parliamentary Socialists Routed.

Morkers at Dreaduought International Communism. Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHUR

VOL. IX. No. 23.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

POEMS.

By RALPH CHAPLIN.

Ralph Chaplin, the author of the following poems, is a member of the I.W.W. He has spent five consecutive Christmases in a United States federal prison for his opinions, and is serving a term of twenty years.

THE WIND,

Once more the wind leaps from the sullen land With his old battle-cry.

A tree bends darkly where the wall looms high;

Its tortured branches, like a grisly hand, Clutch at the sky.

"Gray towers rise from gloom and underneath— Black-barred and strong—

The snarling windows guard their ancient wrong;

But the mad wind shakes them, hissing through his teeth
A battle song.

"O bitter is the challenge that he flings
At bars and bolts and keys,
Torn with the cries of vanished centuries

And curses hurled at long-forgotten kings
Beyond dim seas.

"The wind alone, of all the gods of old, Men could not chain.

O wild wind, brother to my wrath and pain.
Like you, within a restless heart, I hold
A hurricane.

"The wind has known the dungeons of the past, Knows all that are;

And in due time will strew their dust afar, And, singing, he will shout their doom at last To a laughing star.

Ocleansing warrior wind, stronger than death, Wiser than men may know;

0 smite these stubborn walls and lay them low,

Uproot and rend them with your might; breath—

Blow, wild wind, blow! "

MOURN NOT THE DEAD.

Dust unto dust—
The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die

As all men must;

dwell— dwell—

Too strong to strive—

Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell,
Buried alive;

at rather mourn the apathetic throng—
and dare not speak!

The cowed and the meek—

which the great majority of mankind are to-day pressed, corrupted and crippled, can only be movement that shall completely exterminate capimovement that shall completely exterminate capimovement every fibre of its roots.—W. Liebknecht,

The Collective Aspect of Education.

Extract From a Lecture Given Under the Auspices of the Ferrer Modern School, New Jersey,

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

The age in education that I am most interested in is infancy. I am of the opinion that the human brain is permanently thwarted, confused, and often crippled, before we go to any school at all; that the most important educative years are those where the first impressions are formed; that these first impressions are now formed almost exclusively at home and by, for the most part, the mother; that the average woman all over the world is still by profession a housewife, and generally a house servant. In our country it is said that only one woman in sixteen keeps even one servant; so most of us are still at that stage. So the child is reared and formed in his or her early years in the home and under the modifying influence mostly of his mother. This is assumed by almost everyone to be self-evident good thing. It is the order of Nature, and must be right. If you venture to offer suggestions or criticisms you are met not so much with argument as with the upreared weight of public opinion for all time. This has to be met in every generation. It has to be downed. And in course of time it finds itself replaced by something else. But when you seek to affect the human brain-and that is where every step of progress must be madeyou find that what you are dealing with is one continuous unbroken thing, the race-mind that goes back to the beginning of the world; and 't is too full of the oldest kind of ideas which have been preserved with especial care. The older they were, the more they were revered and considered sacred. It is enough for any idea to say " It is old " to have people think it must be correct.

Children-minors, that is-constitute threefifths of the human race. Your average family is two adults and three minors, and of those three you allow one a youth, one a child, and one a baby, and that baby would be one-fifth of the human race. And with us that would mean 20,000,000 babies. The baby, being t member of the family, is welcomed as what we call "a little stranger." He is always. He comes into the family, he lasts a very little while, and then he is gone. "A baby" is essentially transient in a family. But the 20,000,000 babies that constitute one-fifth of our population are a permanent fifth. You remember that wonderful thing of Wells's where he spoke of a great hall filled with the wisest people on earth, trying to decide what is the wisest thing in the world. "Suppose into this hall there came pouring through a spout babies at the rate of a dozen a minute; would anything be discussed in that hall but what is the best thing to do with babies?" That is the way they are coming on earth. The suggestion ! am always trying to make about babies is that the cultural environment for babies and little children is of the utmost importance; that the home for adutls was neevr intended to be a cultural environment for babies.

The home is a place for grown-up people to be comfortable if they can, and to rest in if they can. It is built for adults by adults, it is furnished and decorated for adults. The principal misbehaviour of children, what we call naughtiness, is almost exclusively the inevitable

interaction between a child and the house. If you tried to bring up a colt in a flower-garden he would be naughty, yet he wouldn't be doing a thing but what in a pasture would be no earthly harm. And what little children are punished for is for the most part some sort of injury to our things or their clothes—clothes that they never asked for and that never were arranged to please them—but there they are, put upon them, and then they must behave thus and so, not to injure their or our clothes or the wall-paper or the furniture, etc. And if they were able to say anything themselves they might say, "Well, where can I go? Haven't I any place?"

As soon as the child begins to really try to feed its brain, to learn, the first organ by which it seeks to learn is the hand-reaching out for information. Just exactly as it uses its eyes or its ears or anything else. But no information has been provided. The average home is not a place for babies to get information—it is a place to be kept clean and orderly and decent for the grown people. So the child reaches out its hand for information and its mamma says, "No, no, don't touch." You will say I am going back to the year one, this isn't done any more. Perhaps it is not in the circle you know most about. But it is in the world generally. And the weary and anxious mother says, "I can't let that child out of sight for a minute." And another proud, successful mother says, "I have trained that child not to touch a thing." You might just as well train a child not to hear a thing or see a thing as not to touch. When we have some real idea of the possibilities of learning and growth of any child we will provide for our children a place where every feature, light, colour, form, is carefully planned for babies; for the benefit and the gradual, unconscious development of babies. And what things there are in it, especially movable things, will be for the babies to learn and to handle and look at and feel and use as the necessary media of information to their minds.

A normal brain-action comes in as an impression, is retained, is associated with the other things that were there before, and then comes out in action. Unless it comes out in action it is of no earthly use; it doesn't make any difference how much you know, how much you think, how much you feel, if you don't do any thing. The child receives impressions, retains impressions, correlates impressions, and then being a child, still healthy and still normal, seeks to express the impression in action, to discharge the energy.

(To be continued.)

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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

The high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment

A FERRER MODERN SCHOOL.

The Ferrer Modern School, U.S.A., which entered into a new building and adopted new methods nearer to the Ferrer ideal in October, 1920, aims at working a system of "learning by doing."

The teachers publish a monthly magazine, the Modern School, which is printed at the school by the children. The children also edit, print, and publish a magazine of their own. This is what they say about it:

"OUR PRINT SHOP.

"In the Modern School we have a print shop. Our teacher is Uncle Scott, and he says the print shop is to work in, and we have to go outside if we want to play, because the type would get knocked over. One day Uncle came in and saw type over the floor; but we were not playing any more, and he knew we had been playing, so he gave us hell. After that we said let's print a magazine of our own; and after we got the type set up we printed it, and this is the third one; and here it is.

" VICTOR AND EDGAR." The children do all the work connected with their magazine. "Uncle" Paul Scott, a work-

ing printer, says: "This number has been produced without editor, manager, or boss of any kind. . . . The children simply come into the print shop of their own initiative, set up anything they feel like without asking permission of anyone, their product being unedited, unexpurgated, and uncorrected. Before their stories are printed, each child is shown a proof sheet of his particular contribution, and allowed to make any corrections that he may desire to make, the teacher's function being to answer as intelligently as possible the various questions the children feel the need of asking-these questions usually of capitalisation or punctuation, or to spelling of nouns. Questions relating to grammar are

seldom asked. . . . "The children have used any number of cooperative schemes in getting their work done, one setting type for another who had possibly written down his story for him from dictation, or whose time was taken up in folding or slipsheeting, or some of the other countless 'social' duties."

The ages of the children contributing to the magazine range from five to thirteen years. The eldest contributor is Anna Cohen, aged fourteen. She has designed and engraved the cover, which is exceedingly pleasant in colour and design. The youngest contributor is Margaret Goldblatt, aged five. Here is her story:

THE DEVIL.

"Dictated to Lipman, set by some Hoboes." A little girl one day she went to the woods and the devil ate her up and her friends wondered where she was, and they went to the same woods she did, and the devil ate them up. and the children were holding his tongue. Their mothers were crying for them and they went in the same woods as their children. The children had seissors with them, so their mothers saw a little hole in the devil, so they made a were safe and ran home as fast as they could Then through the morning mist, run home."

The children's stories are mainly about I saw their slim bodies dragons, giants, Indians, hunters, hidden treasures, or ordinary incidents of daily life: going to the park, going to bed, going to New York to see the "niovies," and so on.

One forms the impression that if the children learn history, geography, and chemistry, it has made no impression on them, for no trace of such study manifests itself in their writings. These things will doubtless levelop in time. bowever. This is how the school works:

Alexis Fern takes out the woodworking tools, Hugo Gellert or Bill Pobrebitzky will open the and raffia for basketry, and the small frame still I enjoy it. We are all human, and it is way. looms for weaving, and everybody "goes to it" here you see humanity on its best behaviour. with such energy as would astonish anyone who "The Palace" is glorious. Were you ever our people smile, and in doing this it is doing is used to the atmosphere of the conventional young, or did the fates confine you to a slum? something. To us conscious humans belongs to school. . . . The youngsters are so much in- Methinks London is poor : it has not a " Palace." task of bringing the day when everyone w terested in the handicraft that it is almost im- Have you ever been to the " Palace" when you smile; and on that day will the Classless State possible to close up the class-room promptly were young?

at the luncheon hour and at 4 p.m. The afternoon session almost always runs on to supper time while the days permit.

Here are some further compositions of the Stelton children:

NATURE POEMS. By Irving Uswald, 12 years old.

THE BROOKLET. Through the brooklet muddy waters go, Over stones and rocks they flow,

Down to the mighty Hudson they go,

THE CLOUDS.

Up so high In the sky

Day and night they flow.

The clouds roll on and on! Once in a while they drop some rain, Then everything is happy again.

The clouds were angry at the earth for some reason or other, and would not drop any rain, so the wind came along and, hearing that the clouds refused to drop any rain, he decided to push them until they did. So he pushed and pushed them about until they were so exhausted that they dropped rain. And the people on the earth were very happy.

AN ODE "TO RUTH." By Samuel Pearl, 11 years old. Ruthy is a lollypop with big round staring eyes,

And all the time she's out of doors she gazes at the skies: She gazes at the birds that fly, and at the sky

so blue. But just the same I do believe she's a lollypop,

IF WISHES WERE TRUE.

By Lydia Wasserman, 10 years old. I wish I could be an angel With beautiful magic wings, I would make everybody happy, And joyfully they would sing.

The wonderful dreams of children See angels ever so fair, And all the beautiful flowers That shine in their wonderful hair.

Would you like to be a fairy, Dancing on the green, Jumping, singing, light and airy, And eevrything so clean?

DAWN CHILDREN.

And there were children dancing. Out among the growing wheat In a field . . . All golden and thick with dew.

And in the quiet air Lay the fragrance of early rain Upon the warm, fresh earth. And everywhere was music . .

Children's laughter amber in the sun.

As they ran through the tall grass.

. . . Golden and tan . . like wneat. MARGARETTA SCHUYLER, in the Modern School Teachers' Magazine.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN.

By TOM ANDERSON.

I have been to Douglas-in fact, I am writing art classes by placing the art materials on a this article there. It is a wonderful place. table and sitting down to draw. Kate Van All is joy and sunshine, everyone seems happy. Eaton or John Edelman brings out the reeds I have been to Douglas many times before, and

An old Jewish Rabbi has truly said, "You is a bed of roses." If you want to prove the statement, come to the "Palace." Girs gir every shade and colour; dresses that the rainby could not match; smiles, beautiful smiles, ever lasting smiles; everyone smiles because they a dancing in the Palace. And we old men le in and smile because the air is scented w

Do you want to make a selection from the stock of Mother Eve? You can do so. Y can fox trot or one-step, or waltz, and again fox trot, and then a balloon dance. Se. oh, the great throng of dancers play like lit children to catch the balloons, and the lau is loud and long. An earthly paradise, because " youth is a bed of roses," and roses are beauti ful, and so are the youths and maidens. The we have shadows dancing. Watch them. no other place does the picture look so well It is really beautiful.

Then another night you go to the Vill Marina, and here again is the same scene acter in the same way. And the music, it is superb ! am a musician, and to the orchestras of t Palace, Villa Marina, and Derby Castle I tend my sincere thanks for their delightful playir When the people live, what a wonderful t they will have.

Very many go to Derby Castle. Florrie Ford is singing in the ball-room every evening 8.45. You may not like Florrie, but that does by not matter; she is the idol of the young. other woman in our land can sing a chorus for 3. He had pleaded unsuccessfully for lenient the young as she can. Hear it, then sing it with her. The great human organ wells out and the tone strikes you in your human part. His brother was killed in the 1916 rebellion. "Sally." Nothing in it, only human; and we and on this ground Mr. Duffy is said to have are all little children, and "youth is the bed lasked that justice should be tempered with of roses," and Florrie sings, and it is more than thirty years since first I heard her. With boys I shout, "Good old Florrie!"

Everything in Douglas is on the same pl You swim. Why, you play at ring-a-ring the water, or you can bob up and de just like a little girl; and here also they laughing. Laughing is part of the holiday. cause we are human. I firmly believe, if were allowed to live-that is, the mass of v we should have a different world; we would cor Douglas.

In your big London city there are at le 2,000,000 who are too poor to move out of t street they live in. I think the fates sh destroy London; it would be an act of charit In our city of Glasgow more than half our peop are too poor to afford themselves a tram i to one of our parks. There is no laughter the -only sadness; only a pale wan woman a children; only a workman without work a hope. You meet them everywhere, and ever one is a "Henry," and a "Henry" is unto J. H. T .- not so exalted, but the mental is the same.

If I were a god I would take the children of men and send them to Douglas for the months each year, and I would burn all the slu and all the useless factories, and start the hum on a simpler plane of life; and in that life there mination League of Great Britain, was arrested would be laughter.

But that would be Communism; and while was arrested last week. the people are all at the bottom Communists, the Mr. Cope is still in command at Dublin ones at the top are not, and they are not having

Gentle reader do not think you can pier the brain of the wealthy of the land with kindly thought of common brotherhood. I an utter impossibility. Their world is yours. Their world is beautiful and grand, and gives unto them their every wish.

If you would bring laughter and joy and st shine into the lives of the mass, you must bring Communism. There is no other way. struggle to get it will be one calling for you every effort, and it may not come in your day but it will come, for we are moving on to Every year we pass another milestone on t

Happy, glorious Douglas is helping to make

IRISH NEWS.

FROM THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN BULLETIN.

HARRY BOLAND DEAD.

v Boland was shot while attempting to e arrest by the Free State troops. land and a friend took a room at the Grand Skerries. About 2 o'clock in the morne room was entered by Free State troops number, by their own admission, but say ten or twelve men). While he was Boland made an attempt to escape. Staters say he tried to seize one of their (Boland was unarmed) and ran out of the

Two shots were fired without effect, but

Mr. Gavan Duffy Resigns.

Minister of Foreign Affairs has resigned to grave differences on matters of policy. erstand that the chief points of difference

third pierced Boland through the back.

He objected to the present rigid Press cen. , believing in the intelligence of and the te freedom of the Press.

He was opposed to a further postponement meeting of Dail Eireann, contending that olicy of the Government should be endorsed the general assembly of elected representa-

ment for a son of Count Plunkett, now in ov Prison with O'Connor and the rest.

e Times of July 26th says:

"The prolongation of the Recess to the dle of November was a late decision of the all adjustments are made. and reflects the virtual certainty that ish Provisional Parliament will not have eted consideration of the Free State Contion in time for it to come before the h Parliament this year.

But an Irish Bill will be necessary in deof a Bill ratifying the Constitution. The rish Free State (Agreement) Act requires the il Parliament to be dissolved in Decemand a General Election held. The draft tion contemplates the continuance of the back. His condition is serious. ional Parliament for a period not exceedne year after the date when the Constitucomes into force, subject to its members ng the oath of allegiance. If the Constitu- Pogrom: has not been ratified by December, a Bill cobably be introduced to prolong the life e Provisional Parliament.

Preparing For Siege of Clonmel."

(Passed by Military Censor.) It may not be known that General Macready lander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ire--Irish Times.

Art O'Brien, President of Irish Self-Deter- elfast in Dublin on August 2nd. Sean T. O'Kelly mployment or homes in Be.fast

His services to the English Government been referred to by Mr. Churchill in the the Catholic and Nationalist minority began in ise of Commons as invaluable. Mr. Cope ely to continue there for some time. He in constant touch with the Irish Provisional rnment officials!

The War in Ulster. Dail Eirean Facts.

gunmen in Belfast resumed operations on night, July 30th, and as a result of volleys into Trinity Street a girl named Elizabeth Dublin." , a Catholic, was shot in the leg. On March her sister was shot dead in her own home during

g by police was carried out all Sunday, and the premises raided was the National Club, Street, of which Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., is

Specials also raided a number of houses in is Road district, a Catholic quarter in Belfast.

Co. Armaah Outrage. the early hours of Friday morning, July 28th, ral Catholic residents of the Altnaveigh district, at the time, Newry, had terrifying experiences, being akened from their slumbers by a body of men selected certain houses for their attention. Doors

were battered, and windows and fanlights smashed. and threats of various kinds were uttered. An aged man was obliged to take to the fields in his night attire, and was sheltered by a Protestant family.

Fermanagh Families to Quit. Five Catholic families in the Coa district, Co. Fermanagh, were visited by a number of armed and disguised men early on the previous Sunday morning,

and some of them were assaulted and ordered to clear

out of their homes within a specified time. The furniture of Mrs. Green was thrown out on the street, and the raiders told her not to go back to the house. Her husband is at present working in another part of the country, and was not at home Some time ago he received a threatening letter ordermg him to leave the district. A few nights previously four members of a family named Tierney. who reside in Ballinamallard district, were taken out of their house, dipped in a river, and ordered to clear out of the district.

An Ulster Witness.

Methodist's Illuminating Statement. An Ulster Methodist preacher, in a communication

to the Methodist Times, London, wrote: "I am a Methodist and local preacher and an Ulsterman. I have lived for a period in the South. Orangeism is ever out for division of the people and with them. poisoning the wells of peace and goodwill. Our own church has not escaped its unhallowed influence. One of our independent ministers declared at a recent conference that one only needed to put on an Orange sash and it would get a circuit appointment anywhere in Belfast. The world knows that Catholics were driven from the shipyards, and in many cases had to fly from their homes even before the present

PAYING FOR THE POGROM.

There will be £16,000 lost to Belfast in rates in consequence of vacant properties due to malicious burning, destruction, or coercion by the Specials and Orange mobs. This amount may be increased when

Catholics whose work takes them into a strange district are generally followed by a mob and asked. "Are you a Catholic?"

Patrick McGivern, on August 6th, advised a comrade to "run for it." Thereupon he was fatally shot by five bullets. James Griffin, being pursued by an armed mob, dashed into the Britannia bar for safety. His assail-

ants fired at him through the open door and accidentally shot a "C" Special and an ex-soldier. William Matthews, walking along California Street on August 6th, noticed that he was followed by several men. One of them shot him through the

A new convent at Kilkeel was set fire to on A table issued by Dail Eireann Publicity Depart ment (Dublin) gives the following statistics of the

Killed to date

Number of Catholics driven from their employment by un formed Specials and armed mobs ... Number of Catholics similarly driven fr om their homes

Number of Catholics now homeless in B No Protestants were driven from their during the same period.

BELFAST ATROCITIES. On July 21st, 1920, the Ulster Pogrom against

Mr. Churchill, in the House of Commons recently, declared that he had "no hesitation in saying that the prime and continuing cause of all the horrors which have taken place in Belfast is the organisation of the two divisions of the Irish Republican Army in Northern territory, and the continuous effort made by the extreme partisans of the South to break down the Northern Government and force

Launching of the Pogrom.

As the Dail Eireann bulletin says: "The truth is that early in 1920 plans were laid for the purpose of destroying the power of Catholic and Nationalist workers as a political force. A Unionist Labour Party was formed by Sir Edward Carson, and thro gh its means the Orange mobs, with the connivance of their Unionist masters, drove 5,000 Catholics from work in the month of July. The riots incidental to the Pogrom were organised at a meeting of Ulster Unionists, as the leading London papers admitted

British Cost. "The relentless persecution thus begun at the behest of the Orange leaders was intensified when

so-called police force, the Ulster Specials, was called into being by Sir James Craig's Government. The acts of savagery directed aginst Catholics by armed mobs, not only in Belfast, but in the Six-County area, instead of being prevented by the Specials. have in many cases been promoted by them. These men are equipped and paid for by the British Government, but neither they nor the British troops on the spot afforded the slightest protection to Catholics in the merciless war of persecution waged against them. Orange assassins stalk the streets of Belfast immune from arrest or interference, and the case is now well established against the Belfast authorities that they have not only failed to suppress the orgy of arson and murder, but have wittingly enlisted the criminals themselves in the frightful

Figures for Six Months of 1922.

The following are the pogrom victims for the six months ending June 1922;

Killed. Wounded. It has to be borne in mind that, as the Protestant population of Belfast (in 1911) was 295,791, and the Catholic population 93,243, the non-Catholics out-

number the Catholics in Belfast by 3 to 1. Over 75 per cent. of the Protestant casualties have been caused by their getting into the line of murderous fire being poured by the Special Constables and Orange mobs into Catholic districts. Others of them were shot by the military while sniping into Catholic streets, and more of them were murdered because they were married to Catholics or friendly

Eye-Wash for British Public.

Sir James Craig, on his recent visit to London, boasted to an interviewer of the Morning Post of the "fairness of administration," and said that the Catholic community abstained from giving that support to the Government which might be expected This is mere eve-wash for the British public.

Highly Placed Offenders.

The Dail Eireann Bulletin says: "There is evidence available-and members of the Belfast Government are aware of the fact-connecting men high in the service of the Belfast Executive in the planning and carrying out of massacres."

Mr. Churchill and Catholics in N.E. Ulster. Reply to the Colonial Secretary.

In reply to Winston Churchill's statement that the Northern Government of Ireland is "trying to stamp out murder," the Belfast Catholic Protection Com-

"Our experience in Belfast teaches us that the Northern Government is trying to stamp out murder y the peculiar method of legalising it. The profession of "Unionist" politics is quite sufficient to enable any Protestant to become armed and to be indemnified against the consequences of using these arms. The position of Catholics in the Six-County area, and particularly in Belfast, is more desperate now than ever. Sixty-six murders of Catholics took ... place in Belfast between January and June, 1922. In addition to these murders, 840 families have been driven from their homes in Belfast since Easter."

Subsidising the Pogromists.

The subsidy originally granted by the British Government to that of Sir James Craig has advanced by leaps and bounds. £1,000,000 was the sum estimated at first for the current financial year, but the revised estimate reaches the staggering figure of £3,750,000. A supplementary estimate for £500,000 was presented some time ago, and a further sum of £2,250,000 is now to be given.

Cost of Pogromism.

People very naturally ask, considering the limited area of North-East Ulster over which the Belfast Parliament rules, why all this heavy expenditure? The answer, to be found in a note appended to the estimate, merely says: "Parliament is asked to vote this additional grant to be paid to the Exchequer of Northern Ireland as contribution towards the abnormal expenses of the Northern Government arising out of the present exceptional circumstances."

Qualifications of Specials.

Ulster against her will to come under the rule of When the British Government established the Ulster Constabulary in November, 1920, they enrolled the Pogromists in it. A purely sectarian force, membership being exclusively Protestant, the Specials were divided into classes and armed with rifles and revolvers obtained from Great Britain. The Pogrom was thus intensified, and has been carried on since.

There are in Belfast and the Six-County area 49,000 armed Specials, besides twenty-four battalions o British soldiers. These Specials have been described by a Belfast non-Catholic as "largely composed of looters, incendiaries, and untried murderers. Many of them have been convicted of horrible crimes, and the bulk of them are the very dregs of the population." They are personally interested in the continuation of the reign of terror and murder.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All Mater for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor E Business Communications to the Manager: Workers' Dreadnought, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240,

SUBSCRIPTION:

THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ... Post Free 2 6 SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ...

Vol. IX. No. 23. Saturday, August 19, 1922. which they obviously prefer.

them; amongst the lowly, amongst the pioneers did not go so far as to induce them to accept were strong enough then for the Government and those to whom the ideal is the real, there the United Front. In our opinion, the Russian to find it necessary to offer concessions inste has been an ardent wish that Dunn and O'Sulli- Communist Party made a blunder of a very of punishment. van might be saved from the scaffold.

being circulated, and on the eve of the execu- recent Berlin United Front Conference.

ordinary methods of justice will be more seems to have been disregarded entirely. bitterness, more strife in Ireland."

Ireland, that which will be remembered, is not ing feature of the affair. the formalities of the trial, but the fact that Dunn and O'Sullivan have been hung.

their trial.

Yet we need not wonder at this, for Arthur Henderson is chairman of the Herald executive, and he was a member of the Coalition Government which executed James Conolly and his comrades of Easter week.

TRIAL OF THE SOCIAL REVOLU-HUNARIES.

The trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries Parliamentary Communist. is a matter the importance of which has been certain advertised social reformers are making happens in other countries. on behalf of these Russians who have fought of reaction.

that the Russian Social Revolutionaries are Fascisti to mock at ballot-box majorities, and to Socialists who are opposed to the Bolsheviki. defeat with lawless might all democratic sanc-That is not the case; the Social Revolutionary tions. These desperados do not only direct their ever, has a Communist organisation which, action

charges of murder, arson, bribery, robbery, and palities where there are Socialist majorities, and a Parliamentary representative of its own, so on, has been used as a stick with which to carry their lynch law into the Parliament itself complacently satisfied that he should back-jung

Ramsay Macdonald, George Lansbury, and unhappy plight, fallen as they are from Arthur Henderson, appealing for the lives of the crest of the high tidal wave of the great m Social Revolutionaries, was the Russian tele- ment they once commanded as leaders of gram urging these same gentlemen to appeal for majority Party. the lives of O'Sullivan and Dunn.

Government's confluct of the trial of the of Italy seethed with fervour for the Revolut Social Revolutionaries seems to us singularly ill- The Serrati faction, because of its vocal judged. The one justification for stern mea- port of the Russian Revolution, secured consures against counter-revolutionaries is that they of the Italian Socialist Party executive by are a danger to the people and to the revolu- overwhelming vote, amid the enthusiastic tion. We should prefer to see such persons de- dits of organised Labour. The agricutt ported from the land of the Communist revolu- labourers of certain districts were already tion to the countries of capitalism: a system ing the land without waiting for any political

In any case, if the accused persons are so was forming in Turin. dangerous that there is justification for incar- Mussolini, the renegade Socialist organises THE MEN WHO SHOT WILSON. dangerous that there is justification for incarcerating or killing them, how can it be right the Fascisti, was obliged to go to Bolognia Reginald Dunn and Joseph O'Sullivan knew that they should be reprieved on account of a disguise. when they killed General Wilson, in the cause United Front bargain between the Third Inter- The mind of the workers turned revolutions of their country and their race, and in the national and the Second and Two and a-Half ward, but Lenin said wait until after the cause of progress, as it appeared to them, that Internationals? Such a bargain, remember, tions, and the Serrati faction agreed with a their lives would be forfeit. They have made which would lay no obligation upon the Social too much willingness. the supreme sacrifice, and made it heroically in Revolutionaries.

The solicitude of the Second International for your waned, yet it rose when the metal world Though people in high places have reviled the Social Revolutionaries, it should be observed, seized and held their factories. The work serious character 'n allowing the fate of these Now Mussolini dominates the situation Upwards of 46,000 persons petitioned for their accused persons to be a pawn in its political his Fascisti, his young bloods of the bourgeoi trading. Nevertheless, we must point out that and unemployed ex-soldiers, who do not get The Daily Herald, which suppressed a mass it was Ramsay Macdonald and the other Second the British Insurance dole. The Fascisti, of correspondence demanding that these men Internationalists who actually introduced the their guns, have captured the Camera del Lavoro should be treated as prisoners of war, published fate of the Social Revolutionaries into the bar- the centre of the Trade Union, Co-operative. but briefly the fact that reprieve petitions were gaining between the three Internationals at the and Socialist movement throughout Italy. T

tion merely criticised the Government for not The invitation to Vandervelde and other class movement. allowing the accused men to defend themselves Second Internationalists to defend the Social Re- / The belated general strike against the violence on political grounds. Said the Herald: volutionaries was also an unwise move. The of the Fascisti has failed to achieve its object. "The execution will take place in a silence whole atmosphere of the trial, as far as one can \ The Socialist paper Giustizia says: which is beginning to make uneasy a good judge from the reports reaching this country,) "We must be brave enough to admit that many people who would support the judgment appears to have sevoured of theatricality and were they sure of the justice of the procedure. unwholesome political juggery and time-serving. . . . The result of this failure to operate the The maxim: "Do right and shame the Devil"

The proviso that the execution will not take The most characteristic feature of the Herald place if the Social Revolutionary Party disconis that it constantly prefers the shadow to the tinues its counter-revolutionary activities, if reality. That which will intensify bitterness in carried out in good faith, is apparently a redeem-

It should be observed that, although columns of the daily Press are devoted to the trial, no The Daily Herald, on August 10th, in an- facts regarding the evidence against the accused nouncing that fourteen Social Revolutionaries had finds its way into the reports. We should like been condemned to death in Russia, headed a to know whether the Soviet news service has fervid leading article on the subject: "Do Not supplied such information to the Daily Herald, Kill! " and closed it with the words: "We and whether the Herald has suppressed it. If report. plead for their lives." No such urgent appeals the evidence cannot be published, what shall did the Herald make for O'Sullivan and Dunn, we say of the Soviet Government? If the Press AThere the Communists entrenched themselve only some petty quibbling as to the forms of refuses to publish the evidence, what shall we with machine-guns, and the soldiers of say of the Press?

ROUT OF PARLIAMENTARIANS.

Parliamentary Socialists assert that Socialism can be secured through the ballot-box. To attain the great objective by putting crosses on | Mussolini now goes abroad to organise Fas ballot-papers, and thus electing representatives cisti in other countries. who will do the business by walking through It is curious that Ramsay Macdonald and his The Secretary of this branch, who is rethe Parliamentary division lobbies seems an Labour Party colleagues should prefer rather to attractively safe method of approach to the

The present happenings in Italy might well much over-rated and misrepresented. The shake the faith of those who have sought to reach British Government kills off mutineers against the Socialist goal thus tranquilly; save for the its authority in India and other far-away parts fact that our Parliamentary Socialists are too of the Empire with very much less fuss than confirmedly insular to learn from anything that

When Socialist opinion began to animate the against the Russian Revolution in the interests Italian masses, when to local authorities Socialist majorities were elected, and there was talk of The Westminster Gazette stated the other day a Socialist majority in Parliament, arose the Party is not, and never has been, a Socialist murderous attacks upon Socialist newspapers and claring that it desires to use Parliamentary action clubs, and upon trade union and co-operative for Communist propaganda, and which having The trial of the Social Revolutionaries, on offices, they also direct their gunfire upon munici- by accident, secured from the Coalition benche

beat the Russian Soviet Government by all its A tragedy has occurred in Italy since the close aircraft Bills introduced by Tory Die Hards, opponents, from Lloyd George to Ramsay Mac- of the war, which is scarcely less grievous than and ask questions to "disturb the somnor donald, and from the Morning Post to the Daily the tragedy of Russia. We wonder what the of Scotland Yard" in the case of obscure a Socialists of the Serrati faction think of their unsuccessful financiers?

The apt reply to the telegrams of Messrs. policy, looking back on it now in their pro-

August 19, 1922.

when the Italian Socialist Party held Nevertheless, we must admit that the Soviet Bolognia Conference in 1919 the working me party to advise them thereto. The Red Ar

From that time the tide of revolutionary

have broken the back of the Italian working.

we were completely routed in the general strike. We have played our last trump. have lost Milan and Genoa, which seemed pregnable fortresses of Socialism. Fa conquered everywhere. They could, if liked, continue to deal us formidable l certain of fresh successes."

The Deputies of the Social Party, D'Aragona ' Modigliani, Turati, and the rest, appear to spent the days of the general strike shu in the Parliament House in Rome. Socialist Tow Councillors are reported to have sent in resignation to avoid risks to their personal safet but as yet we have no corroboration of

Only in Parma were the Fascisti repulsed. Regular Army barred the approach of the Fas cisti. On being informed that the officer had orders to fire on anyone who attempted to pass, the Fascisti retired. These bullies evidently prefer to attack a fleeing adversary.

national growth of the Fascisti menace.

Just as we respect the honest Parliamentary The new seamen's organisation was only Socialist who still is able, through lack of the honest Socialist who, whilst declaring that may be carried in Parliamentary elections and on the floor of Parliament itself.

What claim to consistency or respect, now

e Capitalist Party.

cted towards their deplorable ignorance. trade union officials.

I. H. Thomas himself is to go unchallenged. Of course, the progress of this almighty tion.

WHAT THE UNEMPLOYED PAY FOR.

in South Hackney.

ourt; £1,500 salary, Chairman of Industrial waiting to be developed. t; £1,500 salary, employers' representative lustrial Court; £1,250, £1,250, £1,000 other employees of Industrial Court, 0,000 travelling expenses of Ministry of

WANTED—"A MARINE ANSPORT WORKERS' UNION."

Valking down Pasterngate—a place, by the , better known as the shipping office—in the of Hull, I passed the local branch of the gamated Marine Workers' Union, with the owing notices placed outside:

"This Union is fighting for justice and fair for all seamen.

'It is also fighting the National Shipping Federation, Communism, a prejudiced shipowners' Press, and other opposing influences. We are fighting your battle. Help yourelf by signing the slavery ticket protest."

Another notice was as follows: A meeting at the Commercial Hotel at

7.30 to-night. All seamen invited. 'Communists, bums, and interlopers not

onsible for the above, is a prominent local dwell on the trial of the Russian Social Revolu- I.L.P.er, and represents that body on the Hull tionaries than to direct attention to the Inter- Town Council and Labour Party (Political Section). His name is Walter Ridley.

possible by an active fight that has been going perience, to cling to his illusions, we also respect on for years by an advanced section of the seamen against Havelock Wilson's personal domina-Socialism will not come about through Acts of the N.S. and F.U. As a result, these Parliament, still works to secure Parliamentary, advanced seamen were expelled when the ideas to give any explanation why.

eamen, but when it comes down to facts, the they put forward such partial demands. fference between the N.S. and F.U. and A.M.W.U. is so small that one would want a pair of field-glasses to find it.

The C.P.G.B. defends the futile doings of I recognise that the N.S. and F.U. is, with- administration of the school through student man they still call their Parliamentary repre- out the slightest doubt, the last word in a soviets, a six weeks' holiday for youths, a ative, on the ground that, "being a Com- trade union job trust. The only difference workers' Government, and recognition of real he has to adopt subtle artifices to catch between the N.S. and F.U. and the old Ship- value) really believe that these can be carried speaker's eye." So subtle are the artifices owners' Federation, which seamen were com- out within the structure of the capitalist profitonly the Communist Party is able even to pelled to join, is that in the former one pays making economic system? They know quite s that Malone is supposed to be doing Com- 1/- a week, with all kinds of levies on top of well that the fight for a living wage is one of ist propaganda. The questions he asks that, while in the latter it was 1/- a year, all these illusions. But why do the sections of the bt well be put by any of the young bloods told. To-day the N.S. and F.U. is merely the Moscow International, nevertheless, propagate tool of the Shipping Federation. Should any- these illusions? In order to guarantee at least this is the best that Mr. Malone, with the one doubt, let him read the Seamen's P.C. 5 the "most urgent immediate requisites of life?" of the C.P.S.B. Executive, are able to ticket. Nevertheless, we have the A.M.W.U. No; the writer of the article himself tells us, ieve in the drafting of Communist questions with its claim to be an industrial Union for although he puts it in rather a roundabout way: ventilating Communist ideals, we advise marine workers, and its talk, talk, everlasting for the sake of their own reputation, to talk about fighting, debaring men from joining, etire at once before further attention has been because their ideas are in advance of the average

We ourselves have no energy to waste on Gas- The new Union claims that the N.S. and F.U. are part of the programme for the re-shaping of politics. We observe that their practice is a failure as a fighting organisation for sea- life after the proletarian class-power has been abordinating all Communist tendencies in men. Agreed; but when someone comes along etsablished- Thus the Moscow International c.P.G.B., which is now more reactionary and points out defects in the new organisation, leads the proletarians into conflicts which canan the old B.S.P. of pre-Russian Revolution and wants to go further, its officials say "No! not be carried through without breaking with The C.P.G.B. has now decided to with- Impossible! You cannot go any further than we the living principles of capitalism, so that these wall its candidates running in opposition have gone: this is the end, the ideal. We have will lead on and over to the real fight for class official Labour Party candidates; even Mr. all the brains; in fact, we are absolutely IT!" supremacy, a fight against all forms of exploita-

Meanwhile the C.P.G.B. calls out all its mem- A.M.W.U. is so great that here in Hull they ers to vote for the Liberal lawyer, Mr. Holford are just about managing to pay the gas bill Knight, who is standing as a Labour representa- every week. Who pays the half-dozen paid delegates, whose salaries are about £5 or £6 1 week? I do not know; but of one thing I am certain: the seamen in this port are not paying it.

In conclusion, I should like to state that the affairs of seafaring men in this country are A. Bryant, who applied unsuccessfully for absolutely a disgrace. The wages paid for time loyment insurance, points out that the in- worked, the conditions of sleeping accommodared men and women pay for £2,000 salary, tion, and the standard of food are worse than Minister of Labour; £2,200 salary, permanent those given to the negro slaves in America years retary; £8,000 life pension, chief labour ad- ago. If the advanced movement wants a field ser: £3,000 salary, President of Industrial for education and organisation, here is one

DICK BEECH.

REVOLUTION, REFORM, OR DEMAGOGY The "International Jugend-Korrespondenz," the organ of the executive of the Moscow Communist International of the Youth, makes the

following assertions under the heading "Reform

or Ignorance? ": "The "Workers' Dreadnought," the organ of the C.W.P. Group in England, has found further proof of the stagnation of the Communist International and the Communistic International of the Youth; the immediate demands the young workers are to fight for under present conditions, and for which the whole working class has been called upon to stand up for by the C.I. and the C.I.Y.

We do not expect the English C.WP. Group to take the trouble to understand the profound revolutionary nature of the Conmunist fight for partial demands within the domain of the revolutionary class flight. We can at least request them to read carefully the documents they attack, and then they would see clearly enough that these are the most urgent immediate demands the working class can make for its own sake and off its own bat calling her babies together. when in conflict with the present offensive of Capital; demands that cannot be considered separately, but have to be taken as a systematic part of the whole conflict, demands that are nothing other than the putting into practice of parts of our existing programme for the revolutionising of the life of the young

The Communist Workers' Party of Germany and the Communist Workers' International have, seats, in the belief that propaganda for Socialism for rank-and-file control—for which these men in our opinion, gone out of their way to underworked—began to gain ground. This new stand the nature of partial demands. Although Union was formed, but it refuses admission to we are not blind to the utility of such a fight, the advanced section which made possible the we are against it being conducted by Communist istence of the new Union. The local secretary organisations. We are opposed to it because ly states that the Union has not only the Communist organisations have the task of pret to refuse admission, but also the right paring the proletarians for the pursuit of the historic objective of their class, and should not The Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union is be found creating or strengthening illusions that king a great deal of noise about fighting for hinder the class movement, as is the case when

For how do matters stand? Do those who conceived these partial demands (for instance, the right of advanced students to take part in the

"Demands that cannot be considered separately, but . . . revolutionising of life."

To put it in plainer language, these demands

Communists should see clearly that proletarians engaged in a fight for such partial demands will break down when it comes to a vital issue. In no case would those workers who have set out for a limited goal be in a position to meet the requirements of the new situation. That can only be done by a proletariat which has recognised its historic task and carries on its campaign against the hostile exploiting class consciously, and with a clear idea of what it is fighting for! Proletarian class instinct, consciousness and directness must be awakened, and it is the task of Communists to do this, a task that can only be accomplished when one carries on the work of enlightenment according to plan and by adherence to definite principles! A propaganda conducted in this thorough manner is alone able to create a proletariat which will be capable, on having seized the power, to withstand the failures and setbacks it will inevitably encounter, capable of that because it will have fought consciously for

The methods of the Moscow Communists of using bait to drive the proletarians into activity will have their bitter consequences, not alone to-day, but also when it comes to setting up the proletarian apparatus of State. We have pointed out the dangers of reformism, because we desire the revolution; but now, more than ever, we must make a stand against this degrading of the class fight to the demagogic artifices of leaders, against the degrading of the proletarian revolution to the business of political office-bearers.

THREE POEMS.

Herbert Spencer Goldberg, aged 11 years.

THE WOODS.

When I was lost in the woods I passed by a great big tree. I heard someone calling, oc-oocoo oo-ooo-oooo. I looked up and saw an owl

WINTER.

Summer is gone and the trees and nowers are asleep. The birds are gone. Everything is quiet, and snow covers the ground, but when summer comes, everything is singing.

THE WOODS.

There was a time that I used to live in front of a great wood. I used to think I would never go into the woods, but a day came that my father said, "Come into the woods and help me chop wood." I said all right, and I went. And I was so happy. From the Ferrer School Children's Magazine.

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIST

MEETING: FOREST GATE, WOODBRIDGE ROAD,

Speakers: A. Kingman, N. Smyth.

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

Historical Necessity of the Opposition.

Now it remains to answer: Is the Opposition necessary? Is it necessary on behalf of the world workers' liberation from the yoke of capital to welcome its formation, or is it an undesirable movement, detrimental to the fighting energy of the Party, and destructive to its ranks?

Every comrade not prejudiced against the Opposition, and who, therefore, wants to approach the question with an open mind and analyse it, not in accordance with what the recognised authorities tell him, will see even from these brief outlines that the Opposition is useful and necessary. It is useful primarily because it has awakened slumbering thought. During these years of the revolution we have been so preoccupied with our pressing affairs that we had ceased to appraise our actions from the standpoint of principle and theory. We party by the prolonged civil war, and will hold have been forgetting that the proletariat can commit grave mistakes, not only during the period of struggle for political control, and turn toward the morass of opportunism-but that even during the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat such mistakes are possible, particularly when on all sides we are surrounded with stormy waves of imperialism, and when the Soviet Republic is compelled to act in the capitalist environment. At such times our leaders must be not only wise "statesman-like" politicians, but also be able to lead the Party and Opposition. Hyich will be with us yet." the whole working class along the line of class reconcilability and class creativeness, and prepare it for a prolonged struggle against the new forms of seizure of the Soviet Republic by bourgeois influences of world capitalism. "Ba ready, be clear-but along the class lines "such must be the slogan of our Party now more

The Workers' Opposition has put these questions into the order of the day, rendering thereby its historic service. The thought begins to Communist epoch. move, members begin to analyse what has already been done, and wherever there is criticism, analysis, where thought moves and works, there is life. progress; advancement forward toward the future. There is nothing more frightful and harmful than sterility of thought and standards of routine. We have been retiring into routine, and might inadvertently have gone off the direct class road leading to Communism, if it were not for the Workers' Opposition injecting itself into the situation at a time when our enemies were about to burst into joyful laughter. At present this is already impossible. The Congress, and therefore the Party, will be compelled to contend with the point of view expressed by the Workers' Opposition, and either to compromise or make essential concessions under its influence and pressure.

The second service of the Workers' Opposition is that it has brought up for discussion the question as to who, after all, shall be called upon to create new forms of economy, whether it shall be the technicians, men of affairs who by their psychology are bound up with the past, and Soviet officials with Communists scattered among them, or the working class collectives

which are represented by the unions? The Workers' Opposition has said what has long ago been printed in "The Communist Manifesto "by Marx and Engels-viz., "Creation of Communism can, and will, be the work of the toiling masses themselves. Creation of Communism belongs to the workers."

Finally, the Workers' Opposition has raised its voice against bureaucracy, and has dared to say that bureaucracy binds the wings of selfactivity and the creativeness of the working class; that it deadens thought, hinders initiative and experimenting, in the sphere of finding new approaches to production; in a word, it hinders development of new forms for production and

Instead of a system of bureaucracy it proposes a system of self-activity for the masses. In this respect the Party leaders even now are making concessions and "recognising" the deviations as being harmful to Communism and

rejection of centralism). The Tenth Congress, tomo de Komunismo ian Manifeston de la part we understand, will make another series of con- mem. cessions to the Workers' Opposition. Thus, in Al tiu celo, komunistoj de diversaj nacieco spite of the fact that the Workers' Opposition estas kunvenintaj en Londonon, kaj verkis le appeared just as a mere group inside the Party sekvantan manifeston, publikigo, tan en la angle only a few months ago, it has already fulfilled franca, germana, itala, flandra kaj dana lingvoi its mission, and has compelled the directing party :iea'eop(t,-np, hmhm rfrf dw lyly hmrf dwlm centres to listen to the workers' sound advice. At present, whatever might be the wrath toward the Workers' Opposition, it has the historical future to support it.

Just because we believe in the vital forces of our Party, we know that after some hesitation. resistance and circulates political moves, our party ultimately will again follow that path which has been blazed by the elemental forces of the class-organised proletariat. There will be no split. If some of the groups leave the Party, they will not be the ones that make up the Workers' Opposition. Only those will fall out who attempt to evolve into principles our temporary deviations from the spirit of the Communist programme, which were forced upon the to them as if they were the essence of our political line of action.

All that part of the Party which has been accustomed to reflect the class point of view of the ever-growing giant proletariat will absorb and digest everything that is wholesome, practical and sound in the Workers' Opposition. Not in vain will the rank-and-file worker speak with assurance and reconciliation: " Hyich (Lenin) will ponder, think over, listen to us, and then will decide to turn the Party rudder toward the

The sooner the Party leaders take into account the Opposition's work, and follow the road marked by the rank-and-file members, the quicker we shall pass through the crisis in the He allowed that Glasgow Green and Gaol Square party at such a difficult time, and the sooner might be compared with London's Hyde Park. my ankles out of place and I was idle near we shall step over the destined line beyond which He dismissed Edinburgh, its mound and its humanity, having freed itself from the objective meadows; Aberdeen and its Wallace statue at economic laws, and, profiting by the rich scientific treasure of the workers' collective, will consciously begin to create the human history of the

THE END.

ESPERANTO.

EKZERCO No. 10.

Ĉu vi preferas kunveni dimanĉe aŭ lunde, aŭ je alia el la sep tagoj de la semajno?-Marde kaj merkrede mi estas ĉiam hejme, sed la ceteraj vesperoj estas tute egalaj por mi. Mi kona; kelkujn kamaradojn, kiuj, ŝatas jaudon. Vendrede ni ĉiuj estas okupataj, do la plejmulto venus sabaton.—Mi dankas vin, bonvolu veni frue!

	· VORT	ARETO.	
ceteraj	remaining	je	on
ĉiam	always	plej	most
danki	to thank	por	for
dimanĉo	Sunday	preferi	to prefer
frue	early	semajno	week
	tago	day	

NOTES. In this exercise the days of the week (which are written without capitals) occur in order. Je is a preposition of indefinite meaning, which must be translated as the sense requires.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Venus is conditional—would come.

FANTOMO vizitadas Eŭropon-la fantomo of the auditors. Or the groups divide and de la Komunismo. Ĉiuj povoj de malnova discuss other phases of the subject. Or Eŭropo estas aliĝintaj sanktan interligon por one group will elect with acclamation new chan trankviligi tiun ĉi fantomon; papo kaj caro, pions and depose those who commenced the dis Metternich kaj Guizot, francaj radikalistoj kaj cussion. Such is the group or ground discussion germanaj policaj spionoj.

Kie estas la partio de opozicio kiu ne estas lar platform meetings. nomaĉita kiel komunista de siaj kontraŭuloj? Kie la opoziciantaro kiu ne estas ĵetinta returnen la brulaĵantan riproĉon de Komunismo, kontraŭ la pli antaŭaj opoziciaj partioj tiel bone kiel kontraŭ siaj reakciaj kontraŭuloj?

Du aferoj rezultas el tiu ĉi fakto. 1. Komunismo estas jam konfesata de ĉiuj eŭropaj " povoj " esti " povo " ĝi mem.

2. Estas ja tempo kiam la Komunistoj devas malkaŝe, antaŭ la tuta mondo, publikigi siajn opiniojn, siajn celojn, siaju tendencojn, kaj kondetrimental to the working-class interests (the traŭmeti al tiu ĉi infaneja fabelo pri la Fan- holiday.

Daŭrigoto.

THE APOSTLE. By GUY A. ALDRED.

(One of many MSS, written in Barlinnie Pris

Glasgow.) CHAPTER II.

Demos at Thought. When the Apostle spoke of the Forum always meant the discussion ground and green situated near the Marble Arch end of Hyd Park. He was not ignorant of Ancient Roy or of the historic associations of the classic term But he was not concerned with the eternal city only with the eternal problem. Nor was he concerned with the lesser forums in other parts of London. Clerkenwell Green, of course, knew. And no less certainly Clapham Common. Brockwell Park, Victoria Park, Kenningt Triangle, Finsbury Park, Highbury Corner, and one or two other famous open spaces of the great metropolis. But not one of these was the

Perhaps his mind was somewhat provincial in its outlook. At one time, when his activities were confined to London, one could forgive his penchant for Marble Arch. But later, when he travelled to other cities and saw their forums his attitude was less excusable. However, there it was. He realised the part played in each city by its forum, and he gloried in its importance. the top of Rosemount; Birmingham and its Bull Ring. And he fell back on his Public Forum at Hyde Park.

He did not claim that it was the mother of modern forums. He did not claim that it was the eldest or even the most distinguished sister. He proclaimed his tenderness for it, and seemed jealous of its honour. I think it was that he considered this open-air university his almo mater and felt keenly his obligations to her. H frequented her classes regularly for six yearsa daily student almost. Then his visits grew more rare, and they were but visits, such as one pays to an old school. During the years of regular attendance his thoughts were moulded and his outlock formed by the very thorough process of discussion and education that is followed in the forum.

The principle upon which the forum assemble is the right and need of man to discuss ever question affecting his welfare or concerning h destiny in proportion as he is conscious of su necessity. Each individual is called upon to decide his interest for himself. According such decision he will gravitate to this or th group, or this or that platform, to learn about Anarchism, Socialism, Atheism, Buddhis Deism, Protestant Christian Evidence, an Catholic Evidence. For the plan of discussion in the forum is that of the Russian Mir. Groups assemble and last without a single interruption leaving some discussion to two central speakers, self-chosen champions acclaimed by the consent which competes for support with the more regu-

(To be continued.)

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £253 11s. 61d. F. Ma nick. 4/6; E. Neuwirth, 3/-; A. Thornton 2/1; E. Wright, 2/8; A. Hodson, 2/-; A Re £1; Hammersmith Meeting Collection, 12/7 Total for week, £2 6s. 10½d. £255 18s. 5d.

Donations urgently requested! Do not ferget the Dreadnought if you are

How Fortunes were made in the Mines.

THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS IN COAL MINES, 1841-43.

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

he Road is Long and the Brae Awful

Mary Morgan, sixteen years old, putter, Hul-Colliery, Fifeshire: " As the road is long brae awful steep, the sweat drops off ams of water. The roads are 600 yards, ny 900 yards long, and we have to stoop much. Been idle sometimes with pains for

et Neilson, sixteen years of age, putter: at service, but left her place as father ded her to go below; much prefers seronly suppose father needs my earnings. work is very, very sair."

garet Hipps, seventeen years old, putter, Rigg Colliery, Stirlingshire: "It is sad g and sore fatiguing work, and frequently the women."

nes Phinn, seventeen years old, coal-bearer, also. tone Colliery, Midlothian: "The work st exhausting; were it not for the sake of less, I should not change my clothes. I gang out, as the work is gai fair slavery." Johnson, aged seventeen years, road-New Craighall Colliery, Midlothian, is in redding the road in the turnel not, orks twelve hours. It is very sore work, prefer it, as I work on the master's account et 14d, a day. When I work with father eeps me fifteen or sixteen hours at and-

although not nine years of age."

Kerr, collier, aged sixty-two, Transat ry: "Women, in order to get home early. too heavy weights. I know many who filled two tubs of 5 cwt. in two burlens. brought them 200 fathoms."

r. John Thompson, mining oversman, Tranolliery: "Coal work at best is of an o'er and, and few lads can acquire the knowof hewing, or have good strength to put. teen years of age, and even then it deon their physical strength. Collie's frey exhaust themselves and children; lar, they would not need the assistance of quantities of infant labour."

h Wales.—Witnesses in this district also much upon the fatigue of their occupa-

ion Hancock, aged ten, collier, Rock , Bedwelty, Monmouthshire: "Thinks very hard work."

sixteen hours' rest." and John Neath, twins, aged eleven, h Vargoed Colliery: "Work very hard in-

When we rest a little we fall asleep."

Fuge, aged eleven, pump-boy, Llant-

es Moon, aged eleven: "It is sad, sloppy, etta Frankland, eleven years old. : "When well I draw the drams , which contain 4 to 5 cwt. of coal, from heads to the main road. I make fortyht to fifty journeys. Sister, who is two years r, works also at dramming; the work is loans. ard, and the long hours before the pay.

gue us much."

a Fuge, aged eleven: "I am so tired at s that I hardly care about eating." iam Locklas, twelve years old: "Find it hard work, and the crawling is very

: "Work is very hard. When first went used to fall asleep; can't fall asleep now, it too close at it."

Elias Jones, aged fourteen, carter: "It is very hard work indeed; it is too hard for such lads as we, for we work like little horses."

William Hopkins, aged fourteen, pumper "The work is very hard; have no time to rest growth of industry; but it began to grow again when below, as the water rises very fast, which makes me dislike the work very much, as there is no cessation; it is very wet, although I stand on a stair."

Samuel Jones cashier and clerk, Waterloo Colliery: "The work is fatiguing for young boys, but the masters have no control over the colliers as to whom they shall take to assist them, and when work is dull the fathers carry the boys below when four or five years old."

Forest of Dean .- Instances of fatigue to a destructive excess are mentioned in this coalfield

Mr. Thomas Batten, surgeon, Coleford: "Sometimes has known cases of nervous relaxation from an exhaustion of strength in young boys. Had one case of epilepsy in a boy about thirteen, brought on my too much exertion of the muscles and whole frame. Another boy, in the Parkend pits, died of hemorragia purpurea (a suffusion of blood under the cuticle) from the a period of Aufschwung, with all the forces of same cause. This boy was not more than seven a new start in every domain of life. Thirty

Josiah Marfell, underground manager, Stripand-at-it-Pit: "Thinks some of the boys overwork themselves in their anxiety to earn more Duncan, fifty-seven years old, coa!- money, or to do their work in a shorter time. r, Pencaitland Colliery, East Lothian: "It When he was a boy between fourteen and be admitted that children are sadly over eighteen he often hodded eight tons in a short ht; have been sorry always when two of day up an assent, and could hardly move when wn wrought hard; still, I had need of the r he got home. Thinks some of the men do, sometimes, put upon the boys rather too much."

(To be continued.)

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from last week.)

It is useless to repeat at what a cost the above results were achieved. The terrible revelations of the Parliamentary Commissions of 1940-42 as to the atrocious conditions of the manufacturing classes; the tales of "cleared estates" and those of Indian "mutiny" are still fresh in the memory. They will remain standing monuments for showing by what means the great industry was implanted in this country. But the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the privileged classes was going on at a speed never "The work is very fatiguing and dreamed of before. The incredible riches which now astonished the foreigner in the private houses of this country were accumulated during that period; the exceedingly expensive standard of life which makes a person considered which on the Continent appear as only of modest means in this country, was introduced during that time. The taxed property alone doubled during the last thirty years of the above period, while during the same years (1810 to 1878) no less than £1,112,000,000 was invested by English capitalists either in foreign countries or in foreign

But the monopoly of industrial production could not remain with this country for ever. Neither industrial knowledge nor enterprise could be kept for ever as a privilege of these islands. Necessarily, fatally, they began to cross the Channel and spread over the Continent The great Revolution had created in France m Williams, aged thirteen, Plas Level numerous class of peasant proprietors who enjoyed nearly half a century of a comparative wellbeing, or, at least, of a guaranteed labour. The ranks of the town proletarist -- a mesessery condi-

tion now for growing industries-was therefore increasing slowly. But the middle-class revolution of 1759-1793 had already made a distinction between the peasant householders and the village proletaires, and, by favouring the former to the detriment of the latter, it compelled the labourers who had no household nor land to abandon their villages, and thus to form the first nucleus of working classes given up to the mercy of manufacturers. Moreover, the peasant proprietors themselves, after having enjoyed . period of undeniable prosperity, began in their turn to feel the pressure of bad times, and were compelled to look for employment in manufactures. War and revolution had checked the during the second half of our century; it developed, it improved; and now, notwithstanding the less of Alsace, France is no longer the tributary to England for manufactured produce which she was thirty years ago. To-day her manufactured wares are valued at nearly one half of those of Great Britain, and two-thirds of them are textile goods.

Germany follows the same lines. During the last twenty-five years, and especially since the last war, her industry has undergone a thoroug 1 reorganisation. Her machinery has been thoroughly improved, and her new-born manu factures are supplied with a machinery which represents the last word of technical progress. She has plenty of technologists endowed with technical and scientific education; and in her army of chemists, physicists, and engineers. who find no employment with the State, industry has a most powerfully intelligent aid. As a whole. Germany offers now the spectacle of a nation in years ago she was a customer to England. Now she is already a terrible competitor in the markets of the South and East, and at the present speedy rate of growth of her industries her competition will be soon yet more terrible

The wave of industrial production, after having had its origin in the North-west of Europe, spreads towards the East and South-east, always covering a wider circle. And in proportion as it advances East, and penetrates into younger countries, it implants there all the improvements due to a century of mechanical and chemical in. ventions; it borrows from science all the help it can give to industry, and it finds populations cager to grasp the last results of modern know. ledge. The new manufactures of Germany begin where Manchester and Saxony arrived after a century of experiments and gropings; and Russia begins where Manchester and Saxony have now reached. Russia, in her turn, tries to emancipate herself from her dependency upon Western Europe, and rapidly begins to manufacture all those goods she formerly used to import, either from Britain or Germany. Protective duties may sometimes help the birth of new industries, and sometimes check the improvement of those which already exist; but the decentralisation of manufactures goes on with or without protective duties-I should even say, notwithstanding the protective duties. Austria, Hungary, and Italy follow the same lines; they develop their home industries; and even Spain is going to join the family of manufacturing nations. Nay, even India, even Brazil and Mexico, supported by English and German capital and knowledge, begin to start home industries on their respective soils. Finally, a terrible competitor to all European manufacturing countreis has grown up of late in the United States. In proportion as their immense territory is more and more appropriated by the few, and free land of any value becomes as difficult to get as it is in Europe, manufactures must grow in the States; and they are growing at such a speed--American speed—that in a very few years the now neutral markets will be invaded by American goods. The monopoly of the first-comers on the industrial field has ceased to exist. And it will exist no more, whatever may be the spasmodic efforts made to return to a state of things already belonging to the domain of history. New ways, new issues, must be searched! the past has lived, and it will live no more.

(To be continued.)

THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKER.

The class-conscious worker knows himself to be a member of an oppressed class. Instead of merely trying to push his way up out of the oppressed class into the class of the oppressors, he desires to assist in the freeing of his class from oppression. He knows that this can only be done by ending the exploitation of labour by employers, by abolishing the present social classes, by abolishing capitalism, and substituting Communism.

J. H. Thomas, when he was a worker, wasnot class-conscious. Now that he has ceased to

belong to the working class he has become class-conscious.

"What does that mean? " It means this, fellow-worker: J. H. Thomas began life with the view that a worker's wisest course was to find some means to cease to be a worker. He accomplished that: he left behind the railway footboard and the wage paid to railway workers, and became the principal official of the N.U.R., with a bourgeois salary and a number of clerks and minor officials to obey him. He also became a member of Parliament and a Privy Councillor, sworn to defend the King and his Government—a service which he declares himself ready to perform with the greatest enthusiasm should occasion offer. J. H. Thomas in his income and his way of life, has

ceased to be a workman.

When J. H. Thomas was a workman he did not believe in the possibility or desirability of emancipating the whole class of workers by ending the form of society which necessitates employers and employed. Now that he has climbed out of the working class and into the bourgeoisie he is still less anxious to break down the present system. As he said in his libel action against the Communist, he is not a Socialist: he wants to maintain the present order. He knows that he belongs to the privileged classes, and he has a sense of solidarity with his fellow privileged ones: he wishes to see their privileges safeguarded. He has property; he desires to see the property owner protected. He is out for himself, as he always was; but he is not out for himself alone. He feels that he belongs to the exploiting class, and that if the interests of the exploiting class are damaged he will suffer with the rest of the class. Thus J. H. Thomas has become class-conscious.

At the Annual Congress of the N.U.R. J. H. Thomas worked very earnestly on behalf of his class—the property owners' class—in many directions. He not only made an urgent appeal to N.U.R. members not to countenance pilfering on the railways, he begged them to report any of their fellow-members who did so. He declared that no mercy should be extended to the

pilferers.

That is all very well, no doubt, fellow-worker. "Honesty," says the copy-book, "is the best policy." We all understand about that, but a workers' industrial organisation is supposed to be out to fight for the workers, not to act as a detective agency. The railway companies already employ detectives.

Thomas went on:

"The Union has established the confidence of the railway management," and "we believe we can contribute to the efficiency of railway service and that we can do much to help

the undertaking."

Helping the undertaking, of course, means helping the railway shareholders to make money, fellow-worker. J. H. Thomas always helps in Parliament to protect the interests of the railway shareholders; he always speaks and votes in the interests of the railway companies when they are promoting their private Bills, endeavouring to secure higher fares, or whatever they may be seeking.

To the N.U.R. Annual Conference Thomas further said:

"I have advised you that you must observe your agreements. That is the cardinal principle of collective bargaining. That is the standard of honour which I claim for you and shall expect of you. I shall expect the same code of honour on the other side, and I sec no reason whatever and no justification for saying that there is any reason for fearing that the other side are desirous of breaking their agreements."

That was a strange remark to make, fellow-worker. If you saw a prisoner toiling on the road in manacles, and his keeper had promised him a crust of bread and a mug of water at nightfall, would you be more surprised if the prisoner tried to run away than if the gaoler broke his

promise about the bread and water?

Suppose six men were wrecked on a desert island, and one of them said to the other five : "If you will gather fruit all day whilst I sit in the sun and watch, I will allow you each a third of the fruit you have picked and I will keep for myself two-thirds of what each man has picked, so that I may possess ten-thirds, and each one of you shall have one-third." Do you think the five men who worked would be as likely to carry out such an engagement as the one who sat in the sun?

To a class-conscious worker who regards the entire working class as exploited by the employing class, the position of the railway companies and the members of the N.U.R. is not unlike

those of the prisoners and their keeper and the six men on the desert island.

To J. H. Thomas the matter appears otherwise. He told the N.U.R. Conference: "We have now got machinery which enables us to work together, and I believe that by working together we can best serve ourself, the companies, and the country."

Independent Working-Class Education.

The question of independent working-class ducation revealed the position of J. H. Thomas very clearly, fellow-worker. A resolution by the Nine Elms Branch No. 1 called for a national organisation of classes in social science, so that the education provided for the N.U.R. students at the Labour College might be spread throughout the membership.

J. H. Thomas opposed this energetically. He declared that "Education is a State function, not the work of an individual organisation" He deplored the £4,600 a year the N.U.R. contributes to the Labour College. Owing to pressure of work he had hitherto left this matter to others, he said, but he "totally disagreed with what had been done." He considered it a "wicked mistake" to have a Labour College for the miners and railwaymen. He declared that the Labour College system is "bad' and is "warping the judgment of some of our young men."

J. H. Thomas carried the day, fellow-worker; the Nine Elms resolution was defeated by 41 votes to 27. The Conference was not a conference of class-conscious workers.

T. I. Mardy Jones, the new Labour M.P. for Pontypridd, is a worthy colleague of J. H. Thomas. Writing to the Labour Press Service, published by the Trades Union Congress

and Labour Party, he gives his impressions of Farliament, saying:

"I have been impressed by the courteous demeanour of the members generally, and by the great pride all appear to take in maintaining the best traditions of the Mother of Parliaments. . . . The Prime Minister . . . soon settled both Cecil and Asquith. It is evident to me that he is still the greatest figure for good or ill in world politics. . . . I was much impressed by the strong urbanity of the Speaker. . . . The House of Commons is our only safeguard against reaction, as it is our only check on revolution. . . . Altogether. my first week in Parliament has been a very pleasant one, and will long be treasured in my memory." THE SEARCHLIGHT

A MESSAGE FROM BESARABIA.

The name of Tamara Krutchock is doubtless unknown to British comrades. No wonder; for this is the name of an active woman in the Bessarabian Communist movement, where our co-workers, our combatants in the hard struggle for the proletarian cause, pass all their life unknown to the world, suffering tortures which are not even imagined here, and dying without any of us being aware of it.

Tamara Krutchock, a working woman of Kishinev, was twenty years of age.

In Bessarabia the White Terror has reached its highest point. The country is swept by secret police, who number tens, hundreds, and

in some places even thousands. At the present time our comrades are imprisoned in bourgeois reformatories, in the stardu prisoned in bourgeois reformatories, in prisons, 10 yo in the underground dungeons of the secret police. Out of They lie in the common graves, and in the

bed of the river Dniester. Roumanian Imperialism, with the aid of the of hu Bessarabian bourgeoisie, recently began to take and a "more effective" action by throwing into the waters of the Dniester the best elements of the

Bessarabian proletariat. Among the victims of the Bessarabian White Like I Terror you will find a great number of women, who represent, to their honour, the most revolutionary element of the proletarian movement. One of the many devoted militants was our young comrade Tamara, daughter of very poor to dec parents. Terror.

Once arrested, she was held a long time in the underground dungeons of the Kishinev secret police.

Cold, hunger, torture, violence, everything that characterises the treatment the Communists receive from the bourgeois agents, our comrade Tamara suffered. But the bloodthirsty Bessarabian bourgeois was not satisfied with this; one in cro night she was pitilessly shot.

After a long imprisonment, she was taken with three other imprisoned Communists to the station. The comrades were told they were going to Bukarest. On the way they were treated with whisky, cigarettes, etc. When the train reached Bender, a town near the Dniester, they were taken from the train to a mill. There the four comrades were shot!

A local bourgeois, an ex-officer and a perfect shot, was chosen as executioner. Nevertheless, he did not succeed in killing them outright. When the comrades were brought to the hospital they were still breathing!

The four comrades were buried all together in the so-called "common grave" in Bender.

In this way the bourgeoisie settled with one of the most active workers in the Communist movement, Tamara Krutchock. Her memory will always live amongst the Bessarabian proletariat, and will serve as a beacon to light the difficult road to Communism.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

Works for Communism .- A classless order of society in which there shall be no rich and poor, no masters or servants, no landlords and capitalists, no buying and selling, no money, no wages. Each shall on A use according to need and desires of the earth's fruits and the product of the common labour. Each shall the give to the service of the community according to capacity. Production and distribution shall be organised by those who do the work through the Soviets.

TACTICS.—No compromise with non-Communists and Reformers. No affiliation with the Labour Party. Continuous teaching of Communism. Continuous struggle for Communism.

Preparation for the Soviets: that is to say, organisation of the workers to take over and administer the industries of the creation of One Big Revolutionary Union with industrial departments built up from the workshop basis on the Sovet model. Continuous teaching of the futility of Parliamentary action, refusal to take part in it, preparation for the Soviets.

Write to the Preliminary Committee for the Communist Workers' Party (Fourth International), Workers' Dreadnought Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by S. Corio at 10 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London,