

## Execution of South African Miners.

# Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Weekly—PRICE ONE PENNY.

## LINES FROM JOHN BARLAS.

## The Golden City.

I dreamed once of a city  
Of marble and of gold,  
Where pity melts to pity  
And love for love is sold,  
Where hot light smokes and shivers  
A home of high endeavours  
For the stately men of old

"They be happy men that dwell there  
In that serene abode;  
They have no heaven nor hell there,  
No tear of fiend or god;  
Each by his soul's light steering,  
Not resting, neither veering,  
Nor coverting, nor fearing  
The recompense or rod.

There gorgeous Plato's spirit  
Hangs brooding like a dove,  
And all men born inherit  
Love free as God's above;  
There each one is to other  
A sister or a brother,  
A father or a mother,  
A lover or a love.

And they bathe amid the shallows  
Of the rain-pools in the glade,  
Where the fame of Eros hallows  
The broad and spreading shade;  
And they gamble free and tameless,  
In their naked beauty shameless,  
In a land where all is blameless,  
Hand in hand, sweet youth and maid.

And by the hot Palaestras  
In converse with the youth,  
Or mingling with the feasters  
In rhymes and jests uncouth,  
The sage, not sad and fearful,  
Nor full of doubts and fearful,  
Like Socrates the cheerful  
Teaches eternal truth.

Not in Athens, Lacedaemon,  
Not in Rome's most happy age  
Stood that city of the freeman,  
Nor in Plato's golden page;  
But sweet slumber came and mingled  
All the dreams wherewith I tingled,  
From all lands and ages singled,  
And built it stage on stage.

And I awoke, and lo! my vision  
Was gone on wings of air;  
And morn with cold derision  
Spread abroad her pallid glare;  
And I rose and penned this ditty,  
And wept on it for pity  
That no man shall see my city,  
And no Christian enter there.

—From Poems, Lyrical and Dramatic, published under the pseudonym Evelyn Douglas, 1954.

## SPECIAL THIS WEEK.

The Truth about the Fascisti,  
by an English resident in Italy.

## America's Part in the Late War.

SOME REVELATIONS BY JOHN KENNETH TURNER.

I.

"I get a great many letters, my fellow-citizens, from important and influential men in this country; but I get a great many other letters. I get letters from unknown men and humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and will never be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all these letters: 'Mr. President, do not allow anyone to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody.'"—Woodrow Wilson to the New Press Club, June 30th, 1916.

John Kenneth Turner dedicates his book \* about America's part in the late war "TO THE LADS WHO WILL COME UNDER THE NEXT DRAFT." Under that dedication he places the quotation, which heads this page, from a speech by President Wilson, the man who brought America into the war five months after he had been re-elected on a promise to keep America out of the war.

## Woodrow Wilson Elected as Peace President.

Woodrow Wilson originally secured election to the Presidency as the representative of the minority party, the Democratic Party, because the majority party, the Republican Party, had split, and had promoted rival candidates for the Presidency, thus dividing its vote. In standing for his second Presidential term, Woodrow Wilson faced a re-united Republican Party; he secured re-election purely on account of popular aversion to war, by making his slogans:

"HE KEPT US OUT OF WAR."  
"HE WILL KEEP US OUT OF WAR."

The Republican candidate, Hughes, was known to be favourable to war on the side of the Allies. Wilson stood as the peace candidate, and secured re-election on that issue; yet even before the electoral contest took place he was actually working to bring America into the war, as Mr. Turner shows with a wealth of carefully marshalled evidence.

This book, indeed, reveals Woodrow Wilson as perhaps the most consummate political humbug of modern times, in his professions of pacifism, in his professions of democracy, in his professions of solicitude for the rights of neutral nations, and the observance of international law, and in his professions of high and disinterested war aims.

## American Popular Opposition to the War.

In Britain the mass of the people were easily and immediately swept off their feet by the war-mongers; in America the case was different. There was a strong, deep and widespread popular opposition to war. Wilson realised it, admitted it, and built up his popularity, secured his re-election, and induced the people to trust him by professing to support and to share that opposition.

Mr. Turner observes that after the United States declaration of war the only important election in which peace was permitted to become the issue, and in which freedom of discussion was allowed to the candidates was the New York City election of November,

1917. Mitchel, the Mayor, deliberately made his fight on the war issue, and accused his opponent, Hylan, of abetting German propaganda and associating with "paid enemies of America." The pre-war Press, the business magnates, and the patriotic societies declared that the defeat of Mitchel would be a repudiation of the war; yet Hylan was elected by the largest majority ever received in New York City. Of the 28,937 soldiers and sailors who voted in New York City, only 6,226 (less than 22 per cent.) voted for Mitchel, the war candidate. Hillquit, the Socialist candidate, who had announced his refusal to buy Liberty War Bonds, received 93 per cent. of the votes given to Hylan, the successful candidate, who had a record majority; and the Socialist Party, which, in that election, attacked the war, became an important electoral force for the first time.

## Opposition to Conscription.

When the United States form of conscription, the Draft Bill, became law, President Wilson declared:

"It is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling; it is, rather, selection from a nation that has volunteered in mass."

Yet what a tremendous unwillingness the draft revealed! Out of the first draft more than half the men called up (50.62 per cent.) put in claims for exemption; 252,924 (8 per cent.) failed to appear, and succeeded in escaping arrest. The number who succeeded in evading registration is unknown, but many thousands who either failed to register, or who registered and failed to respond to the call, were arrested. In the "slacker round-ups" in New York City, in the last days of August, 1918, alone, 16,000 men were arrested for such offences. Many men fled abroad to avoid service. The names of 3,000 who fled to Mexico to avoid registration before June 5th, 1917, were filed at the Department of Justice. So many men married to escape service that notice was given that eleventh-hour marriages would not procure exemption. So many had teeth extracted for the same purpose, that dentists were notified that they would be liable to prosecution for complicity in draft evasion. In the first draft of 3,000,000 men, certainly 300,000, probably 500,000 men, committed crimes, in order that, by securing civil imprisonment, they might escape military service. There were numerous cases of suicide and self-mutilation to escape service.

In the ten months ending May 1st, 1918, there were 14,000 desertions from the Army.

\* Shall It Be Again," by Kenneth Turner. (W. B. Huebsch, New York City, \$2.50.) From the "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 13/-, post free.

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The number of dismissals from the Army owing to commission of offences, was even greater. At the end of December, 1917, the Army was losing men at the rate of 100 to 150 men a day.

A thriving trade in draft exemption affidavits, involving perjury, came to light. There were many anti-draft riots and much anti-draft agitation.

The public assembly of persons opposing the draft was forbidden by the Wilson administration, and hundreds of agitators against the draft were cast into prison.

From the date of America's entry into the war, till the Armistice, there were only 393,931 volunteer enlistments into the Army, and this in the United States, a country of over 100,000,000 population, in spite of the greatest official war propaganda ever launched.

In February, 1917, when diplomatic relations with Germany were severed, great efforts were put forth to secure recruits, but there were only 4,852 enlistments, a figure not noticeably above the normal. Though the fact of the impending draft netted many recruits, only 133,992 enlistments were received between April 1st and July 1st, during the great recruiting campaign, and at that rate it would have taken eighteen months to recruit a million men. Moreover, voluntary recruiting was virtually at a standstill by the end of June.

It was not only in the country, but also in the United States Congress, that President Wilson met, fought, and finally conquered that opposition to war which he had been elected to maintain. At Milwaukee, on January 31st, 1916, he said:

"Governments have gone to war with one another. Peoples, so far as I can remember, have not, and this is a Government of the people, and this people is not going to choose war."

Yet a little more than a year later he had virtually gone to war and came to Congress to demand from it a war declaration which, though only fifty in the House and six in the Senate, voted against it, many declared they only supported because war had actually been decided on, and they considered it already too late to withdraw.

Before that Wilson had actually demanded from Congress the power to engage in hostilities at his own discretion without obtaining the sanction of Congress. This Congress had refused.

#### The Armed Ships Bill.

He had endeavoured to secure the agreement of Congress to the arming and munitioning by the state of private merchant ships, but Congress did not take that step. Wilson's Armed Ships Bill was to give him power to supply private merchant vessels with arms, ammunition, and the means to make use of them. The Bill also asked power "to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as may in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such vessels."

The Armed Ships Bill was not passed by Congress. The Senate failed to accept it. The House did so after much opposition, but struck out the power to use "other instrumentalities." During the debate it was generally conceded that the arming or conveying of munition ships would constitute an act of aggression against another State, because munitions, being absolute contraband, were subject to seizure and destruction under all interpretations of international law. The President nevertheless refused to accept an amendment to the Armed Ships Bill prohibiting the arming or conveying of ships carrying munitions.

The Bill failed to become law; but Wilson, ignoring the appeals of the Legislature for a special session of Congress, proceeded to do all and more than that his Armed Ships Bill had proposed to give him the power to do. He armed private merchant ships, placed the fighting forces of the States upon them, supplied them with submarine chasers, and ordered them to fire on submarines without waiting to be attacked.

Virtually by this action the United States was at war with Germany. Yet in Chicago, on January 31st, 1917, Wilson said:

"The constitution of the United States does not give the President even a participating part in the making of war. War can be declared only by Congress, by an action which the President does not take part in and cannot veto. I am literally, by constitutional arrangement, the mere servant of the people's representatives."

Nevertheless, in October, 1911, he had officially written:

"The foreign policy of the Government lies outside the field of legislation."

Before Wilson's Government took to arming the merchant ships, when it was still only the British who were doing so against German attacks, there was a strong feeling in America that persons travelling on the armed ships should be warned that they did so at their own risk. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of Congress notified Wilson that a clear majority of his Committee favoured such a warning. The Speaker told Wilson that there was a three to one majority in Congress for it. Resolutions for this purpose were moved in Congress, but Wilson played the confidence trick frequently employed by Ministers in such cases, and employed Congress to vote the resolutions down "to prove there were no divided councils in Congress in regard to the foreign policy of the Government."

Remember that Wilson was posing as the peace President at that time. Yet even at this time Senator Gore revealed that the President was already telling some Senators and representatives that war with Germany "might not be an unmixed evil."

Presently Wilson was found asserting that the question whether people should be warned against travelling upon the armed ships was one for the Government to decide. His deliberate policy was to encourage passengers to travel on the armed ships.

President Wilson even refused to take steps to prevent or deter passengers from travelling on the ships of belligerents carrying munitions for use in the war.

#### The Lusitania.

It was denied in this country that the Lusitania carried munitions, but the American Government knew that the Lusitania carried munitions four days before she sailed.

W. J. Bryan, who was then Secretary of State, but who later resigned on account of Wilson's warlike policy, warned Wilson that the Lusitania had 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition, besides explosives, on board. Bryan drew Wilson's attention to the fact that Wilson could prevent American passengers from sailing on this ship, because it is provided by United States Statute law that no passenger shall travel upon a train or ship that carries dangerous explosives. Two weeks before the Lusitania sailed, Germany had warned that the ship would be attacked; yet the American President did nothing to stop the tragedy. Official persons on this side of the water are also responsible for permitting non-combatants to sail on the Lusitania under conditions which were almost certain to prove fatal.

#### Wilson and Neutrality.

President Wilson's views on the obligations and status of neutral nations underwent most startling changes. At the beginning of the war he opposed loans by neutrals to belligerents on the ground that money is the worst kind of contraband because it buys all sorts of contraband.

In the congressional campaign of 1914 he and his supporters claimed votes for their party on the very ground that he had opposed loans to the belligerent powers by American citizens.

#### War Loan Changes.

In 1915, however, he withdrew his opposition to the Anglo-French war loan, whilst still claiming: "We have stood apart studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so." Indeed, the whole conduct of Wilson seemed an invitation to bring a little more pressure to bear upon him wherever he might hesitate.

In 1914 and part of 1915 he opposed any noticeable increase in the Army and Navy, but when the financiers of Wall Street began to loan large sums he became a preparedness convert. In 1916 he toured the country on this issue, and before war was declared he had spent more money on war preparations than any Government had ever spent prior to war. Yet all this time he declared he was still treading the path of peace, and that neither he nor the American people desired war with Germany.

In his 1916 election campaign Wilson and his party urged that a fight for every degree of injury would mean perpetual war, and would give the American people war "each time the fighting cock of the European weather vane shifted with the breeze." Such a policy was the policy of their opponents, Hughes and the Republicans, declared Wilson and the Democrats. Such a policy would "make the United States the policeman of the world." Rome, Portugal, Spain, they said, had tried that policy; but "the United States proposes to profit by the experience of the ages and would avoid ambitions whose reward is sorrow and whose crown is death." When the British blockade of Germany began Wilson protested that it was an interference with the rights of the United States and its citizens as neutrals to trade as they pleased, and that to admit Britain's right to interfere thus "would be obviously inconsistent with the obligations of the United States Government. The British actions were described in the United States Government Blockade Note as a distinct invasion of the sovereign rights of the nation whose ships, trade or commerce is interfered with . . . without precedent . . . subversive of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas."

#### Protests to Britain.

Again the U.S. Government protested to Britain on October 21st, 1915:

"The United States therefore cannot submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures."

Again on May 24th, 1916:

"The United States can no longer tolerate the wrongs which citizens have suffered . . . through these methods. . . Only a radical change in the present British and French policy, restoring to the United States its full rights as a neutral Power, will satisfy this Government."

Mr. Turner does not say so, but was it not William Jennings Bryan, who afterwards resigned, who was responsible for these Notes to Britain whilst Wilson, subtly playing for war, for the moment lay low?

Thus the United States protested that it would not submit to the interference to its trade caused by the British blockade, and yet it submitted and took no step.

#### Submarine Policy.

How complacent, too, was the United States Government regarding the submarine. In its Note to Germany, July 21st, 1915, it said it was

"ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea."

Again on July 21st, 1915:

"The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterised the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare."

On January 18th, 1916, Secretary Lansing wrote to the British Ambassador:

"I do not feel that a belligerent should be deprived of the proper use of submarines in the interruption of enemy commerce. . . Yet in April, 1916, he wrote:

"The use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce . . . is utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity and the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals."

Continued on p. 8.

## ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS FROM PRISON.

Translated by M. Campbell.

(Continued.)

The letters contained in this collection are all addressed to Frau Sophie Liebknecht. FROM BRESLAU.

Breslau, August 2nd, 1917.

My Dear Sonitschka,—Your letter that I received on the 28th was the first news I got from the outside world since I came here, and you can easily imagine how delighted I was with it. In your anxiety about me you take my removal far too tragically. . . . As you know, I take every new buffet of fate with the requisite amount of indifference. I have already adapted myself to the life here. To-day my books and pictures arrived from Wronke, together with the unpretentious ornament I generally carry about with me, and soon my two cells here will be looking as homely and comfortable as at Wronke, and then I shall set to with twice as much pleasure. What I miss here most is the liberty of movement that I enjoyed at Wronke, where the fortress was open the whole day long, whilst here I am just simply locked in; then the glorious air, the garden and the birds especially! You have no idea how much I was devoted to that little host of companions. But, of course, one can get along without those things, and I shall soon forget that I was better off than I am here. On the whole, things here are very much the same as in Barnimstrasse, only there is no pretty green hospital courtyard where I can daily make some little botanic or zoological discovery. Here on the large pavement of the yard there is nothing for me to "discover" on my walks. And almost to the point of being grotesque I fix my eyes on the grey flags in order not to see the prisoners at work; their undignified costume distresses me, and among them you can always find a couple or so whose age, sex, and individual features have been effaced by the stamp of the deepest human degradation; but yet there is a painful magnetism about them that always makes me look at them again. True enough, there are also individual figures to whom the prison dress makes no difference at all, and who would be a delight to an artist's eye. In the yard, for instance, I have already discovered a young working girl whose slim, pithy modellings, as also the stern profile of the head that was wrapped in a scarf, straight away presented a Millet figure; it is a joy to see with what nobility of movement she drags along the heavy burdens, and the thin face with the skin lying so compact upon it, together with the uniformity of the chalk-white tint, reminds one of a tragic pierrot-mask. But having learnt through sad experience, I try to get right out of the way of these sorts of appearances that promise so much. In the Barnimstrasse, you know, I discovered a prisoner whose figure and bearing were most king-like; and I thought out to myself a corresponding "interior." Then she came into my quarters as an informer, and within two days it was apparent that there was such a measure of stupidity and base-mindedness hidden behind this fair mask that from then on I had to turn my eyes away whenever she happened to cross my path. It occurred to me then that, after all, the Venus of Milo has only been able to retain her reputation down the centuries as the most beautiful of women because she does not speak. Were she to open her mouth her whole charm would, perhaps, go to the deuce.

My vis-a-vis is the prison for male offenders, the usual gloomy red brick. But over across the wall I see the green tree-tops of some park or other; a big poplar tree that can be heard rustling when the wind is at all strong, and a row of common ash, much lighter of colour, that are adorned with clusters of yellow pods. The windows face north-west, so that I often

see beautiful evening clouds, and you know that one of these rosy clouds is sufficient to send me into ecstasies and be compensation for everything. At this moment, 8 o'clock in the evening (in reality 7), the sun has barely sunk behind the gables of the men's prison, and is still glaring through the skylights, whilst the whole sky is golden. I feel very well pleased with myself, and must—for the life of me I don't know why—take to crooning the "Ave Maria" of Gounod (you know how it goes, don't you?).

Many thanks for the Goethe pieces you wrote out for me. "The Men of Privilege" are really beautiful pieces, although I would not otherwise have been struck by them; indeed, it is very often the case that the beauty of a thing has to be suggested before it is appreciated. I would also ask you to write out "Anaereon's Grave" for me when you can find the time. Do you know it off by heart well? I came to understand it properly, of course, through the music of Hugo Wolff; in the song the impression is one of architectural grandness; one can imagine one stands in front of a Grecian temple.

At this very minute—I stopped a second to look at the sky—the sun has sunk much deeper behind the buildings, and high overhead—God knows where they came from—myriads of little clouds have silently floated into the scene, their eyes shining with a silver light, their centres a delicate grey, whilst their jagged edges are all steering northwards. There is so much unconcern and cool laughter in this flight of clouds that I have to laugh as well, just as I always have to take part in the rhythm of what is going on around me. How can one be "wicked" or peevish under such a sky? Do not ever forget always to look around you, then you will invariably be "good" again.

That Karl wants a book dealing mostly on the song of the birds surprises me somewhat. As I look at it, the voice of the birds is inseparably bound up with their habitat and their mode of life, it is the whole subject that I find so interesting, not this or that detail snatched out of its proper place. Give him a good book on the distribution of fauna, that will doubtless provide him with much food for thought. I trust you will soon be paying me a visit. As soon as you get permission, send me a wire.

With many fond embraces,

Your ROSA.

May all the saints have mercy on me. Eight sheets of it. Well, this time let it pass. Thanks for the books.

(To be continued.)

#### EXECUTION OF RAND STRIKERS.

The South African "United Front" Committee, the headquarters of which is in Johannesburg, represents various trade unions, the South African Labour Party, and the Communists. It decided to send a deputation to the Governor-General to present a petition with something like 30,000 signatures, urging the Governor-General to remit all sentences passed by the Treason Courts, and to declare a general amnesty for all persons awaiting trial in cases arising out of the recent strike. The Committee, however, received a telegram from Pretoria stating that the Governor-General could not receive a deputation from the Joint Executives of the Trade Unions, and that any suggestions should be made in writing.

General Smuts, speaking at the Wanderers' Hall on October 17th, made the following statement:

This time the law was going to take its course. Those who had committed crimes during the revolution would go to Court and would be tried. It would be left to the Law Courts to decide what should happen to them. People when they started killing must know, in future, that there would be a law for them as for everybody else.

The South African Workers' Union intended to hold a public funeral for Comrade Stassen; but the undertaker, Grobbelaar, was informed by the gaol authorities after Stassen

had been hanged, that he would not be permitted to interfere with the burial.

Stassen was buried by six detectives. The body has been removed by Major Trigger (Chief of C.I.D.) in a motor-car to Johannesburg; and although the father demanded the body, it was thrust under the ground in all privacy.

Neither the widow of Comrade Stassen, the undertaker, or anyone else connected with his family and comrades, knew that Stassen had been buried till he had been five hours under ground.

Stassen was a man in the prime of life. The whole country is ringing with denunciation of the "blood-guilty" Cabinet.

If Labour needed a rallying cry, it has one now. Help us workers of the world to release our brothers from prison. Let us make a world-front against the most callous and brutal Government with which South Africa has ever been cursed.

Smuts, the Satan servant Smuts of South African Mammon, proclaims no mercy for his victims, as he steps safely on the hard solid rocks of gold and coal, announcing everlasting industrial peace.

The miner Stassen has been hung, and now Lawrence Sanders and Andries Lategan await the hangman.

Do you hear, fellow-workers? No mercy. Abandon all your pleading for mercy. It will not be granted under the noble rule of Capitalist society. Make sure that Sanders and Lategan are also to be counted amongst the corpses. They will be murdered by the agents of the same power which massacred the workers in the streets of Fordsbury and all over the Rand.

What did you do, Rand workers, to save the lives of your comrades?

The "more advanced, energetic, and practical" of the leaders passed resolutions at mass meetings, protested in Parliament, collected signatures all over this country and abroad against the death sentence of the victims. They tried to argue through the Socialist and Capitalist Press to obtain and voice public opinion against the sentence. They also delivered petitions to His Majesty the King's humble servant the Governor-General, asking for mercy, hoping, when they had failed with Smuts, to gain the ear of a parasite of higher title and authority.

"Never say die!" thought the workers, and they tried expedient after expedient to save the lives of their comrades at the eleventh hour.

But are these the only methods the iron-muscled, gigantic workers can discover to save the lives of their comrades in such a case?

It is pretended that satisfaction is given to the native population by hanging a white man for killing a native, and that this action will give the natives confidence in the Smuts Government; but remember that only the scab native was attacked, just as the white scab was also attacked.

Dozens of murderers have gone unpunished for the wholesale massacre of workers in the course of the Rand strike; but as Smuts declared shamefully through the Press this strike was regarded as a declaration of war on Capitalism for its entire abolition.

No mercy for revolutionary strikers, fellow-worker!

There is reason to hope that the Rand workers learnt much by the past happenings, and will realise now the need for practical organisation, leaving behind the bourgeois Parliamentary and municipal elections, the Labour Party, and the Trade Unions.

Organise yourselves, Rand workers, in an All-Workers Revolutionary Industrial Union, not led by selected or appointed leaders from the top, but based on workshop councils, which shall secure control in industry and transport. Come out of the absurd non-political unions and join the Revolutionary Communist Workers' Party, regardless of race, labour and creed.

ISAAC VERMONT.



# Workers' Dreadnought

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## The Outlook.

### AFTER THE ELECTION.

The election resulted just as one had reason to expect. All Parliamentary parties combined in declaring that a revival of trade, and especially of foreign trade, must precede improvement in the condition of the unemployed, the workers, and the poor in general.

The Parliamentary parties were merely taken at their word when a substantial number of electors, not a majority, but a number large enough to give a majority of seats, decided to pin their faith to a revival of trade—and, therefore, to put the Tories in because it is popularly supposed that Tory Governments, being acceptable to the majority of capitalists, are most apt to bring good trade. The increase in the Labour Party vote shows us that there is a slow and gradual growth of consciousness in the still apathetic masses. The more advanced workers stultified themselves in working for the Labour Party: to those who had hitherto voted for their employer or landlord, a vote cast for a Labour candidate marked an advance, though a very small one.

As we have observed, little or no educational work for Socialism was accomplished in the General Election. Only from pure and definite Socialist work may Socialist results be expected.

The Press declared that a contest for possession of the Opposition Front Bench was taking place between the Liberal and Labour Parties. It seems, if it were so, to have been settled behind the scenes.

To a certain extent the question is said to bear on the situation which would arise should the Tories resign or lose their majority, the question whether the King would send for the leader of the Labour Party to form a Government were the Labour Party the largest in the House. The Labour Party is doing its best to dispel any reluctance which the King might feel towards calling a Labour leader to form a Cabinet. Towards the King and the Royal Family the Labour Party organ always shows most cordial friendship, and the majority of the Labour M.P.s adopt the same tone. Moreover, on Imperial policy which is the bedrock on which British Governments are founded, the Labour Party is irreproachable from the Court and Capitalist standpoint. The Labour Party policy was identical with that of the Government in power during the war, both under the Asquith Liberal administration and under the two Coalitions which followed.

Even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in a speech to the House of Commons during the war, declared that this country went into the war "with a bright flag of ideals," and protested that his only intention was to urge that if the objects of the British Government could be obtained by negotiation as fully as by fighting, the diplomats should get to work with the negotiations, without in any way hindering the soldiers, who should in the meantime carry on with the work of slaughter. Mr. Roden Buxton, too, was out in the Balkans during the war, sent thither by the British Government to endeavour to drag another nation into the carnage on the side of the British Empire and its Allies. We need not refer to the recruiting and war assisting activities of Messrs. Henderson, Clynes, Shaw and others: they are too well known.

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

November 25, 1922.

The Labour Party supported the Government in power, not only in the secret treaties, but also in the intervention in Russia, and in the execution of Connolly and his colleagues in the Irish Rebellion of 1916. The Labour Party now supports the late Government's Irish Treaty, in spite of the fact that it has brought to Ireland civil war between the Irish who remain republican and those who, whilst still desiring to remain republican, have yielded to British Imperialist might and are aiding to impose the British Imperial Treaty upon their countrymen.

As to the German Reparations question, the Labour Party has been sufficiently cautious: officially it has followed discreetly on the heels of Mr. Asquith in these latter days. Up to the time of the previous General Election it took its cue from Lloyd George.

In the matter of the South African strike and the executions of miners that are following it, the Labour Party official policy has been that South Africa is a self-governing Dominion, and that therefore the British Labour Party must not interfere with the South African Government even by the usual appeals and indignation meetings.

The call of international class and Trade Union solidarity falls on deaf ears so far as the Labour Party is concerned. Its attitude is that it must not interfere when a question of Imperial etiquette is involved. The same Labour Party's recent most vehement campaign against the possibility that Social Revolutionaries might be executed is allowed to create no precedent. The friendly treatment of the Fascisti Government by the "Daily Herald" is another proof that the Labour Party follows the Foreign Office lead.

In home affairs the policy of the Labour Party is purely reformist: no one need fear any great changes through its accession to office, and there is no prospect of that for some time to come.

### The Irish Executions.

The decision of the Irish Free State to execute their opponents in the civil war who are found in possession of firearms is a terrible one. It is said to be dictated from London, and it may be so; but that fact would not exonerate the Irish authorities. War is an ugly thing at all times, but a war in which one side executes all war prisoners—for this is what the decision means—is peculiarly ugly, peculiarly shameful.

It was said that the Republicans fighting the Treaty would swiftly be disbanded; the Treaty was recommended as a measure that would bring a speedy peace to Ireland; but the fighting continues, and shows no abatement, and frightfulness in Ireland appears to have grown more frightful than under the Black and Tans. To complete the likeness of the Ireland of to-day to the Ireland of the pre-Treaty struggle, we have again an imprisoned McSwiney dying on hunger-strike. It is well, indeed, for Griffith and Collins that they are spared the sight of this day which proves the utter failure of the compromise they made in Downing Street.

No one amongst the British Parliamentary politicians—Labour or otherwise—has yet the courage to come out on the side of Irish freedom. Yet Irish freedom is the only alternative to Irish coercion.

In regard to the present Far Eastern crisis the difference between the Labour Party and the Government has hitherto been merely one of words: the Labour Party has declared for the so-called freedom of the Straits under the control of the League of Nations, which means control by the British Empire and its Allies—and in naval matters the British Navy is dominant.

### The Eastern War.

The Eastern crisis remains unsettled. There are signs that perhaps the French and British Governments may agree that France shall have the Rhine, and Britain the Straits, Constantinople, and the so-called neutral zones. Both Governments may have to fight for their plunder, even though they drop their mutual rivalries for the moment. The Turks may

concede something now without fighting, and the British Government may hope to seize more presently; but the Turks, not being wholly defenceless, will not submit in the long run, and may prove stubborn even now.

As to Germany, the extreme reaction, both of monarchic militarists and industrial capitalists, is disinclined to obey the orders of the Allied victors, and stand for refusal to fulfil the reparations demands. The Right-Wing Socialists are with the Liberal Pacifists for fulfilment and submission; for all, indeed, that makes for a return to tranquility and stabilising of bourgeois Parliamentaryism at any price. This fact is, to a certain degree, calculated to turn the hunger-driven masses towards the reaction as providing their only hope of escape from an intolerable position, even though they may thereby plunge into a morass of even more cruel hardship.

Have Communist ideas attained a great enough hold upon the workers to show them the path they must tread when the crisis comes?

Will the All-Workers' Industrial Union of Revolutionary Workshop Councils and other similar movements be able to organise the workers' seizure of production, distribution and transport should a crisis arise?

While the French and British Governments are discussing means of solving their immediate rivalries, America and Italy are also claiming a share of the spoils. From America come rumours of a project to "save" the Armenians by putting American big business in control of Armenian oil.

### The Unemployed.

The unemployed have marched to London, and Bonar Law has told them he is too busy to receive them. He may be prevailed on to change his mind: it does not much matter. The unemployed are orderly and tranquil, and the Prime Minister, being assured that the police have the situation well in hand, keeps an untroubled mind. The marchers have put up modestly in the various workhouses of the metropolis, and in every way have shown a most amenable spirit hitherto.

The Labour Members of Parliament, and, above all, those Members who call themselves Communists and declare that they are going in to practice disruption and to destroy the system from within, are probably feeling more anxious about the opinions of the unemployed marchers than any other section of our rulers to-day.

Certainly those borers from within the historic pile at Westminster have a formidable task in hand. November is an apposite time for their election, but we expect no more success from their efforts than those of the immortal Guy Fawkes.

If the unemployed secure any concessions it will be by their own action.

## RETROSPECT.

The wall-girt distance undulates with heat;  
The buildings crouch in terror of the sun;  
Steel bars and stones, heat-tortured ton on ton,  
On which the noon's remorseless hammers beat.

Alone I trudge the wide red-cobbled streets:  
How long before this evil dream is done. . . ?  
These strange mad stones, I know them every one,  
Worn with the tread of oh, how many feet!

And yet it seems that I have seen it all  
Before . . . I know not when . . . but there  
should be  
Blunt buildings near a cliff, as I recall;  
Bare rocks—a burning white—a garled dark tree . . .

And looming clear above a sentried wall  
The foam-laced splendour of a warm blue sea . . .

RALPH CHAPLIN.

## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

November 25, 1922.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FACISTI. By an English Resident in Italy.

It is astounding that any paper which claims to represent the workers, as does the "Daily Herald," should be in any doubt as to whether or not the "Italian Fascisti are enemies to the point of view of the workers" in this or any other country. Any writer who can express such a doubt is an enemy to the workers himself, and can have followed to very little purpose the history of the Fascisti movement. No "bloodless revolution" has been organised in Italy. No, a cruel and bloody persecution of the workers who are struggling through poverty and ignorance to wealth and light, has culminated in an armed insurrection on the part of the persecutors, with no one can foresee what results for the workers. We are waiting now to see what the future will bring forth, but the workers here in Italy are in no doubt as to whether the party now in power are their enemies or no. I will try to give a short account of this movement, which has been grossly misrepresented in the Press, and of the present situation as seen from inside.

The Fascisti movement had its unofficial origin, so to speak, in the few months which preceded the Italian entry into the European War. It was, and is, an expression of patriotic and imperialist tendencies in a section of the younger generation of Italy, fostered by the patriotic teaching given in the secondary schools and by the writings of Gabriele D'Annunzio. It had its first active expression in the demonstrations held in favour of Italian intervention when the Government was wavering in 1914 and the working class organisations were holding demonstrations of protest against participation in the war. The declaration of war was followed by the voluntary enlistment of hundreds of these young fellows, who were not touched by conscription but moved by patriotic sentiment. The modern development of this movement is, in part, the effect of a shameless exploitation of these sentiments and of young enthusiasms for selfish capitalistic ends. These young men returned from the war with their patriotic and imperialistic feelings inflamed by the Italian successes in the northern provinces which had been wrested from the Austrians. They formed themselves into "fasci," or unions of ex-combatants for political and patriotic purposes, exasperated by the weakness and vacillation of the Government in internal and foreign policy.

The working classes returned in a very different frame of mind. Forced into a war in which they felt no interest, their sufferings both during and after the war were greater than those of the same class in richer countries. The Government promises for readjustment of social and economic inequalities were, of course, not kept. The workers were embittered by their privations and disappointments, and all classes were disgusted with the shameless display of ill-gotten wealth made by war profiteers, by the many grave financial scandals that came to light, and by the Government's utter incapacity to deal with the situation. Revolutionary propaganda was swelling the ranks of the Italian Socialist Party, and a strong Communist Party was also formed. The General Election in the early part of 1920 sent a large Socialist Party into Parliament. Many conflicts took place between employers and employed—the cost of living soared up and wages fell. Socialist demonstrations were held, and revolutionary speeches made in all parts of the country, and the name of Lenin was in everyone's mouth. At these demonstrations the police—the carabinieri—were always present, and always armed with rifle or revolver, or both, as is the police custom in Italy. To this fact are due the few acts of violence which took place at these meetings, acts which have formed the excuse for two years of bloodshed and terror. The authorities, seeing in these demonstrations the outward and visible signs of growing rebellion against the existing state of things,

gave orders to the armed police to forbid the assembling of, or to disperse the huge crowds which collected to hear the speakers. When, as frequently happened, the crowd did not disperse immediately, the police charged into the midst of the people, revolvers were fired, and men, women and children were left dead or dying on the ground.

After this had happened several times without any reaction on the part of the crowd, the people in their turn attacked the police, until at last, exasperated by continued attempts at repression, the more fiery among the revolutionaries, in most cases Anarchists or Communists well known to the police, themselves began the attack, and on various occasions the police also lost their lives. This is the history of the months which preceded the occupation of the factories, and of the events which gave rise to all the lies about Socialist excesses which have appeared in the Capitalist Press of all countries.

There is no doubt that the employer class, terror-stricken by the signs of its approaching doom, had been carrying on a secret but very active reactionary propaganda among the hot-blooded young men of their class. The sympathies of thousands of young fellows (including the students of the secondary schools from 15 years old and upwards) were enlisted to save their country—so hardly tried by the war—from all the horrors of a Russian revolution. But these young men, many of whom I have known personally as young men of the highest integrity, could not be brought to perform such acts as would be necessary thoroughly to crush the working-class movement.

After the occupation of the factories, which failed as much through want of proper organisation among the workers as through want of efficient leaders, all the forces of reaction were let loose. Hordes of young men, ex-soldiers thrown out of employment by the war, or mentally unbalanced through the effects of the war, all the reckless element of all classes were mobilised and financed by the money-bags and by the respectable middle class to defend them from the Socialist workers. I repeat I have personally known many young Fascists who, as Italian patriots, were sincere idealists. I have also known respectable middle-class families openly on the side of the Fascisti. The support which these latter have given to the movement can only be explained by their being in a state of abject fear. A reign of terror began. "Punitive expeditions" took place in all parts of the country at the highly political and patriotic hour of one or two in the morning. The "People's Houses" were sacked and burned. Many co-operative societies' stores shared the same fate. The houses of known Socialists—mostly in the villages—were entered at night, the family turned out, the Socialist father cruelly done to death before the eyes of his wife and children, or of his parents, and his house burnt down. In many cases three-parts of a flourishing village were destroyed in one night.

The offices of the Socialist papers have been destroyed over and over again. Hundreds of Socialists and Communists have been brutally murdered. Whole provinces, besides many small towns, have been held in terror for months. Even children wearing a red ribbon or a red carnation, the Socialist emblem, or heard singing scraps of Socialist songs, have been brutally ill-treated. The "dose of castor oil" is not a fiction. Several Socialist M.P.s and many women well known in the Socialist movement have been caught and forced to swallow a large dose of castor oil. Many other women have been brutally struck, undressed, and sent on their way nearly naked, or sent home with blackened faces by these heroes of the Capitalist terror. In many agricultural provinces the fields and villages are practically deserted, and the poor labourers have fled to the towns to seek work, thus increasing the unemployment in the towns.

In addition to all this, the Red Trade Unions in many parts of the country have been destroyed, and the workers forced into trade unions organised by the Fascisti—the yellow unions, as they are called; and in larger towns where this is not possible, yellow unions have been formed side by side with the Red unions, resulting in not a little persecution of the Red unionists.

The complete story of the recent events has yet to be written, and some of it is not at present very clear. The Fascisti were in congress in large numbers at Naples, the majority armed. In many towns—Florence, Siena, Mantua, etc., the Fascisti had entered the military headquarters at night, when there were few guards on duty, and had seized upon large quantities of revolvers, rifles, and other arms, besides having armed themselves with the classic Fascisti weapon—a heavily loaded stick. Impassioned speeches were made by the leader Mussolini, and others. The Government was tottering, and the whole country sick of continued ministerial changes and general governmental incompetence. Although the hour of the revolution is about to strike, the revolutionaries are not ready. The only party which has a leader worthy of the name is the Fascisti Party. This Party, through the mouth of its leader, demanded the immediate dissolution of the ministry and a new election on new electoral lines. The present system is that of proportional representation, which the Fascisti object to as giving the vote to a large mass of ignorant voters. In 1920 this system was responsible for sending 157 Socialist members to Parliament. The Fascisti up to the present have also propounded republican principles. In addition to their other pretensions, Mussolini demanded five of the most important ministries for his party. He deplored the excesses of some of his party, announced his intention of keeping strictly within legal limits and of accepting the monarchy, and set the seal on his legal and peaceful intentions by exclaiming: "Either they must give us the power or we will march to Rome and seize it!" (The order for mobilisation was given, and tens of thousands of Fascisti prepared to march on Rome. People's houses, Socialist publishing houses, and municipalities were seized and occupied by the Fascisti. The prefectures—the representative of royal and military power in each town—were also invaded, and in some cases with success. Military defences were prepared in Rome, and in Rome and in other centres where there was a considerable contingent of Fascists, military law was proclaimed. When the document proclaiming military law in Rome was offered to the King for his signature, he refused to sign, with the remark: "You seem to be acting a comedy!" The reasons for the King's action may be various. The anti-monarchical tendencies of the Fascisti are well known. By proclaiming the state of siege in Rome in the face of large bands of armed and determined men, who neither give nor expect quarter, the capital might have been thrown into all the horrors of massacre with untold consequences throughout the country. No opposition could come from any other quarter, as the mass of the workers is unarmed, and at present unwilling to provoke a bloody revolution. The Cabinet resigned; and, no other Prime Minister being ready to face the new situation, the Premiership was offered to Mussolini, who proceeded to form his Ministry.

The armed bands are now practically all demobilised, and the arms consigned to the Fascista headquarters, and various suggestions are now being made for the best method of utilising these thousands of trained and disciplined young men. The workers have very little doubt as to the ultimate method of using them. The new Government is now busy discussing electoral reform in readiness for the forthcoming elections. Liberty of speech will be allowed as long as patriotic sentiments are expressed and patriotic institutions are not attacked! The liberty of the Press is guaranteed so long as the Press shows itself worthy of liberty. This highly ambiguous statement has been made by Mussolini in



answer to an indignant protest made by various journalists' unions against the suspension of all newspapers known to be unfavourable to the Fascista movement during the insurrection. The "liberty" of these papers has since been restored, with the exception of the Socialist papers, of which only a few local publications are appearing. The majority of the Socialist newspaper offices are still occupied by the Fascisti. The beautiful new offices of the "Avanti," in Milan, have been devastated for the second time this year. The linotype machines have all been destroyed and the electric engines carried away. The library is destroyed, and everything burnable or breakable in the building burned or broken, and the same may be said of all other Socialist buildings occupied by the Fascisti during this period. Buildings erected by the labour and sacrifice of poor working men, who have spent their few hours of leisure after the day's work in providing and beautifying the "home" of their party.

What will be the next act in the drama nobody knows. The Communist Party has issued an appeal calling for a united front of all the workers against the common enemy. This enemy, let the workers of all countries make no mistake, will adopt every stratagem, stoop to any baseness, use any and every means that comes to its hand in its struggle against the workers who are threatening its existence. This enemy is powerful, wide awake, and thoroughly well organised, both nationally and internationally. Let the workers think of this and know that what has happened in Italy will happen in England, in France, in any country where the workers are foolish enough to leave themselves unprepared for the day of battle.

Let it be remembered that the excuse of revenge for Socialist excesses is utterly false. Acts of violence were committed at one factory in Turin during the occupation in 1920, and at the arsenal in Ancona, when a fierce attack was made by the military forces; lives were lost on both sides.

## PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

"THE CLASS WAR."  
By Tom Anderson.

## BUYING BEAUTY IN BOND STREET.

If you are a lady, a real lady, you will wear a pair of stays that will cost £25—just a trifle; and to make yourself a beautiful lady you will go to a "Beauty Parlour" in Bond Street. One lady last week paid £26, says the "Evening News," for two visits, while another lady seeking after a good complexion booked fifteen treatments and paid the bill, which was only £20. Of course, that is just a washerwoman's pay for a day's washing, and is not very much!

The "News" supplies us with a detailed account of a "lady." Please remember, it's a "lady." Lip salve, £1 10s.; tissue food, £1 5s.; water softener, 5/6 a bottle; cosmetic for the eyes, 10/6; balm to whiten the neck and arms, 9/6. Half a guinea each for face cream, ditto for rouge, etc., etc.; total, £10. A very small bill for a "lady." London is a wealthy city, and returns nearly fifty Unionist M.P.s, so that the "class war" shall be blotted out of their beautiful city.

## Mr. Churchill Weeps.

After the result of the poll in Dundee, Mr. Churchill was visibly affected. His eyes glistened, and he was unable to speak. After he came to, he said: "I believe in democracy, but I think they have made a mistake." Winnie thought by being lifted on to the platform as an invalid was quite good enough to win the seat. He was of opinion that the mentality of the men and women of Dundee was on the same level as that of London, and that he could romp home. His missus came down before him, and even she—a real lady—could not make him win. I believe there are a few workers in Dundee who believe in

the "class war." Still, it is low to refuse a gentleman.

Poor Gallacher had to pay £150, and Winnie laughed at him. Even with the trying to soften the heart of the Labour Party it was no use. The Labour Party is not wanting any Communism, no matter how mild it is; and I understand the C.P. gave an assurance that they would not go too far. In fact, they would back all the reforms.

## Walton Newbold, M.P.

### The First Communist M.P.

He wired to Moscow: "Motherwell for Communism." He polled 8,262, and the various Unionists opposed to him polled 16,537. They will watch him the next time. I know Motherwell well, and I can say there are not 100 Communists in Motherwell. The seat was not contested by the Labour Party because it was held to be hopeless. Of course the Communism of Newbold is not so much in advance of the Labour Party. He, also, is going to build wash-houses and water-closets, and all those things that the slaves in Motherwell require.

## ONCE CALLED A HERO.

Lance-corporal John Albert Cross, of Bow, served in the Sussex regiment during the war. Before enlistment he was a carman, always healthy; and on enlistment the authorities certified his physical development as good.

Discharged from the Army with shrapnel lodged in his thigh, he walked with a limp, had pain in his leg, and could not fully extend the knee. He was awarded a pension of only 4/8 a week. The callous Ministry of Pensions, so lavish in official expenditure, so miserly towards those whose sufferings they are supposed to compensate, assessed the disablement of this man at only 25 per cent. Hence the miserable pittance doled out to him.

Cross had been wounded in January, 1916, and kept in hospital till March. In July he was taken back to hospital for treatment of the old wound. In August he was discharged on account of this same wound.

In 1921 he was still suffering with his leg; an abscess had formed, moreover he had developed kidney and lung trouble. At Christmas of that year he was again taken back to hospital for the removal of the shrapnel, where it was found he was suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs.

On March 30th Cross came home ill, and died on April 3rd. His doctor certified: "I am quite satisfied that the tuberculosis originated from the gunshot wound of six years ago."

"I have had a large experience of similar cases in India, and have frequently found that a wound was the origin of tuberculosis disease even after some years of freedom from any symptoms. The wound was quite healed at the time of his death. The post-mortem examination revealed: (1) Signs of tubercle in the lungs, caseating masses and nodules, no cavities; (2) disease of the aortic valve, with much cardiac dilation and hypertrophy (weight of heart, 18 oz.); (3) old entry and exit wound scars on the inner aspect of the right thigh, obviously due to a gunshot wound; (4) liver and spleen much congested, kidneys also congested.

"In my opinion, the cause of death was pulmonary congestion following pulmonary tuberculosis and heart disease, originating in debility following the gunshot wound." The doctor added:

"I have had considerable experience, both among British and Indian troops, of similar cases. In India I was in charge of a large number of tubercular cases, every one of whom had been a perfectly healthy man before receiving a gunshot or shrapnel wound. I therefore had no hesitation in forming the opinion which I stated at the inquest.

"The history of this man's being unable to carry on his usual work after discharge

from hospital after the first operation shows the debilitated condition in which he was left, and of course he must have been more susceptible to the T.B. infection when in this state."

Nevertheless, the Ministry of Pensions refused all pension to the widow, who was at the time expecting her seventh child, and to the fatherless children.

The widow, having only the Poor Law Guardians to appeal to, fears that the Guardians will insist on the removal of some of her children to the Poor Law schools.

## ESPERANTO.

### KEY TO EXERCISE 20.

In an aeroplane.—Passenger: Why are we now going so slowly? Conductor: We have passed through the Milky Way so quickly that the motor of the aeroplane is stopped up with butter.

### The Lark.

A deaf man was walking on the railway between the rails. A train came, and the engine driver (intensely) loudly sounded the whistle. "Oh," exclaimed the deaf man, "how beautifully the lark is singing this spring!"

Patro: "Mi neniam fumis kiam mi estis samaĝa kiel vi. . . . Ĉu vi povos diri same, kiam vi estos samaĝa kiel mi?"

Filo: "Ne kun tia serioza mieno, patro."

### VORTARO.

neniam	never
fumis	smoked
kiam	when
estis	was
samaĝa	of the same age
kiel	as, like
vi	you
Ĉu	marks a question
povos	will be able
diri	to say
same	the same ("samely")
estos	will be
filo	son
ne	not
kun	with
tia	such
serioza	serious
mieno	expression, look

### Nekooperativa Infano.

Oni montris al knabino la novan fratineton. "De kie venis la infano?" "Ho, ni aĉetis ĝin ĉe butikoj."

Kiel furioza ja estos la patro pro tio, ke vi ne aĉetis ĝin ĉe la Kooperativa Magazeno!"

### VORTARO.

nekooperativa	non-co-operative
infano	baby
oni	one, they, people
montris	showed
al	to
knabino	girl
la	the
nova'n	new
frat-in-et-on	tiny sister
de	from
kie	where
venis	came, has come
Ho	oh
ni	we
aĉetis	bought
butikoj	how
kiel	furious
furioza	(ja denotes emphasis)
ja	will be
estos	the (our, my) father
la patro	because of
pro	that (thing)
tio	that
ke	you
vi	not
ne	Co-operative
Kooperativa	store
Magazeno	it
ĝin	a shop
ĉe	

## THE COMMUNIST LIFE BULLETIN.

Contributed by Miss A. Hodson, secretary of the Communist Life, an Organisation for Practical Service.

Efforts towards the Communist life are being made in every country. Groups of people are working together in the ordinary surroundings of city or village, and numerous colonies have been started.

The colonies are of various kinds. The new village in Ryuga Province, Japan, works apparently on almost pure Communist lines.

The Llano Co-operative Colony in Louisiana, U.S.A., approximates to State Socialism, though it contains a Communist group.

Many colonies in this and other countries, however, appear to have been started rather as a protest against parasitism and the artificiality of city life, than with a conscious Communist aim. Considerable individualism and commercialism of the old school still, unfortunately, obtrudes itself in some of the colonies and industrial groups. In some cases the colonists each carry on their separate crafts, selling their products individually, even working their own plots of land apart, and only co-operating, where at all, in the buying of seeds and some other commodities. Let us hope that all such exceedingly tentative attempts will be transformed by the prevalent growth of Communist thought.

### The Japanese New Village Movement.

The Japanese new village of Koyu Gun, Ryuga Province, Miyazaki Prefecture, Japan, is still quite young, but has started out to live up to its ideals. Neither money nor barter is used amongst the inhabitants of the village. The common products and possessions are shared in common. Everyone is supplied freely with food, raiment, housing, and all that the community can provide, and efforts are made that the standard of living for all shall be as high as possible.

Everyone works, save the aged, the sick, and the infants. A certain amount of what is called "obligatory labour" is performed by all.

On the first day of each month all the members of the community gather together to discuss the work of the month, and, by mutual agreement, the tasks are allotted. Those who are specially gifted for some particular work naturally choose it, and are asked to do it.

For work in which no one takes an interest volunteers are asked. If none are forthcoming, those who are fitted for the work are appointed, and execute it in turns.

At present there is an eight-hour working day for obligatory labour, because the village, as yet, lacks machinery; but later this will be greatly shortened. There are forty co-operators in the village.

We hope to give further news of this and other new villages shortly.

### The New Llano Colony.

The Llano Colony already owns 6,000 acres in Vernon Parish, Louisiana, U.S.A., and has an option to buy 20,000 acres, the purchase of which it intends to complete. It has several well-developed industries, publishes two weekly papers and a monthly, was founded in 1914, but has only occupied its present situation since 1914, having moved there from a site in California, where the water supply was insufficient.

In New Llano everyone who works has an equal wage. The same wage is paid to every man and woman who works, and to every child at school or engaged in industry. Those who are incapacitated receive maintenance through the doctor or at the hospital. Housing and furniture, boots and clothing, medical attention, marriages and funerals, education, dances and entertainments are free.

### Dutch Brotherhood Federation.

In Holland some efforts towards the realisation of Communist life are co-ordinated in the Broederschaps Federatie (Brotherhood Federation): secretary, C. A. Wegeln Nieuwland, Nynigen, Holland. The Federation was formed in 1918. There are now fifteen local divisions of the Federation, the object of

which is to form a bond of union amongst all the societies working towards Communism.

In each centre an office is set up where all documents concerning the Federation are kept, and are open to whoever is interested. The secretary acts as a means of contact between the groups and a centre of information. When any group or member makes a proposal, the secretary circulates it through all the groups. There is an advisory committee, whose business it is to study the points of contact between the associated organisation to devise means of co-operation between them and to think out plans and proposals for furthering Communist practice. The committee prepares the agenda for the annual meeting, and provides speakers for the meetings of the local divisions of the Federation.

Any organisation, group, or person who subscribes to the following declaration may enter the Federation:

"We look upon all men as our brethren, and it is our earnest endeavour to feel, think and act in accordance with this principle."

The Federation is on a purely voluntary basis. It has no rules and statutes. Special committees are formed for special work, thus: Library Committee.

Committee for the organisation of regular conferences.

Committee to start a paper for the Federation.

Committee for founding Brotherhood Homes.

Committee for studying co-operation between the groups.

In Holland there is also the Gemeenschap-pelijk Grond Bezit (Possession of Land in Common)—known in brief as the G.G.B. In this society are federated a number of others, working more or less on Co-operative principles. In some of these the members only work together, in others they also live together.

The G.G.B. issues a periodical, the "Vrije Arbeid" (Free Worker). Amongst the productive associations federated with the G.G.B. are several printeries, cigar factories, bakers, shoemakers, weavers, window-cleaners, carriers, metal factories, electric workers, land workers, masons, carpenters. Some of these associations have grouped themselves into a federation of building guilds, which together build on a large scale. These working organisations have a great number of members. Of the colonies, where numbers of those who work together also live together, the best known are Westerbro, at Ryswyk, near the Hague; de Ploeg, (the plough), at Best; de Ploeg, at Bergeyk, near Valkenswaard; Nieuwe Niedorp, in Nieuwe Niedorp. De Ploeg (the plough) at Best is an agricultural colony, and has nine members. Two years ago the colony started on rough uncultivated land, and has already converted 30 hectares (nearly 2½ acres) into fertile land. The total land in possession of the colony is 150 hectares. The colonists have built two colony houses, two large barns and a storehouse, and a small warden house. The colony at Bergeyk has a health and rest house where guests may stay at a low charge. It was started eighteen months ago, and the first year met with great opposition and a boycott from the peasants of the neighbourhood. The colony is starting a weaving factory worked by machinery. The building to house it has been erected.

The cigar factory at Groningen has seventy members.

### Some Suggestions by Correspondents.

1. The communal life can be started at once, just where people are, in spite of the presence of a funding capitalistic system, providing:

(a) That the individuals composing it are drawn together in a spirit of helpfulness, with an unselfish desire to be of service one to another.

(b) That service to have for its object mutual assistance, as far as lies in each other's power, and to reach as deep as the spirit of faith and trust in each other allows.

2. The communal life, like all real life, will be a question of growth. Let people meet or correspond, and try with their hearts to found this better state of dealing with each other, and a fresh and brighter outlook will soon present itself. Pessimism will give way to optimism in quick time.

3. On paper this seems all very simple. So it is; but its very straightness is a stumbling-block to the half-hearted.

4. When we enter this realm of life we are struck with the fact that fear seems to dominate nearly everyone; but when it comes to putting the precepts of Communism into action, though people can reason glibly about this better way of life, "they all with one consent begin to make excuse." Women are troubled about the future of their babies; men are held in the grip of their business or work, or enjoyment, or are intellectually proud.

5. Some will give, and refuse to take. Many will take, and will not give. Very, very few have the fine faculty of being able to give and receive in the exact same measure. This is the core of all true Communism.

6. I believe there are many people scattered around who, could they be drawn together in a common cause, would perhaps be able to set such an example as might have far-reaching effects. I believe you are trying to get in touch with such people for a common unity.

There was a motor accident in our town about three weeks ago—a child knocked down and taken to hospital. I met the mother afterwards going to the pawnshop to buy a nightdress, as the hospital did not provide them. She could not sew enough to make one, neither could her daughter, aged 17. We chopped one up and made a smaller one, and the thought came to me that if someone skilled in needlework and dressmaking would form a Communist Life Sewing Class for unemployed girls and women, they might join the "Life" and also teach mutual service. Many girls are walking the streets wanting something to do.

X. Y. Z.

Living in London, I want to see something started here. Could not a large house be taken, in which some of us could experiment and try our theories as far as circumstances permit? I should like to get in touch with others for this purpose.

LONDONER.

### The Problem.

"During our seven years' experience we have learned that our problem is both economic and spiritual, and that neither can be solved without the other. When we started we were of the belief that our problem was essentially economic, and if that were solved all else would automatically follow, which belief contained a fallacy, or rather a truth. Only those who are spiritually unfolded will make colonists or co-operators who possess staying qualities." — Llano Co-operative

We shall give an extensive account of the Llano Colony in the next bulletin.

### AS OTHERS SEE THEM.

The British election campaign has developed into a windy free-for-all in which the Conservatives are posing effectively as the bulwark against war, Lloyd George and the boggy of bolshevism; Mr. Lloyd George is draping himself in the flag as the one and only saviour of England and civilisation; Mr. Asquith and his Wee-Free colleagues are weeping manfully, and the Labourites are protesting that the mild pink streak in their programme is meaningless, and if they secure the Government they have no intention of doing anything. It is clear that by right of having put the skids under Mr. Lloyd George, the Conservatives hold the most favoured position.—he New York "Freeman."



## AN APE FARM.

The Pasteur Institute has engaged Dr. Wilbert to organise a chimpanzee farm in Africa to prevent the extermination of the chimpanzee and to secure that these animals may be obtained at reasonable cost. The Pasteur Institute will breed the apes for the purpose of vivisectioning them, and the promise of rejuvenating old men by the grafting of ape glands has given an impetus to the project. The editor of the "Medical Press and Circular" urges that experiments should be made to discover whether by artificial selection it is possible to bring the apes manwards. He adds "an equally interesting experiment . . . would be the breeding through many successive generations from inferior types of humans, with the object of discovering whether it would be possible to induce evolution apewards. It would be an achievement indeed if we could succeed, not only in producing a man from an ape, but an ape from a man."

For our part, we think the proposal to evolve apes from men in the highest degree criminal. To breed men from apes is another matter, but those who wish to make experiments in evolutionary development will find a more fruitful field in the clearing away of the obstacles to the further evolution of mankind.

The advance from Capitalism into a higher stage of civilisation—Communism—will witness the acquisition by the human race of new and more advanced characteristics.

Why postpone it?

## UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

Frank Keeney, President of District 17, United Mine Workers, is charged with murder and treason in connection with the death of George Munsey, killed at the time of the armed march of miners who rose up to protest against gunman rule in the coalfields of Kanawha, Boone, and Logan counties, West Virginia, in August, 1921. It is not alleged that Keeney was present or actually concerned in the death of Munsey, but that, as president of the local Branch, he is responsible for the action of the members.

The Defence News Service reports that the disclosures of the methods used by the coal owners to secure a conviction were so sensational that Keeney has twice been granted a change of place for his trial.

It transpired that the mine owners are providing money for payments to special prosecutors, jurors and witnesses against Keeney, although this is a State prosecution, and the State should therefore make all legitimate payments. The special prosecutor admitted the charge when it was made in Court.

Jefferson County, where the trial was to take place, has been flooded with pamphlets by the mine owners, of so prejudicial a character that it was held they would militate against a fair trial in that district.

Affidavits from three jurors who served in the trial of William Blizzard, tried for treason and exonerated, were introduced by the defence to support its charge that Sheriff W. O. McCaughtry, of Jefferson County (of which Charlestown is the seat) attempted to tamper with the Blizzard jury.

Walter M. Demory, a farmer, took oath that he was approached by the Sheriff while serving as a juror, and taken into a room in the courthouse, where the Sheriff told him: "Blizzard is the worst one of the miners, and ought to be convicted."

At Alexandria, Louisiana, Frank Young, I.W.W., and delegate of the oil workers, was arrested as a vagrant, although he was regularly employed at a salary and had sufficient money in his pockets at the time for his personal expenses. No lawyer in the district could be found to defend him, because last year Attorney Harold Mulks, who came from Chicago to defend I.W.W. members at Shreveport, 100 miles from Alexandria, was beaten by a mob of bullies.

William E. Townsend, used as a witness against the I.W.W. at Sacramento, Cali-

fornia, turns out to be another of the miserable degenerates whom the U.S. authorities employ in their coercion of the Reds. Townsend served in the U.S. Army at least eleven times, nine prior to 1914, and deserted repeatedly: he was also once dishonourably discharged. In 1921 he was in the Minneapolis General Hospital suffering from venereal disease, and repeatedly declared that he would commit suicide from remorse for the life he had led.

## CHILD LABOUR IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Soviet Commissariat for Labour, in conjunction with the Trade Unions, is drawing up a list, says the "Russian Information and Review," of industries in which non-adult labour is not permitted. These mainly include the mining and chemical, and, partly, the metal industries.

Time was when Soviet Russia set out to abolish child labour altogether!

## PRIVATE DETECTIVES IN RUSSIA.

Says "Russian Information and Review," "A private agency for the detection of crime has been established in Moscow, and is receiving the support of the police authorities."

The "new economic policy" brings all the evil features of Capitalism in its train.

## PETROGRAD GAS.

Petrograd gasworks are out of repair. The Government is willing to lease them to a private company, in accordance with the "new economic policy."

## SOVIET ELECTIONS.

In the agricultural province of Altai, Soviet Russia, the election resulted in the return of 1,000 Communists and candidates for membership of the Communist Party, and 8,058 non-party peasants. Of the total 9,154 persons elected to the Soviets, 5,036 were poor peasants, 4,001 middle peasants, and 117 rich peasants. Seventy-five per cent. of the members of the village Soviets have never served before.

## SODDY, KEYNES.

Professor Frederick Soddy has just been awarded the Nobel Prize. In his book "Cartesian Economics" he has written wittily on the shoddy economics of Mr. Keyaes the prophet of present-day Liberalism. Professor Soddy observes:

"Mr. J. M. Keynes, in his 'Economic Consequences of the Peace,' seriously seems to think that the law of compound interest is the law of increment of wealth, rather than that of debt, and offsets it against the Malthusian law of increase of population. 'One geometrical relation might cancel another, and the nineteenth century was able to forget the fertility of the species in a contemplation of the dizzy virtues of compound interest.' To him capital is a vast accumulation of fixed wealth, in danger of being prematurely consumed in war. He likens it to a cake which one day, owing to the dizzy virtues of usury, may be large enough to go round. 'In that day overwork, overcrowding and underfeeding would come to an end, and men secure of the comforts and necessities of the body could proceed to the nobler exercise of their faculties.' Cake happens to be the one material of which it has been well said that you cannot eat it and have it too, and I would suggest that this is the real reason for Mr. Keynes's somewhat mystical references to a peculiarity of capital considered as accumulated cake, that this is 'only in theory—the virtue of the cake was that it was never to be consumed.'"

From "Cartesian Economics," obtainable from "Dreadnought" Bookshop, price 6d.

## WALT WHITMAN.

Walt Whitman has been dead thirty years. Is his popularity as a poet increasing or decreasing?

I am asking this question of all comrades interested in Whitman's life and work. If you, dear reader, are one of these, will you

kindly send me your opinion, care of "Unity," 700 Oakwood Bld., Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

It is possible that a book may be made of the replies received in this symposium.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

Continued from p. 2.

It was on Germany's blockade by submarine that Wilson, on behalf of the neutrals, was presently declaring war and endeavouring to drag other neutral nations into the war with him.

## How the Ex-Neutrals Treated Neutrals.

Yet it was Wilson, the professed champion of neutral rights, who, when he had got his country into war, gathered in all the ships of neutral Holland which happened to be within reach of the U.S. Navy—sixty-eight Dutch ships in all—and used them for his war against Germany.

(To be continued.)

## SPICE.

(Crowded out last week.)

## An anti-Parliamentary Parliamentarian.

Guy Aldred, who took the field as an anti-Parliamentary candidate, urgently requested the "Workers' Dreadnought" to lend him £150 towards his expenses, and promised £170 after November 16th. Evidently he counted on getting the necessary quota of votes to entitle him to the return of his deposit! Where the extra £20 was to come from we cannot say, since the £400 a year would hardly have come to hand so soon.

Needless to say, the "Dreadnought" was unable to comply with the request.

## This Week's Comment.

Alas, poor Aldred! Alas poor unknown lender! The deposit is forfeit: it goes towards paying for the return of a Conservative Government.

## RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, devoted to the teaching of rational methods of living in present society, always emphasising the social-economical-industrial background of wrong living. Stands for prevention of disease, for conservation of health, for drugless healing, and against all swindles in the healing professions. Special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," \$1.50 (7/6) for 12 numbers. Our famous book, "The Child and the Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical upbringing of children, special price for the readers of the "Workers' Dreadnought," \$1.50 (7/6). Address: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New York.

## SOCIAL AND SALE OF WORK.

Do not forget to come to the Social and Sale of Work in aid of the "Dreadnought" Fund on Saturday, November 25th, at the Builders' Workers' Hall, 84 Blackfriars Road (close to Gt. Charlotte Street), 3 to 10 p.m.

At the bookstalls you will find much useful literature. At the other stalls will be fancy goods, sweets, cakes, tobacco, cigarettes and cigars, etc.

Other attractions, including concerts by first-class artists; character reading; smoking, hat trimming, guessing competitions, etc. Unique prizes.

There will be a stall and exhibition of artistic Russian goods. Refreshments at popular prices.

Come early and secure your Christmas presents.

Programme of admission, price 3d., may be obtained from 152 Fleet Street, or at the door.

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