

Clynes, Tillett and the General Strike.

Workers' Dreadnought

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 24.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1922.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

TO HOMER AND VIRGIL.

Breathless I call across Time's windy darkness,
Stardust bedight,
To you, who tower in triumphal starkness,
Out of the night.

To you, who sang of warriors and sages,
Of human strife and woe,
And all the deathless glamour of the ages
So long ago.

Your Gods are truly Gods. Your heroes tower
Like mountains sheer
Beyond all petty urgings of the power
Of hope or fear.

You sang of love and kote as garlands guerdoned
To deck man's soul
That fade and wither, leaving all unburdened
The mighty whole.

You did not dream of God, and man, and spirit
As things apart,
But rightly knew them children that inherit
A common part.

Nor unto you were men as ewe lambs bleating
In crowded mart,
Who saw through all men's lives the ordered
beating
Of one great heart.

Much is there still of dross unpurged,
Of chance spilt blood,
That hides for aye beneath its crimson turgid
Some thought in bud.

Yet like a thread of gold in mantle sable
Runs the stark truth,
How man, stripped clean of prejudice and fable,
Of fear and ruth,

May yet through anguished ages win to glory,
Whate'er the odds,
And write at last the finis to your story
Above the gods.

H. SMITH.

THE WAR IN BELFAST. DAIL EIREAN FACTS.

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

On August 12th Patrick McGuigan and Patrick
McFine, both Catholic labourers, died of gunshot
wounds received from Orange gunmen. McFine was
shot whilst at work in Belfast Harbour.

On August 13th Joe Bradley, a Catholic, was ad-
mitted to the Mater Hospital shot in the jaw and
in the leg. Forty young Catholic men were arrested
at a hall in Falls Road district, and detained un-
charged at the Central Police Station.

DERRY.

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

IRISH LABOUR PARTY CLASSED AS PRO- TREATY.

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

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

India in Transition, by Manabendra Nath Roy, with
collaboration of Abani Mukherji. J. B. Target
Library, Geneva, 1922, contains interesting informa-
tion, especially on Ghandi and his movement. The
authors are Communists.

The South African Treason Court.

The South African Strikers' Defence Committee appeals to the workers of the British Empire to HELP THE SOUTH AFRICAN MINERS WHO ARE BEING CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY A SPECIAL TREASON COURT UNDER ANCIENT ROMAN-DUTCH LAW.

The Rand Miners' Defence Committee urges you to pass the following resolution:
"We vehemently protest against the brutality of the South African Government in connection with the recent strikes in the coal and gold mine areas, and demand that the imprisonment and death sentences on strikers shall not be carried out."

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

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

HOW THE RAND STRIKERS ARE TRIED.

By ISAAC VERMONT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Russian Gold?

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

Major Frigger answered: "No; I could not discover that any money came through."

Questioned by Mr. Ross as to the cause of the strike, Major Frigger answered:

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

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

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

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

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

President: "But you were fighting the police?"

Erasmus: "Yes, because they were shooting us."

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

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

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

Erasmus: "Yes; I have seen it in the past."

President: "Did you really believe that the Government, in the interest of the Chamber of Mines, would instruct their police to fire upon innocent people? Do you really believe that?"

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

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

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

The Verdict.

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

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CLYNES, TILLET, AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

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

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

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

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

"If I had my way, I should get all the workers of the world to down tools for a given period until the financiers of the world have arranged their own differences."

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

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

"I do not believe in such industrial violence. . . . Unemployment and its solution should not be approached from any standpoint of party or class issue."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

REX v. ALDRED.

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

RUSSIAN LEFT-WING COMMUNIST GROUPS.

The appeal of these hard-pressed comrades to meet the cost of printing propaganda literature in Germany is still before you. Every English pound will go far in this direction. Have you sent a donation?

THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By *Alexandra Kollontay*.

This important series of articles by a well-known Russian Communist is being issued by the *Workers' Dreadnought* publishers in pamphlet form, and will be ready shortly.

SEND FOR OUR CATALOGUE.

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

THE APOSTLE.

By GUY A. ALDRED.

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

CHAPTER II.

Demos at Thought.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(To be continued.)

SOVIET RUSSIA

AS I SAW IT

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

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

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

—Daily Herald.

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