and prohead in the direction we had just come from secute by the armaments and wars implied "The Head has decided to quit, and such the present system, are rendering its mainare left alive are to meet at Golder's Green more and more difficult. Moreover, the near the reservoir. It is no use staying to he workers plainly manifest their intention to supus. The Admiralty was deserted twenty each crisis. And each crisis accelerates the minutes ago. The troops don't know it, as the when the present institutions of individual occasional shots coming from there are only leaperty and production will be shaken to their abandoned cartridges exploding by a fue foundations, with such internal struggles as will attached to them. We had better hurry for lanend upon the more or less good sense of the privileged classes.

we maintain, also, that any Socialist nt at remodelling the present relationships between Capital and Labour will be a failure if loes not take into account the above tenlencies towards integration. Those tendencies have not vet received, in our opinion, due attenom the different Socialist schools; but they must. A re-organised society will have to abanon the fallacy of nations specialised for the action of either agricultural or manufactured . It will have to rely on itself for the ction of food and most of the raw matet must find the best means of combining lture with manufacture—the work in the indicraft from earliest childhood, can give

and in some industrial art; each individual coming scientific knowledge with the knowledge handicraft—such is, we affirm, the present lency of civilised nations. The following ages are intended to prove the first of these

prodigious growth of industries in Great ready, and, if you are, he will be glad if you that a few nations of Western Europe were poor—as charity! Paganised, that noble stately carrying 'bus, with seats on each side, a spallart—the statistician and almost the poet of soup-kitchen significance. It meant mesmeris- the abyss of time with Jesus the son of man. covered body, and glass windows. We had the world-trade—we are inclined to fall into quietness, patient misery, I suspect that it was the sacredness and the

organising capacities! Is it not a grand sight, imitate it. this busy and intricate exchange of produce all So that the death of the State is the doom

and how long will it last?

battle. She became supreme on the seas. Bor- ness for his faith. deaux was no more a rival to London, and the And so the forum nurtured and educated the French industries seemed to be killed in the bud. Apostle. It lost him God and found him man. And, favoured by the powerful impulses given. It deprived him of Christ and gave him Jesus. to natural sciences and technology by the great So that he mixed with Demos at thought and area of inventions; finding no serious competi learned to say in his inmost soul with a power tors in Europe, Britain began to develop her and conviction mere church-goers cannot hope to manufactures. To produce on a large scale in understand: "Jesus, the very thought of thee, immense quantities became the watchword. The with sweetness fills my breast." For Jesus necessary human forces were at hand in the meant to him the people, its tragedy, martyrpeasantry, partly driven by force from the land. dom, and faith epitomised in one individual. partly attracted to the cities by high wages. Almost, in his Atheism and his iconoclasm, he The necessary machinery was created, and the found himself saying: British production of manufactured goods went "Jesus, there is no dearer name than thine on at a gigantic pace. In the course of less than seventy years-1810-1878-the output of coal grew from 10 to 133 millions of tons, and the sand miles of railways were built.

THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED. (One of many MSS, written in Barlinnie Prison,

Glasgow.) II. in, and the simultaneous development of From that time onward Imperial Pagan Priestinternational traffic which now permits the craft decked itself out in the garments of Chris-

from Canada, grapes from Malaga, and so on?" Jesus was Cæsarised. He was stereotyped some measure of passing legislation. In the telaim the West Europeans. "Already now." into a dead Christ and an ornamental God, re- forum they discovered the soul of the people, they say, "our food consists, even in modest duced from a living voice of the streets to the and winged its message throughout the world households, of produce gathered from all over dead authority of Church and State. His ten- of misery. the globe. Our cloth is made out of fibres derness was paraded as interested charity. His Demos directly thinking decides finally. frown and wool sheared in all parts of the world. manhood was degraded to charlatan divinity and There is no appeal and no repeal. The Republi-The prairies of America and Australia; the despicable deceit. Funeral pyres were lighted can movement of a century back came to nothing untains and steppes of Asia; the frozen wil- by Cæsarism in his name. Lies were proclaimed but promise in the forum because it failed the lesses of the Arctic regions; the deserts of in the terms of his pet phrases. He was im- needs of Demos. So failed Chartism. Labourism, rica, and the depths of the oceans; the tropics prisoned by the church of privilege in a gaol of with the consent and approval of the forum, he lands of the midnight sun are our tribu flattery, forture, idolatry, and divinity. But he sweeps aside Liberalism also. But on the fringe All races of man contribute their share never lost his great wonderful living power. of Labourism are gathering the forces of Compplying us with our staple food and luxu- The prison of State never killed his wonderful munism. The forum is watching with enwith plain clothing and fancy dress, while humanity, just as the freedom from station neve:

we are sending them in exchange the produce revealed the genius of Cæsarism. Intrinsic of our higher intelligence, our technical know. worth is never destroyed. False pomp and ledge, our powerful commercial and industrial ceremony hides it for a time, but can never

over the earth which has suddenly grown up of Cæsar, whilst the death of the Church is within a few years?" the glory of Jesus. With the fall of the Church, Grand it might be, but is it not a mere night. Protestant and Catholic, the shadow of Julius mare? Is it necessary? Is it advantageous for passes for ever, but not the shadow of Jesus. humanity? At what cost has it been obtained, The Christ of fiction and the Church militant, of divinity and establishment, disappears only Let us turn seventy years back. France lies that the Jesus of reality may be revealed and bleeding at the end of the Napoleonic wars. released unto mankind to take his place in the Her young industry, which had begun to grow councils of the streets for ever on-Jesus the at the end of the last century, is crushed down. son of man, poet and prophet of the poor, the ed, and are rendered still worse and still Germany and Italy are powerless on the indus- great outstanding figure of his epoch, proclaimtrial field. The armies of the great Republic ing the eternal glory of the third-rate. Deprived have struck a mortal blow to serfdom on the of the false pomp and ceremony with which the Continent; but the return of reaction tries to Church surrounded him the better to entomb his revive the decaying institution, and serfdom influence, robbed of the bogus halo of ecclesiastimeans no industry worth speaking of. The cal divinity, questioned and tortured with enterrible wars between France and this country, quiry, considered in the marked simplicity of which wars are often explained by merely politi- his chaaracter as he was, the man sorrowing at cal causes, had a much deeper meaning—an the dominion of kings and their iniquities, the economic meaning. They were wars for supre- greatness of Jesus becomes manifest. This is macy on the world-market, wars against French not the Jesus of Rome or even Calvin. This is commerce and industry; and Britain won the the Jesus of Servetus, dying with perfect sweet-

Which Time has graven on his mighty scroll, No wreaths, no garlands ever did entwine

So fair a temple of so vast a soul." exports of manufactured ware from 46 to 200 Almost, except for a consciousness of the millions of pounds. The tonnage of the com- sweetness and greatness of the life and teachmercial fleet was nearly trebled. Fifteen thou ings of Gautama the Buddha-another enlightener of the forum.

For the spirit of the forum was upon him. It called him first as a child of Demos to think and to educate. It made him preacher and teacher. Then it chose him solemnly and deliberately for apostolic work. He knew the call and felt the inner consecration. I suppose that, individually, the parkites were never conscious of the call they uttered in their collective personality of Demos. But call Demos did-and transport of raw materials and articles of food tian beauty. But the robes did not suit the Apostle heard and responded. He felt his "The Commander sent me to say the bus it on a gigantic scale have created the impression robed. Bread and circuses were given to the love go out unto the people and his soul quicken within him. The white flame of a great enthudestined to become the manufacturers of the word of the streets lost its wonderful old-time siasm enwrapped him. He was transfigured, We rose, wondering what way we were to world. They need only—it was argued—to meaning of understanding love and reverent and the voice of the people whispered within make our escape. "Bus" evidently meant supply the market with manufactured goods, and tender consideration. It was no longer the text him: "My beloved son, in whom I am well were a set of smaller ones, like the laths in bansoceanic communications, and the steadily the thought: "Judge not, that ye be not the people from whom he had received so much enforce the above impression. If we take taken in adultery and uttered brave words of was given unto him to do. Demos at thought We were handed warm coats, and all got in the enthusiastic pictures of international traffic wisdom about "casting the first stone." It had received its child as a novice and sent him side. The machine was built like a passenger drawn in such a masterly way by Neumann- now acquired a bateful corruptive palliative forth an apostle to link hands and purpose across

barely settled down when we felt some motion testasy before the results achieved. "Why and crime. It spelt the death of the soul of glory of this call to achievement that hallowed Slowly the huge machine began to rise, with shall we grow corn, rear oxen and sheep, and man, the perpetuated crucifixion of Jesus. In a the Hyde Park forum in the eyes of the Apostle. out any forward movement. Then I remem cultivate orchards, go through the painful work sense of irony, it preached: "Jesus and him and explained his prejudice towards it above all of the labourer and farmer, and anxiously watch crucified "-by the Church of the world of other forums. He compared it to Westminster, and the sky in fear of a bad crop, when we can Cæsarism, of course. The entire performance and considered of how much more eternal weight get, with much less pain, mountains of corn from was a mockery—a skeleton masquerading as and consequence was its wisdom than the paper India, America, Hungary, or Russia; meat from human being, death pretending to be life, the enactments of the State assemblies. In Parlia-New Zealand, vegetables from France, apples grave presuming to be a human habitation. ment was evolved with laborious expediency

(Continued on p.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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AN APPEAL TO YOU.

To you who are holiday-making, we issue an urgent appeal from the staff of the Workers Dreadnought which remains at work. Do not holidays as at other times.

We have heavy liabilities to meet and a great Ireland. propaganda to do.

Send us your donations to the Dreadwought To you who stay at home and to you who

are going away for holidays, we urge: Do not relax your efforts to increase the Dreadnought

Remember that every little helps, and that we need your help to carry on!

WORKERS' CONTROL IN IRELAND.

The Beginning.

Amid the turbulance of the Nationalist struggle in Ireland an industrial movement is growing, whose object far transcends the petty Griffith. The object of this industrial movement is no other than the Communist Industrial Republic.

The stronghold of this movement, though its influence extends throughout Nationalist Ireland, is in Munster, which is the most highly developed region of the butter industry, the the work. most highly developed industry in Ireland.

Two years ago the seventy workers employed in fourteen creameries about Knocklong took possession of the factories, and, dismissing the manager, set up soviets and carried on for a week, at the end of which their employers were glad to regain possession by granting increased pay. The incident so fired the imagination of the workers that it has been followed by similar efforts of workers on farms, in flour-mills, gasworks, saw-mills, railways, and so on. The Dock and Harbour Board, in Cork, was superseded by the workers in this manner. The south and south-western railway system was in the workers' hands when the employers capi tulated. In almost every case the workers obtained substantial concessions by these measures, and in most cases held the concern till they voluntarily surrendered after obtaining the concessions. At a Drogheda iron foundry, however, the workers' soviet was driven out by the Black and Tans; and in one or two cases the forces at the disposal of Dail Eireann were used against them.

Movement Towards Permanent Workers' Control.

The taking over of the works merely to obtain wage or hours concessions from the employer was but a beginning. The permanent sovietisa-

tion of the concern is now developing. Cleeve's, the biggest firm of butter and condensed milk makers in Munster, began reducing wages and dismissing workers during the winter. On May 13th the workers took over Cleeve's Creamery at Mallow, and are still in control

The movement has now spread throughout Munster and across its borders, and all the duct can be sold in Ireland. The greatest diffiworks that have been taken have been held, culty facing the creameries is to find a market except at Bruro, Bruree, and Kilmallock. The for it abroad. attempt to take the Lansdowne Works, in There is no difficulty in finding customers in veloped in connection with the Republican

seizure have been successful.

Sixty Creameries Taken Over.

The workers are now controlling sixty creameries and a number of farms. They control the Tipperary gasworks, where fourteen men are employed, as well as fourteen creameries in the neighbourhood.

In the Glen of Aherlow is an estate of 40) acres of arable land and 1,400 acres of woods and mountains, owned by Marcy Dawson, a British naval officer who went mad. This estate fell into the control of the agent, a man named Sanders. Did he appropriate it? Dawson trains the butter from Cleeve's non-soviet faccalled in the Black and Tans to blackleg the farm workers. The place was finally closed down after a prolonged dispute.

Eighteen months later the Workers' Council of Action re-opened the place. The workers repaired the disabled machinery and leaking forget that expenses are just as heavy during the boiler, set going the saw-mill, which employs ten men, and is one of the best in that part of

A High Standard of Production Maintained.

As may be expected, there are difficulties to be encountered. Firstly, there is the difficulty of obtaining the raw material. People might fear to supply the workers' soviets lest the original owners should return. Nevertheless, the workers' creameries obtain from the farmers 60 per cent, of the milk the old owners used

The butter produced under workers' control reaches the highest standard; 60 to 80 tons of butter is produced a week, and the work is everywhere carried on with efficiency.

No High-brow Experts. A Rank-and-File Achievement.

The Irish soviets have no unpleasant stories to tariff reform nationalism of such men as Arthur record of reduced output as a result of workers' control. These Irish soviets are purely the work of the humble rank and file. No high-brow experts, no bigwigs have had a hand in the work. Some local organisers of the Irish Trans. port and General Workers' Union, and the actual workers in the concerns taken over, have done

Some Difficulties.

Inexperience in certain directions, and the hostility met with in others, create some difficulties, of course. The soviet in the Tipperary gasworks found no difficulty in collecting the money from the workers using slot meters, but when they attempted to collect accounts from the wellto-do they found that only 50 per cent. of the trol of mills, creameries, and so on, are, many people concerned were willing to pay. The gas- of them, quite unaware that their actions are works were needing coal, and, being obliged to tending towards a change in the whole struc pay cash for it, the collection of accounts was ture of society. They do not realise that they proceeded with as quickly as possible. On the are laying the foundations of a Soviet Republic necessary amount being collected, it was found that the woman clerk had banked it, as she always did, in the name of the firm, without realising that it would thus be impossible for the soviet to withdraw the money from the bank. In order to get the coal required it was necessary to get some more money.

which led to the taking over of the gasworks arose from the refusal of the firm to pay a journeyman's wage to an apprentice who had served his time. The apprentice was appointed manager by the workers' soviet, and he went on working at his old wage, without even getting. or demanding, the increase on account of which the dispute had arisen.

Attacks by the Farmers' Union.

The Farmers' Union carries on a warfare gainst workers' control. It makes raids on creameries, burning them down or taking away essential parts of the machinery, if the vigilance of the workers can be overcome.

British Government's Hostile Action.

Only a portion of the soviet creameries' pro-

everywhere else the workers' attempts at ture, acting in conjunction with the Free State Government, has succeeded in preventing the delivery of butter to customers in Ireland Twenty-nine tons of soviet butter was taken of ship at Falmouth by British authorities the other day. £800 worth of soviet butter sent t a Glasgow customer is detained by the authoric ties in Glasgow. Another consignment is de tained in London. None of the soviet butter disposed of in Ireland has been lost to the workers, though some of it was detained by the authorities for a few days.

August 12, 1922.

The workers have retailiated against hostili ties on more than one occasion by taking off the tories. They have taken some prisoners also and released them on conditions, and will take more prisoners as occasion arises.

The existence of the soviets and the temper of the workers is causing employers to deal carefully with their workers. Thus the wages of fitters in Cork are £5 4s. 10d. a week; and generally, though Irish wages used to be con siderably lower than British, in many cases they have been maintained at or above the war level whilst British wages have fallen.

The Workers and the Republicans.

There is a good deal of co-operation between the workers and the Republicans, because the Republicans need the workers. Therefore, the soviets operate to a certain extent under the protection and permission of the Republican forces. In some cases, however, the class prejudices of Republican commandants occasion trouble wit the workers. In one case the Republican commandant used his forces to put down a farm soviet and to compel the workers to labour under the supervision of the Republican forces. The Workers' Council of Action makes protest in such cases, and, as workers' support is essential to the hard-pressed Republican forces, suc practices will be easily stopped. Nevertheless. Inger paid holidays in the mines. t is important to observe that, while the Republican forces censor the war news and other matters of purely republican interest appearing in the newspapers published in the territory they control, the ordinary capitalist matter in regard to Labour questions and the class struggle at home appears unchanged. Of course, to alter the whole tone and outlook of the ordinary capi talist newspaper would mean big changes. Nevertheless, if the fighters for a Red Republi were in control, questions concerning th workers' economic status and their class position would be treated as of first importance. Eith the present daily papers would become Red, o Red papers would necessarily appear.

At present the workers who are taking con-

In Russia the workers have been deluged with propaganda for a Workers' Soviet Republic whilst the practice of workers' administration has been largely denied them, control bourgeois experts, enforced where necessary the military having superseded the worksho committees which originally seized the factories.

learning in practice how to carry on a workers' soviet administration without any extensive soviet or Communist economic propaganda.

Of course numbers of Reds who are helping with to build up the workers' soviets are consciously the Opposition Party of the Government), and working for a Communist Republic, but masses of workers are not, for the deed is outstripping the word in Irealnd. The great propaganda meetings, posters, newspapers, gramophones, stilling on the lines of no violence, and the literature, and in all sorts of ways that the Soviet Government was able to maintain once it methods would at once cut off support from got into power in Russia, of course, cannot be attempted in Ireland yet.

The Republicans realise that they cannot sult achieve much in their fight with the Free State Government and the British Government without the organised help of the workers. Moreover, the Republican ranks are largely honey combed with Communists and industrial revolutionaries. A civil organisation is being de-Limerick, and the Kanturk Works, failed; but Britain, but the British Department of Agricul- forces. It is more or less informal as yet. The

entatives on the various committees are arms." with regard to their technical knowledge aing some essential work. This is necessary, se, because the Republican army must proitself on Irish soil with munitions of warmeans of transport, feod, and clothes: all necessary to carry on their fight. This problem which faces every Army and nment which makes war; but when the at of Ireland, each army has both enemies and publicans, who are insurgents, without either tempt of Court." wealth or the power of a government in the ats of office, must endeavour to gain the coem to work as volunteers willing to face all In such circumstances workers' management of industry is inevitable.

ECHOES OF THE RAND STRIKE.

The terms set forth in a letter from the amber of Mines to the miners' organisations, ated January 30th, 1922, is said to have been he cause of the declaration of the general strike Rand. These terms were as follows: Average ratio of Europeans to natives on

reducing gold mines to be fixed for two years no less than one European to 10.5 natives. "2. Present addition to basic wages (approxiately 20 per cent.) to be immediately reduced alf, the remaining half to be eliminated at

. May Day and Dingaan's Day to be no

w the following sworn affidavit submitted to the lartial Law Commission by Mr. J. Thompson, airman of the augmented executive to the al Law Commission:

the letter of the Chamber of Mines was onsible for everything that has occurred, for distely following its publication in the the position changed. From every disand from nearly every Union, a demand for the declaration of a general strike. workers got very bitter, and on Monday, 5th, 1922, it was decided by the Execure of the Unions and the Executive of the The general strike had been turned cuperating after his strenuous campaign in It is interesting to observe that the dispute In Ireland, on the other hand, the workers are more than one occasion, and was only very by the Federation Executive Committee America on behalf of the Irish Republic: individual leaders of the Nationalist Party the Transvaal Executive of the Party, support of the members of the Party always given conditional on the strike prowas warned that any departure from peacequarter. The measure of public violence did occur was the direct and only possible of the Chamber of Mines, who always

peared throughout the strike to be following mon policy aimed at the crippling of Trade e (Mr. Thompson) is unable to submit prehensive statement for several reasons,

ia (1) all records have been taken by the

or stolen by others; (2) he does not desire

ke any statements except such as will assist

up partly on the soviet principle. The the Commission in arriving at accurate concluin the various units of production and sions, and more especially to exonerate bodies who are at present under suspicion of co-operato a central committee with a civil tion with connivance at some scheme for altertive nominated by the Army Council. The ing the Constitution of the Union by force of

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Thomas Sullivan, organiser for the Oil their own country." Workers' Industrial Union, has been sent to the county gaol at Gaspar, in the state of Wyomwith a foreign country the equipment of ing, on a vagrancy charge. He was denied his Army is carried on by the population at right under the U.S. Constitution of trial by ome in regular fashion. In a civil war, like jury. When he read to the magistrate the law which guarantees the right of every man to a lends in the territory it occupies. Clearly the jury trial, the Court said: "Sixty days for con-

Sullivan had been out in the Natrona county oilfields organising, and returned to his room to peration of the workers, and must appeal to find a policeman inside and his effects strewn upon the floor. The policeman had no search warrant; he said he had a right to break into anybody's house. Sullivan pleaded not guilty to vagrancy, declaring he hadn't missed a day'! work since November.

> "Your job isn't a useful job," said City Attorney R. M. Boeke.

Sullivan was put into solitary confinement, and since then has been held incommunicado.

A petition signed by 300,000 persons for the release of the eighty-seven political prisoners in the United States was presented to President Harding on July 19th.

Another witness for the prosecution against Sacco and Vanzetti has admitted perjury. This man gave evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti under the name of Carlos E. Goodridge, in Massachussetts. He is wanted by the State authorities for larceny under the name of Erastus ne Chamber is prepared to increase sub- C. Whitney. He has been married to one ally the number of apprentices so as to woman as Erastus C. Whitney, born in Jeffersist to a greater extent than it does at present son, N.Y.; to another as Carlos E. Whitney, a equipping the youths of South Africa for the born at Catskill, New York; and to another as Carlos E. Goodridge, born at Claremont, Va. "Having regard to the state of the industry He happened to be in the Massachusetts Court aused by the strike, no guarantee is given that charged with larceny when Sacco was detained trikers will be immediately re-engaged at the there on the murder charge. That is how he usion of the strike, or that every man taken came to see him. Whitney, Goodridge, or whatwill be employed in his former capacity or ever his name is, pleaded guilty to the larceny charge against him, yet he was released on proback to his boyhood. Then he was brought up as a witness against Sacco and Vanzetti.

> The defence naturally says that the thief was released on probation, in order that he might give false evidence in the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

IRISH NEWS.

FROM THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN BULLETIN. Raids, Threats, and Thefts.

The following telegram from Laurence Ginnell to Mr. M. Collins was occasioned by a raid on ederation, at a united meeting, to call a general the nursing home where Mr. Ginnell is re-

"Am convalescing in home of two trained actantly agreed to under a very pressing de- nurses, Kilbride Villa, Bray. Free State solfrom the vast majority of workers. He diers robbed house last night, including £60 of to emphasise that at several meetings my money, six Bank of England ten-pound notes. Leader gave receipt signed Finnegan; said he had Capt. Doran's orders to

> SHOOT ME AT SIGHT! "I claim from you my money and effective

De Valera's home was raided on July 7th.

Murder.

A boy named Saunderson, being refused a visit to one of the prisoners in Mountjoy Gaol, went to rear of prison and whistled to him. He was shot by Free State troops, and has since succumbed to his wounds.

England's Malicious Satisfaction.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons on July 20th, as to whether he was quite satisfied with his Irish policy now, Mr. Churchill said: "I am increasingly satisfied with it."

Who Rules Ireland?

Speaking at Colchester on June 29th, Sir L. Worthington Evans, Secretary of State for War,

"The Government had told Mr. Collins and Mr. Griffith that they had to govern or go. They had commenced to govern and had kicked the rebels out of the Four Courts. Hitherto the dirty work had been done by the British; now the Irish were responsible for clearing up

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO (key) DE L'EKZERCO No. 9. Do you think that it will rain?-I think not, because the clouds are dispersing and the setting sun is already low on the horizon.-Then, soon after sunrise, I shall get up and swim in the river, and then will go for a long tramp across the hill to inhale the fresh air .- Good; I will accompany you also.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭrigo.

El nia kuna antaŭdiro je la germana eldono

de 1872 mi citas la jenan: "Kiom ajn la stato de aferoj estas ŝanĝinta dum la lastaj dudek-kvin jaroj, la ĝeneralaj principoj proponitaj en tiu ĉi Manifesto estas, laŭtute, tiel pravaj hodiaŭ kiel iam. Tie ĉi tie ia detalo povus esti plibonigita. La praktika aplikado de la principoj dependos, kiel diras la Manifesto mem, ĉiuloke kaj ĉiuokaze, de la historiaj statoj en tiu tempo ekzistantaj, kaj, pro tiu kaŭzo, nenia speciala emfazo estas metata al la revoluciaj rimedoj proponataj ĉe la fino de Sekcio IIa. Tiu parto estus, en multaj manieroj, redaktata tre malsame hodiaŭ. Konsiderante la gigantajn paŝegojn faritajn de Moderna Industrio de 1848, kaj la akompanantan plibonigitan kaj etenditan organizon de la laboranta klaso; en vido de la praktika sperto akirita, unue en la februara revolucio, kaj poste, ankoraŭ pli multe, en la Pariza Komunumo, kie la proletariaro por la unua fojo tenis politikan povon dum du tutaj monatoj, tiu ĉi programo en kelkaj detaloj estas fariĝinta antikva. Unu fakto The attitude of the older Labour leaders bation, though he has a criminal record reaching laboranta klaso ne povas simple preni posedon de jam-farita stata maŝinaro kaj ĝin uzi por siaj propraj ŝtata maŝinaro kaj ĝin uzi por siaj propraj celoj." (Vidu "The Civil War in France; Address of the General Council of the International Working-men's Association," eldonita London, Truelove, 1871, p. 15, en kiu tiu ĉi punkto estas plue klarigata). Plue, estas memevidente, ke la kritiko de la socialista literaturo estas manka rilate al la nuna tempo, ĉar ĝi nur pritraktas ĝis 1847; ankaŭ, ke la rimarkoj pri la rilatoj de la Komunistoj al la diversaj opoziciaj partioj (Sekcio IV.), kvankam laŭprincipe an koraŭ pravaj, tamen en la praktiko estas an tikvaj, čar la politika situacio estas tute ŝanĝita, kaj la progreso de la historio forbalais de la tero la plimulton el la politikaj paprtioj tie nome

> Sed jam, la Manifesto estas fariĝinta historia dokumento, kiun ni ne plu havas ian rajton

> La jenan tradukon faris Sro. Samuel Moore. tradukinto de la pligranda parto da "Kapitalo," de Marks. Ni estas ĝin reviziintaj kune, kaj mi aldenis kelke da notoj klarigantaj la historiajn

> > Frederick Engels.

Londono, 30'an de Januaro, 1888. Daŭrigoto.

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIST MEETING:

FOREST GATE, WOODBRIDGE ROAD, Saturday, August 12th, 7 p.m. Speakers: A. Kingman, N. Smyth.

WORKERS' OPPOSITION. By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from last week.) At present the state of things is altogether different. In spite of the widely circulated promises made by the All-Russian Party Conference held in September, a no less important question than that of concessions was decided for the masses quite unexpectedly. And only due to the sharp controversy that arose within the Party centres themselves was the question of dealing with the trade unions brought out into the open to be thrashed out in debates.

Wide publicity, freedom of opinion and discussion, right to criticise within the Party and among the members of the trade unions-such is the decisive step that can put an end to the prevailing system of bureaucracy. Freedom of criticism, right of different factions freely to present their views at Party meetings, freedom of discussion-are no longer the demands of the Workers' Opposition alone. Under the growing pressure from the masses a whole series of measures that were demanded by the rank and file long before the All-Russian Conference was held, are recognised and promulgated officially at present. If one only reads the proposals of the Moscow Committee in regard to the Party structure he becomes proud of the great influence that is being exerted on the Party centres. If it were not for the Workers' Opposition the Moscow Committee would never have taken such a sharp "turn to the left." However, we must not over-estimate this "leftism," for it is only a declaration of principles to the Congress. It may happen, as it has happened many a time with the decisions of our Party leaders during these years, that this radical declaration will be forgotten, for, as a rule, they are accepted by our Party centres only just as the mass impetus is felt, and as soon as life again swings into normal channels the decisions are forgotten.

Did not this happen to the decision of the eighth Congress, whereby it resolved to free the Party of all elements who joined it for some selfish motives, and to use discretion in accepting non-working elements? What has become of the decision taken by the Party Conference in 1920, when it was decided to replace the practice of appointments by recommendations? The Inequality in the Party still exists in spite of the repeated resolutions passed on this subject. As far as the persecutions inflicted on those comrades who dare to disagree with the decrees from the above are concerned, they are still being continued. There are many such instances. If these decisions are not enforced, then it is necessary to eliminate the basic cause that interferes with their enforcement that is, to remove from the Party those who are afraid of publicity, strict accountability before the rank and file, and freedom of criticism.

Non-working members of the Party, and those workers who fell under their influence, are afraid of all this. It is not enough to clean the party of all non-proletarian elements by registration, to increase the control in time of enrolment, etc., for it is also necessary to create opportunities for the workers to join the Party; it is necessary to simplify the admission of workers to that Party, to create a more friendly Such is the line of the Workers' Opposition. atmosphere in the Party itself, so that the workers might feel themselves at home, that in the responsible Party officials they see not superiors but more experienced comrades, who are ready to share with them their knowledge, attention. experience, and skill, and consider seriously workers' needs and interests. How many comrades, particularly young workers, are driven away from the Party just because we manifest our impatience with them by our assumed superiority and strictness, instead of teaching them, bringing them up in the spirit of Communism.

Besides the spirit of bureaucracy, an atmosphere of officialdom finds a fertile ground in our Party. If there is any comradeship in our Party it exists only among the rank and file members.

The task of the party congress is to take into account this unpleasant reality, and ponder over

Thus, in its struggle for establishing demo- the coloured peoples with justice. cracy in the party, and the elimination of all bureaucracy, the Workers' Opposition advances contending with what was called a rebellion or three cardinal principles:

1. Return to the principle of election all along the line with elimination of bureaucracy, work for the white settlers, who complained that by making all responsible officials answerable to there was a shortage of cheap labour. There are

2. Introduction of wide publicity within the Party, both concerning general questions and where individuals are involved; paying more attention to the voice of the rank and file (wide discussion of all questions by the rank and file, German Government had permitted the natives and their summarising by the leaders; ad the use of the land which once was all theirs mission of any member to the meetings of Party Moreover, the South African Government introcentres, save when problems discussed require duced a tax on the dogs which the natives use particular secrecy); establishment of freedom of for hunting. opinion and expression (giving the right not only to criticise freely during discussions, but lations, and the South African administration to use funds for publication of literature proposed by different Party factions.)

party, with limitations imposed on those who fill offices, both in the party and the Soviet institutions at the same time.

This last demand is particularly important and essential, for the reason that our Party must not only build Communism, but prepare and educate the masses for a prolonged period of struggle against world capitalism, which may take on unexpected and new forms. It would be too childish to imagine that, having repelled the invasion of the white guard and imperialism on the military fronts, we are free from the danger of a new attack from world capital. which is striving to seize Soviet Russia by roundabout ways; to penetrate into our life, and use the Soviet Republic for its own ends. This is the potent danger that we must stand guard ren," and we must treat them as such. against, and herein lies the problem for our Party-how to meet the enemy well prepared, how to rally all the proletarian forces around the clear-cut class problems (the other groups of the population will always gravitate to capitalism). To carry on preparations for this new page of our revolutionary history is the duty of our

The most correct solution of the question will be possible only when we succeed in uniting the Party all along the line, not only together with the Soviet institutions, but with the trade unions as well. In the latter case the filling up of offices in both-in the party and in the trade unions-does not only tend to deviate the party policy from the clear-cut class line, but on the contrary, renders the Party more immune to the influences of world capitalism during this coming epoch; influences that are exerted through concessions and trade agreements. To make the Central Committee one of workers is to create such a central committee, wherein representatives of the lower layers connected with the masses would not stop to play the role of " parading generals," or a merchant's wedding party, and become closely bound with the wide non-partisan working masses in the trade unions, being enabled thereby to formulate the slogans of the time, to express the workers' needs, their aspirations, and direct the policy of the Party

along the class line. Such is its historic task. And whatever derisive remarks the leaders of our Party may employ only vital active force with which it is compelled to contend, and to which it will have to pay

THE "NO MORE WAR" FRAUD.

The Government of General Smuts, who is as zealous as Lloyd George for "No More War," has been dropping bombs on the Hottentots of Blondeswart, South Africa; and every bomb

The Protectorate of Blondeswart was captured from the Germans during the War, and the League of Nations gave the South African Government the Mandate to govern it.

The Hottentots have been considered a lawthe question: Why the Workers' Opposition in- abiding people, and everyone in Britain must per S. Pankhurst, 12/-; I. A. Cahill, I sists on introducing equality, on eliminating all remember the appeals to our sympathy that F. Brimley (monthly). 10/-; Mrs. Hart, privileges in the party, and placing under a were made during the War, on the plea that Anon., 10/-. Total for week, £2 5s. 10t more strict responsibility to the masses, those the Germans ill-used the South African natives, £253 11s. 61d.

administrative officials who are elected by them. and that only the British can be trusted to treat

Now the South African Government has been the Hottentots.

The Blondeswart Hottentots were unwilling to various ways of making a native work : one is encroach on his land; another is to tax him Therefore, the Blondeswart people soon had to complain that the South African Government had taken away part of a reservation while the

The Hottentots refused to obey the new regu. proceeded to punish them. The Cape Times 3. Making the Party more of a workers' a series of running fights " the administration "inflicted heavy casualties, fifty being killed enemy," added the Times, " is now totally de slightly wounded."

> On June 8th General Smuts announced that the Union military forces had now achieved "another great triumph," for the "rebellion was completely quashed." The Hottentots had surrendered. Abraham Morris, their leader. who was one of the Government's ablest scouts killed by a bomb from an aeroplane.

> General Smuts recently told the House of Commons that the natives are "like little child

TRADE UNION RULES AND THE LORDS.

The absurdity of the House of Lords being permitted to decide the application of trade union rules and of the workers' organisations being allowed to do this or that in regard t their members is clearly apparent. The fac that the trade unions submit to the dictation of the House of Lords is another proof of their incapacity for the class struggle. On July 28t the House of Lords decided that two registere carpenters' and joiners' unions might not expe their members for taking part in Lever Brothers co-partnership scheme, although one of the unions actually had a rule stating that members might be fined or expelled for taking part in o-partnership schemes in which the workers hold only a majority of shares in the concern.

The rules of registered unions are submitted for the approval of the Registrar-General; and, since he has approved this rule, it was rather sharp practice for the Lords to give this decision

Workers applying for a partnership certifica at Levers must sign an undertaking that he will in all respects abide by and conform with th provisions of the scheme, and will not waste time, labour and materials or money in the di charge of his duties, but will loyally and far fully further the interests of Messrs. Lever Brothers (Limited), its associated compani

This is like the oath of allegiance to King

George: a Socialist cannot take it. Lever Brothers have just announced a unemployment, and sick insurance scheme their employees who are co-partners. scheme may be withdrawn at any time if Lever Brothers do not desire to continue it. benefits are dependent upon good conduct, t workers being graded up or down for good or bad work and time keeping.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £251 6s. 6td. H. and M.

How Fortunes were made in the Mines.

YOUNG PERSONS IN COAL MINES, 1841-43.

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

"Father is Nearly Done in the Breath. Mother is Clean Done For."

August 12, 1922.

David Woddell, eleven years old, picks and raws, Edgehead Colliery, Midlothian: "I work except Monday, when I stay up because father pieces on my back, small in a creel. The disdoes. Sister and I work, and we are very sore tance of my journey about 200 fathoms. It wrought just now, as we have night and day takes me three burthens to fill one tub of 51 cwt. work. Father cannot labour much, as he is My back is very sore at times, but I never lie nearly done in the breath. I don't know how idle. Would not like to work so long, only reported that " in the course of a hot pursuit and old he is. Mother is clean done for, she can father bids me. (A most intelligent, healthy hardly breathe, and has not worked for some girl. Few men could do one-third the labour

and many wounded." "The morale of the David Smith, twelve years old, coal drawer, Preston Hall Colliery, Midlothian: "Draws in stroyed, and it is also obvious that they were harness. It is very horrible sore work; do not ing is so sair."

"I Draw in Harness. We are Worse Than The Horses."

seven at night; it is very sair work, and am never fit to gang." breath. The pit is very wet, and am compelled work." to shift myself when home on that account. Margaret Drylie, sixteen years old, putter, ness."

John King, aged twelve years. coal-hewer, over-work." Sherrif Hall and Somerside Collieries, Midlothian: "The work takes away the desire for food, as it is o'ersair."

"There Is Difficulty In Breathing and the The Lights Go Out.

Isabella Read, twelve years old, coal-bearer, nonstone Colliery, Midlothian: "Works on mother's account, as father has been dead two years. I am wrought with sister and brother. It is very sore work; cannot say how many rakes or journeys I make from pit's bottom to wall-face and back, thinks about 30 or 25 on the average; the distance varies from 100 to 250 fathoms. I carry about 11 cwt. on my and his co-partners, to the best of his skill and back; have to stoop much and creep through water, which is frequently up to the calves of my legs. When first down fell frequently asleep while waiting for coal, from heat and fatigue. is warm there is difficulty in breathing, and frequently the lights go out."

Never Been Able to Get the Knowledge of the Letters as I am so Sore Wrought."

hian: "Works twelve to fourteen hours with father. The place I Ilraw in is wet: the water fight. comes up to my knees. Am much fatigued by the work, which is distressing, being 300 homs from coal to pit bottom, and makes me. very sick. Never been able to get the know. ledge of the letters, as I am so sore wrought. Poor, ignorant, miserable object.)"

Catherine Meiklejohn, aged twelve, coalbearer, Blindwell, St. Germain's, Beving Pit, East Lothian: "I start to work at five in the morning, and lay by at six at night. I bring this lassie is compelled to perform.) "

William Woods, fourteen years of age, coalhewer, Sheriff Hall and Somerside Collieries. Midlothian: "The sore labour makes me feel short of ammunition. On our side one man was like it; would like daylight work better; draw- very ill and fatigued; it injures my breath. (I examined this boy on the Saturday, at a cottage near the pit, and the state of exhaustion he was in can scarcely be imagined.) "

John Baxter, aged fifteen years, coal-hewer, Janet Moffatt, twelve years old, putter, New Collinshield Collieries, Midlothian: "I work Craighall Colliery, Midlothian: "I draw the from two in the morning till six at night; done carts through the narrow seams. The roads are so for five years. My adopted mother puts my and fighters against the Germans has been 24 in, to 30 in. high; draw in harness, which coal. The work is gai sore for both of us, but passes over my shoulders and back; the cart is the woman has been a real kind friend to me. fastened to my chain. The place of work is very as I lost my mother soon after my birth, and wet, and covers my shoe tops. I pull the my father was murdered seven or eight years waggons of 4 to 5 cwt. from the men's rooms ago; he was thrown into the canal, and the to the horse road. We are worse off than the murderer was never sought after as there was horses, as they draw on iron rails, and we on no talk about the death, and therefore no

Archibald Muckle, twelve years old, coal- Walter Cossar, fifteen years old, coal-putter. hewer, Edgehead Colliery: "I go down at four Dalkeith Collieries, Midlothian: "Could go to in the morning, and don't come up till six and night school, but am ave that wearied that am

oliged to lie on my side, or stoop, all the time, Agnes Kerr, fifteen years old, coal-bearer, as the seam is only 24 to 26 in. high. There Loanhead Colliery, Midlothian: "It is sore is much bad air below, and when it rises in our crushing work; many lassies cry as they bring room we shift, and gang to some other part, up their burthens. I canna say that I like the and leave when the pit is full, as it stops our work well, for I am obliged to do it; it is horse

Never been to day school since down; go to the Elgin Colliery, Fifeshire: "The work is sore night as often as the labour will allow, am so straining; was laid by for three months short time since with pains in the limbs, caused by

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

A CHILD'S LESSON.

The Tower of Babel.

By TOM ANDERSON.

The story of the building of the Tower of Babel is very well known by every Scottish girl tengues is as follows: "There grew in the and boy; the reason being, of course, the story centre of the earth the 'wonderful world tree,' is given in the Holy Bible, and, being given or the 'knowledge tree.' It was so tall that there, we are taught that it is true.

of us thought it a wonderful story. And to all men together under my shadow, and protect or plumbers, the story seemed to appeal more. its branches, and cast them down on the earth, I do not like the work, nor do the lassies; but We thought it curious, the changing of the lan- when they sprang up as wata trees, and made guage; and we could quite well see that when difference of belief and speech and customs to the bricklayer asked for more lime and the prevail on the earth." labourer brought him a shovel there was likely. The name Babel is really Bab-el, or "The to be a row. Or if the foreman joiner said, Gate of God." To tell you the origin of the 'Saw this plank,' and, your language being myth would take too long; but let me say at changed so that you did not know what he was one time it was true, say 20,000 years ago, or George Wright, twelve years old, coal-putter, saying, you took the plank and threw it over more. The story as given in Genesis was the top, and possibly killed someone at the written not as having taken place at the period bottom, there might in all possibility be a free when the writer penned the story. The story

The story of the building of the Tower of the rise of culture. That is, it was past believ-Babel is given in Genesis, chapter 9, verses 1 to ing. What must it be to-day? A story for a 9, and it is believed by all persons calling them- pantomime? Yes, that is all. Yet it was once selves Christians. It is a beautiful myth, and true; and to the humans that trod the earth I cannot do better than write it for you. Will in those ancient days I raise my cap and say ? every girl and boy who reads it he so good as Your stories are beautiful.

to read it to their parents, just that the old folks may hear the stories of their childhood? 1. " And the whole earth was of one lan-

guage and of one flesh." 2. "And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the East, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there."

3. "And they said to one another,, Go to: let us make bricks and burn them thoroughly And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar."

4. "And they said, Go to: let us build a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make a name, lest we be scattered abroad, upon the face of the whole

5. "And the Lord came down to see the city,

and the tower, which the children of men built." 6. "And the Lord said, Behold, the people are one, and they have all one language, and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have

7. "Go to; let us go down, and there confound their language that they may not understand one another's speech."

8. "So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth; and they left off to build the city."

9. "Therefore is the name of it called Babel; because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth; and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of the

The myth of the building of the tower, like all other myths, has its origin in reality thousands of years previous to the recording of it, and so every tribe in the world had its tower.

Dr. Delitzch says: "Actually the Mexicans had a legend of tower building as well as a "flood." Xelhua, one of the seven giants rescued from the "flood," built the great pyramid of Cholula in order to reach heaven, until the gods, angry at his audacity, threw fire upon the building and broke it down; whereupon every separate family received a language

Dr. Kalisch says: "Most of the ancient nations possessed myths concerning impious giants who attempted to storm heaven, either to share it with the immortal gods or to expel them from it. In some of these fables the confusion of tongues is represented as the punish ment inflicted by the deities for such wicked.

Dr. Livingston tells the same story of the natives of Lake Niganu. It was the only way the natives of one district could account for the different languages.

The American tradition is to the effect "that the world was full of giants—they the giants they formed a godless resolve to build a high tower; but whilst they were so engaged on the undertaking a fearful wind overthrew it, which the wrath of God had sent against it. Unknown words were at the same time blown aming the men, therefore arose strife and confusion."

The Hindoo legend of the confusion of it reached nearly to heaven. The tree said in Forty years ago, when I was a lad, everyone its heart, 'I shall hold my head in heaven, and believed it, none of us ever doubted it. Many spread my branches all over the earth, and gather those of us who were learning to be tradesmen, them, and prevent them from separating.' But joiners, masons, plasterers, bricklayers. painters Brahma, to punish the pride of the tree, cut off

was beginning to die; it was fading away with

DEMOCRACY AND THE GIFT FOR GOVERNMENT.

Lloyd George, as you know, fellow-worker, made his name as a democrat: it was as a democrat that he began his public career and offered himself as a candidate for popularity.

You remember also, fellow-worker, that the late War was supposed to be fought in the interests of democracy. The Republics of France and the United States, and the Democratic Monarchy of Britain (the crowned Republic. some of the democrats called it) were fighting the autocracies of Germany, Austria. and Turkey. It was a war of new and old systems. we were told: what a quantity of bombast was talked about it-

Some people were foolish enough to believe it, and some people actually fancy that Lloyd

George is still a democrat.

Of course you know, fellow-worker, that Lloyd George is preaching to a different tune now. He has thrown democracy overboard: it has served its turn for the time being.

In the House of Commons the other night he was boasting that 1,200 civil servants are governing 315,000,000 people in India. "There are men," he says, "whose names are hardly known "; " ordinary and insignificant men," he called them, governing huge territories—their every word a command; their every sentence a decree accepted by these millions of people, accepted willingly."

Not so much willingness, you know, fellow-worker; but let that pass.

The Americans, declared Lloyd George, "are full of wonder" at the achievement, and

regard it as a miracle of the British gift for Government."

The German Emperor might have spoken thus of his autocracy: doubtless his thoughts upon government ran just in that strain, but the German Government under the Laiser was much more democratic than the Government of India under George V., and the capitalist administration of Lloyd George, the Secretary for India, he Viceroy, and the 1,200 British civil servants.

The Czar of all the Russias, too, of course, spoke and thought on the same lines, but even Russia under the Czars was not so autocratic as the present Government of India.

Lloyd George admitted that this is what he said of British rule in India: "There is hardly anything that is comparable to it in the history of the world, certainly not since the great day of the Roman Empire. Here," he declared, " is something for us to

be proud of." If the Germans had said that -- Well, well, fellow-worker, you know what would have been said! How the Democratic (!) Press of this country, from the Morning Post and The Times to the Daily Express and the Daily News, would have headlined their disgust, and how

Lloyd George would have perorated! But let that pass, fellow-worker: there is a greater Empire, a greater domination than that which the British Government and its 1,200 civil servants exercises over the Indian people

That Empire, that cruel and most oppressive domination, is wielded by the very rich over the working populations of the world. That Empire grows in power and in evil day by day.

You, as a member of the working class, under capitalism, are more whelly at the mercy of your rulers the capitalists, who control the Government and dictate the conditions of your employment and your life than ever were any body of people in the history of the world.

Seldom, indeed, in the history of the world, have the people submitted so tamely to a rapid worsening of their condition as the worke s of to-day.

How much lower must the standard fall, fellow-workers, before the point of resistance is

reached? The dockers are now facing an attack on beir wages. They know, every man of them

knows, fellow-worker, that if they leave the matter in the hands of their officials their resistance will be ineffectual.

They know, every one of them, that if they fight alone, without the assistance of workers in other industries, they will fight in vain.

They know, every one of them. that their Union officia's, and the officials of other Unions. will not make the fight a joint fight. They are beginning tentatively to act according to the necessities of the case. They, as rank-and-file men, men actually working in the docks, are beginning to hold conferences, to set up machinery, and to prepare plans of action with transport workers and railwaymen.

That is a beginning. The movement must not stop there. It must spread till it takes in workers in all industries; until the men and women who do the work are organised in every place where they work and are linked together in One Big Union, through which they can take entire control of production.

Such a big effort must be for a big object—for a Communist Industrial Republic.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

AN INDUSTRIOUS DO-NOTHING.

By L. A. MOTLER.

My friend Collis asked me the other day:

" Any luck?"

And my friend Archibald Certainly Not asked me t'otherest day:

" Any luck?"

You would think, Henry, my boy, that perhaps they referred to a little matter of sixpence each way on Pondoland. But they are not that sort of girl. At least Collie is not. If you take the word "luck" to mean work, then you have hit the nail on the bread-basket.

No, I have had no luck, I told them.

"Why don't you write something, then?"" they asked.

When I was in South Africa—but I am telling you. It is not so easy to get work in these "blessed" islands, with about a million and a-half going round trying to sell a song called "Unemployment," written by one of themselves. You would not believe it, but I have slightly bent my typewriter with about a thousand of "In answer to your advertisement in the Daily Pail of even date . . ."

You may not know it, but a lot do, that I have a sort of cold in my left fcot, which prevents me from "listening in" to the enlightening conversation of my fellow-mortals. So, of course, I am just naturally an expert at penpushing. The paper trade has never known stagnation whilst I have been around and kicking.

I am, unfortunately, like the man of whom the old rhyme said:

"Yorkshire bred And Cheshire cheese, Strong in the head But weak in the knees."

There's a joke here somewhere, and while you are thinking it over, Henry, I'll have the same again, thanks.

The beer I had in South Africa-"Why don't you write something, then?" asked Collie. That's where I was, if I remember. Well, it's like this: I can amuse my friends now and again with little bits of poetry and whatno, but when it comes to writing an article for a paper that coughs up the dough, somehow I never get there. I told Collie she might as well ask Trotsky to draw a comic children's corner for the Herald.

"But you're so clever," she said soulfully. "That's just it," I answered dolefully.

When I was in South Africa—yes, I must really get it off my chest—the only chance for me was to become an editor; but all the editors out, there would not admit it was time they retired to a Home of Rest. I never found a single gold nugget on the Rand lying about without a collar on its neck. I have walked up and down and round about Kimberley, but the only diamonds I saw there were on packs of cards. And as for ivory, all the elephants hide themselves modestly in the thickest part of the Addo Bush

and are never "at home "to strangers.

I have travelled five thousand miles round the Transvaal, Natal, Cape Province, and the Orange Free State (where there are a few orange-trees and not much freedom), but nowhere did I see the old and courteous intimation " Handa wanted." Most of what I did see was cinema like tin and plaster dorps scattered over a for. lorn, grassless, sunbaked veld irrigated by rivers. sluits and spruits that only knew water four months in the year. And in Johannesburg, the "Golden City," I was given a handbill, which read:

" Mass Meeting of the Unemployed in the Town Hall Square to-day. Bread or Stones? Work or --? "

Here in this country it is much more pleasant to be unemployed. You can go to a Labour Exchange and have all your family history entered on nice forms in buff, white, pink and blue. Then if everybody is satisfied that you are really an out-of-work printer they will give you an address five miles out of town where they want a blacksmith.

Also, there are more philanthropic societies here, always willing to help the under-dog, and no questons asked about its licence. So I me thought me of going round to the Bureau for Aiding and Abetting those Afflicted with Cold Feet in the Left Ear. They said to me:

"You are afflicted with the statutory affliction within the meaning of George III., cap. a. small i, plus an x?"

"That I am, madam," I said, making my best Transvaal Automobile Club courtesy. "For twenty years I have used no other."

"In that case you are qualified to fill Form W, which is only to be signed on Thursdays. Let me see—this is Friday, yes. C

again in a week's time." Now I come from Wigan, where they say that everything comes to him who waits not but goes round and kicks up a row at the front door instead of arguing with the cook at the back. So being Lancashire bred, but not being able to live by bread alone, I hied me to the Royal Welfare Association for the Assistance of those,

etc., etc." I was accested by a philanthropist in a dark suit, cut away at the neck to show a cellulois collar worn with its face to the back premises. He said:

"You are Church of England, of course? In spite of the "of course," I intimated the the Church of England and myself passed each other on opposite sides of the street. So I was referred to a gentleman of another denomination.

" Are you a Catholic, and do you attend your duties regularly?" he asked me. after I ha crossed half the West End to find him. I sa that regarding both parts of the question the answer was point-blank. He then suggested that I betake myself to a doctor. Apparently an individual afflicted with cold feet in the left ear, being neither Protestant nor Catholic, and expecting such societies to put a job in his way, must have cold feet in the brainpan. I went to the hospital.

I was pretty tired out with walking round so I did not fall off my seat when the doctor showed me a diamond-studded gold watch an then said what I was suffering from was over work.

"You must take a rest." he said.

I nodded in a tired fashion.

"A thorough rest," he added, putting the diamond-studded in his yard-and-half waistcoal I nodded again.

"By the way, what's your occupation?" enquired.

"I'm an anarchist." I said.

"Well, well, don't throw any more bom for a month," he said.

THE APOSTI.E .- Cont. from p. 3.

thusiasm and anxious hope. Demos at though wonders if the historic crisis is at hand; if day of deliverance from class rule is dawning To speed the emancipation, he appoints ministers of the forum and sends forth his cho apostles.

(To be continued.)

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