

10 pp. Next Week -- Secret Report on the Ruhr.

# Workers' Dreadnought

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1923.

Weekly—PRICE ONE PENNY.

## THE WORLD'S DESIRE.

By C. W. Beckett.

Oh, were those days but here  
For which our hearts are fain,  
When Love shall know no fear  
And Hunger bring no bane.

Long was that time foretold,  
But late, late is its birth;  
Ah! might our eyes behold  
That bright new heaven on earth!

Where, after age-long strife  
Of clashing sect and clan,  
Men find one clue to life,  
The Brotherhood of Man.

Where all shall share the best  
That Mother Earth can give,  
Nor bide a lord's behest  
To labour and to live.

Where each to health and mirth  
And fellowship is born;  
No rich to ride the earth,  
No lowly, laughed to scorn.

No heartless luxury wrung  
From tortured blood and bone,  
No scraps of offal flung  
To still the starveling's moan.

But rest, our rightful share,  
And toil, a manly joy,  
And play, as free as air  
To every girl and boy.

Might we but see that day,  
That brotherhood of men,  
What terror could dismay,  
What harm befall us then?

Oh, then, what living thing  
Should be so blithe as we,  
What bird upon the wing,  
What fish amidst the sea?

Time's weary wheels turn slow,  
Still doth the ghostly throng  
Of toilers come and go  
Within the House of Wrong.

Yet, as the buried grain,  
That through long nights and days  
In Earth's dark womb hath lain,  
No sign of life betrays,

Till through the sullen mould  
Up shoots a slender spear  
Of verdure and, behold,  
The longed-for spring is here,

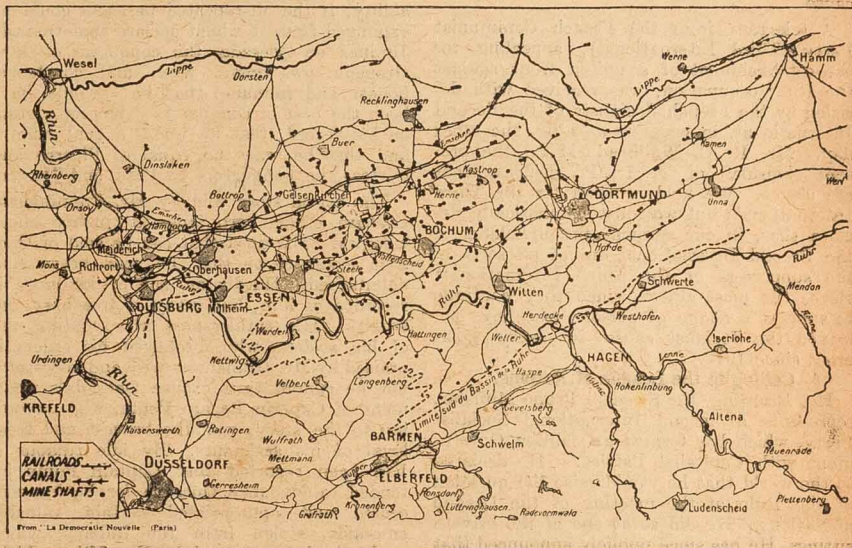
So in our prison-hell  
Has fall'n a whispered word  
Which to a shout will swell,  
That must and shall be heard.

'Tis Freedom's voice at length  
Proclaims in trumpet-tone  
How, rising in their strength,  
The People take their own.

At that tremendous call  
The hireling gaoles flee,  
Down shakes the dungeon-wall,  
The prisoners go free.

Then shall those days appear  
For which our hearts are fain,  
When Love shall laugh at fear  
And Hunger bear no bane.

## The Industrial Wealth of the Ruhr.



## THE INTERNATIONAL PLUNDERING.

The French armies advance through Germany wherever the French Government wills, and no power arises to check them.

Germany, disarmed, seems waiting to be invaded, and altogether conquered, without striking a blow for liberty. The paralysis of German industry in the occupied area seems fairly complete. Thus far France has been unable to get coal.

The resistance of Germany is, nevertheless, a passive one.

More passive still is the acquiescence of the rest of the world. "We are opposed to the action of France," say the British and United States Governments. Yet they preserve a friendly neutrality towards all that the French Government does.

The British Government goes further: it gives the French Government much unobtrusive assistance in the invasion; for instance, by instructing British exporters to Germany to observe the regulations issued by the French, and by allowing the French to recruit engineers from this country to serve in the Ruhr.

### The Failure of the Internationals.

The Socialist and working-class organisations of the world are still passing resolutions against the action of France—and there the matter ends, as far as those outside Germany are concerned.

The British Labour Party, with the time-serving caution which is so characteristic of it, is not, indeed, taking a strong line, even in resolutions: it concentrates mainly on asking Mr. Bonar Law to summon Parliament sooner than February 13th, a date which is almost upon us. When Parliament meets, what is expected to happen? What will the Labour Party do? It has not even yet discovered a concerted policy.

### Second International Falls Into Line With Victorious Capitalist Governments.

The Second International is dominated by the British Labour Party; because, since the growth of the Third International and the war, the British Labour Party is the only really large Party adhering to the Second International.

The Second International has fallen into line with the victorious Allies: it adopts precisely the attitude of the British Government towards the French Allies: it deprecates, but it acquiesces. The Second International has decided to do nothing to thwart the French invasion of Germany. Moreover, it has reaffirmed its opinion that Germany should pay reparations.

Mr. Scheffel, president of the German Railwaymen's Federation, and a member of the German National Economic Council (apparently another J. H. Thomas), made the following statement:

"We can rely on no support from the International Proletariat to drive the French from the Ruhr.

"Only a general strike of the French and Belgian railwaymen could stop the transport of coal. M. Jouhaux, president of the French Unions, with whom I had a talk a few days ago, has the best will to help us, but lacks the power to do so.

"It must be remembered that the French and Belgian workmen's organisations have been so weakened by Communist machinations that they are not in a position to make a serious move against their militarist Governments. All we can hope is that the powerful Labour Party will bring pressure to bear on the Government in London in the direction of inducing it to cause France and Belgium to follow a more moderate policy. Even in this



event, however, I am of opinion that intervention by the English Government would come too late."

So the Second International Parties are blaming the Communists for their own weakness and sins of omission! A more dishonest excuse than this was never heard! There were no Communists, by the way, in 1914! International Party has continually supported cause.

Everyone knows that the majority of the French Trade Unions still adhere to the Amsterdam and Second Internationals, and that in any case, the French Communists and the French Trade Unions which have broken away from Amsterdam, have done so precisely because the Amsterdam-Second International Party has continually supported the national Capitalist Government and re-national Party has continually supported cause.

A telegram from the French Communist Party (Third International), appealing for the establishment of a united front against the Ruhr occupation, was received with derision by the French Socialists of the Second International, in congress at Lille, the other day. Mr. R. C. Wallhead, M.P., the present chairman of the I.L.P., declared that are slaves. We hold no brief for the Third International; but we must emphatically declare that, in our opinion, the upholders of the Second International are of all sorts of the supporters of the Third International) slaves the most abject, since they continue to support a clique of persons who have betrayed the Socialist cause in every great crisis since 1914.

#### Calling in the League of Nations.

Mr. Branting, the Swedish Prime Minister, represents a Second International Socialist Party, which has formed a Coalition Government with Capitalist Parties. He declared to the world that he would raise the question of the Ruhr at the meeting of the League of Nations. He did so at one of the private sittings. He has since publicly announced that since the proper procedure is for one of the nations concerned in a dispute to appeal to the League to intervene, the League must wait till that is done in this case. Since Germany is excluded from the League, the League refuses to listen to her appeals. Since all the countries who are parties to the League discussed the reparations question interminably, and now stand aside to let France and Belgium do their worst, how is it that anyone can either anticipate action by the League or imagine that France and Belgium would appeal to it?

#### A Great Illusionist.

Mr. Norman Angell, who wrote the "Great Illusion" to prove that war ruins victor and vanquished alike, and yet went war mad in support of the Allies when war came, has now become a devotee of the balance of power policy, like so many other U.D.C.ers who used to tell us that the balance of power policy is the cause of war. Mr. Norman Angell, in the "New Leader" and the "Daily Herald," is advocating a union of Britain, Russia and Germany, as a counter-balance to French ambitions.

The pro-Capitalist politician is bound to go astray in the long run: only the worker for international Communism is on the right road to end war.

This new balance of power theory is gaining ground in many circles; Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is among the advocates of an alliance with Germany, and Mr. Lloyd George has dallied with the idea for a considerable time. Turkey Capitulates.

Turkey has for the time being capitulated to the bullying of the Great Powers, and has resigned herself to many unjust and oppressive claims in face of the massing of British battleships.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO  
ESPERANTO.  
LA LINGVO INTERNACIA.  
Price 3d. 32 pp.

## A SOUTH AMERICAN CONQUEST.

**The Conquest of New Granada**, by Cunningham Graham. (Heinemann, 15/-.) In his story of the conquest of New Granada, a part of the territory now known as Columbia, Mr. Cunningham Graham has been at pains to assure the reader that his subject is as important as that of the conquest of Mexico or Peru. The publishers also tell us that the book will take its place beside Prescott's works on Peru and Mexico. The book tells us disappointingly little about the people whom Quesada and the other conquering Spaniards found in South America; and Mr. Cunningham Graham is so much concerned to make heroes of the Spaniards themselves that he tells us less than he otherwise might have done even about them.

The book would be reduced by more than a third, and would benefit greatly in readability, if the oft-repeated passages could be expunged from it which declare that Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, the conqueror of New Granada, was brave, wise, and courteous, honest and humane, that he "would have been the best of conquerors" but for a stain on his record, that he was "a gentleman," and that he was the equal of Pizarro and Cortes, the conquerors of Peru and Mexico.

The actual story told by Mr. Cunningham Graham of his hero fails to justify these eulogies. The most that can be said of Quesada seems to be that he was brave and determined. Hardly an act of kindness is recorded of him, but many of treachery and cruelty. His ruthlessness in executing any of his soldiers who disobeyed his orders is praised by Mr. Graham as wise and necessary, but he cannot thus excuse Quesada's treatment of Captain Lazaro Fonte, who, according to the story, was the bravest and most loyal of his assistants. By idle rumour it had been reported that Captain Fonte intended to denounce Quesada for having concealed and appropriated certain valuable emeralds, stolen from the Indians, which ought to have gone into the fifth, which, according to Spanish law, was reserved for the King of Spain of all the plunder taken by the Spaniards from the unfortunate Indians. Quesada, on hearing the rumour, was greatly enraged. At this juncture an Indian accused Captain Fonte of having bought emeralds from him and kept them for himself. The incident served Quesada as a pretext; he had Fonte brought before him, and, charging him with conspiracy to defraud the King, sentenced him to death without any pretence of trial or inquiry into either charge.

The soldiers and captains protested against the sentence, and begged on their knees for mercy to Fonte. Fonte also denied that he had asspersed Quesada.

Finally Quesada agreed not to execute Fonte, but substituted a punishment which appeared to entail an equally certain, but more painful, death. He banished Fonte to Pasca, an Indian town not yet properly subdued. Fonte was to go thither unarmed.

Quesada was annoyed to see twenty-four of his best horsemen set off, well armed, to escort Fonte to his place of exile. The inhabitants of Pasca fled into the woods at the approach of the dreaded horsemen, and when his twenty comrades parted with Fonte, they left him in a deserted town, alone, save for the company of an Indian girl, Zoratama, who had offered to go with him from the camp. According to the story, this girl interceded for Fonte with the returning Indians, telling them that he was a good man, who for his hatred of all war had been banished by his Chief and now trusted to the generosity of the Indians. The Indians responded in good part and showed Fonte both honour and kindness.

Later on Fonte recovered the favour of Quesada by sending to warn him of the approach of another company of Spaniards who had reached the same territory by another route than that followed by Quesada's band when they had first discovered it.

Calling for Fonte's aid on the way, Quesada set forth in anxiety to meet these newcomers, fearing that they might fight him for possession of the territory.

The incident reveals that the Spanish conquerors, whom Mr. Cunningham Graham rates so highly, were almost as apt to fight each other for the spoils of victory as to plunder the Indians. Quesada himself, though Mr. Graham declares him "to have been most scrupulously honest, broke faith with Lugo, the Governor of San Marta, who had fitted out his expedition, had spent the greater part of his means upon it, and had sent him aid and reinforcements so far as was possible in the earlier stages of the exploration, so long as Quesada maintained communications with him. Quesada had decided to ignore the existence of Lugo, to return to Spain without seeing him or repaying anything of what Lugo had spent on the expedition.

Quesada's alleged consideration for the Indians was indeed of a doubtful character. Mr. Cunningham Graham deprecates his hero's cruelty towards the last of the rulers of the Chibcha Indians, the "Zipa" Sagipa, who was tortured to death by his orders.

The story goes that the Zipa Bogota who was ruling when Quesada's expedition arrived had hidden all his treasure. He was killed in battle with the Spaniards who could not discover the whereabouts of his hoard. His successor, according to Chibcha rule, should have been his sister's son; but one of Bogota's captains, Sagipa, usurped the position. Sagipa commenced a vigorous fight against the Spaniards, but on the one hand he found himself attacked by the Indian whose place he had taken, the Cacique of Chia, on the other by the Panches, who were the hereditary foes of the Chibchas. Therefore he cunningly went to Quesada, telling him that he had at first determined to avenge the death of Bogota, but had discovered the Spaniards to be invincible. Quesada, who was as cunning and unscrupulous as Sagipa, received him with friendliness, and told him that as he was now the vassal of the mighty Emperor Charles V. of Spain, his safety was assured. Then the forces of Sagipa and Quesada set out together against the Panches, who were completely routed and sued for peace.

Having served the turn of the Spaniards in helping to defeat the Panches, a task somewhat beyond the strength of Quesada's force, Sagipa was now arrested by Quesada, on the pretext that he had usurped the Chibcha throne and had stolen the treasures of his predecessor, thus becoming a rebel against the Emperor of Spain.

Sagipa promised to let the Spaniards have the treasure, but said it would take him forty days to discover it, as it was buried in various places in the hills. Sagipa was kept in his house under a strong guard. It was agreed that the Indians should recover the treasure by night to avoid robbery by the way, and bring it to Sagipa to keep till all the treasure should be gathered together. Each night the Indians brought to Sagipa's house a bag of gold, but later the guard fell asleep and the Indians took the gold away.

When the trick was discovered, Quesada had Sagipa flogged. Sagipa, in his terror, cast the blame upon the inferior chiefs, who, poor men, knew nothing of the affair, but were tortured to death.

Sagipa himself, having already attempted suicide, soon met the same fate. Even the torture could not make him disclose the whereabouts of the treasure.

When Quesada returned to Spain, some years later, he was tried for the torture and killing of Sagipa, fined a thousand ducats and banished from Granada for five years. The Spanish Government had doubtless learnt that to make the new realms in America profitable, it was well to keep on good terms with the Indian chiefs, who could insure the obedient labour of their subjects. Our readers will remember the story of the victimisation of E. D. Decker (Multafuli), who was an official of the Dutch Government in Java

and who was dismissed because he endeavoured to prevent the most cruel oppression of the natives by their chiefs.

Quesada is supposed to have expressed great remorse, even at the end of his life, for his treatment of Sagipa. The torture and death of the lesser chiefs seems to have made no impression on him or upon anyone else. It was doubtless a common incident.

Speeches of Quesada are quoted by way of evidence that he was just and humane towards the Indians. In approaching Bogota his chroniclers declare that he charged his followers not to take from the Indians anything they did not want to give:

"After all, even the ground we tread upon is theirs, by natural and divine right, and they allow us as a favour to be here, and owe us nothing."

The speech was probably the invention of the priests who acted as chroniclers to the expedition.

Mr. Cunningham Graham frequently insists, however, that Quesada was a lawyer, and what speeches he made against the plundering of the Indians were doubtless intended to restrain his followers from plundering on their own account, instead of doing so under his direction, and disposing of the loot according to his commands. Certainly his campaign was one of systematic plundering, of the salt and rubies which the Indians had won from the mines, of the gold they had dug and refined, of the cloths they had woven. When he required lands for himself or his followers the rights of the Indians were not considered.

The invaders made no attempt to bring new knowledge to the Indians. When their clothes brought from Spain were outworn, the Spaniards covered themselves with the skins of animals, till they came upon Indian tribes who had woven cloth that could be stolen.

The Spaniards were able to conquer the Indians because they possessed horses and more deadly implements of war than those of the Indians, who had no iron, steel, or gunpowder. Sometimes a brave Indian would stand out and challenge any of the Spaniards to single combat. The Spaniards did not scruple to enter the unequal combat on horseback against the man on foot. The conquerors forced the Indians to toil for them. A man may have been a blacksmith at home, but when he became a conqueror he counted himself a gentleman, and scorned to turn his hands to labour.

The capture of the King of Tunja and the treasures of Tunja is an incident which shows the freebooting methods of a "perfect gentleman" and his company. Quesada is said to have appeared before the king and offered him an alliance with Charles V. of Spain, whose desire, he said, was to help the Indians to ensure them in the possession of their lands and to save their souls. The King of Tunja replied that he must take a night to consider the proposition. Thereupon Quesada and his captain dragged the old king from his throne and made him prisoner. The Spaniards then set to work to plunder the town and the Indian temple. Gold plates which hung outside the houses of the chiefs, golden eagles from the temple, sea-shells mounted in gold, which the Indians used as trumpets, shields, and arms adorned with gold, bags of gold and emeralds, they brought to Quesada, and piled them before him till they towered above his head. Quesada urged the old imprisoned King to buy his liberty with a great sum of gold. The King refused, and subsequently is said to have been set free, but he died soon after.

Mr. Cunningham Graham makes one plea in excuse for the Spaniards, which is not without substance. He points out that in the United States and Canada the Indians have been largely exterminated, whilst in most of the South American territories conquered by the Spanish republics have arisen, in which are Indian citizens, some of whom have occupied the highest offices of State. We are inclined to think that the climate of South America has had more to do with the fact that the Indians have succeeded in

maintaining a foothold there, in spite of the European invaders, than any Spanish forbearance.

The courage and endurance of the conquerors, in passing through the primitive swamps and jungles and across the perilous mountains, is much vaunted by Mr. Cunningham Graham, as well as by other writers. No one has chronicled the hardships of the Indians, some of whom were brought from the cool of their native mountains, far away, to the tropical swamps and jungles, as unaccustomed to them as to the Spaniards. The Indians were the burden bearers of the expeditions. They walked where the Spaniards rode. To them were denied all the alleviations of the journey vouchsafed to their conquerors. They died in immense numbers, and were ruthlessly killed in case of revolt. In the space of eighty years, Mr. Cunningham Graham tells us, the Indian population in certain valleys was reduced from more than 200,000 to 1,600.

As we have said, this book is a chronicle of the conquerors: it makes but passing reference to the conquered.

We are told, however, that the Spaniards arriving in 1539 found Chibcha records stretching back to 1470. It is not unlikely that earlier records existed, but were destroyed or buried with the coveted Indian treasure, much of which the Spanish usually failed to secure.

We are also told that the Chibchas believed that in the beginning of the world light was enclosed in a large, indescribable thing, called Chiminigagua, which means creator. From it there came flocks of birds, black as jet, who launched from their beaks a continual stream of light to illumine the world. Then a beautiful woman called Bachug came out of the lake of Igague, leading a boy of about three years of age. When this boy grew up, Bachug married him, and from that marriage sprang the human race. Spiders were sacred to the Chibchas, because they believed that the souls of the dead go to the centre of the earth, and, on the way, must pass over a river which can only be crossed with the aid of spiders' webs.

The Chibcha ideal of eternal bliss was not idleness, but to cultivate the Elysian fields. Their tutelary god, Chibchacum, had sowing, the harvest, and metal workmanship under his care. Once, enraged with the people of the Bogota plain, Chibchacum turned two rivers upon it and made a lake. The people fled to the mountains; but, fearing to die of hunger there, they prayed to Bochica, the deity who had brought goodness into the world. Bochica took compassion on the people; and, to punish Chibchacum, forced him to hold up the world, which previously had been supported on posts of the hard wood, lignum vitae. When Chibchacum grows tired and shifts the world from one shoulder to the other, earthquakes occur.

The Chibchas once in fifteen years offered human sacrifices to the sun. Parrots, bought from the Indians near the Magdalena, in exchange for emeralds, gold, salt, and printed cotton cloth, were taught to speak, and then sacrificed to the gods as a substitute for human offerings.

Each lake had its own legends; the most celebrated was the Lake of Guativita. Once a year the chiefs of that district went down to a raft in the lake. Their ruler was anointed with turpentine, then rolled in gold, so that he became like a golden statue. Then, having offered prayers and cast presents of gold and emeralds into the water, he would plunge in, to meet the mysterious women who were supposed to dwell in the lake. He re-emerged amid cries of applause from the people, for it was believed he had insured the protecting care of the spirits of the lake.

The ceremony of the golden man, "El Dorado," as the Spaniards called him, was transmuted by the tales of European travellers into the legend that somewhere in South America the Indians had built a marvellous golden city, "El Dorado." Many indeed were the expeditions which set out in vain to discover it.

In the Chibcha marriage ceremony the man and woman linked arms, and the priest asked the woman if she would promise always to love the God Bochica before her husband, and her husband before her sons, and never to eat if her husband lacked food. The demands upon the man were less exacting: he was only to declare in a loud voice that he would take the woman as his wife.

For a study of Indian customs, however, the reader should be referred to other works, for only some cursory gleanings from travellers' stories are given in the work under review.

## A DISTRANT AT THE BURSTON STRIKE SCHOOL.

Everyone knows how the Burstton Strike School arose, because the teachers had been dismissed from the village school for organising the Agricultural Labourers' Union. During the past two years the teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Higdon, have had an income of £88 from the school: that is to say, an average of £44 a year. That means a great deal of faith and enthusiasm on the part of the teachers, scholars and parents, and what outside support there may be, in respect of a school in a little village of agricultural labourers.

In spite of the teachers' tiny income, the tax gatherer demanded 7/6 income tax on account of the school building. The Higdons declared they were not liable, and refused to pay.

On January 17th, when Mr. Higdon was in London, the tax collector arrived. The story is graphically told in the letters of the scholars to Mr. Higdon. They say that the tax collector, walked in during the morning school hours, and, they observe, without knocking, "as if it was his school." He seated himself, saying that he would wait till the scholars were dismissed. The scholars, however, remained clustering about the school. They observed that the tax gatherer "had a pull of something out of a bottle to revive his spirits" before he decided to take the schoolmaster's desk in lieu of the tax of 7/6 and 19/- costs.

The children were pleased that the policeman would not help to carry the desk out to the tax collector's cart, and that the collector and his son had to lift the heavy desk unaided. When the old horse, "who did not seem to want to carry the desk, made off over the Common," the children shouted: "Go on!"

A few days later an advertisement appeared in the Press that "a capital oak desk" would be sold by public auction on Burstton Green "on Thursday, January 24th, at 11 a.m." The good people of Burstton arranged to be on the Green that morning to hear Mr. Higdon state the case and to take whatever steps might be necessary. No one observed that the 24th was a Wednesday, and not a Thursday as stated in the advertisement.

The tax collector, however, arrived on the Green on a Wednesday, and only the Higdons and a few others saw him come. An altercation ensued, but the collector persisted in holding the auction, and started the bidding himself at 26/6, the exact sum he had demanded. Mr. Harris, the tax collector, is a well-known local preacher; and Mr. Higdon, declaring that the collector should not have his desk for a pulpit, bid a further shilling. The desk was knocked down to him, and he received a receipt for 26/6 and the return of the extra shilling.

The question as to how the authorities are able to put a legal gloss on their action remains unanswered.

## OUR ESPERANTO CATALOGUE.

Our Esperanto Catalogue is now ready, and will be sent free on application to the Manager, "Dreadnought" Bookshop, 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.



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## OUR VIEW.

**CAPITALISM WILL NOT RAISE** in its profit-making. The action of the French in the Ruhr will cause hunger throughout Germany; and, since children are the first to suffer under privations, will entail the deaths of many thousand children. Capitalism, however, will take its pound of flesh regardless of the consequences.

At Aberdare, on February 5th, 6,000 miners suspended work to search for the two-year-old child of a comrade who had disappeared. In these hard times, when the miners are suffering exceptional hardship, the sacrifice of a day's wage did not weigh with them when a child's and a comrade's anxiety were in the balance.

**MR. A. H. BENSON**, chairman of the Benson watchmaking company, made out false income tax returns and defrauded the Exchequer of £20,300, since super-tax was imposed in 1909-10. He was fined £10,000, which he could pay without suffering any hardship. The criminal proceedings against him were withdrawn on account of his bad health. Had he been a poor man, such leniency would not have been shown him. The prison hospital, it would have been said, would give him all the treatment required. He would have been arrested without parley, and detained till the prison doctor would certify his fitness to be tried.

**THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT** is to get its pound of flesh out of this unfortunate people, but the interest is to be reduced from 5 per cent. to 3 per cent., and later to 2½ per cent. Since the rich insist upon reductions of their income and land taxes, the Government will turn to indirect taxation, in order to raise the money. Taxes on food and all imported necessities may be anticipated. As the American debt is to be paid in currency, the more we pay the more we shall be obliged to pay, for the value of British money will fall as we pay; so the financiers predict. The brokers are in, good people, and we must expect to suffer until we end this odious system.

**"THE PUBLIC INTEREST,"** said Lady Askwith at a meeting of the National Citizens' Union, "ought to be safeguarded by some oath or binding obligation laid on Civil Servants and others paid by the State."

She was complaining that an official in the Ministry of Health is secretary of the Socialist Sunday Schools. Such people as Lady Askwith would debar all who desire Socialism; all who are not prepared to swear an oath of allegiance to the Capitalist system from obtaining Government employment.

Lady Asquith, it should be remembered, is the wife of Lord Asquith, the Chief Indus-

trial Commissioner to the Government since 1911—who has been appointed as "arbitrator" and "conciliator" in many disputes, who has been chairman of the Fair Wages Advisory Committee since 1909, was chairman of the Government Arbitration Committee under the Munitions Act of 1915, and, in short, holds, and has held, a number of offices in which impartiality between the workers and their employers is supposed to be an essential qualification. We never suspected Lord Askwith of being impartial.

For the credit of Capitalist administration, it would certainly be wise for the wife of a man in Lord Askwith's position not to figure in the politics of extreme reaction with which she associates herself. Above all, it would be wiser for her to refrain from advocating restrictions upon freedom of speech and education, and upon the liberties of her husband's fellow Civil Servants.

Lady Askwith proceeded to urge the 350 branches of the National Citizens' Union to take steps against the Socialist schools. She declared that the holding of Socialist Sunday schools in places maintained by the rates could be stopped, at once, and that Sir John Butcher's Bill, which, she said, was going to be "passed without delay," could deal with the schools held elsewhere. Mr. H. Lancaster, chief organiser of the National Citizens' Union, declared that by rousing up local opinion the Union had already brought about the closing of some of the Red schools.

Comrades should redouble their efforts to rouse up public opinion in order to open new Red schools, and to conduct those which exist with greater efficiency.

**LAST SATURDAY** the argument for a new trial of Sacco and Vanzetti began before Judge Webster Thayer, in Boston. Our readers will remember that two men who were taking the wages to a shoe factory in Braintree, Massachusetts, were robbed and murdered by bandits, who escaped in a motor-car. Sacco and Vanzetti, two active Trade Unionists, were afterwards arrested and accused of the murder, though Sacco had nine witnesses, one of them an employee at the Italian Consulate, to prove that he was at Boston at the time applying for passports to Italy; whilst Vanzetti had eleven witnesses to prove he was in Plymouth, twenty-six miles away, selling fish. A man who was so near to the scene of the murder that a shot went through his coat gave his name to the police as witness, but was not called on to give evidence. He has since seen both Sacco and Vanzetti, and declares they are not the men who committed the murder.

Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted by a prejudiced Court, on evidence since proved to be perjured. Though sentenced to death, Sacco and Vanzetti still live, and the fight to save them has gone on for three years.

**RUSSIAN INFORMATION AND REVIEW**, an official Soviet publication in London, quotes—apparently with approval—a statement from the "New York Times," that:

"It is believed by those conversant with what is going on in the Caucasus and Moscow that the investment of American capital will eventually lead to the entire mineral wealth and oil resources of this immensely wealthy region being developed by American engineers and operators."

It is said that the result of the Russian Revolution should be to make the Caucasus, or any part of Russia, primarily a source of wealth for Capitalists.

The above comment of the "New York Times" is made in reference to the concession of 450 acres of rich oil-bearing land, which the Bardall Corporation of U.S.A. has just obtained from the Soviet Government, with the approval of the United States Government. The contract is for fifteen years, with the option of renewal. "The terms,"

according to the "New York Times," are said by the officials of the company to be extremely favourable.

Mexico has learnt how much the U.S. Government seeks to interfere with countries in which its nationals have invested capital.

**OFFICIAL FIGURES** of Soviet Russia's finances reveal that the issue of paper money is still increasing, that prices are still rising, and that the revenue obtained is growing very much more rapidly than that from State industries and properties. Thus from the index number 100 in January 1922 the rates of increase up to November 1922 were as follows:

Paper Issues.—January, 100; November, 2,907.  
Taxation.—January, 100; November, 60,012.

Revenue from State Properties and Industries.—January, 100; November, 17,459.

Prices Index.—January, 100; November, 5,205.

Currency Issues.—January, 90.3; November, 51.4.

Taxation.—January, 1.8; November, 20.6.  
Revenue from State Industries and Properties.—January, 7.9; November, 27.9.

This means a great re-birth of Capitalism, which we deeply regret to observe.

**IN MILAN**, are now being tried a number of Bolognese Socialists, some of whom are ex-Town Councilors, including Pietro Venturi, a jeweller; Alfredo Pini, a schoolmaster; Ettore Bidoni, of Bologna University, a medical man of note. The incident from which the trial arises occurred on November 21st, 1920. The Socialists had had a majority on the town council for some time, and in the elections of October they had secured a still larger majority. The Fascisti declared that the Council should not meet. They assembled outside. Shots were fired. The Socialists are now charged with having caused all the trouble, and, in particular, with firing upon the bourgeois members of the Council and killing one of them, a lawyer, Giordani.

A trial of average fairness for the accused Socialists is not to be expected in Italy at the present time.

Comrade Bordiga and many other Communists have just been arrested by the Fascisti, whilst Modigliani, of the Right Socialists, has been brutally insulted and abused.

## NEXT WEEK

Our Special Ten Page Issue will contain

The Secret Report on the Ruhr of

Dariae to Poincare, Which proves the Intention of the French Government to maintain its hold on the Ruhr Industrial district of Germany. Also Striking Maps.

In order to make a wide propaganda, comrades will be supplied with quantities of the Special Ruhr Issue on reduced terms:

If called for at our office:  
50 copies for 2/6  
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Orders should be received by Wednesday, February 14th.

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## COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

Nationalist struggles, though largely economic and bound up with the might of Empire, which assures to Big Business its control of markets, are less vital to the upholders of Capitalism, than the direct contest for the overthrow of the system itself.

When the established order is in danger its beneficiaries arm to protect it; its supporters and opponents come to blows, civil war breaks out, and, for the time being, peace is no more.

Is that as it should be? It is as it is. The inevitable must be recognised and prepared for. A determined struggle for supremacy inevitably accompanies the overthrow of Capitalism.

Experience shows that the crisis arises suddenly: the old relationship has been growing more and more strained, and suddenly the bonds are snapped and the storm bursts. We do not say that a Parliamentary crisis could not be the last straw that would precipitate the conflict, but in none of the contemporary revolutions has this been so. We have now the recent experience of Russia, Austria, Hungary, and Italy to guide our conclusions.

Great economic pressure, and a great spiritual rebellion against the actions and ideology of those who have been in power, are the factors which produce the proletarian revolution.

Parliament must be overthrown, as part of the Capitalist system, which must be altogether destroyed, if the proletarian revolution is to succeed. There must be a clean break with the old methods of supplying the needs of the community and with the old institutions of Government; the revolution must create its own instrument.

Parliament would have to be sacrificed with the overthrow of Capitalism, even were it conceivable that an Act of Parliament would formally declare the abolition of Capitalism. The Capitalists would resist by force the first attempt to put the Act into practice; and Parliament is not the body that could carry the proletarian revolution through to success in face of Capitalist revolt, which would be one of both armed and passive resistance.

The workers would be compelled to meet such a revolt with all the forces at their disposal; their most characteristic weapon is their industrial power, for the effective wielding of which they would have to be co-ordinated industrially. Every industry would be divided against itself; the owners and part of the management would take the Capitalist side; the mass of the workers the side of the working class. As in all the countries where the revolutionary crisis has appeared, the naval and military forces would be divided on the same way, though the old training and discipline might cause a larger proportion of the working-class rank and file to support the side of the master class in the Army than in industry. The final events leading up to the revolution would determine this question. If an unpopular war were the ultimate incentive to revolt, the soldiers might be the leaders of the revolution.

A little consideration of the situation arising on the outbreak of revolution, will show that Parliament and the local governing bodies, the county and borough councils, the boards of guardians, and so on, could not be the guiding and co-ordinating machinery of such a struggle; that the machinery of the struggle could take no other form than that of the Soviets.

Even in a war between rival Capitalist Governments Parliament becomes a cipher. In war-time the Cabinet more than ever ignores Parliament and assumes responsibility for conducting the war, announcing that it is "not in the public interest" for Parliament to be told much of what is going on. The Cabinet, remember, is composed of the heads of the various Departments of State, all very much controlled by the expert managers of those departments. On the military side the political and military heads of the War Office work in contact with a machine which is composed of all the officers from the highest to the lowest in the Army, and the men under

their command. On the industrial side the political and technical heads of the departments work through a machine which is composed of the owners, managers and workers in all industries, factories, workshops. Great sections of industry are said to be placed under Government control, but are actually handed over to the management of the big industrial magnates. The Members of Parliament, as such, have nothing to do but make speeches. In reality they count for nothing.

The proletarian revolution is the struggle for the overthrow of the system which allows private management for private profit to monopolise the supply of the community's needs. Still more, therefore, than in the case of war between Capitalist States the struggle must assume a practical utilitarian character, and be carried out by a practical, utilitarian machinery. Since the struggle for the overthrow of Capitalism is a struggle for the emancipation of the masses from the rule of the propertied class, the officers and managers on the proletarian side will naturally be leaders chosen by their fellows. Contact with the rank and file will also naturally be by delegates and mass meetings. The services of the rank and file in the struggle will not be based upon compulsion and wavery, but on consent and enthusiasm, and a share in deciding aims and policies.

During the great world war of 1914-19, even Capitalism found that shop stewards were of use in securing output and in maintaining discipline. Though Workers' Committees were formed to protect the interests of the workers, yet in most cases, because the workers supported the war the committees increased production and greatly reduced the work of the employers' managing staff. The employers disliked and feared the Workers' Committee Movement. Yet, under the great stress of war orders, they encouraged the election of shop stewards by the women munition makers, who were largely new-comers to industry, and were shepherded into the Unions, as a condition of their employment, by an arrangement between the engineering unions and the Government. Committees of employers and Trade Union representatives sitting outside the factories were also formed, in the effort to secure increased production, by enlisting the co-operation and goodwill of the men and women who were doing the actual work. These committees, though acting under Government auspices, had much less power to influence production than the workers' own Councils in the factories themselves.

The Workers' Committees in the factories and workshops form the basis of the Workers' Council or Soviet system, which will manage the industries under Communism.

It is sometimes contended that, though the Soviets would spring up as a necessary instrument of the struggle, should the fall of Capitalism be accompanied by civil war, the Parliamentary Government could be dissolved, and the Soviets disbanded after the war were passed. Therefore, those who hold this view, and also hope that Capitalism may be abolished without a serious struggle, refuse to interest themselves in the question of Soviets.

Nevertheless, even assuming that it should be possible to pass from Capitalism to Communism without strife, the disappearance of Parliament is inevitable, whilst the complex character of modern industry, the varied needs of the people to-day, and the confusion of the transition would render the Soviets a necessary means of co-ordination, at least for some time after the overthrow of Capitalism.

Consider the situation which would arise in London, or any large city, if Capitalism were suddenly brought to an end. Consider the vast population crowded into a relatively small area, the elaborate network of tubes, trams and buses, the main-line stations, the docks, the waterworks, the gasworks, the electric generating stations, the dairies, bakeries and restaurants, the food preserving, clothing, furnishing, and other factories, the slaughter-houses, butchers', grocers' and

greengrocers' and coal merchants, the markets and wholesale and retail dealers of all kinds. All these would be facing the end of the system that maintained them in their accustomed state; but millions of people would still be needing the daily supply of milk and bread to be delivered at their doors or lying ready for them at the nearest shop; they would still be needing their accustomed supply of food, fuel, and means of transport. If there is a halt in the supply of the main necessities, some people at least will fail to present themselves to do their part in the daily task; the needs of masses of others may thus go unsupplied. Perhaps at the overthrow of Capitalism the workers are in the throes of a general strike, or from other causes, the wheels of industry are already dislocated, and everyone is living a hungry, makeshift existence.

Which ever way it happens, everything will have to be reorganised and built up on a new basis; a basis of production for use, not for profit. Undoubtedly a large proportion of those who used to manage the big concerns under Capitalism would refuse to fulfil such offices any more, even if asked. Undoubtedly many of them could not be trusted to occupy their old positions. Their hostility will be clearly apparent; they may already have taken to sabotage.

Meanwhile the people, the hungry millions of all sorts, will be clamouring to have their wants attended to; all with their peculiarities, their likes and dislikes, their reasonable and unreasonable prejudices; crowds of them will be ready to start looting, if they are kept waiting too long, or denied what they believe is their due.

Everyone, both as worker and as consumer, has new hopes and desires, new claims upon life and the community, for has not the Workers' Revolution come? Everyone demands more clothes, more pleasure, more leisure, and more congenial employment. Only the patient people are willing to wait. Everyone, too, is demanding a new, independent status and a share in deciding how things shall be done. Many people, moreover, are finding their accustomed work quite dislocated or swept away—even supposing they should be contented to continue doing it just as before.

Parliament is structurally unfitted to deal with such a situation; even a Parliament of Trade Union officials would find the difficulties insoluble. It would be compelled to appeal to the workers organised where they work. If the Soviets were not in being, it would appeal to the existing Trade Unions for assistance in establishing that essential machinery. Though Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald, J. H. Thomas, and Will Thorne are Labour representatives, their position would be highly unenviable in face of such a crisis were no other machinery than that of Parliament available, should the structure of private enterprise be suddenly broken down. Imagine Mr. Thorne besieged by the housewives of West Ham, whose supplies of food and fuel are cut off; and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald receiving wireless messages from Wales that his mining constituents are starving because the transport system is dislocated. The Labour Party members could attempt to deal with these things as representatives of their Unions, not as representatives of their constituents. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald could do nothing. He could only appeal to Mr. Thomas.

As to the Borough Councils, they would be only less incapable of dealing with the situation than Parliament itself. We remember the dislocations in the comparatively simple matter of war food rationing, and the groups of housewives here and there, who, through the muddling of the local Food Committee and the Ministry of Food, found themselves as "outlanders," prohibited from buying at the shops where they had hitherto dealt, and unable to procure commodities anywhere else. How should the Ministry of Food in Westminster be familiar with the shopping places of the women in Poplar? How should the

(Continued on p. 6.)



## THE MINERS.

By Emile Zola.

The train started again. And at the next journey, when Battle had opened the ventilating door with a push of his head, he again refused to advance, neighing and trembling. But at last he made up his mind, and went straight off without stopping. Jeanlin, who had to shut the door, remained behind and stooped down to look at the pool in which he was floundering. Then he lifted his lamp, and noticed that the propping overhead had given way with the continuous dripping of the water. Just then a hewer, nicknamed Stumpy, came along, anxious to go up, his wife being in childbed. He also stopped to examine the stays. And all at once, as the youngster was about to start off at a run to overtake his train, a formidable creaking was heard; then the falling soil swallowed up the man and the boy.

The deepest silence followed. Fanned by the sudden draught of the downfall, dense clouds of dust obscured the passages. Then, blinded, almost choking, the miners rushed in from all parts, from the most distant spots, their lamps bobbing up and down, and out faintly illuminating the mad gallop of their black figures through the dim depths. When the foremost came to the fallen rock, they shouted and called to their comrades. A second gang from the furthestmost cutting was on the other side of the mass of soil that obstructed the gallery. It was at once seen that the roof had fallen in for a dozen yards at most. The damage was by no means serious; but a pang wrung every heart when a death-rattle was heard issuing from the wreckage.

Bébert, leaving his train, ran to the spot, repeating: "Jeanlin is underneath! Jeanlin is underneath!"

At the same moment Maheu tumbled out of the air-shaft, with Etienne and Zacharie. His grief found vent in a string of oaths. The women, who by this time had come up also—Catherine, Lydie, La Mouquette—began to sob and to yell with fright, amidst the terrible confusion which was still further increased by the darkness. The men tried to make the girls hold their tongues, but they only screamed the louder at each groan coming from the slip.

Richomme, the viewer, had also hastened to the spot. He was put out by the absence of Négrel, the engineer, and Dansaert. With his ear to the rock, he listened, and ended by saying that the groans were not those of a child. A man was most certainly there. Twenty times already had Maheu called Jeanlin, but not as much as a whisper came in answer. The boy must have been crushed to death by the fall.

And the groans continued monotonously. They spoke to the dying man. They asked him his name, but fresh groans were their only answer.

"Look sharp! Look sharp!" repeated Richomme, who had already organised the rescue gang. "Look sharp! We'll talk afterwards."

The miners attacked the fallen soil from both sides with pick and shovel. Chaval worked without saying a word by the side of Maheu and Etienne, while Zacharie superintended the removal of the stuff. The time for going up had come; they all felt hungry, but no one seemed to mind it since some of their comrades were in peril. Nevertheless, they fancied that the village might be getting uneasy at seeing nobody return, and they wanted to send off the women. However, neither Catherine nor La Mouquette, nor Lydie, would stir. They remained there plying their spades. Seeing this, Levaque undertook to go and tell the village of the slip, treating it as a matter of no consequence, which was already being set right. It was now nearly four o'clock. In less than an hour the men had done the labour of a day; half of the fallen stuff would have been removed already but for fresh masses sliding from the roof. Maheu worked on with stub-

born rage and gesticulated angrily whenever someone offered to replace him for a moment.

"Gently, gently," said Richomme at length. "We're getting near. Take care not to hit them."

In fact, the groans became more and more distinct. It was their continuous sound that guided the workmen, and now they seemed to proceed from under their very picks. Suddenly, however, they ceased altogether.

Not a word was spoken by the men. All had felt the quiver of death passing by them in the darkness. They simply plied their picks and renewed with ardour, drenched with perspiration, their nerves and muscles strained to the utmost. Suddenly a foot became visible, and then they threw down their picks and removed the boulders with their hands. Little by little each limb was set free. The head had not been damaged. Lamps were lifted up, and the name of Stumpy went from mouth to mouth. He was still warm, but his spinal column had been broken by a huge block of stone.

"Wrap him up in a blanket and put him on a truck," ordered the viewer. "Now for the lad, and look sharp about it."

Maheu gave a last stroke with his pick, and made an opening by which those on his side could communicate with the men clearing away the stuff on the other. They cried that they had just stumbled upon Jeanlin, who was in a faint, still breathing, but with both legs broken. It was the father who carried away the lad in his arms. With his jaws tightly set, he could only find an oath now and then to express his grief; but Catherine and the other women again burst out shrieking.

The removal was quickly organised. Bébert had brought back Battle, who was put to two trucks. In the first lay Stumpy's body, supported by Etienne; in the second was Maheu with Jeanlin, still motionless, lying across his knees, and covered by a piece of woollen rag torn from one of the ventilating doors. They went off very slowly. On each truck a lamp shone in the gloom like a red star. Behind came the miners, half a hundred black shadows in Indian file. Now that the work was over they were faint with fatigue. They dragged themselves along, stumbled about in the slush, dismally mournful, like a crowd stricken with an epidemic. It took them nearly half an hour to get to the bottom of the shaft. There seemed to be no end to this underground funeral procession winding along the galleries which forked and twisted and ever stretched away.

At the bottom of the shaft, Richomme, who had gone on in front, had given orders for an empty cage to be reserved. Pierron at once packed in the two trucks. In one remained Maheu with his child stretched across his knees, while in the other Etienne had to hold Stumpy's body in his arms to keep it in. Then, the other pitmen having wedged themselves into the upper compartments, the cage went up. It took two minutes to ascend. The water dripping from the tubing seemed very cold, and the men looked up, impatient to behold the daylight.

Luckily a boy sent for Dr. Vanderhagen, had found him at home and brought him back. Jeanlin and the corpse were carried to the viewers' room, where, from one year's end to the other, a large fire was kept burning. They had to remove some buckets of hot water, standing ready for the viewers' foot-baths, and on two mattresses stretched out on the flagstones the man and the child were laid. Maheu and Etienne were the only two admitted. Outside had gathered trammer girls, pitmen and children, talking in low voices. The doctor just cast a glance at Stumpy, and murmured: "Done for! You may wash him."

Two inspectors thereupon undressed and sponged the body, black with coal-dust and the grimy perspiration of hard toil.

"His head is all right," resumed the medical man as he knelt by Jeanlin's side; "the chest also. Oh! it's his legs that have been knocked about."

He himself undressed the child, untying his biggin, removing his jacket, and pulling off his shirt and trousers with the skill of a practised nurse. Then the poor little body appeared insect-like in its thinness, begrimed with coal-dust and yellowish soil, here and there mottled with stains of blood. They were obliged to wash it also, before the injuries could be ascertained. And it seemed to grow thinner still under the moist sponge, the pale transparent skin letting the bones peep through. It was pitiful to behold that last degenerated specimen of a race of wretched beings, that handful of suffering flesh, half-crushed to death by the fall of the rock. When the body was clean the injury to the thigh showed in two red marks on the white skin.

Recovering from his faint, Jeanlin uttered a groan. Standing at the foot of the mattress with his hands hanging limp beside him, and big tears coursing down his cheeks, Maheu was looking at his child.

"Are you his father?" asked the doctor, glancing up. "Don't cry, you see he isn't dead. You'd better lend me a hand."

He had at once discovered two simple fractures. But the injuries to the right leg looked more serious. It would probably have to be amputated.

Three weeks went by, and the danger of amputation was averted. Jeanlin's legs were saved, though he would limp for life. After an inquiry the company had granted the family relief to the extent of 50 francs. They had also promised to find a berth above ground for the little cripple as soon as he should be able to get about. Meanwhile, however, all this aggravated the misery of the Maheus, for the father had received such a shock that for some days he was obliged to take to his bed, racked by violent fever.

(Continued from p. 5.)

Members of Parliament, or the Borough Councillors, suddenly become experts in the intricacies of a multitude of industries of which they hitherto knew nothing at all?

The only people who could deal with the great change and its new requirements are the people, all interlocked as they are, who are actually engaged in the making and transport of each product and the people who use it. The Soviets, built up according to the needs of each and all industries, would be the only solution of the new problem.

Had the factory been thrown into a turmoil of dislocation, then the workers in the factory would come together to produce order: each in the emergency would respond to the need that he should perform the task for which he had been equipped by training, and for which workers were required, but some would be spared from accustomed tasks to fill the positions which had become vacant, to take stock and discover deficiencies, to acquaint absentees with the fact that work had begun again. These workers drafted to new work would be chosen for their fitness, as far as could be discerned by themselves and their fellows. Each factory, each centre of work, would shoulder its own comparatively small difficulties, and thus by the co-operative effort of countless eager units the great tasks of the community, otherwise overwhelming, would be accomplished. Gradually the whole mechanism of industry would be transformed.

If the housewives had their Soviets when the great change came, they would not be found rushing frantically about the streets in search of supplies, and threatening to break into the shops and storehouses because their children were hungry. If, however, they were disorganised as now, and hence terrified and distracted, it would be necessary for any who remained calm to call them together to enumerate their wants and transmit them, not to a body of lawyers, journalists, and persons of all sorts at Westminster, but to the workers responsible for production, distribution and transport, in order that all might be supplied.

## ESPERANTO.

## LESSON 7.

Mi	1
li	he
ŝi	she
ĝi	it
ni	we
vi	you
ili	they

These words are used in place of a noun in order to avoid repeating it; hence they are called **pronouns**.

Consider the sentences: Jones estas laboristo. Jones estas Komunisto. Jones estas Esperantisto. Jones is a worker. Jones is a Communist. Jones is an Esperantist.

The effect would be odd if we spoke in this way. In order to avoid the frequent repetition of the name (noun) Jones, we used the pronoun **li** (he). At the same time, we might join the last two sentences by the word **kaj** (pronounce **ky**, to rhyme with **sky**), meaning **and**; thus: Jones estas laboristo. Li estas Komunisto **kaj** (li estas) Esperantisto.

**Kaj** (and) is called a **conjunction**—i.e., a connecting word: it connects sentences as well as words.

Now practise using these pronouns with the following prepositions; thus: al li, to him; al ŝi, to her; al ti, to you; por, for; pri, concerning; apud, near, by (close to); sen, without; kontraŭ, against, opposite; anstataŭ, instead of; antaŭ, before, in front of; per, by means of.

From the above pronouns (mi, li, etc.), we may form **possessive adjectives**, thus: mia, my; lia, his, etc.; mia libro, my book; lia libro, his book; ŝia plumo, her pen; ĝia patrino, its mother; nia domo, our house; via libro, your book; ilia patrino, their mother.

## Vocabulary.

sidas	sits
kuŝas	lies
libro	book
sur	on
rivero	river
hundo	dog
iras	goes
iris	went
fluas	flows

**Translate:** Li sidas kontraŭ (opposite) ŝi. La libro kiu kuŝas sur la tablo estas por li. La rivero estis antaŭ li. Sia domo estis apud mia. Sen li, ili ne laboras. La hundo kuŝis antaŭ mi. Ne pri li mi parolas; mi parolas pri ŝi. Anstataŭ li, mi iris. Apud la domo fluas rivero.

**Translate into Esperanto:** To him; for him; to her; opposite (against) me; I spoke about him.

Ni laboras por la Internacia Komunismo per la internacia lingvo Esperanto.

## KOMUNISTA MANIFESTO.

Daŭriga.

En iliajn lokojn ekpaŝis libera konkurado, akompanata de socia kaj politika konstitucio alfarita al ĝi, kaj de la ekonomia kaj politika regado de la kapitalista klaso.

Simila movado nun estas okazanta antaŭ niaj propraj okuloj. La moderna kapitalista socio kun siaj rilatoj de produktado, de interŝanĝado kaj de posedeco, socio kiu elsortigis tiel gigantajn rimedojn de produktado kaj de interŝanĝado, similas sorĉiston, kiu ne plu povas kontroli la povojn de la suba mondo kiujn li suprenvokis per siaj sorĉaĵoj. Dum multaj jardekoj estintaj la historio de Daŭrigota.

## FROM BULGARIA.

The secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Workers' Movement writes:

"In Germany to-day the only revolutionary policy is that of the Fourth International. If that policy had been followed by the working class as a whole, the workers would have been prepared for the revolutionary struggle which, through the French invasion of the Ruhr, is knocking at the door in Germany."

## AN EJECTMENT ORDER.

Dear Comrade,—

A very puzzling situation has arisen here. Mr. O'Rourke, of 2 Kirkdale Road, Liverpool, has received an ejectment order through the Court. He has nowhere to go but the Workhouse, which means the breaking up of the family, consisting of man, wife, and seven children.

Mr. O'Rourke was branch secretary of the N.U.D.A.W. (National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers), but was discharged for incompetency.

The matter came to the notice of the Unemployed Committee, and a deputation called on those responsible for issuing the order—viz., Alderman Robinson, secretary of the N.U.D.A.W., and chairman of the Trades and Labour Council; Mr. Jones, chairman of N.U.D.A.W.; and Mrs. Bamber, a national official of same, also a prominent member of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Third International).

This is where the puzzle comes in, Comrade; for here we have the magnificent spectacle of a body of class-conscious individuals, representing a large number of working men and women, using their power to crush a member of their own class. They claim possession of the premises on the ground that the man is a nuisance. Why should it be necessary to penalise the wife and family? Surely the law could attend to this man if he were a pest, as they say he is. A summons and fine would show him the error of his ways.

They say the wife and kiddies would be better off in the Workhouse. I wish to point out that this is pure and simple master-class ideology. Many, many times has this argument been put forward by relieving officers and Boards of Guardians and bourgeois landlords, but we claim that no one has the right to decide on that point except the parties concerned.

If Comrades Robinson, Jones, and Bamber think the Workhouse good enough to live in, we certainly would not raise any objection to their living there. The same applies to O'Rourke and family; but it is because the O'Rourkes have no desire to go there that we are taking up the cudgels.

Members of the N.U.D.A.W. (many of whom are unemployed) promise an exciting time ahead for someone if this man is ejected. We, the organised unemployed of Liverpool, are asking two members of the Labour Party and one member of the Communist Party not to break up this worker's home. Is it too much to ask?

Yours in the fight,

JOHN MEEHAN.

134 Islington, Liverpool.  
Jan. 29th, 1923.

## SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS.

ESPERANTO correspondens estas dezirata pro juno lerino.—Strike School, Burston, Diss.

## COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

**Friday, February 16th.**—Minerva Cafe, 144 High Holborn (top floor). Discussion opened by Sylvia Pankhurst on **The Second, Third and Fourth Internationals**, 8 to 10 p.m. Sale of Work and Literature, 6 to 8 p.m. Tea, coffee, etc., at moderate prices.

**Sunday, February 18th.**—Old William Morris Hall, North Street, Clapham. Sylvia Pankhurst and L. Grant. **Communism: What it is and is not.**

**Sunday, February 25th.**—Workers' Friend Club, 62 Fieldgate Street, Whitechapel.

## BROTHERHOOD CHURCH

(Southgate Road).

Sunday, February 11th, 7 p.m.

SYLVIA PANKHURST  
on  
**Communism, Primitive and Modern.**

## BUILDING UP COMMUNISM.

Sometimes I wonder if our Socialist propaganda would be more effective if we could tear ourselves away from our stereotyped anti-Capitalist phraseology. Hard economic facts ought to prove more eloquent than mere words, but environment and Capitalistic culture pervert the child mind, and by the time the adult stage has been reached too many things, including all the fundamentals of the competitive system, are taken for granted.

Our task is to make the worker think along new lines. To do so it is necessary first to challenge his usual mode of thinking. His mind runs naturally in terms of buying and selling, wages and profits, employers and employees. While he feels that conditions are unfair, his mind is incapable of unfolding any vision of an equalitarian society. It is necessary to provoke his imagination which is a latent possession.

The non-Socialist worker has become familiar with many Socialist phrases. He knows that the Socialist desires to produce for use and not for profit, but many terse and pregnant Socialist phrases have by constant use lost some of their meaning, or have not close enough relationship to preconceived ideas. A phrase may hold a revolutionary truth, but the mind that is not awake cannot perceive it.

I think we are apt sometimes to forget that revolution is but a turning-point in evolution—the difference is like the adding of the letter r to the latter word.

Our philosophical economic dissertations and the phraseology these have come to be, are admirable and necessary as mental food to the leaders and students of Socialist thought, for the unconverted something different is necessary.

There is no difficulty in driving home most of the evils of the competitive system. What is harder to make clear is a practical alternative. Perhaps Socialists have reduced the effectiveness of their propaganda, by being wedded to the use of certain words and phrases. We have become slaves mentally as the capitalistically minded are slaves. Words sometimes become a fetish. We do not become Socialists and Communists merely by the use of certain phrases.

In our propaganda among the masses we might extend our influence more rapidly by making our Communism appeal by its simplicity. Communism is but co-operation carried out in a more fundamental way than is ordinarily conceived. Let us bring home this principle of co-operation by everyday examples, and build our vision of the Communist Beautiful by showing the masses how co-operation can, and must, be extended if real freedom and full life is to be achieved for everyone. Let us recognise that Communism is going to be helped by every piece of co-operation under Capitalism that is based on the acceptance of the principle that we should not desire for ourselves anything which others cannot have the counterpart of on equal terms.

Communism presupposes Communists. By whatever method Communism is finally achieved, nothing is to be lost, but everything gained, by the encouragement of more fundamental co-operation under Capitalism. It is only out of the spirit of such co-operation that real Communism can arise.

Let us not despise fundamental co-operative effort because it is not labelled Socialism or Communism. Let us recognise the spirit of the ideal we possess wherever we see it. Let us not be slaves to terms, nor believe the label Communist or Communism is all that is necessary. Only as we ourselves are capable of displaying and recognising the Communist thing are we really helping the Communist Cause.

If we can bring about the withdrawal from purely Capitalist industry of many workers who have realised what might be done along the lines of equalitarian workers' co-operation we shall be creating a sound base for more drastic Communist achievement later.

E. B.



## WHEN PARLIAMENT MEETS.

The gas-house is about to meet, fellow-worker; what will it do for you?

We believe nothing at all.

"Why?"

Because, fellow-worker, it is composed of people who do not wish to break the power of the Capitalists; and so long as the Capitalists hold the wealth and power of the country they will see that nothing much is done for you.

Nevertheless, we advise you to get a place, if you can, in the Strangers' Gallery, and listen to the speeches of your Members of Parliament. You will be thoroughly bored, to be sure, fellow-worker; but try it if you can.

If you cannot, then study the speeches of your Members of Parliament as reported by the newspapers, and also observe the outcome of those speeches.

We can assure you, fellow-worker, that the outcome will be NOTHING of any value to you.

If you want anything done, you should do it yourselves, and not wait for Parliament.

If you want to stop the intervention in the Ruhr, do it yourselves by refusing to carry coal to France, till France withdraws from Germany.

If you want to make war in the East impossible, do not send there troops, munitions and stores.

If you want to stop unemployment and poverty at home, organise at the point of production to produce for use and not for profit.

## NOWHERE TO LIVE.

### Evicted Father Driven Insane.

Mrs. Palmer, of 71 Casino Avenue, Herne Hill, occupied a house owned by the Camberwell Borough Council. Originally it was rented at 23/- a week, afterwards the rent was reduced to 21/11. It is only a small place—far too small to warrant such a high rent.

Misfortune has visited the family. Mr. Palmer was out of work for eighteen months. He became an organiser of the unemployed, and in the course of his efforts to obtain better conditions for the unemployed, he made an inaccurate statement, in the course of a speech respecting the amount of relief given in a certain case. For this the authorities vindictively prosecuted him, and he was imprisoned for 14 days, for "making a false statement."

No one has been sent to prison for "making false statements" against the unemployed or the Communists!

The Palmers have four children. The youngest is only three years of age, and has had double pneumonia three times in less than twelve months. Children are always the first to suffer in times of privation! The eldest girl recently obtained work as a typist at the enormous and costly County Hall which the L.C.C. has erected for itself. The girl was paid 30/- a week. Thereupon all relief to the family was stopped save the unemployment dole.

During the period of hardship the rent was sometimes unpaid. £255 of arrears accumulated. The Council took action, and the Court expenses brought the debt up to £33. Thus are poor people made to pay for British Justice (?) under Capitalism. The legal cost of the few minutes' trial by richer people cost these unfortunates £7 13s.1

The Palmers somehow got together £10, and offered this sum, promising to pay the rent regularly in future and 1/- a week off the arrears. The offer, made with most piteous pleading, was refused.

On Thursday, February 1st, two bailiffs came to the house demanding admission. This not being accorded, they smashed the window and made forcible entry. Having served a warrant upon Mrs. Palmer, six bailiffs pulled up pieces the beds, ripped up the oilcloth, took down the pictures and mirrors, and taking all the furniture of most value, they put it in a large motor bus. The things of little or no value they put in the road outside. Almost all the household goods, for which this husband and wife had toiled and stinted, and paid far more than the debt now claimed, were carted away, to be sold for brokers to make profit on them. Even the child's fireguard, which the law requires, and for the lack of which unfortunate parents are often punished, was taken.

"It was so sad to have first the table you were sitting at, and then the chair you were sitting on dragged away," writes Mrs. Clara Cole, who was present at the eviction.

Mr. Ammon, the Labour Member for the district, had written assuring Mrs. Palmer that she would not be turned out if she would do her best to pay up arrears. She now telegraphed to him that the bailiffs were in her house. Mr. Ammon replied:

"Quite powerless in the hands of Borough Council."

Mrs. Palmer telegraphed to the "Daily Herald," but received no reply. Dr. Salter, M.P., had also been approached, but all in vain.

The family was left standing outside their erstwhile home with the poor little pile of goods still left beside them on the stones.

A kind neighbour offered them the use of a boxroom for their remnants. The tenants are not allowed to sub-let on this estate of the Camberwell Borough Council. Another generous poor person gave them shelter.

Mr. Palmer, who had walked about distracted for several nights before the eviction, seemed a broken man. He sat and wept in deep dejection. Later he locked himself in the bathroom, and the door had to be broken in. His reason had given way. These poor people had been denying themselves of food to provide the money for their arrears, and the man had collapsed under the strain. He has been removed to the Observation Hospital, Constance Road, Denmark Hill. On Thursday the eviction took place; on Friday morning the father of the family was removed to the hospital.

This is civilisation under Capitalism! Who can defend such cruelty towards blameless people?

The iron laws of Capitalism are ruthless towards the workers. If their feet slip on the treadmill ladder of wavery, they fall into the abyss of poverty wherein is no hope.

### Is It So?

There is a belief in Camberwell that Borough Council tenants who have been active in the workers' movement are more harshly treated than others.

### The Ban Against the Poor.

At a meeting of the L.C.C., Colonel Levita, chairman of the Housing Committee, admitted that a man with a wife and four children who earns £3 2s. a week had been refused accommodation on the Council's housing estate, on the ground that the rent would absorb a greater portion of the man's wages than was "desirable." The fact is that the L.C.C. does not wish poor people to occupy its model dwellings.

The Camberwell Borough Council is probably of the same mind, since it ruthlessly evicted and distrained on the goods of a family offering £10 and 1/- a week towards a debt of £25.

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