

# Parliamentary Socialists Routed.

# Workers'



# Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by  
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 23.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1922.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

## POEMS.

By RALPH CHAPLIN.

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

### THE WIND.

"Once more the wind leaps from the sullen land  
With his old battle-cry.  
A tree bends darkly where the wall looms  
high;  
Its tortured branches, like a grisly hand,  
Clutch at the sky.

"Gray towers rise from gloom and underneath—  
Black-barred and strong—  
The snarling windows guard their ancient  
wrong;  
But the mad wind shakes them, hissing  
through his teeth  
A battle song.

"O bitter is the challenge that he flings  
At bars and bolts and keys,  
Torn with the cries of vanished centuries  
And curses hurled at long-forgotten kings  
Beyond dim seas.

"The wind alone, of all the gods of old,  
Men could not chain.  
O wild wind, brother to my wrath and pain,  
Like you, within a restless heart, I hold  
A hurricane.

"The wind has known the dungeons of the past,  
Knows all that are;  
And in due time will strew their dust afar.  
And, singing, he will shout their doom at last  
To a laughing star.

"O cleansing warrior wind, stronger than death,  
Wiser than men may know;  
O smite these stubborn walls and lay them  
low,  
Uproot and rend them with your mighty  
breath—  
Blow, wild wind, blow!"

### MOURN NOT THE DEAD.

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—  
Dust unto dust—  
The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die  
As all men must;

Mourn not your captive comrades who must  
dwell—  
Too strong to strive—  
Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell,  
Buried alive;

But rather mourn the apathetic throng—  
And dare not speak!  
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong  
The cowed and the meek—

The courage for this two-fold struggle is created only by the consciousness that the injustice of society by which the great majority of mankind are to-day oppressed, corrupted and crippled, can only be abolished through a revolutionary movement—that is, a movement that shall completely exterminate capitalism with every fibre of its roots.—W. LAMBERT.  
No Compromise!

## The Collective Aspect of Education.

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

By CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN.

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

Children—minors, that is—constitute three-fifths of the human race. Your average family is two adults and three minors, and of those three you allow one a youth, one a child, and one a baby, and that baby would be one-fifth of the human race. And with us that would mean 20,000,000 babies. The baby, being a member of the family, is welcomed as what we call "a little stranger." He is always. He comes into the family, he lasts a very little while, and then he is gone. "A baby" is essentially transient in a family. But the 20,000,000 babies that constitute one-fifth of our population are a permanent fifth. You remember that wonderful thing of Wells's where he spoke of a great hall filled with the wisest people on earth, trying to decide what is the wisest thing in the world. "Suppose into this hall there came pouring through a spout babies at the rate of a dozen a minute; would anything be discussed in that hall but what is the best thing to do with babies?" That is the way they are coming on earth. The suggestion I am always trying to make about babies is that the cultural environment for babies and little children is of the utmost importance; that the home for adults was never intended to be a cultural environment for babies.

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

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

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

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

(To be continued.)

## YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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

The high cost of production of the paper necessitates prompt payment.



## A FERRER MODERN SCHOOL.

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

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

### "OUR PRINT SHOP."

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

"VICTOR AND EDGAR."

The children do all the work connected with their magazine. "Uncle" Paul Scott, a working printer, says:

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

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

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

### THE DEVIL.

"Dictated to Lipman, set by some Hoboes."

A little girl one day she went to the woods and the devil ate her up and her friends wondered where she was, and they went to the same woods she did, and the devil ate them up, and the children were holding his tongue. Their mothers were crying for them and they went in the same woods as their children. The children had scissors with them, so their mothers saw a little hole in the devil, so they made a bigger hole which killed the devil. Then they were safe and ran home as fast as they could run home."

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

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

Alexis Fern takes out the woodworking tools, Hugo Gellert or Bill Pobrebitzky will open the art classes by placing the art materials on a table and sitting down to draw. Kate Van Eaton or John Edelman brings out the reeds and raffia for basketry, and the small frame looms for weaving, and everybody "goes to it" with such energy as would astonish anyone who is used to the atmosphere of the conventional school. . . . The youngsters are so much interested in the handicraft that it is almost impossible to close up the class-rooms promptly

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

Here are some further compositions of the Stelton children:

## NATURE POEMS.

By Irving Uswald, 12 years old.

### THE BROOKLET.

Through the brooklet muddy waters go,  
Over stones and rocks they flow,  
Down to the mighty Hudson they go,  
Day and night they flow.

### THE CLOUDS.

Up so high  
In the sky  
The clouds roll on and on!  
Once in a while they drop some rain,  
Then everything is happy again.

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

### AN ODE "TO RUTH."

By Samuel Pearl, 11 years old.

Ruthy is a lollypop with big round staring eyes,  
And all the time she's out of doors she gazes at  
the skies;  
She gazes at the birds that fly, and at the sky  
so blue,  
But just the same I do believe she's a lollypop,  
don't you?

### IF WISHES WERE TRUE.

By Lydia Wasserman, 10 years old.

I wish I could be an angel  
With beautiful magic wings,  
I would make everybody happy,  
And joyfully they would sing.

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

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

## DAWN CHILDREN.

And there were children . . . . . dancing.  
Out among the growing wheat  
In a field . . . .  
All golden and thick with dew.  
And in the quiet air  
Lay the fragrance of early rain  
Upon the warm, fresh earth.  
. . . . . And everywhere was music . .  
Children's laughter . .  
The sweet drip of dew . . . . .  
Then through the morning mist,  
. . . . . amber in the sun,  
I saw their slim bodies  
As they ran through the tall grass,  
. . . Golden and tan . . like wheat.  
MARGARETTA SCHUYLER, in the *Modern School Teachers' Magazine*.

## PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

### DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN.

By TOM ANDERSON.

I have been to Douglas—in fact, I am writing this article there. It is a wonderful place. All is joy and sunshine, everyone seems happy. I have been to Douglas many times before, and still I enjoy it. We are all human, and it is here you see humanity on its best behaviour.

"The Palace" is glorious. Were you ever young, or did the fates confine you to a slum? Methinks London is poor: it has not a "Palace." Have you ever been to the "Palace" when you were young?

An old Jewish Rabbi has truly said, "Youth is a bed of roses." If you want to prove that statement, come to the "Palace." Girls, girls, every shade and colour; dresses that the rainbow could not match; smiles, beautiful smiles, everlasting smiles; everyone smiles because they are dancing in the Palace. And we old men look in and smile because the air is scented with smiles.

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

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

Very many go to Derby Castle. Florrie Forde is singing in the ball-room every evening at 8.45. You may not like Florrie, but that does not matter; she is the idol of the young. No other woman in our land can sing a chorus for the young as she can. Hear it, then sing it with her. The great human organ wells out and the tone strikes you in your human part. "Sally." Nothing in it, only human; and we are all little children, and "youth is the bed of roses," and Florrie sings, and it is more than thirty years since first I heard her. With the boys I shout, "Good old Florrie!"

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

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

If I were a god I would take the children of men and send them to Douglas for three months each year, and I would burn all the slums and all the useless factories, and start the humans on a simpler plane of life; and in that life there would be laughter.

But that would be Communism; and while the people are all at the bottom Communists, the ones at the top are not, and they are not having any.

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

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

Happy, glorious Douglas is helping to make our people smile, and in doing this it is doing something. To us conscious humans belongs the task of bringing the day when everyone will smile; and on that day with the Classless State have come.



## IRISH NEWS.

FROM THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN BULLETIN.

## HARRY BOLAND DEAD.

Harry Boland was shot while attempting to escape arrest by the Free State troops.

Boland and a friend took a room at the Grand Hotel, Skerries. About 2 o'clock in the morning the room was entered by Free State troops (six in number, by their own admission, but others say ten or twelve men). While he was dressing Boland made an attempt to escape. The Free Staters say he tried to seize one of their guns (Boland was unarmed) and ran out of the room. Two shots were fired without effect, but the third pierced Boland through the back.

## Mr. Gavan Duffy Resigns.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has resigned owing to grave differences on matters of policy. We understand that the chief points of difference are:

1. He objected to the present rigid Press censorship, believing in the intelligence of and the absolute freedom of the Press.
2. He was opposed to a further postponement of the meeting of Dail Eireann, contending that the policy of the Government should be endorsed by the general assembly of elected representatives of the people.
3. He had pleaded unsuccessfully for lenient treatment for a son of Count Plunkett, now in Mountjoy Prison with O'Connor and the rest. His brother was killed in the 1916 rebellion, and on this ground Mr. Duffy is said to have asked that justice should be tempered with mercy.

The *Times* of July 26th says:

"The prolongation of the Recess to the middle of November was a late decision of the Cabinet, and reflects the virtual certainty that the Irish Provisional Parliament will not have completed consideration of the Free State Constitution in time for it to come before the British Parliament this year.

"But an Irish Bill will be necessary in default of a Bill ratifying the Constitution. The Irish Free State (Agreement) Act requires the Provisional Parliament to be dissolved in December and a General Election held. The draft Constitution contemplates the continuance of the Provisional Parliament for a period not exceeding one year after the date when the Constitution comes into force, subject to its members taking the oath of allegiance. If the Constitution has not been ratified by December, a Bill will probably be introduced to prolong the life of the Provisional Parliament.

## "Preparing For Siege of Clonmel."

(Passed by Military Censor.)

"It may not be known that General Macready is Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland."—*Irish Times*.

Art O'Brien, President of Irish Self-Determination League of Great Britain, was arrested in Dublin on August 2nd. Sean T. O'Kelly was arrested last week.

Mr. Cope is still in command at Dublin Castle. His services to the English Government have been referred to by Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons as *invaluable*. Mr. Cope is likely to continue there for some time. He is in constant touch with the Irish Provisional Government officials!

## The War in Ulster.

## Dail Eirean Facts.

Orange gunmen in Belfast resumed operations on Sunday night, July 30th, and as a result of volleys fired into Trinity Street a girl named Elizabeth Savage, a Catholic, was shot in the leg. On March 27th her sister was shot dead in her own home during curfew hours.

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

The Specials also raided a number of houses in the Falls Road district, a Catholic quarter in Belfast.

## Co. Armagh Outrage.

In the early hours of Friday morning, July 28th, several Catholic residents of the Altnaveigh district, near Newry, had terrifying experiences, being awakened from their slumbers by a body of men who selected certain houses for their attention. Doors

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

## Fermanagh Families to Quit.

Five Catholic families in the Coa district, Co. Fermanagh, were visited by a number of armed and disguised men early on the previous Sunday morning, and some of them were assaulted and ordered to clear out of their homes within a specified time.

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

## An Ulster Witness.

## Methodist's Illuminating Statement.

An Ulster Methodist preacher, in a communication to the *Methodist Times*, London, wrote:

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

## PAYING FOR THE POGROM.

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

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

Patrick McGivern, on August 6th, advised a comrade to "run for it." Thereupon he was fatally shot by five bullets.

James Griffin, being pursued by an armed mob, dashed into the Britannia bar for safety. His assailants fired at him through the open door and accidentally shot a "C" Special and an ex-soldier.

William Matthews, walking along California Street on August 6th, noticed that he was followed by several men. One of them shot him through the back. His condition is serious.

A new convent at Kilkeel was set fire to on August 7th.

A table issued by Dail Eireann Publicity Department (Dublin) gives the following statistics of the Pogrom:

Killed to date	...	...	...
Wounded	...	...	...
Number of Catholics driven from their employment by unformed Specials and armed mobs	...	...	...
Number of Catholics similarly driven from their homes	...	...	...
Number of Catholics now homeless in Belfast	...	...	...
No Protestants were driven from their employment or homes in Belfast during the same period.	...	...	...

## BELFAST ATROCITIES.

On July 21st, 1920, the Ulster Pogrom against the Catholic and Nationalist minority began in Belfast.

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

## Launching of the Pogrom.

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

## British Cost.

"The relentless persecution thus begun at the behest of the Orange leaders was intensified when a

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

## Figures for Six Months of 1922.

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

	Killed.	Wounded.
Catholics	170	345
Protestants	95	210

It has to be borne in mind that, as the Protestant population of Belfast (in 1911) was 295,791, and the Catholic population 98,243, the non-Catholics outnumber the Catholics in Belfast by 3 to 1.

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

## Eye-Wash for British Public.

Sir James Craig, on his recent visit to London, boasted to an interviewer of the *Morning Post* of the "fairness of administration," and said that the Catholic community abstained from giving that support to the Government which might be expected from them.

This is mere eye-wash for the British public.

## Highly Placed Offenders.

The Dail Eireann Bulletin says:

"There is evidence available—and members of the Belfast Government are aware of the fact—connecting men high in the service of the Belfast Executive in the planning and carrying out of massacres."

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

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

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

## Subsidising the Pogromists.

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

## Cost of Pogromism.

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

## Qualifications of Specials.

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

There are in Belfast and the Six-County area 40,000 armed Specials, besides twenty-four battalions of British soldiers. These Specials have been described by a Belfast non-Catholic as "largely composed of looters, incendiaries, and untried murderers. Many of them have been convicted of horrible crimes, and the bulk of them are the very dregs of the population." They are personally interested in the continuation of the reign of terror and murder.



# Workers' Dreadnought

FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PARKHURST.

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

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ... Post Free 2/6  
SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ... " 5/5  
ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ... " 10 10

Vol. IX. No. 23. Saturday, August 19, 1922.

## THE MEN WHO SHOT WILSON.

Reginald Dunn and Joseph O'Sullivan knew when they killed General Wilson, in the cause of their country and their race, and in the cause of progress, as it appeared to them, that their lives would be forfeit. They have made the supreme sacrifice, and made it heroically in every way.

Though people in high places have reviled them; amongst the lowly, amongst the pioneers and those to whom the ideal is the real, there has been an ardent wish that Dunn and O'Sullivan might be saved from the scaffold.

Upwards of 46,000 persons petitioned for their relieve.

The *Daily Herald*, which suppressed a mass of correspondence demanding that these men should be treated as prisoners of war, published but briefly the fact that reprieve petitions were being circulated, and on the eve of the execution merely criticised the Government for not allowing the accused men to defend themselves on political grounds. Said the *Herald*:

"The execution will take place in a silence which is beginning to make uneasy a good many people who would support the judgment were they sure of the justice of the procedure. . . . The result of this failure to operate the ordinary methods of justice will be more bitterness, more strife in Ireland."

The most characteristic feature of the *Herald* is that it constantly prefers the shadow to the reality. That which will intensify bitterness in Ireland, that which will be remembered, is not the formalities of the trial, but the fact that Dunn and O'Sullivan have been hung.

The *Daily Herald*, on August 10th, in announcing that fourteen Social Revolutionaries had been condemned to death in Russia, headed a fervid leading article on the subject: "Do Not Kill!" and closed it with the words: "We plead for their lives." No such urgent appeals did the *Herald* make for O'Sullivan and Dunn, only some petty quibbling as to the forms of their trial.

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

## TRIAL OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES.

The trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries is a matter the importance of which has been much over-rated and misrepresented. The British Government kills off mutineers against its authority in India and other far-away parts of the Empire with very much less fuss than certain advertised social reformers are making on behalf of these Russians who have fought against the Russian Revolution in the interests of reaction.

The *Westminster Gazette* stated the other day that the Russian Social Revolutionaries are Socialists who are opposed to the Bolsheviks. That is not the case; the Social Revolutionary Party is not, and never has been, a Socialist organisation.

The trial of the Social Revolutionaries, on charges of murder, arson, bribery, robbery, and so on, has been used as a stick with which to beat the Russian Soviet Government by all its opponents, from Lloyd George to Ramsay MacDonald, and from the *Morning Post* to the *Daily Herald*.

The apt reply to the telegrams of Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald, George Lansbury, and Arthur Henderson, appealing for the lives of the Social Revolutionaries, was the Russian telegram urging these same gentlemen to appeal for the lives of O'Sullivan and Dunn.

Nevertheless, we must admit that the Soviet Government's conduct of the trial of the Social Revolutionaries seems to us singularly ill-judged. The one justification for stern measures against counter-revolutionaries is that they are a danger to the people and to the revolution. We should prefer to see such persons deported from the land of the Communist revolution to the countries of capitalism: a system which they obviously prefer.

In any case, if the accused persons are so dangerous that there is justification for incarcerating or killing them, how can it be right that they should be reprieved on account of a United Front bargain between the Third International and the Second and Two and a-Half Internationals? Such a bargain, remember, which would lay no obligation upon the Social Revolutionaries.

The solicitude of the Second International for the Social Revolutionaries, it should be observed, did not go so far as to induce them to accept the United Front. In our opinion, the Russian Communist Party made a blunder of a very serious character in allowing the fate of these accused persons to be a pawn in its political trading. Nevertheless, we must point out that it was Ramsay MacDonald and the other Second Internationalists who actually introduced the fate of the Social Revolutionaries into the bargaining between the three Internationals at the recent Berlin United Front Conference.

The invitation to Vandervelde and other Second Internationalists to defend the Social Revolutionaries was also an unwise move. The whole atmosphere of the trial, as far as one can judge from the reports reaching this country, appears to have savoured of theatricality and unwholesome political juggery and time-serving. The maxim: "Do right and shame the Devil" seems to have been disregarded entirely.

The proviso that the execution will not take place if the Social Revolutionary Party discontinues its counter-revolutionary activities, if carried out in good faith, is apparently a redeeming feature of the affair.

It should be observed that, although columns of the daily Press are devoted to the trial, no facts regarding the evidence against the accused finds its way into the reports. We should like to know whether the Soviet news service has supplied such information to the *Daily Herald*, and whether the *Herald* has suppressed it. If the evidence cannot be published, what shall we say of the Soviet Government? If the Press refuses to publish the evidence, what shall we say of the Press?

## ROUT OF PARLIAMENTARIANS.

Parliamentary Socialists assert that Socialism can be secured through the ballot-box. To attain the great objective by putting crosses on ballot-papers, and thus electing representatives who will do the business by walking through the Parliamentary division lobbies seems an attractively safe method of approach to the Parliamentary Communist.

The present happenings in Italy might well shake the faith of those who have sought to reach the Socialist goal thus tranquilly; save for the fact that our Parliamentary Socialists are too confirmedly insular to learn from anything that happens in other countries.

When Socialist opinion began to animate the Italian masses, when to local authorities Socialist majorities were elected, and there was talk of a Socialist majority in Parliament, arose the Fascisti to mock at ballot-box majorities, and to defeat with lawless might all democratic sanctions. These desperados do not only direct their murderous attacks upon Socialist newspapers and clubs, and upon trade union and co-operative offices, they also direct their gunfire upon municipalities where there are Socialist majorities, and carry their lynch law into the Parliament itself.

A tragedy has occurred in Italy since the close of the war, which is scarcely less grievous than the tragedy of Russia. We wonder what the Socialists of the Serrati faction think of their

policy, looking back on it now in their present unhappy plight, fallen as they are from the crest of the high tidal wave of the great movement they once commanded as leaders of the majority Party.

When the Italian Socialist Party held its Bologna Conference in 1919 the working masses of Italy seethed with fervour for the Revolution. The Serrati faction, because of its vocal support of the Russian Revolution, secured control of the Italian Socialist Party executive by an overwhelming vote, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of organised Labour. The agricultural labourers of certain districts were already seizing the land without waiting for any political party to advise them thereto. The Red Army was forming in Turin.

Mussolini, the renegade Socialist organiser of the Fascisti, was obliged to go to Bologna in disguise.

The mind of the workers turned revolutionward, but Lenin said wait until after the elections, and the Serrati faction agreed with only too much willingness.

From that time the tide of revolutionary fervour waned, yet it rose when the metal workers seized and held their factories. The workers were strong enough then for the Government to find it necessary to offer concessions instead of punishment.

Now Mussolini dominates the situation with his Fascisti, his young bloods of the bourgeoisie and unemployed ex-soldiers, who do not get the British Insurance dole. The Fascisti, with their guns, have captured the Camera del Lavoro, the centre of the Trade Union, Co-operative, and Socialist movement throughout Italy. They have broken the back of the Italian working-class movement.

The belated general strike against the violence of the Fascisti has failed to achieve its object. The Socialist paper *Giustizia* says:

"We must be brave enough to admit that we were completely routed in the general strike. We have played our last trump. We have lost Milan and Genoa, which seemed impregnable fortresses of Socialism. Fascisti conquered everywhere. They could, if they liked, continue to deal us formidable blows certain of fresh successes."

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

Only in Parma were the Fascisti repulsed. There the Communists entrenched themselves with machine-guns, and the soldiers of the Regular Army barred the approach of the Fascisti. On being informed that the officer had orders to fire on anyone who attempted to pass, the Fascisti retired. These bullies evidently prefer to attack a fleeing adversary.

Mussolini now goes abroad to organise Fascisti in other countries.

It is curious that Ramsay MacDonald and his Labour Party colleagues should prefer rather to dwell on the trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries than to direct attention to the International growth of the Fascisti menace.

Just as we respect the honest Parliamentary Socialist who still is able, through lack of experience, to cling to his illusions, we also respect the honest Socialist who, whilst declaring that Socialism will not come about through Acts of Parliament, still works to secure Parliamentary seats, in the belief that propaganda for Socialism may be carried in Parliamentary elections and on the floor of Parliament itself.

What claim to consistency or respect, however, has a Communist organisation which, declaring that it desires to use Parliamentary action for Communist propaganda, and which having, by accident, secured from the Coalition benches a Parliamentary representative of its own, is complacently satisfied that he should back-jingo aircraft Bills introduced by Tory Die Hards, and ask questions to "disturb the somnolence of Scotland Yard" in the case of obscure and unsuccessful financiers?



The C.P.G.B. defends the futile doings of the man they still call their Parliamentary representative, on the ground that, "being a Communist, he has to adopt subtle artifices to catch the speaker's eye." So subtle are the artifices that only the Communist Party is able even to guess that Malone is supposed to be doing Communist propaganda. The questions he asks might well be put by any of the young bloods of the Capitalist Party.

If this is the best that Mr. Malone, with the help of the C.P.S.B. Executive, are able to achieve in the drafting of Communist questions and ventilating Communist ideals, we advise them, for the sake of their own reputation, to retire at once before further attention has been directed towards their deplorable ignorance.

We ourselves have no energy to waste on Gas-House politics. We observe that their practice is subordinating all Communist tendencies in the C.P.G.B., which is now more reactionary than the old B.S.P. of pre-Russian Revolution days. The C.P.G.B. has now decided to withdraw all its candidates running in opposition to official Labour Party candidates; even Mr. J. H. Thomas himself is to go unchallenged. Meanwhile the C.P.G.B. calls out all its members to vote for the Liberal lawyer, Mr. Holford Knight, who is standing as a Labour representative in South Hackney.

### WHAT THE UNEMPLOYED PAY FOR.

G. A. Bryant, who applied unsuccessfully for unemployment insurance, points out that the insured men and women pay for £2,000 salary, Minister of Labour; £2,200 salary, permanent secretary; £8,000 life pension, chief labour adviser; £3,000 salary, President of Industrial Court; £1,500 salary, Chairman of Industrial Court; £1,500 salary, employers' representative of Industrial Court; £1,250, £1,250, £1,000 salary, other employees of Industrial Court, £169,000 travelling expenses of Ministry of Labour.

### WANTED—"A MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION."

Walking down Pasterngate—a place, by the way, better known as the shipping office—in the city of Hull, I passed the local branch of the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union, with the following notices placed outside:

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

"It is also fighting the National Shipping Federation, Communism, a prejudiced ship-owners' Press, and other opposing influences."

"We are fighting your battle. Help yourself by signing the slavery ticket protest."

Another notice was as follows:

"A meeting at the Commercial Hotel at 7.30 to-night. All seamen invited."

"Communists, bums, and interlopers not admitted."

The Secretary of this branch, who is responsible for the above, is a prominent local I.L.P.er, and represents that body on the Hull Town Council and Labour Party (Political Section). His name is Walter Ridley.

The new seamen's organisation was only possible by an active fight that has been going on for years by an advanced section of the seamen against Havelock Wilson's personal domination of the N.S. and F.U. As a result, these advanced seamen were expelled when the ideas for rank-and-file control—for which these men worked—began to gain ground. This new Union was formed, but it refuses admission to the advanced section which made possible the existence of the new Union. The local secretary openly states that the Union has not only the right to refuse admission, but also the right to give any explanation why.

The Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union is making a great deal of noise about fighting for seamen, but when it comes down to facts, the difference between the N.S. and F.U. and A.M.W.U. is so small that one would want a pair of field-glasses to find it.

I recognise that the N.S. and F.U. is, without the slightest doubt, the last word in a trade union job trust. The only difference between the N.S. and F.U. and the old Ship-owners' Federation, which seamen were compelled to join, is that in the former one pays 1/- a week, with all kinds of levies on top of that, while in the latter it was 1/- a year, all told. To-day the N.S. and F.U. is merely the tool of the Shipping Federation. Should anyone doubt, let him read the Seamen's P.C. 3 ticket. Nevertheless, we have the A.M.W.U. with its claim to be an industrial Union for marine workers, and its talk, talk, everlasting talk about fighting, debaring men from joining, because their ideas are in advance of the average trade union officials.

The new Union claims that the N.S. and F.U. is a failure as a fighting organisation for seamen. Agreed; but when someone comes along and points out defects in the new organisation, and wants to go further, its officials say "No! Impossible! You cannot go any further than we have gone: this is the end, the ideal. We have all the brains; in fact, we are absolutely IT!"

Of course, the progress of this almighty A.M.W.U. is so great that here in Hull they are just about managing to pay the gas bill every week. Who pays the half-dozen paid delegates, whose salaries are about £5 or £6 a week? I do not know; but of one thing I am certain: the seamen in this port are not paying it.

In conclusion, I should like to state that the affairs of seafaring men in this country are absolutely a disgrace. The wages paid for time worked, the conditions of sleeping accommodation, and the standard of food are worse than those given to the negro slaves in America years ago. If the advanced movement wants a field for education and organisation, here is one waiting to be developed.

DICK BEECH.

### REVOLUTION, REFORM, OR DEMAGOGY?

The "International Jugend-Korrespondenz," the organ of the executive of the Moscow Communist International of the Youth, makes the following assertions under the heading "Reform or Ignorance?":

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

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

The Communist Workers' Party of Germany and the Communist Workers' International have, in our opinion, gone out of their way to understand the nature of partial demands. Although we are not blind to the utility of such a fight, we are against it being conducted by Communist organisations. We are opposed to it because Communist organisations have the task of preparing the proletarians for the pursuit of the historic objective of their class, and should not be found creating or strengthening illusions that hinder the class movement, as is the case when they put forward such partial demands.

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

administration of the school through student soviets, a six weeks' holiday for youths, a workers' Government, and recognition of real value) really believe that these can be carried out within the structure of the capitalist profit-making economic system? They know quite well that the fight for a living wage is one of these illusions. But why do the sections of the Moscow International, nevertheless, propagate these illusions? In order to guarantee at least the "most urgent immediate requisites of life?" No; the writer of the article himself tells us, although he puts it in rather a roundabout way:

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

To put it in plainer language, these demands are part of the programme for the re-shaping of life after the proletarian class-power has been established. Thus the Moscow International leads the proletarians into conflicts which cannot be carried through without breaking with the living principles of capitalism, so that these will lead on and over to the real fight for class supremacy, a fight against all forms of exploitation.

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

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

### THREE POEMS.

By Herbert Spencer Goldberg, aged 11 years.

#### THE WOODS.

When I was lost in the woods I passed by a great big tree. I heard someone calling, oo-oo-oo oo-oo-oo-oo. I looked up and saw an owl calling her babies together.

#### WINTER.

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

#### THE WOODS.

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

From the Ferrer School Children's Magazine.

### ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY COMMUNIST MEETING:

FOREST GATE, WOODBRIDGE ROAD,

Speakers: A. Kingman, N. Smyth.



## WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from last week.)

## Historical Necessity of the Opposition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

rejection of centralism). The Tenth Congress, we understand, will make another series of concessions to the Workers' Opposition. Thus, in spite of the fact that the Workers' Opposition appeared just as a mere group inside the Party only a few months ago, it has already fulfilled its mission, and has compelled the directing party centres to listen to the workers' sound advice. At present, whatever might be the wrath toward the Workers' Opposition, it has the historical future to support it.

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

All that part of the Party which has been accustomed to reflect the class point of view of the ever-growing giant proletariat will absorb and digest everything that is wholesome, practical and sound in the Workers' Opposition. No, in vain will the rank-and-file worker speak with assurance and reconciliation: "Ilyich (Lenin) will ponder, think over, listen to us, and then will decide to turn the Party rudder toward the Opposition. Ilyich will be with us yet."

The sooner the Party leaders take into account the Opposition's work, and follow the road marked by the rank-and-file members, the quicker we shall pass through the crisis in the party at such a difficult time, and the sooner we shall step over the destined line beyond which humanity, having freed itself from the objective economic laws, and, profiting by the rich scientific treasure of the workers' collective, will consciously begin to create the human history of the Communist epoch.

THE END.

## ESPERANTO.

EKZERCO No. 10.

Cu vi preferas kunveni dimanĉe aŭ lunde, aŭ je alia el la sep tagoj de la semajno?—Marde kaj merkredo mi estas ĉiam hejme, sed la ceteraj vesperoj estas tute egalaj por mi. Mi konas kelkajn kamaradojn, kiuj, ŝatas jaŭdon. Vendrede ni ĉiuj estas okupataj, do la plejmulto venas sabaton.—Mi dankas vin, bonvolu veni frue!

## VORTARETO.

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

## NOTES.

In this exercise the days of the week (which are written without capitals) occur in order.

Je is a preposition of indefinite meaning, which must be translated as the sense requires.

Venus is conditional—would come.

## MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭrigo.

FANTOMO vizitadas Eŭropon—la fantomo de la Komunismo. Ĉiuj povoj de malnova Eŭropo estas aliĝintaj sanktan interligon por trankviligi tiun ĉi fantomon; papo kaj caro, Metternich kaj Guizot, francaj radikalistoj kaj germanaj policaj spionoj.

Kie estas la partio de opozicio kiu ne estas nomaciita kiel komunista de siaj kontraŭuloj? Kie la opoziciantaro kiu ne estas ŝetinta returnen la brulajntan riproĉon de Komunismo, kontraŭ la pli antaŭaj opoziciaj partioj tiel bone kiel kontraŭ siaj reaciaj kontraŭuloj?

Da aferoj rezultas el tiu ĉi fakto.

1. Komunismo estas jam konfesata de ĉiuj eŭropaj "povoj" esti "povo" ĝi mem.  
2. Estas ja tempo kiam la Komunistoj devas malkaŝe, antaŭ la tuta mondo, publikigi siajn opiniojn, siajn celojn, siajn tendencojn, kaj kontraŭneti al tiu ĉi infaneja fabelo pri la Fan-

tomo de Komunismo ian Manifeston de la partio mem.

Al tiu celo, komunistoj de diversaj naciecoj estas kunvenintaj en Londonon, kaj verkis la sekvantan manifeston, publikigo, tan en la angla, franca, germana, itala, flandra kaj dana lingvoj. :ien'cop(t,-np, hmhm rfrf dw lyly hmrf dwlun Daŭrigoto.

## THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED.

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

## CHAPTER II.

## Demos at Thought.

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

Perhaps his mind was somewhat provincial in its outlook. At one time, when his activities were confined to London, one could forgive his penchant for Marble Arch. But later, when he travelled to other cities and saw their forums, his attitude was less excusable. However, there it was. He realised the part played in each city by its forum, and he gloried in its importance. He allowed that Glasgow Green and Gao Square might be compared with London's Hyde Park. He dismissed Edinburgh, its mound and its meadows; Aberdeen and its Wallace statue at the top of Rosemount; Birmingham and its Bull Ring. And he fell back on his Public Forum at Hyde Park.

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

The principle upon which the forum assembles is the right and need of man to discuss every question affecting his welfare or concerning his destiny in proportion as he is conscious of such necessity. Each individual is called upon to decide his interest for himself. According to such decision he will gravitate to this or that group, or this or that platform, to learn about Anarchism, Socialism, Atheism, Buddhism, Deism, Protestant Christian Evidence, and Catholic Evidence. For the plan of discussion in the forum is that of the Russian Mir. Groups assemble and last without a single interruption, leaving some discussion to two central speakers, self-chosen champions acclaimed by the consent of the auditors. Or the groups divide and discuss other phases of the subject. Or the one group will elect with acclamation new champions and depose those who commenced the discussion. Such is the group or ground discussion which competes for support with the more regular platform meetings.

(To be continued.)

## DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £253 11s. 6½d. F. Malnick, 4/6; E. Neuwirth, 3/-; A. Thornton, 2/1; E. Wright, 2/8; A. Hodson, 2/-; A Red, £1; Hammersmith Meeting Collection, 12/7½. Total for week, £2 6s. 10½d. Total, £255 18s. 5d.

Donations urgently requested!

Do not forget the Dreadnought if you are on holiday.



# How Fortunes were made in the Mines.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS IN COAL MINES, 1841-48.

## IV.

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

#### "The Road is Long and the Brae Awful Steep."

Mary Morgan, sixteen years old, putter, Hulheath Colliery, Fifehire: "As the road is long and the brae awful steep, the sweat drops off like streams of water. The roads are 600 yards, and many 900 yards long, and we have to stoop very much. Been idle sometimes with pains for day or two."

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

Margaret Hipps, seventeen years old, putter, Stoney Rigg Colliery, Stirlingshire: "It is sad sweating and sore fatiguing work, and frequently maims the women."

Agnes Phinn, seventeen years old, coal-bearer, Edmonstone Colliery, Midlothian: "The work is most exhausting; were it not for the sake of cleanliness, I should not change my clothes. I seldom gang out, as the work is gai fair slavery."

Agnes Johnson, aged seventeen years, road-redder, New Craighall Colliery, Midlothian: "Assists in redding the road in the tunnel, and works twelve hours. It is very sore work, but I prefer it, as I work on the master's account and get 14d. a day. When I work with father he keeps me fifteen or sixteen hours at coal-carrying, which I hate, as it last year twisted my ankles out of place and I was idle next twelve months."

John Duncan, fifty-seven years old, coal-hewer, Pencaitland Colliery, East Lothian: "It must be admitted that children are sadly overwrought; have been sorry always when two of my own wrought hard; still, I had need of their help, although not nine years of age."

Walter Kerr, collier, aged sixty-two, Tranent Colliery: "Women, in order to get home early, carry too heavy weights. I know many who have filled two tubs of 5 cwt. in two burthens, and brought them 200 fathoms."

Mr. John Thompson, mining oversman, Tranent Colliery: "Coal work at best is of an o'er sair kind, and few lads can acquire the knowledge of hewing, or have good strength to put till fourteen years of age, and even then it depends on their physical strength. Colliers frequently exhaust themselves and children; if regular, they would not need the assistance of such quantities of infant labour."

South Wales.—Witnesses in this district also dwell much upon the fatigue of their occupations.

Solomon Hancock, aged ten, collier, Rock Colliery, Bedwelty, Monmouthshire: "Thinks it is very hard work."

John Fuge, aged eleven, pump-boy, Llantwryarde: "The work is very fatiguing and requires sixteen hours' rest."

Joseph and John Neath, twins, aged eleven, Gilvach Vargoed Colliery: "Work very hard indeed. When we rest a little we fall asleep."

Moses Moon, aged eleven: "It is sad, sloppy, hard work."

Henrietta Frankland, eleven years old, drummer: "When well I draw the drams (carts), which contain 4 to 5 cwt. of coal from the heads to the main road. I make forty-eight to fifty journeys. Sister, who is two years older, works also at drumming; the work is very hard, and the long hours before the pay-day fatigue us much."

John Fuge, aged eleven: "I am so tired at times that I hardly care about eating."

William Locklas, twelve years old: "Find it very hard work, and the crawling is very fatiguing."

William Williams, aged thirteen, Plas Level Colliery: "Work is very hard. When first went down used to fall asleep; can't fall asleep now, am kept too close at it."

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

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

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

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

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

Josiah Marfell, underground manager, Strip-and-at-it-Pit: "Thinks some of the boys overwork themselves in their anxiety to earn more money, or to do their work in a shorter time. When he was a boy between fourteen and eighteen he often hoddod eight tons in a short day up an assent, and could hardly move when he got home. Thinks some of the men do, sometimes, put upon the boys rather too much."

(To be continued.)

## THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued from last week.)

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

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

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

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

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

(To be continued.)



## THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKER.

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

J. H. Thomas, when he was a worker, was not class-conscious. Now that he has ceased to belong to the working class he has become class-conscious.

"What does that mean?"

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

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

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

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

Thomas went on:

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

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

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

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

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

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

To a class-conscious worker who regards the entire working class as exploited by the employing class, the position of the railway companies and the members of the N.U.R. is not unlike those of the prisoners and their keeper and the six men on the desert island.

To J. H. Thomas the matter appears otherwise. He told the N.U.R. Conference:

"We have now got machinery which enables us to work together, and I believe that by working together we can best serve ourselves, the companies, and the country."

### Independent Working-Class Education.

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

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

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

T. I. Mardy Jones, the new Labour M.P. for Pontypridd, is a worthy colleague of J. H. Thomas. Writing to the Labour Press Service, published by the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, he gives impressions of Parliament, saying:

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

THE SEARCHLIGHT

## A MESSAGE FROM BESARABIA.

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

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

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

At the present time our comrades are imprisoned in bourgeois reformatories, in the prisons, in the underground dungeons of the secret police. They lie in the common graves, and in the bed of the river Dniester.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T. S.

## COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL.

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

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

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

Write to the Preliminary Committee for the Communist Workers' Party (Fourth International), Workers' Dreadnought Office, 182, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

Published by E. Sylvia Pankhurst at 182 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4, and printed by S. Corio at 10 Wins Office Court, Fleet Street, London.