vnes, Tillett and the General Strike.

Founded and Edited by INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 24.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPPINGE.

TO HOMER AND VIRGIL.

Breathless I call across Time's windy darkness, stardust bedight,

To you, who tower in triumphal starkness, e. Out of the night.

To you, who sang of warriors and sages, of human strife and woe, ke and all the deathless glamour of the ages

so long ago. Your Gods are truly Gods. Your heroes tower Like mountains sheer

Beyond all petty urgings of the power Of hope or fear.

You sang of love and kote as garlands guerdoned To deck man's soul

That fade and wither, leaving all unburdened The mighty whole.

You did not dream of God, and man, and spirit s things apart,

But rightly knew them children that inherit common part.

Nor unto you were men as ewe lambs bleating crowded mart,

to saw through all men's lives the ordered beating

If one great heart.

Much is there still of dross unpurged, Of chance spilt blood,

That hides for ave beneath its crimson turgid ome thought in bud.

let like a thread of gold in mantle sable Runs the stark truth,

How man, stripped clean of prejudice and fable. Of fear and ruth.

May yet through anguished ages win to glory, Whate'er the odds,

and write at last the finis to your story bove the gods.

H. SMITH.

THE WAR IN BELFAST. DAIL EIREAN FACTS.

On August 11th Jas. Rocherty was shot in the igh by men firing from a tramcar, and a child, Indget Magennis, was shot whilst playing in the

On August 12th Patrick McGuigan and Patrick McFine, both Catholic labourers, died of gunshot ounds received from Orange gunmen. McFine was ot whilst at work in Belfast Harbour. August 13th Joe Bradley, a Catholic, was ad-

mitted to the Mater Hospital shot in the jaw and the leg. Forty young Catholic men were arrested a hall in Falls Road district, and detained unharged at the Centril Police Station.

DERRY.

Orangemen celebrated the anniversary of the Relief Derry by an outburst of shooting between 10 and p.m., which continued till 2 p.m. These are riew hours. The authorities did not interfere, and ere were no arrests.

RISH LABOUR PARTY CLASSED AS PRO-TREATY.

The Proportional Representation Society has pubshed an analysis of the voting in the Irish Parlia-Mentary election. It classes both the Labour Party and the Farmers' Party as Pro-Treaty. These parties ave hitherto offered no correction of the statement.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW. in Transition, by Manabendra Nath Roy, with aboration of Abani Mukherji. J. B. Target rary, Geneva, 1922, contains interesting informaespecially on Ghandi and his movement. The ors are Communists.

The South African Treason Court.

The South African Strikers' Defence Committee appeals to the workers of the British Empire to help the South African Miners who are being condemned to death by a SPECIAL TREASON COURT UNDER ANCIENT ROMAN-DUTCH LAW.

The Rand Miners' Defence Committee urges you to pass the following resolution:

"We vehemently protest against the brutality of the South African Government in connection with the recent strikes in the coal and gold mine areas. and demand that the imprisonment and death sentences on strikers shall not be carried out."

The Defence Committee urges you to send the resolution to the Prime Minister of South Africa, the High Commissioner in London, and the General Council of Trade Unions, 32 Eccleston Square, London, S.W. 1.

An injury to one is an injury to all. If Labour actually realised this truth, an international general strike would prevent these executions.

HOW THE RAND STRIKERS ARE TRIED.

By ISAAC VERMONT.

In the Special Treason Court three judges in scarlet robes are on the bench. The tables are covered with mouldy old Roman-Dutch lawbooks, some of them actually dropping to pieces in their decay. All the doors are guarded by police and C.I.D. men.

The Roman-Dutch law which is in force in the Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Ceylon, was introduced into the Cape of Good Hope Settlement by Dutch settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is compounded of Dutch ordinances and customs imposed upon Roman Law.

Some 300 comrades will be tried by such law in the Special Treason Court. They are without means to pay for efficient legal defence.

Rasmus Peter Erasmus, a prominent strike leader, was the first to be tried. He was sentenced to ten years' hard labour for high treason.

Amongst those who gave evidence for the defence was Mr. R. V. Hall, who called himself an Imperialist. He said that at least one-third of the men in the Commandos were ex-Service men, and that he personally knew twenty-five to thirty officers of the Imperial Army who were in the ranks of the Commandos.

Mr. Joe Thomson, acting president of the South African Industrial Federation, testified that the letter of General Smuts, promising protection for men who went to work during the strike, had intensified the opinion that the Government had taken sides with the employers against the workers.

Mr. Ross, counsel for Erasmus, questioned Mr. Thomson regarding the formation of the Commandos. He replied that they were originally formed to keep the men together, having a daily roll-call kept by the various local committees. Until the Boksburg shooting they had been on good terms with the police.

Questioned by the Attorney-General, Mr. Thomson replied that the augmented strike executive did not take up a high-handed attitude in regard to granting permission for men to work at essential services.

Russian Gold?

Major A. E. Frigger, head of the Criminal Investigation Department, was asked by counsel for the defence whether there was any possibility that money had come from Soviet Russia for use in the strike.

Major Frigger answered: "No; I could not discover that any money came through." Questioned by Mr. Ross as to the cause of the

strike, Major Frigger answered: "The strike was for a White South Africa." The President of the Court (Sir J. Dove Wilson) cross-examined Erasmus, as follows i

President: "Was it your opinion that the Government had declared war against you?"

Erasmus: "Yes; I came to that opinion because the Government's people were shooting

President: "Were you prepared, then, to fight against the Government? "

Erasmus: "We could not fight the Government; we had not the power to fight the Government."

President: "But you were fighting the police? "

Erasmus: "Yes, because they were shooting

President: "And you considered that there was a declaration of war by the Government? "

Erasmus: "At that moment I could come to no other conclusion."

President: "Did you seriously imagine that the Government forces deliberately shot down innocent men? "

Erasmus: "Yes; I have seen it in the past." President: "Did you really believe that the Government, in the interest of the Chamber of Mines, would instruct their police to fire upon innocent people? Do you really believe that? "

Erasmus: "I could come to no other conclusion."

President: "Can you imagine the Government of any civilised country directing its police in an industrial centre deliberately to fire upon and shoot down innocent men?"

Erasmus: "That is what I believe, and from my experience I could come to no other conclusion."

The Verdict.

President: "Erasmus, you have been found guilty of the crime of high treason. Unfortunately, in this country, there appears to be some tendency to under-rate the seriousness of this crime; but there is no more serious crime known to law. Until recently, the punishment for the crime of treason was death. Latterly, however, a more merciful view of such crimes has been taken, and it has been made competent for the Court to award another sentence; but it does not follow that the Court can treat this as a trivial crime, and the seriousness of it becomes evident when one remembers the great numbers of people who have lost their lives owing to the action taken by you and others (Continued on p. 2.)

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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The high cost of produc-

tion of the paper necessitate prompt payment

LAMENTABLE FOLLY. The leading article in the Right-Wing Communist organ, The Communist, August 12th,

"The Communist E.C. saw that the middleclass leaders of the leaders of the Labour Party were with characteristic cunning seeking to drive it into a policy of direct and unqualified antagonism—a policy of pure and simple Communism versus Labourism."

How extraordinary that any Communist Party should have to be "driven into a policy of pure and simple Communism versus Labourism."

Surely, fellow-Communists, the policy of " pure and simple Communism is the policy every Communist Party should steadfastly maintain!. Surely every Communist Party should strive to bring out clearly and unmistakably the difference between "pure and simple Communism and Labourism." It is to the Labour Party's advantage to keep the issue blurred and indistinct, in order that the masses may not realise the failings of Labourism and its ineffectuality as a means of securing their emancipation. Communism has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a clear-cut presenta. tion of the issue.

"Seeing this, it saw also that, had that course been adopted, the way would have been clear for the Webbs, Macdonalds. and Hender. sons to take up once again their old slogans of Unity, Solidarity, Toleration, and their old denunciations of the dogmatic sectarianism of the Communists whom they had driven into

"The bulk of the workers would by then build up.

Only those who have no faith in Communism; only persons afflicted with moral cowardice, believe the masses can ever be got to understand could make such a statement. Do the members Communism?" Search rather within yourself of the C.P.G.B. approve such a statement as to know whether you have the courage to do this, which is made officially in their name?

posed of so easily.

"It has set itself the task of winning first precept. ends of its own, but because it is itself part you achieve great aims. lends every effort to secure."

Consider these statements: what do they call yourselves Communists and Socialists? Communist Party is seeking the backing of the movement; does it understand pure and working class, but "not to serve ends of its simple Communism? Have you not rather made own." What are its "ends"? Has it any its slogan and its ideal work or maintenanceother end than the achievement of Communism? fugitive unscientific cry? If that is its aim, it is fit and proper that it secure the backing of the working class, what are those " ends "?

It is stated here that the Right-Wing Communist Party has set itself the task of winning the ear, the confidence, and the backing of the working class: again we ask, what for? Evidently not for Communism, since the Party says it refuses to be driven into a position of pure and simple Communism. Is the intention to secure the ear, the confidence, and the backing of the workers, not for Communist principles. but for the office-bearers and spokesmen of the Party; for a group of personalities? Is it possible that these people who control the Right-Wing C.P. are committing the egregious folly of imagining that they can win Communism by gaining a personal following for their faulty fugitive selves, here to-day and gone to-morrow and veering like weathercocks with every breeze?

O Moscow, Moscow, are these thy mouth-Dieces? The article continues:

affiliation to the Labour Party.

should maintain their positions at all costs.

"And, thirdly, it resolved to remove the only obstacle arising by reason of the cunning burden which our civilisation lays on the constitutional amendments adopted at Edin- of human kind. burgh, and accordingly withdrew such of its candidates as were in the field against Labour Party nominees.

"Let nobody mistake those decisions. Here is no question of compromise, concession, or surrender. The middle-class leaders of the leaders of the Labour Party sought to effect a permanent division between the Communist Party and the rank-and-file mass of the trade

"To do that they (taking advantage of the political innocence of these masses) created a cunning technical obstruction."

Poor ignorant ones, blind leaders of the blind sheep whose Moscow shepherds now disregard ye, bending their efforts to gaining the favour of the wolves who prey upon ye; poor blind sheep; in thinking to evalle the trap ye have fallen into it. Ye have withdrawn from the Labour Party the Communist opposition which it feared; ye have put out the searchlight which should have revealed the essential divergence between "pure and simple Communism and

Nevertheless, take heart, O lovers of pure and simple Communism; be not despondent; there are other searchlights and more efficacious. The number of searchlights may be multiplied and strengthened. You, even you, comrade, may be a searchlight amid the apathy and the gloom.

To you who agree with these words; who have been led to imagine that it was the Com believe that the true course is the course which munist Party which, in the spirit of dogma, the Dreadnought follows, we say: Join us in the had gone out to smash the workers' solidarity, work. Cast off your moral cowardice and sloth which they (the wise and benevolent middle- and your ambition to win easy plaudits. Wander class manipulators) had sought generously to no longer after the will-o'-the-wisp of a big party. Make the genuine Communist movement; help "They would have called the Communist to make it big; but, above all, make it sound Party ' political blacklegs,' and it would have There is no short cut: the work and the struggle died-to their intense joy-stabbed by a cannot be avoided by running feebly after a movement which others have built up for another aim. Utter not the feeble question: "Do you your share of the educational work. Remember "The Communist Party is not to be dis- that education is achieved not alone by the easyspoken word; example is more valuable than

the ear, then the confidence, and finally, the Remember that only if your will and purpose backing of the working mass; not to serve be strong and true as well-tempered steel, can

of that working class whose emancipation it Are you sleeping? Has your faith died within ye, O men and women of England who

mean? It is stated here that the Right-Wing Communists, you controlled the unemployed

Socialists of an older school, you built the should strive to get the backing of the work- Labour Party-have you made it a Socialist ing class to serve that end. If it has any Party? Have you not rather lost your early "ends" for which it would be improper to idealism in a jumble of fugitive reforms, either of little worth, or impossible of accomplishment within the framework of capitalism?

> Look back on the long toil of these years since the Socialist movement was inaugurated, and ask yourselves:

If we had worked only for pure and simple Socialism; if we had never strayed from the straight and narrow way might we not now have reached our goal?

Faithless indeed have been thy servants, O Socialism, O Communism; one and the same art thou, though the weaklings who could not face the full light lof thy coming day have sought to divide ve.

In the light of dawn, when morning's golden rays flood the sky, all living creatures, save one, rise in joy to greet the light, eager to live the new-born day through to its latest hour.

Only mankind strives to postpone the waking only mankind rises reluctant to take up again "First it resolved to re-affirm its right to the life of day; only mankind is tired and stumbles to work without joy in the light or "Secondly, and in consequence, it resolve t zest in living and doing; only mankind creates that all its members who are delegates from, for his fellows, want, when Nature provides of the employers of labour, has shricked their trades unions to the local Labour Parties abundance.

This has our civilisation done for us. Communism can relieve us from the excess

O cunning reformist politicians, and apostles of the United Front, who seek alw to draw a veil over the light of Commu lest the purity of its rays should dazzle terrify those whom ye would make your foll lowers; know ye that this diplomacy on whi ye pride yourselves springs in actual truth from the weaknesses and cupidities which capitali environment and tradition have planted with ye. This diplomacy is a cancer of which ve should strive to rid yourselves, not a merit

DEAR EDITOR,-I should be glad if you could space in your columns for the accompanying

Yours for Communism, A. Hopson THE COMMUNIST LIFE. OBJECT.

To promote the practice of Communism; life, beginning with the means at present avail striving to create others, and extending the pra as rapidly as conditions permit, until complete (munism can be realised.

To collect and spread information from all tries regarding the practice of Communism act as a centre of advice and a means of commy tion between individuals and groups practising (munism, both for mutual service and the intercha

The organisation seeks to promote mutual services free from the taint of money or barter. It ? encourage the formation of Communist in both town and country.

It welcomes both Communist colonies, and o of comrades who, even though they may not h the advantages of living near together, and themselves from capitalist employment, will yet tise mutual service amongst each other, givin least a part of their time to the service of the gr

The organisation recognises that a Commi colony at this stage may probably be unable to maintain itself without trading on capitalist with the outer world, but the members of the c should not descend to buying and selling amor each other-for if they do so this is not a

Similarly, whilst the scattered members who practising mutual service may at first be compelled to maintain themselves mainly by working and by under the capitalist system, they will take no

ment for service from each other. Since the postal system is still run on co lines, members are asked to send thirty-six stamps a year to the organisation for postage stamps may be sent, if desired, in three instalr A bulletin will be issued periodically to members of the development of Communist I and members are asked to supply the Secretary reports of their progress and all information r ing the practice of Communism which may con

The bulletin and other matter dealing with Communist life will be supplied to the newspar of advanced thought in all countries. All communications should be addressed

Some Suggestions. In forming groups it will be advisable, as circumstances permit, to enlist the service workers in various industries-shoemakers, and dressmakers, carpenters, plumbers, gas wo and builders, cooks and bakers, laundresses,

Co-operation should be established between trialists and rural agriculturalists.

and others able to assist in transport, and a

SOUTH AFRICAN TREASON COURT.—From p. of your opinion, and a very much number who have had to experience loss injury. Some of them may have to drag a maimed existence for the rest of their owing to the action taken by you.

"One mitigating circumstance which concede in this case is that it is not proved that from the outset you were evilly inclined toward the Government; but it is proved in our mil duty towards the community we cannot infil on you a less sentence than that we are about to impose. You will recognise that in all the circumstances it is a lenient one. The sentent then, that which we now pass, is one of I prisonment, with hard labour, for a period

Before the trial began, during its prosecu and since its close, a satanic Press, in howled like hyenas for the blood of our accuse PROLETARIANious day, JOLS. JUCK DAVIDSON.

By Tom Anderson. was an old man, and his hair was nearly w-white. I met him in Douglas, at Onchan He had a book under his arm, and as assed me he stopped and asked for a match. face seemed familiar to me, and as I handed the match I said, "There you are, Jock." ves sparkled, and his white hair seemed Right! " With that I extended my and said, "How are you? How's the We shaked, and his eyes aughing as they did thirty years ago "he said. "I am Jock, old Jock David-: but I canna' place you." I laughed, and "Do you no mind the day when we swam Laggie burn, and the keeper came and solted whae our claithes under our arm? My God, Tam, is that you?" We both "Aye, aye," he said, "it's mony a nce that. And you're visiting Douglas. ist come mysel'. I put by a pound or two this visit, that I might see the place again ore I go on the long journey."

"What do you think of Douglas?" " A grand place—a wonderful place; and the k awe seem quite happy, but am doubting

s only on the surface." "Better there than no place at all," I said. "Quite trie," Jock said, "quite true." n he looked at me and said, "You'll no know m a Socialist?"

"What's that?" I said.

"Have you never heard of Socialism? It's the new religion. It's the State taking the ace, just as the father and mother do in the I am a member of the I.L.P., and I speak a good deal out in the open air. I'm a eat believer in propaganda."

'Aye, aye," I said. "But what about

Old Jock shook his head. "I have no great th in them Communists; they only want nch your work; they are nearly all fly men,"

'Yes, yes," I said, "that may be true, but at about Communism? "

'You canna' get Communism till you get ialism. We are no fit for Communism yet. We are not beasts, and the present Communists are the fly beasts."

"But that's no Communism," I said. Old Jock looked at me and said, "Don't teli me you are a Communist."

'Aye, aye," I said, "I am a Communist, but not a political Communist, not a fly Comnist—just a Communist."

He looked at me. "You don't tell me that. nunism is impossible to-day."

'Not at all," I said; "the great mass of people are Communists at the bottom. at human family, if they had a chance, would real live Communists, but not 'fly ' or politial Communists—just Communists. Look hem; they are all playing, themselves like ldren, and all children are born Communists. No one pays any attention to you here, at anyng you do. See these lovers walking past with augh; see their dresses. Are not the girls

Old Jock shook his head and fumbled with

"Don't get despondent, Jeck. The human lace is all right; the human race is Communist. beyond a shadow of doubt that you became so You are surely not blind, Jock? We don't reaffected towards the Government when the hope quire Acts of Parliament to make people enjoy of a successful issue, from the strikers' point of themselves, to marry them, or to make them view, began to fade away. But in all the cire love, or dance, or sing, or to work, even to cumstances we feel that in due exercise of our work. The human race would work, and work well, and they would have a joy in their work. Have you ever read 'News from Nowhere,' by liam Morris, Jock? Well, here you have a ose of it, even under a downtrodden State. cannot put Communism under: it is born the ages, thousands and thousands of years our forbears were all Communists. Even ir rough forefathers of our Highland glens, from which you and I come, were Communists, true Communists, and held everything in mon. Come on, Jock, and play ourselves at

I hauled him up the hill, and we played at every game at the shows, and Jock won several dolls and other toys, and he was laughing and bantering with the people all around him, and you could hear the women folk say, "What a normal." fine old man! "

"Jock," I said, when we were finished and started to walk down the hill, "you are a

"Give your hand, Tam; I am, and never knew it. I see in this short lesson the meaning of Communism."

Then he got quite angry. "To hell with the Parliament and their Constitution; to hell with their State and members, their Acts and Regulations, and all jury view their conduct more in sorrow than in anger. their flimsy show. Man," he said (and he was quite serious), "the I.L.P. are a silky lot of bounders, a sort of gentle Jesus, meek and mild crowd, begging the Upper Court in the State to allow them to live, just to allow them a few

"Mind yourself, Jock," I said.

"It's been simmering in me for a long time. Tam, and now the volcano's burst. To hell with all your respectability, with all your churches, your priests, and your parsons, your Ramsay Macdonalds and Philip Snowdens; to hell with the lot. It's a farce, a pure and unadulterated farce. Let the people live; they are Com. munists, as you have said, just Communists."

Jock and I parted, and as he shook my hand the tears fell from his eyes.

"Tam," he said, "I know who you are now -not the boy of my childhood, but an old Communist who loves all the world and would give unto everyone that which the world contains."

We two old men then went our different ways and we both hope that the soul of the people shall be allowed to live.

IRISH NEWS.

Refugees and Compensation.

The Irish Provisional Government has undertaken financial responsibility for making compensation in the case of those persons who have been obliged to leave the South of Ireland and seek temporary refuge

Nothing has been heard from the Belfast Government on the demand that it should likewise act in a spirit of equity and undertake responsibility for paying compensation in the case of the Catholics driven from their work and homes by Orange mobs.

Belfast's Convict Ship. On the Argenta, the prison ship in Belfast Lough, over 300 uncharged and untried political prisoners

are herded in steel cages. They are obliged to eat their food-and that of a coarse kind-off the soiled floor of their cages, as no tables are provided; and the unsanitary conditions are such as to render it impossible to observe the decencies of life.

Terror in Derry Gaol.

"So revolting are the conditions in Derry Gaol." said Mr. A. C. Dalgarno, just released, "that they baffle description." He was arrested at Belcoo, charged with refusing to give information to a "B" Special, put into a condemned cell in Derry Gaol, brought before a magistrate, denied legal advice, told he was free, and when waiting for the gate to be opened to let him out he was kicked, sent back to prison, and kept there until July 24th.

Mr. Dalgarno described the condition of the prison their arms entwined around each other; see how as "walking with vermin, lice, and dirt," and the sanitary arrangements as being practically non-existent."

Covered with Clotted Blood.

"Eight men were seized, their clothes taken forcibly off and prison clothes put on, but Gallagher is stark naked. The only covering or garment he has is clotted blood, the result of the treatment to which he was subjected. Their treatment was most violent and brutal. They were kicked and battered, and carried unconscious into the cells, where they were battened down and tied to the hot-water pipe with a chain. They have been on hunger-strike since the 18th, and their condition by this must be most serious. I am afraid some of them will die if something is not done for their aid very soon."

"Dr. Maguire, of Swinlinbar, was arrested while going on a sick call. He also got bad treatment. Whether Moriarty or Gallagher are dead or alive at the moment I don't know. They got awful treatment. They were kicked and beaten. In fact, nothing but the word "terror" can describe what has been going on in Derry Gaol."

Lying Propaganda.

The Ulster Association, a propagandist off-shoot of a result of the peaceful conditions now prevailing London, E.C.

throughout Northern Ireland, the trade prospects of Ulster are brighter than they have been for a long time past. . . . Now that peace has returned once more to her borders, Ulster was setting to work with a will. Travelling facilities to Ulster are now

Belfast Secret Society.

The U.P.A. is a secret organisation, from which many Catholics have received death notices and eviction orders. In the fire case of Foundry Street, Belfast, it was proved that this organisation was responsible for the burning of Catholic homes. It flourishes under various classes in different parts of Belfast, but it is nto proclaimed as an illegal organisation. Now and again stupid members allow themselves to be caught, and have to be proceeded against, but it will be noticed that both bench and

Recent Outrages. Belfast Bombs.

On Thursday night, July 27th, a missile was hurled into the vard of the house of a Catholic named McMenemy, 14 Vulcan Street. Fortunately none of the occupants were in the yard when the bomb Two bombs have been thrown in this Catholic area on two successive nights within a hundred yards' radius.

The organ of the German Communist Workers' Party, "Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung,"

That society is becoming more and more revolutionised, and that a course of action is being pursued with growing clarity and directedness, can be readily discerned from the struggle of our fellow-party in England in so far as it is reflected in their Press, in the Workers' Dreadnought, edited by Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst. The articles that have recently appeared—"The Bankruptcy of the United Front," "The Collapse of the Trade Unions," "The Genoa Betrayal," "Parliament as we see it," as also in the numerous translations of pamphlets and manifestoes of the Left-Wing movement-are the product of individual authors. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, they are the expression of the masses as these become deeply conscious of the treachery of the parasite type of Communists; they are the expression of the Left-Wing Communists of England to do something in the revolutionary proletarian class fight. In order to counteract the weakening of the Labour movement-undoubtedly a consequence of the systematic misleading on the part of Labour leaders -and to make a front against the world economic situation, each number contains a reference to the big things that are to be obtained, to the genuine Communist Workers' Party of the Fourth International. In spite of the difficulties of the situation, we will not go an arm's length from our course; we do not intend sacrificing the slightest morsel of our ideals: this is the concise and matter-of-fact propaganda the Workers' Dreadnought hammers into its friends

In order to show this typical method of English propaganda, we print the following

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 use according to need and desires of the earth's fruits and the product of the common labour. Each shall 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.

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 Com-

Continuous teaching of Communism. Continuous

struggle for Communism.

munist Workers' Party (Fourth International), Sir James Craig's Government, announces that, "as Workers' Dreadnought Office, 152, Fleet Street, Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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Vol. IX. No. 24. Saturday, August 26, 1922.

THE OUTLOOK.

Rand Treason Trials.

British workers, workers in all countries, should follow the Rand treason trials with attention: they are of immediate international importance to the workers. The Rand strikers but old British Roman law exists also, and all the countries have old laws they can use to the same effect. Even were it not so, new law would be made to serve the ends of the ruling win. class. The judges of the Rand strikers have the same point of view as British judges. Read the questions put by the presiding judge in the Erasmus trial, and his summing up against the prisoner. Read and know that such is the attitude of ruling capitalism to revolting wage slaves in all lands.

British Labour Party's Treachery Towards

S.A. Miners. The Willesden No. 1 Branch of the A.E.U. passed a resolution appealing for the lives of the South African miners who are being condemned to death. The resolution was then adopted by the local Labour Party and forwarded to the Secretary of the National Labour Party, with the plea that an effort should be made by the Party to save the men sentenced to death. Mr. Middleton, the secretary of the Landur Party, replied that as South Africa has Home Rule, and as there is Labour representation in the S.A. Parliament, the British Labour Party would take no action. How does this apply to the appeals being made on behalf of those Russian Social Revolutionaries who, according to Tchitcherin, are "the Eastern vanguard of aggressive French Imperialism "?

The local comrades observe that Mr. Arthur Henderson was on cordial terms with General Smuts, the South African Premier, when they were together in the War Cabinet.

Right-Wing Communists and the Labour

A leading article in The Communist, which we take to be an official expression of C.P.G.B. opinion, states that that Party has withdrawn its once-vaunted opposition to the most notorious candidates. The reason given by the leading the Editor of this paper. article is:

"They would have called the Communist died, stabbed by a phrase."

its utter weakness. section of a party which once was so great, in tory and create a division in Ireland. spite of all faults and failings, as to ride the British capitalist diplomacy said to the Irish: whirlwind of that monstrous, wondrous thing, Surrender your Republic, surrender your the Russian Revolution; to ride it in its hey. independence, own allegiance to our King and day of vigorous achievement, should have fallen Empire, subordinate yourselves to us, and we so. How is it possible, the uninitiated must will give you peace and so much of the shadow

national sections, even one so far removed from loss of its substance. If you do not submit, the storm centre as that of Britain, should thus we will fight you with a terrible violence hitherto express dependence on a mere say so of the unwitnessed by mankind: you will suffer a war retrograde Labour Party, with its anti-Com- of extermination. munist officials and unawakened mass membership paying their millions of automatically

exacted shillings?

be the inheritors and standard-bearers of the State gre great Revolution thus plead that they have officials were in relative direction of the Reputation of t "killed" by a mere "phrase"? Not by General Macready. deference to the phrases of opponents were the Before Russia the Lloyd George diplomacy Czar and the autocracy overthrown in Russia; dangled the prospect of peace, trade, and int not by deference to the phrases of opponents, national loans. You will be able to devol but by strong, unflinching conflict with them, your backward country and thus provide ab did the Communist Party gain the lead in dance for your people, if only you will subv

These little people of the little C.P.G.B. have has promised. This has been the policy of Live not known the great conflicts, nor the long, George diplomacy for attacking Russia's Conflicts toilsome years of the pioneers who create new munism ever since the policy of armed in thought and new action; they have followed vention proved itself a costly failure. in the footsteps of others: the bolder, the The weaker brethren in power and place greater, with whom the phrases of opponents Soviet Russia have succumbed to the promi

Why are the feeble statements of these sistently preached, praised, and practis weaklings tolerated-nay, subsidised-by those the surrender of Communism and concessions who have passed through the whirlwind of capitalism till the Russian proletariat has been revolution and long years of persecution over to revolt, the Russian Communist Party there in Russia?

Because the heroic days of the Revolution are themselves revolutionary Communists have e over. Reaction holds unhappy Russia in its tirely forgotten the implications and meaning are being tried under old Dutch-Roman law. grip: the giant Freedom has bowed his head of the term. and gone sadly forth into opposition to build anew: to build and fight anew with the old have scored the immediate victory; but though battalions scattered, the hardest task still to parties without much faith in them may

Left Group in Russia.

Amongst the Left Communist groups the giant Freedom is toiling to emancipate the workers and build the Communist Life.

The Left Communist groups; the humble. unknown toilers; the extreme uncorruptible old says, with feeble, foolish treachery, to be drive warriors who scorn the flesh-pots which com- into an attitude (O! splendid attitude!) of pur promise with capitalism offers to those who for- and simple Communism, and has cast in its sake the cause of the masses; the ardent youth, with the Labour Party; but others are wise those whose ideal is still undimmed, whose and more steadfast. To others Communism mental vision is too clear and piercing to be " vital principle, not a mere word to be mouthe deceived by specious oratory or daunted by a in perorations. wounding epithet: whether it be "political Do the obscure persons who form the blackleg" or the still more deadly "counter- C.P.G.B. Executive know why their decision of armies, which was demanded, would mean revolutionary ": these form the Russian Re- unconditional support to the Labour Party which volutionary Group of Left Communists. They spurns them has received so much prominence are facing, as the Russian pioneers have always the capitalist Press? faced, the harshest strife of the international struggle. To-day they no longer face the mili- this C.P.G.B. decision as the winding-up tarism of the Czar and the blighting poverty an effort, which might have attained some s which the Russian workers suffered under the cess, to put "ginger" into the working cla Czardom. They are facing the more efficient movement of this country. militarism of a Power which arose to be the instrument of the proletarian battle with world ever, at this revelation of C.P.G.B. policy capitalism, and has transformed itself into the They are better informed than the capitalist hand-maid of rapid capitalist development. Press. They are facing the famine scarcity and the inflated currency of the post-war, post-revolutionary despotism. A censorship more rigorous, more efficient, a poverty more impecunious than any they knew under the Czardom, forbids their propaganda, prevents their meetings, destroys their power to print and publish on Russian soil.

An appeal to British Communists made through these columns for funds to assist the Russian workers in preparing propaganda material in Germany has fallen upon deaf ears. renegades of the Labour Party, and has deter. Shall that appeal be made wholly in vain? Commined to give its support to all Labour Party rades who will respond to it can do so through

Russia and Ireland.

Party political blacklegs, and it would have The tortuous, crafty diplomacy of British capitalism: the diplomacy of which Lloyd The statement is ridiculous and deplorable in George is the spokesman, has secured a victory and created a division in Russia by the same The uninitiated must marvel that any national methods which have enabled it to secure a vic-

wonder, that any of the Communist Party's of independence that you will not regret the

Some of the Irish accepted the bait, for they wanted peace; but the British Government sent twenty-four battalions of British troops into Bel. The Russian Revolution in its heroic days was fast, and armed 49,000 Special Constables and the transcendent example of proletarian initia- war to drive out the Nationalists from Belfast more shadow

to our conditions, the Lloyd George diplom

have weighed nothing at all.

of the Lloyd George diplomacy, and have nev been split into warring factions, and large se tions of the world proletariat who once imagir

> Capitalist diplomacy in Russia and in Irelan "killed by a phrase," ideas go on; and though they suffer, and their ranks are decimate some pioneers everywhere are found to he unswerving to their trust and battle on.

The capitalist Press may jubilate, as it does. in the fact that the C.P.G.B. has cast its Communism aside, has refused to allow itself, as

The reason is that the capitalist Press regards

The initiated Communists feel no dismay, ho

Workers Who Assist Enemy Forces to be Treated as Combatants. Important Declaration to Irish Labour Party by Republicans.

The field Headquarters of the Irish Republ can Army on August 5th notified the Irish Trade Union Congress that " workers actively co-operating with Free State forces, or assisting in operations under Free State forces, will in future be deemed to be participants in the war between the Republican and Free Sto

The notification continued:

"This decision has been forced upon us by railway work at present is army work; that the railway authorities gave allegiance to the so-called Provisional Government, and the organised Labour has up to the present co operated in assisting the Free State and the British Government in their attempts to exterminate the Republican forces.

"Will you therefore officially notify your trade union that any of its members who assist enemy forces in any such operations as repairing of railways, transporting or handling munitions and transportation of troops, re pairing telephone or telegraph wires, etc., or in any way obstructing our forces in the carrying out of their duties, will be considered combatants in the war, and will take the sam risks as the armed forces who are fighting against the Republic .- Signed .

This document had apparently caused consternation amongst the trade union officials. tive and action. How can those who claim to was carried on. The independence of the Free The chairman of the Congress said that when

he entire struggle is unnecessary.

than shed your blood in this civil war."

of the war in actual fact, by refusing to assist , wealth is obtained by the Allies. the troops, presented a trial of their consistency

These same Irish Labour leaders will go to the year. national conferences and applaud resolutions for a general strike against war, and many of em were exceedingly contemptuous of the ritish Labour movement because it failed to omplish that in 1914. These Irish Labour ut a continuous refusal to assist troops and carry troops in the civil war would mean more an mere lip service to pacifism: it would ean for the union members the risk of being ourt-martialled or shot out of hand by the miliand the risk for the officials of being proeded against by the Free State Government. Messrs. Tom L. Johnson, Cathal O'Shannon, and Bill O'Brien did not mean to go by any

means so far as that in their pacifism. the presidential address, it had been hoped ically that workers would be found to fuse to obey the orders of Republican officers to destroy bridges at the risk of ng shot. But that was a case that would not often arise, and would only affect the indiis on the spot. The refusal to assist the ediate trouble with the Free State Governent in power and the British Government

ingham, representing the Irish section of e British N.U.R., pointed out that the railymen would be the first affected; they must we the protection and advice of the Congress. Tom L. Johnson replied that the Executive had been considering the question very seriously: wondered "whether mass meetings would receive any attention from the men with the

definite decision was arrived at. our leaders are passively assisting the Free Government, though that Government asors the Labour publications and arrests trade on officials, for little or no reason, in the ourse of its operations. Though the Labour eaders are passively assisting the Free State vernment, they wish to preserve an appearance of neutrality, and masses of apathetic orkers are anxious to keep out of danger, gaining a wage by doing war work without taking

The decision of the Republicans to treat those assist the armies as actual combatants rms a fact which should burn itself into the asciousness of every wage slave. To observe reason of the fact that the chief part of the that fact in action means a solidarity as yet occasionally reached in the world prole-

the workers-railwaymen, transport kers, and seamen-of Britain and Europe had felt that solidarity there would have been ther invasion nor blockade of Soviet Russia. he railwaymen and other workers of the and had felt that solidarity there would have een a different tale to tell of the late strike.

Putting the Screw on Germany.

he British proposals for the solution of the nan reparations question, as published in the last week, are a rigid form of putting screw on Germany sort with the professedly atle character of the Lloyd George who dered he would devote his remaining years to e provision of peace. Here are the most ortant of them.

Allied control of the German Reichsbank, h must cease its present connection with the erman Government.

received it the previous day he had regarded Allied control of the German Government's as a forgery, and therefore did not bring it issue of paper money, increase of existing 26 per the Congress, but now he knew it to be cent. levy on German exports. Allied control of German Customs receipts on imports, of German The Irish trade union officials declare them- revenue and expenditure, and especially of realves to be altogether opposed to the present venue from mines and State forests in the Ruhr or in Ireland; they protest that they support and occupied Rhineland. Allied "examinather Republicans nor Free Statists, and that tion," which means dictation, of German legislation for preventing the flight of capital abroad. In his address to the Congress the President This is partly intended to prevent German capitalists obtaining valuable concessions desired by "Take no part in the civil war, fellow- the Allies, partly to prevent German capital the way, has worked seven years at Woolwich workers; keep out of it. Starve to death rather going to any country—for instance, Soviet Russia-where the Allies desire to prevent the The demand that the workers should keep flow of capital, partly to see that surplus German

The German Budget to be balanced accord- out of the Salvation Army institution to go to the Labour leaders were by no means ing to the dictates of the Allies, a moratorium see their mother in Whitechapel. Not knowing being granted to Germany till the end of that part of London, they got lost, and were

These proposals make Germany a mere vassal placed under arrest and brought up at the Police and milch cow of the Allies, but the French Court next morning. The magistrate then sent are not satisfied. They want, not to get effect them to a penal remand home for a week. The tive possession of the German forests and mines, father, having no home for his children, fears especially in the Ruhr. The British Govern- that they will be sent by the magistrate to an aders organised a one-day strike against war, ment cannot condemn the French from a basis Industrial School till they are sixteen, in which of ethical superiority. It did not arrange that case he will lose all control over their education the German colonies should be merely controlled and treatment during that period. by an Allied Commission in order that repara- Such tragic cases are now becoming common, tions payments might be secured from their because it does not pay the capitalist to erect revenues. It made the German colonies its working-class houses to-day. own. The French Government, with no better or worse title, wishes to do the same.

The British Government objects to the French obtaining this accession of raw material and potential source of wealth and fighting power.

Obviously the rivalry between France and Britain grows. The balance-of-power policy to which Asquith and Grey, as well as Lloyd George and the Tories subscribe, now calls for the weighting of the British scale against France by the addition of some other countries' power and resources to Britain's own. As in the past, British Imperialism will use Central Europe against France if, and when, war with France arises. The future war with France will indeed be terrible. General Herr, the Inspector-General of French Artillery, has been reminding the Morning Post that the range of the German Big Berthas reached 130 kilometres in the late War, and observing that a 140 to 200 kilometre range is not too much to expect in the next war. French guns would thus be able to keep London, Portsmouth, Southampton, Dorchester, havoc would be almost too appalling to contem-

Russia's New Economic Policy.

The Soviet Government's "new economic policy " of reversion to Communism has badly split the Russian Communist Party. This is how the capitalists make use of it. The Soviet Government is inviting foreign capital to build a railway from Indigo, or Cheskaia Bay, on the North Russian Coast, to Petropavlovsk, in the Province of Akmolinsk, nearly 1,500 miles £55,000,000 is required. This, according to the Times Riga correspondent, is how the foreign capitalists intend to work the scheme, insuring success by bribes to Soviet officials:

"A few ships will arrive at Indigo Bay with materials and an expedition to exploit the immediate neighbourhood. They will at once make use of their privileges to the full. They will fell timber, shoot game, and fish, and the ships will return with valuable cargoes. Mean. while the railway construction will proceed slowly. We shall lay down a furlong or so, and we calculate that by the time we have spent £5,000,000 we shall have received a return of something like £25,000,000. If the Soviet Government continues so long, we shall lay down a few furlongs more, with similar results. We shall risk nothing, but reap our profits as we go along. . . .

"We shall scrupulously avoid all forms of plunder in regard to what was formerly private property, and shall thus make firm friends of the former owners."

Oh! for another workers' uprising to cleanse induce others to do so. Some sell papers. this augean stable that is being created in what What will you do to assist the spread of was once Red Russia! Sylvia Pankhurst. Communist ideals?

NOWHERE TO LIVE.

William Mills, of 35 Tulon Street, Camberwell, was evicted from a Camberwell L.C.C. ewelling, although he was not in arrears with his rent, on the ground that he had too many children. He was unable to find another dwelling for his family. His wife and the youngest child were eventually taken into a Salvation Army shelter, their two little boys were received into another Salvation Army institution in another part of London. Mills himself-who, by Arsenal, but cannot get a house there-went to a men's common lodging-house to sleep. The eviction took place on August 5th. On the following Sunday the two little boys were let "found wandering" by the police. They were

The families who have been living in tarpaulincovered huts in Chadwick Road, Camberwell have now been ordered out by the police. In the meantime, they are refused water and the right to dispose of the ashes from the buckets of coke on which they cook their food.

THE BIRMINGHAM MARCHERS.

It was a very hungry-looking crowd that welcomed the Birmingham unemployed marchers. One saw that especially, as the people stood massed outside Poplar Town Hall, which was thronged and overflowing, the larger crowd

One of the local unemployed addressed the throng from the porch, and the cheering that greeted the words of the marchers inside kept

They stood there looking up at the speaker men and women with wasted faces and hungry eyes and mouths, and the greasy, dusty old clothes of poverty.

Dartmouth, and the Cornish Coast under fire.

Guardians to be proud of here in Poplar," said the speaker; and the hungry and shabby crowd clapped his words: the hungry children, the hungry men and women, shrunken and wasted by poverty.

> "At least I ask you to see that they don't want for a meal; that they don't go hungry while they're here in Poplar: these lads who've tramped it from Birmingham." The crowd cheered, then the collection went round. Those who had any money in their pockets gave it, but there was not much money in the pockets of that hungry crowd.

The men who tramped from Birmingham have interviewed Dr. Macnamara. They are likely to secure little more from that interview than the payment of their own doles whilst on tramp: perhaps they will not even get that.

The march, however, has been an experience to them: it has created a bond of solidarity between them and workers in many districts they have passed through; but the uppermost question in the minds of some of them is: "Will my boots last out?"

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £255 18s. 5d. M. Powell, 10/- (5/- monthly). Hackney meetings collections, 5/6; A Friend, £8. Total for week, £8 15s. 6d. Total, £264 13s. 11d.

Some comrades make a regular monthly donation to the Workers' Dreadnought of 10/-, others of 5/- or some smaller sum, other comrades make a regular weekly donation. Some buy number of papers each week to give away to the unconverted. Some display our posters and

THE MINERS.

The strike of American railway shopmen has coming disabled and unsafe. The Brotherhoods of railway traffic workers are amnogst the most class act as Government tools in this expedient. reactionary Trade Unions in the U.S., which is saying a great deal. These Brotherhoods refused to take sympathetic action to assist their disabled trains threaten, however, to enforce " sympathetic strike. Morcover, the presence of employers' gunmen has caused the railway Brotherhoods to instruct their members to cease work if their lives are endangered by such agents, and on various lines the members of the four big railway Brotherhoods have actually ceased work.

If this is to be a first step in the refusal to carry troops for use against strikers it will have far-reaching effects. Had the South African railway workers taken this stand, the story of the Rand dispute would have been different.

Another factor tending to make the railway strike general is the simultaneous strike of miners, which produces a shortage of fuel for the trains. The railway shopmen's strike, of course, also helps incidentally to increase the serious effect of the miners' strike.

President Harding and the U.S. Labour Board are anxiously negotiating, but the strikes continue, and the President announces that he will than for a known Communist to obtain a German deal with the trouble by means of special legis lation. He intends to create a great coal authority to act, if necessary, to prevent profiteering by others. He also announces that Le will create a Government Coal Commission to make "recommendations" on wages, conditions, and prices. He also intends compulsory arbitration, and legislation for "the protection of aliens." Presumably this means protection when they are used as blacklegs.

Whilst the U.S. miners and railwaymen are thus developing a strangle-hold upon capitalist enterprise, British miners are working overtime to rush coal into America to relieve the impasse and assist the U.S. employers in their attack upon the workers' standard of living. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain, through the active agency of Mr. Frank Hodges, is striving to accelerate production for the U.S.A., and is bringing perssure to bear on the dockers and transport workers to work three shifts on shipments of coal for U.S.A.

A protest, on the ground that the dockers' wages would be reduced, and in the name of International working-class solidarity from the Dockers' Union, was met with the reply that Mr. Hodges was at the International Miners Congress in Frankfort, and that the communication had been forwarded to him in order that he might deal with it. It should be observed that the miners pride themselves that their Federation is a thoroughly democratic one. On this score they are apt to crow. Evidently, however, Mr. Frank Hodges has his executive so well under control that they do not venture to deal, in his absence, with any important matter, however urgent, but prefer to refer it for his decision when abroad.

The reply of Mr. Hodges to the dockers' protest may easily be inferred from the fact that the International Miners' Congress refused any sympathetic action to the United States miners It refused to place any embargo on the sending of coal to U.S.A. It merely recommended the various national organisations to subscribe between them £10,000, which would not provide more than one-tenth of a dollar per striker On the suggestion of Hodges, the Press and visitors were excluded during the session.

Mr. Hodges, by the way. was re-elected secretary of the International Miners' Organisa-

The Reds amongst the miners used to talk cheerfully of their powers and influence in their Federation and of its progressive character. They will have to revise their estimates if they are willing to face the facts.

The experience of every day is showing more and more clearly the need for a One Big Revolutionary Union.

The President's proposal that the U.S. Gov- to be offering the once-subject Czecho-Slovaki. ernment shall operate the railways failing an "practical administrative control" of Anstraic gone on so long that the U.S. trains are be- agreement between employers and employed, in order to find a way of escape from the econo will only materialise if members of the working mic difficulties which threaten revolution. Dr

Tom Shaw as a Socialist.

So Tom Shaw has become Secretary of the Second International. We remember we'll his to bury me." working brothers in the railway repair and con-wide-mouthed Jingoism at the war-time Labour struction shops. The dangers of working the Conferences, in which he was the eager rival of Tillet, Clynes, and Havelock Wilson; and his championship of the interests of the cotton capitalists. Truly the Second International is the loyal ally of the Allied Capitalist Governments, and Tom Shaw can be counted on to make to tile, and other workers and miners, and 80,000 denounce the French and approve the Germans. if the British Government says he should.

"True patriotism," said Bismarck, "is taking something from somebody else and keeping it for yourself." That is the sort of statesmanship Tom Shaw fully understands, provided the statesman is of his own nationality.

Counter-Revolution in Central Europe. The German Crown Prince proposes returning to live in Germany. The German Government day, or on another of the seven days of has no objection to raise, in spite of the active week?-On Tuesday and Wednesday I Monarchist movement there. On the other always at home, but the remaining evenings ar hand, the Government of the German Republic all the same to me. I know a few comrade is very chary of permitting the entry of Com- who prefer Thursday. On Friday we are munists within its borders; indeed, "it is easier busy, so the majority would come on Saturday for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle " -Thank you; please come early!

That the old influences largely rule still in neble ni lernos paroli, legi kaj skribi la internatrust of private capitalists enterprise, with Germany is evidenced by the high treason charge cian lingvon.—Cu ni havas talentulojn, ki against Herr Fechenbach, former private secre- povos kanti kaj deklami?—Mi estas certa ke jes tary to Kurt Eisner, for having revealed a letter ni havas ankaŭ muzikistojn.-Mi estas feliĉa pr showing that the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. tio, ĉar mi volas aranĝi koncertojn kaj teatraĵo which helped to precipitate the European War en Esperanto. in 1914, was known to the German Government before it was dispatched.

Important Austrian capitalist intrigues are reported by the Times correspondent in Graz, the second largest town in Austria and capital of Styria, which contains 50 per cent. of Austria's industries, including the largest iron mine in the world, which has been acquired by the German Stinnes Trust. Wealthy Styrians, says the Times correspondent, have opened negotiations for the absorption of Styria by Italy, should a crisis arise in Austria. Evidently the success of the Fascisti has disposed Austrian capitalism to seek Italian co-operation.

Nevertheless, a prominent Styrian industrial magnate assured the Times correspondent:

"If backed by the Allies, Styria would guarantee to save Austria. What he was thinking of was a coup d'etat from the Right, with the help of the Heimwehr, an organisation similar to the Ardesch.

"Austria's army is Socialist, and in case of a debacle would side with the most radical element. But my informant hinted that a strong Government, by which he meant one which would take the standpoint of the employers, could dispose of sufficient armed forces to keep order. He declared that civil war could be avoided if sufficient food supplies to feed the country for a month could be placed at this Government's disposal just outside the trol it could undertake to feed the masses. To solve the money difficulty, he proposed a new State issuing bank based on foreign capital, supported by a foreign Government, preferably the British Government, and enjoying ex-territorial privileges. . . .

"Two days ago a meeting of industrialists representing all the Austrian provinces, ex- laboro; per "proletariaro," la klaso de moderna clusive of Vienna, was held at Graz, at which it was decided to present an ultimatum to rimedon de produktado, estas submetataj al labour on the 17th instant; the terms to be vendo de sia propra labor-povo por ke ili vivu. either a reversion of the eight-hour day to pre-war conditions of work, or a complete lockout. The truth is that Austria has had enough. By one means or another, her leading men are conspiring to bring things to an end."

Later news from the Times correspondent states that Dr. Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, is visiting Czecho-Slovakia with an appeal from that Government to become responsible for the Government of Austria. The Government of Austria, once the dominant power, is now said

Seipel is also said to be vsiting Germany and Italy to placate any opposition to the expedier there by saying: "Save me quick or I shall die on your doorstep, and then you will have

Hungary Rising from the White Terror.

The great power of Labour is seen in the fac that in Hungary, long held in the grip of mil tary white terror, a wave of great strikes b arisen: 30,000 metal workers, beside wood, tev labourers, are on strike. In spite of the while terror, the workers are expected to secure

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 10.

Do you prefer to meet on Sunday or Mo

EKZERCO No. 1. Kion ni faros dum niaj kunvenoj?-Kompre

VORTARETO.

ankaŭ	also	fari	to do	
certa	certain	feliĉa	happy	
deklami	to recite	kanti to sing		
dum	during	kio	what	
	kompreneble	of course		
	lerni	to learn		
	paroli	to speak		
	skribi	to write		
	voli	to wish		
	NOTI	A STATE OF THE STA		

UL means "one characterised by." Tale tulo—a talented person.

IST denotes a "person occupied with," usually professionally. Muzikisto—a musician Teatraĵo—a play, from teatro, a theatre.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

LA KAPITALISTOJ KAJ LA PROLETARIOJ.*

La historio de la tuta ĝisnun ekzistanta sociot estas la historio de interklasaj bataloj.

isto, unuvorte, subpremanto kaj subpremato, spirit of science. . . . senintermankan, jen kaŝatan, jen malkaŝatar bataladon, kiu ĉiufoge finiĝis, aŭ en revoluci rekonstruado de la socio ĝenerale, aŭ en la komuna ruiniĝo de la batalantaj klasoj.

* Per "kapitalistaro" estas signata la klasi de modernaj kapitalistoj, posedantoj de la rim edoj de socia produktado kaj dungantoj de salajr salajr-laboristoj, kiuj, havante nenian propra Daŭrigoto.

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIST MEETING:

WOODGRANGE ROAD, FOREST GATE, Saturday, August 26th, 7 p.m.

Speakers: A. Kingman, W. Pratt, N. Smyt

ORD NORTHCLIFFE AND ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

Northcliffe, to whom have been accorded conques of official burial and mourning, was ably the best of good fellows at home: any may be if his purse is well lined, but his good qualities do not affect the outside Both these men were firm upholders of italism; they believed in it, and were opposed he coming of that classless order of society call Communism, which alone can emancite the wage worker.

Northcliffe was undoubtedly an efficient niser, with an adventurous mind, ever ready welcome new mechanical inventions; in fact, had a special bent in that direction-motoraeroplanes, wireless telegraphy received an

"Mechanical changes shown in innumer- being absolutely crushed. beings produced by them. There has also to accept the Free State been a race between the inventions and organisations— the result has been the

"The stirring of the faculties made the workers aware of their potentialities and aroused their creative instincts. Such evelation of their capacities is proceed-

deed created, but crystallised.

industry, and in its relative standards of still more striking.* values. So long as things are to be sold by

" The secret of a joyful life is to live dan-

and of the herd has been the increase of the of £200,000. creative instinct over the acquisitive or the As to the mining industries, which are

removed from that of such a man as Sander- Lock-Out, which was a lock-out against trade market six million cwts. of rails every year. con the great schoolmaster of Oundle, who unionism in principle, and in which the Irish It is no wonder, therefore, that the imports Transport Workers' Union was for the time cant, and that since 1870—that is, nine years

wireless telegraphy, gramophones and cinemas. Government had already succeeded, by its high- imports has been on a steady decrease. Manuhave rushed on beyond the organisation re- handed autocracy, in estranging even the official of manufactured goods into Russia are so insigni. quired for them and the changes in human Irish Labour leaders, who were only too ready ficant, and that since 1870—that is, nine years

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from last week.) ing at a marvellous speed. The prob- march of industries towards the East by a few (metals, yarn, and so on). In fact, the imbefore the world is the organisa- figures. And, to begin with, let me take the ports of British home produce have declined in tion of live and free agents. The most primi- example of Russia. Not because I know it the course of ten years from £8,800,000 to ve and the most powerful of men's instincts better, or that our industrial statistics, although £5,000,000, so as to reduce the value of British is the instinct of self-development and growth slow to appear, are fuller than those of Austria manufactured goods imported into Russia to the and this is the main factor in organisation. or of Italy, but because Russia is the latest following trifling items: machinery, £1,042,550; It is one thing to have laws for hard corpuscles, comer on the industrial field. Thity years ago cottons, only £625,600; woollens, £260,800; but another to deal with electrons or bac- she was considered as the ideal of an agricultural and so on. But the depreciation of British nation, doomed by nature itself to supply other ware imported into Russia is still more striking, "The struggle between self-expanding in- nations with food, and to draw her manufactured thus, in 1876, Russia imported 8,000,000 cwt. of ividuals, or nations, and the stereotyped goods from the West. Elisée Reclus has given, British metals, and paid then £6,000,000; but nditions that restrict them, is, as our chair- in his Géographie Universale, a curve intended in 1884, although the same quantity was imman has said, a race between education and to show the growth of Russian industries ported, it was paid only £3,400,000. And the since 1859, and this modest curve is worth same depreciation is seen for all imported goods, "The chief duty of scientific men in the whole pages, as it tells at once to the although not always in the same proportion. new era is to bring all their methods and eye the sudden increase of Russian manu- * If we consider only the years which preceded standards of value into the whole field of factures a few years after the emancipa- 1879-when the import duties were increased by human activity; and to these methods and tion of serfs. In 1861—the year of the ideals they must remain staunch and faithful. emancipation-Russia, together with Poland, With such a spread of scientific effort, a great had only 14,060 manufactures, which produced change will come over the social system. Far every year the value of 296 millions of roubles greater than the rapid change spread over bio- (about £36,000,000). Twenty years later the logy, and thence over other branches of know- number of establishments rose to 35,160, and ledge, by Darwin's theory or Mendel's or their yearly production became nearly four Pasteur's, it will be a re-writing of all the 1,305 millions (about £131,000,000); and standards of value. So there will come a new times the above—i.e., 1,305 millions (about Liberulo kaj sklavo, patricio kaj plebejo, order of economics, finance, ethics, diplomacy, £131,000,000); and in 1884, although the bienulo kaj servutulo, gildmajstro t kaj meti- administration under the influence of the census left the smaller manufactures out of account, the aggregate production reached fully with regard to the silks (compare Stieda's monoborder, so that from the moment it seizes con- staris konstante unu kontraŭ la alia, daŭrigis "What is needed, and naturally enough already 1,556 millions-i.e., £155,000,000 needed, is that our executive and administra- The most noteworthy feature of Russian industry tion should be transfigured by the influence is, that while the number of workmen employed f the new spirit which science has, not in- in the manufactures has not even doubled since 1861 (it has remained stationery We can see the same facts illustrated in since 1879), the production per workman had dustrial management. The industrial social more than doubled: it has trebled in the life is not seriously changed by any change leading industries. The average was less than n the managing body, or in its methods of £70 per annum in 1861; it reaches now £163. reaching its present aims. Such changes as The increase of production is thus chiefly due co-partnership, profit-sharing, Whitley Coun- to the improvement of machinery, especially or nationalisation, do not themselves since 1870. If we take, however, separate change the social conditions. What is needed branches, and especially the textile industries is a radical change in the aim or purpose of and the machinery works, the progress appears

> Moreover, the above figures, including only auction to the highest bidder it matters little those manufactures which show a yearly return who is the auctioneer or what the method of of above £200, do not include the immense variety of domestic trades, which also have considerably grown of late, side by side with the manufactures. The domestic industries-so 'The history of mankind in the making characteristic of Russia, and so necessary under would lead us to expect the coming into active her climate—occupy now more than seven mil- food, 23 per cent.

prominence and effectiveness of new lions of peasants, and their aggregate production standards of value, and would lead us to was estimated a few years ago at much more rejoice in a great epoch of changes which wil. than the aggregate production of the manufac. re-cast our institutions and organisations. . . . tures. It exceeded £180,000,000 per annum. . . . " The work before us in the coming I shall have an occasion to return later on to era is to drift the thoughts towards the love this subject, so that I shall be sober of figures. of mankind—to build up true love on a and merely say that even in the chief manufoundation of rock-to stiffen and strengthen facturing provinces of Russia round about Moslove that it will not soften down to static cow domestic weaving-for the trade-shows a yearly return of £4,500,000; and that even in . . . "Competition is no doubt a primitive Northern Caucasia, where the petty trades are instinct, especially in the social life of the of a recent origin, there are, in the peasants' herd, but the development of the individual houses, 45,000 looms, with a yearly production

competitive. 'He must increase; I must not included in the above, notwithstand. decrease.' In the rush of industry under the ing the competition of fuel-wood and naphtha,t old ideals the spirit of competition has so the output of the coal-mines of the Don welcome from him. He had however, no swollen as to reveal itself and exhaust itself." has doubled during the last ten years, and for innovations in social mechanism. It Arthur Griffith was an Irish Nationalist, a in Poland it has increased four-fold; so that in that he was considered a model employer: Tariff Reformer: his aim was to build up Irish 1884, before the last increase of duties, only oneknew that, just as you must give a horse industries on capitalist lines. He, too, was third of the 113 millions of cwts. consumed alequate food and a good stable, you get more opposed to the classless order, the free Com- in Russia was imported. Nearly all the efficient service if you do the same for a man, munist society. He worshipped the capitalist steel, three-quarters of the iron, and two-thirds and no doubt natural good nature overcame at State, and was bitterly opposed to any attempts of the pig-iron used in Russia are home produce times his belief in the rights of capital. of the workers to better their conditions. He and the eight Russian works for the manufacture orthcliffe's views on society were, however, even opposed the workers in the great Dublin of steel rails are strong enough to throw on the

before the general increase of duties—the proable inventions, such as dynamos, aeroplanes, In its short term of office Arthur Griffith's portion of manufactured goods to the aggregate factured goods make no wonly one-fifth of the imports; and while the imports of Britain into Russia were valued at £16,300,000 in 1872, they were only £12,300,000 in 1884; out of them, manufactured goods were valued at a little more than £2,000,000—the remainder being either articles Before going further, let me illustrate the of food or raw and half-manufactured goods

nearly 30 per cent., and a protective policy was definitely adopted—we still find the following progress in the cotton industries. The number of workmen employed increased only by 25 per cent.; but the production increases by 300 per cent.; the yearly production per workman employed grows from £45 to £117. The unanimous opinion of the experts at the exhibition of 1882 was, that a considerable improvement had been realised of late in the Russian cotton manufactures; and everybody can confirm the accuracy of the statement by the cheapness and the good taste of the cottons now manufactured in Russia. The same is true, although to a smaller extent, with regard to the woollens industries, and graphs in the Russische Revue). As to the machinery works, it would not be fair to make any comparison between 1884 and 1861, or even 1870; the whole has grown up during the last ten years; and Professor Kirpitcheff points out that the progress realised can he best judged by the high perfection attained in the building of the most perfect types of big steam engines, locomotives, and in the manufacture of water-pipes, notwithstanding the competition of Glasgow. Russia needs no longer to import any part of her railway plant, thanks to the progress made under the leadership of English, and partly, German engineers. As to the home-made agricultural machinery. both the Times correspondent and Russian reports agree in recognising that it successfully competes even with American machinery, although the latter is much cheaper and more appropriate to the Russian prairies than the English.

† Out of the 1,246 steamers which ply on Russian rivers, one-quarter are heated with naphtha, and onehalf with wood; wood is also the chief fuel of the railways and ironworks.

* The characters of the imports into Russia are best seen from the following: 1866-1870, manufactured goods, 31 per cent.; raw and half-manufactured goods, 46 per cent.; articles of food, 23 per cent.; 1884, manufactured goods, 19 per cent.; raw and half-manufactured goods, 58 per cent, articles of

CLYNES, TILLETT. AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

A certain well-known speaker, whom you have doubtless heard and applauded many a time, fellow-worker, recently settled in Ireland after a long life of propaganda in Britain. That speaker is reported as saying that one has to be very careful what one says to Irish audiences just now, because, whilst an English or Scotch audience is quite certain just to sit and applaud any vigorous suggestion, an Irish audience is likely to spring up and say: "Let us do it now."

That is a nasty one for us, is it not, fellow-worker?

That particular speaker has begun to learn by experience the wholesome fact that when a people is roused, even a windbag's empty threats and incitements, which he has no intention or desire to see carried out in action, may actually set alight the dry tinder of revolt and give the impetus to far-reaching events.

We should like to think that this might be the case with the utterance at the Conference at the National Federation of General Worker; of that arrant windbag Ben Tillett, who rivalled Bottomley by his jingo speeches on the music-hall stage during the War. The bold Ben Tillett who would certainly back out if anyone attempted to follow his advice, fellow-worker, spoke

thus:
"If I had my way, I should get all the workers of the world to down tools for a given

A suggestion for an international general demonstration strike against the general attack on wages was made by the French delegates to the Miners' International, but was defeated by the hostility of Frank Hodges and the other British delegates.

J. R. Clynes, who approved Tillett's blood-and-thunder war speeches and made some "Bitter Enders" himself rose to rebuke Tillett for his militant tone at the General Workers Conference. Said Clynes, M.P., P.C., the president of the Congress:

"I do not believe in such industrial violence. . . . Unemployment and its solution

should not be approached from any standpoint of party or class issue."

"There can be no stability," he said, "when Germany's finances are wobbling."

The fact is that Clynes and his colleagues do not wish the workers to do anything which might injure the trade interests of their employers; they place their faith in the solutions offered by Mr. Keynes and the Liberal popliticians, the wiping out of a large part of Germany's reparation payments, the wiping out of inter-allied debts, and so on: all arrangements made by the capitalists between themselves, whilst the wage slaves, who produced the wealth the capitalists are manipulating, look on in humble patience, waiting for their pastors and masters to solve the unemployment question. Clynes is a follower of the political policy of the Liberal employing class, with occasional leanings towards Toryism when clothed in the eloquence of Lloyd George.

Tillett, on the other hand, is an actor and a windbag who plays to the gallery; he is affected by the psychology of his audience. Therefore his speech is coloured by working-class aspirations, though his actions differ little from those of Clynes.

Do not look to Tillett to organise the general strike for you, fellow-worker; he has neither the heart for it, nor the organisation for it. You will never see an effective general strike in this country, fellow-worker, till the One Big Revolutionary Union has been created.

All members of the O.B.R.U. must pledge themselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of a World Federation of Communist Industrial Republics, in which production, transport, and distribution shall be administered by the Soviets.

No member of the O.B.R.U. may assist in the transport or equipment of troops or blacklegs employed against the workers, or in the manufacture or transport of material for use against the workers in their struggle.

No member of the O.B.R.U. may take office in a Trade or Industrial Union other than the One Big Revolutionary Union.

No member of the O.B.R.U. may take office in any workshop committee promoted by

the Trade Unions or the employers.

No member of the O.B.R.U. may take part in any council of employers and employed, profit-sharing scheme, or take office on any Conciliation Board.

No member of the O.B.R.U. may belong to any political Party unless its object is the over-throw of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, or any Party which is affiliated to the Labour Party or any other Reformist organisation.

No member of the O.B.R.U. may assist in the administration of the capitalist State, either by becoming a candidate for Parliament or the local governing bodies, or assisting in the election of candidates thereto.

The Searchlight.

REX v. ALDRED.

An appeal reaches us from 13 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow stating that the costs of this action—£204 9s. 4d.—have not yet been met.

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The Workers' Dreadnought Book Service Catalogue is now ready, and will be supplied on application to 152 Fleet Street.

THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED.

(One of many MSS. written in Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.)

CHAPTER II.

Demos at Thought.

At these each party puts up its champion or champions to be questioned or opposed by the audience, or some members of it. If the speaker is interesting he will hold his audience, regardless of his party project. If he is dull, though his message be the last word in salvation, his stand will be isolated and his words of healing lost on the air. For democracy is abroad seeking light from the genius of prophets, not headaches from the dullness of schoolmasters nor sleeping sickness from the opiates of priests. Democracy, with its multiple problems, seeking solution in all its individual phases of the grand enigma of being; pondering on metaphysics and destiny, enquiring into philosophy and seeking spiritual truth and comfort; appalled by the social problem and wondering which path to tread.

Demos in the forum is a wonderful study. It strides with giant steps over the grave of its fears and illusions. Alive and vital, swearing by no creed, bound by no catchism, under no oath

of allegiance, but seeking, scorning, rejecting, enquiring, fashioming: such is the mighty plebian figure that gathers thought in the forum with which to invade the workshops and the homes.

In the forum the student of the smally circulated Socialist journal or Free Thought organ widens heritical influence. Here is undermined the power exercised by the extensively distributed daily and weekly organs of the capitalist Press. Here the democracy checks its own thoughts, corrects its own policies, plays with its own suggestions, brings its most cherished dreams to naught, rejects the oft-formulated plans of its own sincerities; and finally, gradually, powerfully, discovers its purpose, its programme, and importance.

People who speak and write of the importance of Parliament and representative institutions do not realise the promise and the prophecy of the forum. Parliament is neither the first nor yet the last word in the political life of the common people. That honour belongs to the forum. It is the forum, and not the Parliament, that is the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end of political wisdom. From the forum are proclaimed the freedom of the people and doom of kings. It is the forum, and not the Parliament, that reveals the coward lurking at the base of the throne.

The forum expresses, directs, and develops the genius of the people. It voices ever the aspirations of democracy. Here kings are dethroned and Governments abolished. Here parties are swept aside as forgotten lumber. Acts of Parliament have no weight until the forum registers their importance. Bills of Right are kicked aside by kings and courtiers until the voice of the forum menaces their prerogative and authority.

First-rate exploiters scheme the greater enslavement of the producing toilers. Statesmen and diplomats nourish lovingly plans and ambitions for world dominion by the privileged few. Skilfully they extend their ramifications and found the caucases upon which they rely for success and security. Words spoken in Parliament fail to modify their purpose or to check their lust for power. Then it is that, to their amazement, in the very height of their glory, their careers of flaunting splendour are dissolved by the unregistered decrees of the forum. For the great but rule. They never realise when the sands of power are running low and the moment of transition is at hand.

What a powerful thing it is to be able to muse and lounge through the forum and to note Demos planning an iconoclasm greater than the war of kings! If we only knew, how glorious to note at first hand the changes in the thoughts and feelings of the third-rate common herd; to note and to watch the weaving of the web of destiny in which monarchs are entrapped like flies, ere they are consumed by the ravenous spider of fate.

(To be continued.)

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

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

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

"There is a vast mass of information in this book . . . and those interested in Soviet Russia will find much that is interesting amongst the mosaic of impressions it contains. . ."

—Daily Herald.

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,