# another Irish Soviet.

# readmoun

IX. No. 11.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1922.

[WEEKLY.]

PRICE TWOPENCE.

#### MOSCOW.

rected thee in the haze of the morning; haze of the great heat I saw thee, blue domes,

of blue domes and golden stars.

the haze of the great heat I saw thy people;
y people in long drab garments, thy wayside
peddlars,

y people submerged in the peddling of ages, people who sit and wait upon thy stones.

the great heat I drove over thy cobbled road

thy great heat my sore feet pressed thy cobbles, shoulders were bowed with a burden as of

the ages, he ghosts of thy chlidren were crowding about

thy churches that bar thy roadways;

shrines of the past that bar thy progress, ir priests mid the dim gold walls, who hold their ritual,

jewelled fingers.

the burning sun I saw the Cathedral of Basil; the burning sky its domes of green and

wierd, wild fruits, the dream of a madman, e flowery patterns meandering over its stones.

the blaze of the heat I saw the walls of the Kremlin:

the great heat I saw the cool of their pink and grey

eir chequered marbles the hand of Time hath fondled.

ercurious carvings that Time hath wrought with his fingers.

passed within the gates of the Kremlin,

passed by the sweeping road that gazes over the plain, he road that gazes over the murmuring haze of

That sees the ancient city with all its domes.

passed through the Kremlin, the home of a hundred churches;
sstones are fewer than the tale of its iniquities.

saw its mosaics in their splendour, its gold,

and its porphyry,
heard the clash of its bells.

Passed to the House of the Czars, with its
great portal,

entered the House of the Czars, with its wide

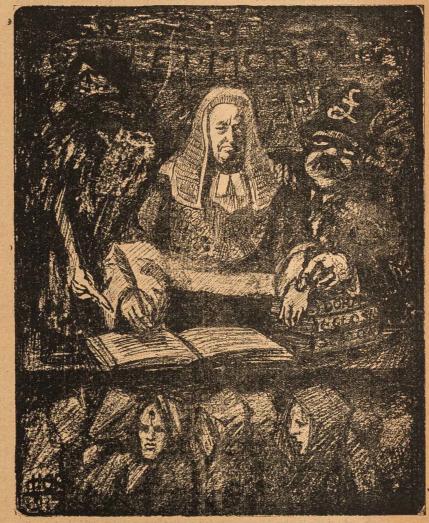
saw there the long, red banners of Revolution, he red, wild banners of Revolution that hung in the House of the Czars.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

#### YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscrip-tion is now due.

Increased Postal rates and the high cost of production of the paper necessitate prompt payment.



#### BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THE WORKLESS.

#### A Trafalgar Square Protest.

On March 29th the Camberwell Unemployed joined with the locked-out engineers in raiding the Albany Engineering Works, Camberwell, in order to induce blacklegs to down tools. This object was achieved. Two C.I.D. men attempted to interfere, but without success.

Later the same day two unemployed men, who

had nothing to do with the raid, were arrested. One of them has made the following statement as to the manner in which they were treated. Although there was abundant evidence to prove that the arrested men were not present at the raid, they were both sentenced to fines and imprisonment, the magistrate saying that in his judgment "Two such worthy officers could not make a mistake."

A protest meeting in connection with this case is being held by the Camberwell Unemployed in Trafalgar Square at 3 p.m., Sunday,

March 27th.

STATEMENT BY ONE OF THE VICTMS.

We were arrested soon after mid-Ly, just past Glengall Road. We were then taken on a No. 63

This from The feights Road to a turning near Rodney Roid, which led to the police-station. Hawkins and I walked along together; Police-constables C— and W— walked behind us. On reaching the police-station, Police-constable W— told Hawkins to go in first, and went in with him. I then followed with Police-constable C— behind me. On entering the charge-room I saw Police-constable W— strike Hawkins on the jaw with his right fist. Hawkins then fell to the ground, near the cupboard with some prize cups on top. Hawkins then got up again, and W— then kicked him. W— then turned to me and said, "It's a good job you are a cripple, or you would get the same." He then said to Hawkins, "sit down there, you dirty b—." Hawkins sat down. C— then said to me. "Sit down over there, you carny cripple s—, or I'll knock your b— head off." I sat down on a form near the table with the cupboard near by, the table being in front of me. I then saw C— hit Hawkins in the face and knock him off the seat on to the floor. C— then kicked Hawkins and said, "Get up, you memployed —." Hawkins then got up and sat on the seat again. C— and W— then went into the office near the front entrance, and were out of the charge-room for about ten minutes. W— then came back with some papers and sat down beside me. Soon after, C—came in and leaned over the table and said to W—, "What shall we charge them with?" W— then said, "Will assault and wilful damage do?" W—

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued on page 8)

# Workers Dreadnought

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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Vol. IX. No. 11. Saturday, May 27, 1922.

#### ANOTHER IRISH SOVIET.

The employees of all the butter factories of Messrs. Cleeve, in the South of Ireland, have seized the factories of their employers and are perating them successfully through a Soviet of

The manager, on behalf of the Workers' Council of Action, wrote to us the other day from the Workmen's Hall, Tipperary, asking us to find a market for 40 tons of first-quality butter, and offering to present a large quantity of sweetened condensed milk to the Russian Famine

We at once sent the intormation to the Daily Herald, in order to make it known to the various Labour organisations in so far as the Workers' Council might not have done so. We also approached the Friends' Famine Rel'e' Committee, and received by way of reply the following

#### FRIENDS' EMERGENCY AND WAR VICTIMS' RELIEF COMMITTEE.

DEAR SYLVIA PANKHURST .-We are in receipt of your kind offer of the 18th inst., and very much thank you for bringing this to

our notice.

We regret, however, that at the present moment we are not in a position to consider the proposition, as we have bought up considerable supplies during the last week or so, and it leaves us unable for the present to consider any other offers, particularly as it relates to milk, of which we have shipped rather larger quantities than our particular area is requiring immediately, on account of the fact that we were able to purchase very advantageously.

Again thanking you, we are,

Again thanking you, we are, Yours sincerely

HAROLD L. WALKER, Supplies Department

10 Fetter Lane, E.C. 4. May 18th, 1922.

Having noted that the Friends had as much condensed milk as they can use in famine-stricken Russia, we telephoned to point out that, while the milk was a gift which could be stored or transferred to other areas, the actual com-modity for sale was butter. The reply was that the Fgiends' Relief Fund has purchased of butter also as much as it can handle for some time to come. To say the least of it, we were greatly astonished to hear that the famine-stricken area is so abundantly supplied. Indeed, we could not forbear to wonder whether, had the offer come from Messrs. Cleeve and not the Workers' Council of Action . . . ?

#### IRELAND.

#### ANOTHER PARLIAMENTARY DEAL.

De Valera and those who still support him have agreed to accept the Downing Street Treaty. De Valera and his supporters will protest that they have not done so, but the facts declare they have done so. The De Valera Party has ted the Treaty in agreeing to put forward jointly with the Treaty Party a National Sinn Fein Panel for the Dail elections, the number of candidates of each party beng equivalent to its present strength in the Dail. This gives the present strength in the Dall. Lins gives the Treaty Party a majority without the matter being voted upon by the electors. The electors cannot give the De Valera Party a majority of seats because it will only run enough candidates. to maintain its present minority. The election will therefore be a mere farce so far as the De Valera and Griffith parties are concerned.

After the election, according to the terms of

the agreement, the Cabinet shall contain a expedients being officially made to t majority for Griffith, Collins, and the Treaty or the Government. If the proper larty.

The reason given for the compromise is that "The national situation requires the entrusting of the Government into the joint hands of those who have been the strength of the natonal situa-

Thus, after all the fire-eating that has gone on the De Valera Party has accepted the Downing Street Treaty, and has done so in such a way as to prevent the Irish people from declaring themselves upon the issue. Since after pretending to hold out against the Treaty, it has capitulated just before the elections, the De Valera Party has practically cut out any others who might have decided to make opposition to the Treaty a test

The Irish Labour Party had decided to contest the elections. Whether it will now with draw its candidates and leave the way clear for the Sinn Fein Coalition, as it has done before, remains to be seen. In any case, the Labour Party will not make the Treaty the test issue. Its officials support the Treaty, and it will put forward a Reformist Labour programme. The British Government, nevertheless, has

suddenly objected to the Sinn Fein politicians' deal. It is afraid of the Treaty question being allowed to drift, lest Irish public opinion against it grows in strength. Winston Churchill is call-ing the Treaty Party to heel and complaining that the Griffith-De Valera deal is an infringe-ment of the Treaty. The British Government is again playing the part of the big bully and rattling the sword as capitalist Imperialism

The Daily Herald hails the truce between the Griffith and De Valera factions as being what Ireland needs. It adds a note of regret that the truce does not actually settle the differences of the respective parties, since neither side has openly given way' on the Treaty versus. Republic controversy. Nevertheless, says the Herald, the truce will provide a firm government, and "a firm government is the first essential. It is

firm government is the first essential. It is always essential on the morrow of a revolution." Ah! that is where we part company with the Daily Herald; the revolution that the Daily Herald regards (prematurely, perhaps) as finished with in Ireland is little or nothing to us: we looking to the proletarian revolution that is to come. We do not wish to see the proletarian revolution opposed by a strong Government. We wish it to be as weak, as disorganised, as divided against itself as a Government may be, that the struggle of the p'roletariat may the more quickly be entered on.

The Daily Herald wants a strong Government in Ireland "to cope with silly sporadic disorder." What is the silly sporadic disorder? The Daily Herald doubtless means the guerilla warfare between North and South, but we suspect that Griffith and De Valera are still more concerned about another form of disorder: industrial disorder, industrial Soviets like these which, at the time of writing, are controlling the butter factores in the South and West of

The Morning Post, in a leader of May 22nd, quoted a letter from a "respectable Irishman"

"The country is getting worse and worse. Last week railway stations were raided all over the place, and goods taken out of the trains by the Transport Union. I am told that when the railway staff appealed to the Free State police at — station to stop the robberies, the police replied that they belonged to that Union

themselves, and couldn't help it."

The conditions of the Irish workers have long been intolerable; more and more they are be-ginning to act for themselevs in procuring temporary redress. The rambitions and capacities re growing in this direction.

By this same road the British workers must also travel at last. They are slow to begin.

#### THE ENGINEERS' LOCK OUT.

The resolutions and speeches about stopping GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND the trains, trams, light, water supply, and so on, in order to win the engineers' lock out, appear to be mere drum-beating to keep up the spirits of the rank and file. The negotiations still drag on without any threat of such drastic

or the Government. If the proposed is to take place, the men who have got Man, who appears to be the principal of the hold-up project, should take

that such action as the hold-up advowhich do the work are organised on a work basis, with the clear self-confessed object taking just such action in furtherance of the

struggle.

Those who are prepared to take such should, moreover, prepare themselves to ther; for when they do so, they place selves upon an inclined plane which leads from that plane, once it has been en means not merely ignominious defeat, but I timisation and cruel punishment.

the working class in general is indeed a pit one. Unless they are prepared to enter the struggle to overthrow capitalism, it is that they are far from having reached the of what they will be called upon by the em ng classes to endure.

The firm of Arrol Johnston, Ltd., an auxil

of the great Beardmore engineering combine, it is great Beardmore engineering combine, just issued, through its managing direct Charles Pullinger, a remarkable document, whis doubtless the forerunner of a new policy. To document states that the shop will be a munion shop as before the war: union shop, as before the war:

"The only condition will be," says the document, "that I shall ask you to sign an unde taking that you have no connection with union, and that you agree whilst in o ployment neither to join nor subscribe to

The workers were asked to give a reply, teld that if they failed to accept the cond they would be regarded as having "define severed their connection with the firm."

The Trade Union-Labour Movement is attacked by the employing classes in three attacked by the employing cut down and tions: (1) Wages are being cut down and cast out of work; this apart from the such to the workers concerned, undermines the cial strength of the Trade Unions. (2) The tige and power of the Trade Unions is attacked by the refusal to tolerate the int ence of the Union officials in questions of mai ment; the engineers' lock out on this que is but a symptom of the general tende (3) The Trade Union Amendment Bill respe the political levies imposed on their member Trade Unions will have a most serious effections the Labour Party funds, because these funds mainly gathered from the dues paid by apath members whose acquiescence is merely pass and whom it will be difficult, if not impossi to beat up to take an individual responsibility the political fund.

Faced with the present intensification of the lass struggle, the old Trade Unionism and Labourism is howerless. The old movement must be replaced by a conscious movement the overthrow of the present system. The n old system may be prepared to production and distribution when the old cap talist administrators have disappeared.

The Russian attempt to create a proletaria Republic has failed in many directions; and in o direction more com'pletely than the Sovietistion and workers' control of industry. It be hoves us to learn by the mistakes that have been made in Russ'a.

FINANCE AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

By A. WAIGHT.

9D. CLOTH - - 6D. - 6D. PAPER. FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

#### PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS. By Tom Anderson.

27, 1922.

Sunday morning I was cycling to and when I came to a spot called

was calling to me. It was the June. Fhe corn said "Good morntatic field said "How are you?" orn hedges were laughing, and with rs were dropping off each leaf. The me from the middle of the field, See the golden at 100 Me. the air singing as he went. "Soviet. viet," till the strain died away.
turnips in the fields were bobbing

s as if to say "Good morning, ne wheat, with stately pride, seemed e you alone? " and the birds were note of joy as they flew over my the rabbits were playing in the the cows and the sheep were chew, ving, at the velvety grass. The

is Sunday, the day on which the of the slaves are allowed to go

oughed. I looked round and saw g a piece of bread, behind a clump "Good morning, miss," he said, ted his weather-worn cap. "Good I replied; "you are at breakfast.

"Iy, it has just gone eight." "Yes," I always take my breakfast earlier

tramp, one of the great unwashed;

to church, miss? "
replied; "I am too old for that."

ou will be a sinner. cactly, somewhere between a saint

be a bit of a lady. little bit," I replied.

he said, "you are the New

and laughed. "No," I said, "I

early on the road.' said, "I am going to open a School in Kilmarnock."

all the papers are squinting

are a Proletarian. Oh! I see,

ass war girl," and with that he and I would have liked to kiss nburnt tramp, but modesty forbade you a Proletarian? "I said.

nine my mentality, again no mis-with that he extended his hand. hake," he said, "for the Social

was burning; I felt the tension on and eyes. I felt I would like to pan's story, so I said:

tell me your name and a little of ce? It might be useful for my

comrade, certainly. Just wait 'clay'; it's my only bad habit.

ou are better without it."

, then. First, I was born in the 17th December, 1871, of ent, God-tearing parents. I was Rose Street Free Church, and rene of Donald McLeod McLachen. child, and I was educated in was a little above the average, several bursaries. My mother lost my love.' several bursaries. My mother sed to make me a minister of the my mentality.

"It's too long a story, comrade, to tell you of the books I read at his suggestion, but the first two were Darwin's 'Origin of Species' and Grant Allen's 'Evolution of the Idea of God.' I served my 'time' as a watchmaker and ontising and my 'time' was just out and optician, and my 'time' was just out when I lost my dear mother, and the blow to dad was too much for him, for he died within

Lachlans; there is some weird in our nature, and I have it in my blood. I need not tell you about that; it would take too long. I was now twenty-one years of age and I had a love of romance. Comrade, you will excuse me if I get a little sentimental on this part of my story. I am a great believer in love; these may seem strange words coming from the lips of a tramp. Man, comrade, has taken thouattributes of the race, it is the affinity of the sexual tie; and that's one of the dark spots of my life. My love of all that is beautiful in the human was crushed; my light was put out by the losing of my love. One thing remains to me yet, and one thing only—my first kiss. Those lips seem to me even here now—the panting breath, the little struggle. My arms around her, and again I kissed her, and plighted my troth.

I had been taught privily by my mother. She was a noble woman. She told me all about the sexual tie; she prayed with me and for me that I might be good and true and holy and never defile myself, but keep my purity and love for the woman I had vowed to.

"I am only a tramp and I have kept the yow that I made to my mother, that I would live a pure life."

live a pure life.

But strange things happen.

"My girl was the daughter of a minister, and when I went to ask his permission to become betrothed to Margaret—for that was her name—he became frightfully angry.

"" What are you?" he said. 'A watch-maker, a workman. What can you offer her? Nothing; nothing but a home in a slum. Nothing but starvation and penury during her life. I would rather,' he said, 'see her dead there at my feet than marry into that.'

" I stood like a child, dazed and bewildered, and said nothing, the hot tears running down

'Then he calmed down and said: 'Donald, I am giving you this advice for your own good. The children of our class cannot marry into the working class; they have nothing in com mon, and I am surprised that Margaret has allowed you to pay attentions to her. Take my advice, Donald, and marry, say Mary, our servant. She will be able to bear hardships and rear a family on next to nothing if need be, and I will do all I can for both of you.

The spirit of the McLachlans arose within me, and I caught him by the throat. 'Beast!' I said; 'I will have your life—you are not fit to live!' I strangled him and got ten years' penal servitude for it. He did not die then, but in about three months afterwards; and when the warder told me in Peterhead that the Rev. Donald McTavish was dead, I shouted out, 'Thanks be to God!'

"I served my sentence. You will never know, comrade, what it is to be put away for ten years—that story's too long. The day comes at last and I am set free, and as I left the prison the word came to my lips, 'Mar-I walked down the street. said aloud, 'I will go and see Margaret.'

" I learnt on coming to Glasgow that Margaret was drowned trying to save a child's life t Rothesay, the year after I was put away.

in your Empire and also in France, Germany, and Russia, and even to far-away China and

I was crying when he finished, and could say

that was not to be, for I became little. "Comrade," I said, holding out my with a friend of my father's who lutionary Socialist. This man y mentality.

I was crying when he horshed, and could say little. "Comrade," I said, holding out my hand, "good morning. Here is our little magazine you will find me through it."

And the tramp bowed his head.

#### ESPERANTO.

KANTO DE STUDENTOJ.

Goju, ĝoju ni, kolegoj, Dum ni junaj estas! Post plezura estanteco, Post malgaja maljuneco

Vivu la akademio Vivu longe kaj en sano. Cin akademis Vivu sen doloroj

Vivu, floru nia regno Kaj regnestro nia! Kaj am koj mecon taj, Protegantoj estimataj De l'akademio.

Vivu ĉluj la knabinoj Belaj kaj hontemaj! Belaj kaj hontemaj! Vivu ankaŭ la vicino Amikinoj kaj mastrinoj, Bonaj, laboremaj.

Mortu, mortu, malgajeco Mortu la doloro Mortu ĉiu intriganto Longe en la koro.

Norg. This "Gandeamus" schoolboy song, put into Esperanto by Dr. Zamenhof himself, is very easy to learn.

The third stanza is appropriate in the case of schools that are assisted by voluntary subscribers and donors, because the word meccataj is an adjective derived from the name Maecenas, of a wealthy Roman of the days of Augus'us. was an open-handed supporter of arts and learning.

#### THE REWARD OF VALOUR.

The soldiers who went from England to the great scrap in which they could have no possible interest have been nobly rewarded. Some of them are already in the workhouses in t e old land, and some of them are starving in every city in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland The representatives of the masterclass who went to the war as generals or admirals are in alte gether a different position—as far as rewards go, anyhow. Admiral Beatty received £100,000; Admir I Jellicoe, £50,000; Admiral Maddene, £10,000; Admiral Sturdee, £10,000; Admiral Roeback, £10,000; Admiral Keeys, £10,000; Commander Tyrwhitt, £10,000; General Haig, £100,000; General French, £50,000; General Allenby, £50,000; General Plummer, £30,000 General Rawlinson, £30,000; General Byng, £30,000; General Horne, £30,000; General Hankey, £25,000; General Robertson, £10,000;

#### BANKERS' RULE.

The Chicago Tribune reports that the bankers representing France, England, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Holfand, and America will meet in Faris on May 23rd. The American point of view, which is believed to be supported by the British and Italian delegates, and probably by the Dutch, is such that will probably change all the projects that the French have made for May 21ct. "So here I am: I have visited every village projects that the French have made for May 31st in your Empire and also in France, Germany, and Russia, and even to far-away China and India I have set clocks a-going.

"I am a wandering Proletariat and I have lost my love."

In the payment of reparations. Pierport Morgan is believed to have been charged to demand that the gre term part of the Allied forces actually on the Rhine should be immediately withdrawn to give Germany. many greater possibilities to meet the reparations obligations.

As is well known, the Reparations Commission has practically put the entire problem of the reparations in the hands of the bankers.

### THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

(Continued from last issue.)

again by obstinate dectrinaires as the right of the divers nationalities of the Russian Empire could attack the powerful position of German

It is surprising, when we come to consider

s, that Lenin and his comrades should have stuck to this slogan with such obstinate consistency, because it is so obviously contrary to the much-vaunted centralism of their general policy, just as it is contrary to the attitude they have always adopted towards the other democratic principles. Although they were never tired of belittling all matters relating to the Constituent Assembly, universal suffrage, freedom of the Press and of speech. In short, to the whole apparatus that maintains the basic liberties of a typical phenomenon. democratic people (in Russia all these matters could be classed under the "right to self-deter-mination"). Yet they handled the right of nations to self-determination as though it were the very sign and symbol of democratic politics, and for the sake of which all real criticism founded on the actual conduct of affairs must be silenced. They gave the world to understand that they had never been at all impressed by the idea of everybody in Russia being given the opportunity to vote for the Constituent Assembly; that is, they thought nothing of that state of affairs in which vote for the Constituent Assembly; that is, they thought nothing of that state of affairs in which a people, in the complete liberty of a popular republic, gives voice to its opinion on the basis of that democratic suffrage which exists in all bourgeois class rule. The Bolshevists and the of that democratic suffrage which exists in all quarters of the earth. On the contrary, in very selemn and critical declarations they declared its results to be null and void. Nevertheless, we results to be full and void. Nevertheless, we take them at Brest fighting for all they are worth to secure a a "plebiscite" of Russia's alien nations to determine which State they shall belong to, as though this plebiscite were the very palladium of liberty and democracy, the unadul-supremacy. The Finnish bourgeoisie, like the

more incomprehensible in view of the fact that the democratic forms of the political life of each and if Lenin and Trotski took up in all seriousempty, petty bourgeois phrascology and hum-bug. Honestly, what does this right mean? It

Among the rural population Lenin's agrarian reform has created a new and powerful array of enemies to Socialism, whose resistance will be far more dangerous and obstinate than was that of the big landed nobility.

That military defeats should have led to Russia's collapse and disintegration is partially the fault of the Bolshevists; but, apart from that, the objective difficulties of the situation were greatly increased by their political principle. This principle was the so-called right of nations and his comrades undoubtedly reckoned that there could be no better way of getting the many alien nationalities that exist within the Russian Empire fettered to the revolutionary cause, to the cause of the Socialist proletariat, than by giving them, in the name of the revolution, the greatest possible liberty to the control of their own destinies. It was analogous to the policy the Bolshevists observed in their dealing with the peasants. These were to have their craving for the land satisfied by the pledge of a direct confiscato self-determination, which in reality amounted to the disintegration of the Russian State. It is a formula that has been proclaimed time. to the disintegration of the Russian State. It is a formula that has been proclaimed time and and were thus to be tied to the standard of the revolution and to the proletarian Government. the divers nationalities of the Russian Empire Unfortunately, in both cases events proved that to determine their own fate independent of exright to break away from Russia and set up a new and separate State). As such, it became the special battle-cry of Lenin and bis separate. when in fierce opposition to the imperialism of Caucasia, etc., to result for them in so many loyal Miliukov and Kerensky. After the October reallies of the Russan revolution; but we have wolution it reappeared as the main item in the Bolshevist domestic policy, and constituted the whole of their platform at Brest-Litovsk; indeed, it was the only weapon with which they dom to proclaim itself the deadly enemy of the Russian revolution, one after another sealed a pact with German imperialism, under whose protection they were then able to carry the flag of the

counter-revolution into Russia itself.

The side-issue fought out with the Ukraine at Brest, which brought about a decisive change in these negotiations, as well as in the whole in-ternal and external political situation of the Bolshevists, provides an exemplary illustration. The attitude of Finland, Poland, Livenia, the Baltic Provinces, and the nations of Caucasia, shows most convincingly that we have here a question, not of a mere fortuitous exception, but of a

Of course, in all these cases it is not really the nations "that are carrying out this reactionary policy; it is that the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois classes, finding themselves involved in a bitter conflict with their own proletarian masses, have adopted the "national right to self-determination" as an instrument of their counter-revolutionary policy. But—and this is just the crux of the whole question—now we see palladium of liberty and democracy, the unadulterated quintessence of popular opinion and the supreme decisive factor in questions involving the political fate of nations.

The contradiction that yawns here is all the contradiction that yawns here is all the the contradiction that yawns here is all the contradiction that yawns here is all the contradiction that yawns here is all the threat of Bolshevism.

the democratic forms of the political life of each country have to be considered (as we shall see later) as being positively the most valuable—nay, further, the essential foundations—of Socialist politics, whilst the notorious "Right of all nations to self-determination" is nothing but empty, petty bourgeois phraseology and hum—the Liberthy what does this right mean? It empty, petty bourgecis phrascology and numbug. Honestly, what does this right mean? It is just the A B C of Socialist politics to combat every kind of oppression, including, of course, that of one nation by another. If Lenin and Trotski, and those who are backing them up have a reputation for being sober and critical politicians; they make ironic gestures each time they are confronted with that Utopian species of phrascology dealing with disarmantary of the broad layers of still indifferent prolegations of the broad layers of still indifferent prolegations. species of phraseology dealing with disarmatarian would have come under the influence of ment, League of Nations, etc. If, nevertheless, they have this time got a mania for empty have been captured with the aid of the thousand-

have had anything to rejoice over. It is a an inviolable rule that every time a ple upon any question of national concern or the ruling classes know how to oppose it fully if it does not suit their purpose, is in their interests they will make use of and devices which secure its acceptance, obtain the result they desire in either fact which clearly shows that Socialism possibly be obtained by means of the

May 27, 1922

National aspirations and separatist tend develop apace in the midst of revolutiona flicts. Not only do they develop, but, Brest Treaty disclosed, they are pushed t fore and made the shibboleth of Socialisi revolutionary policy. This fact has caused consternation in the Socialist ranks. been most damaging to the struggles of the letariat in those border countries of Russian struggles. long as the Socialist proletariat of Fi of Russia, it commanded a dominating in its country; it claimed the majorit Landtag and in the army, it had succ completely crushing the Finnish bourg and was master of the situation in all n connected with the land. At the beginn the century, before Ukrainian nationalisto flirt with the Karbowentr and the sals "; before Lenin had fallen a prey idea of "an independent Ukraine," the sian Ukraine was regarded by Socialists a stronghold of the Russian revolutionary ment. It was from there, from Rostof Odessa, from the plains of the Donetz, th first lava streams of the revolution (as far as the years 1902-1904) broke forth and the whole of Southern Russia a veritable of flames. It thus prepared the way for 1905 outbreak. The same thing happen the present revolution. We find, indeed, the best troops of the proletarian phalans drawn from the South South drawn from the South Russian prole Poland and the Baltic Provinces have been 1905 the most powerful and reliable cent the revolution in which the Socialist work

these provinces have played an outstand How was it, then, that in all these pro and in just these particular proivnces, revolution suddenly won the day? It was because the working masses of these protorn away from their Russian comrades, with their movement crippled by the na movement, were left to the mercy of the na bourgeoisie of these border countries. of acting in the spirit of the real inte of acting in the spirit of the real international class-policy (which they upheld in other ters); instead of endeavouring to realise the compact union of the revolutionary furthroughout the whole territory of the Em instead of defending with tooth and nail the tegrity of the Russian Empire as being revolution's realm; instead of opposing each dividual national aspiration by proclaiming supreme political command to be the geneity and the indivisibility of all prole elements existing within the domain of Russian Revolution, the Bolshevists have contrary line of action. By taking up the self-determination even to State separa they gave the bourgeoisie in all these ries the very finest opportunity and exc for which it could wish, to unfurl the bann instead of warning the proletarians of the borde countries that any kind of separatism was put trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie, the Bo shevists have managed to confuse the masse all the border countries by their watchword and have delivered them over to the democr of the bourgeois classes. As a result of the brought about the disintegration of Russia, and have placed in the hands of their own enemic the weapon that was to strike at the heart of Russian Revolution

We know without the assistance of Germa Imperialism; without "German bayonets German hapds" (as it was expressed in Ka sky's "Neue Zeit"), the Lubinski's and other Ukrainian poltroons, as well as the and Mannerheims of Finland and the less, they have this time got a mania for empty phrases in the same category, we can only explain the mania by supposing that it fits in classes, so that nowhere would the Bolshevists respective countries. National separatism

ooden horse in which the German "comwooden noise in which the German confi-"with fixed bayonets, were drawn into all countries. The real class antagonisms and ions of military expediency and strength responsible for Germany's intervention on an territory. Nevertheless, the Bolshevists to blame for the ideology which served to this counter-revolutionary campaign: they selves strengthened the position of the geoisie and weakened that of the prole-The most telling evidence is supplied by Ukraine, which was destined to play such an fortunate rôle in the fortunes of the Russian The Ukrainian nationalism in was something quite different from that Czech, Polish, or Finnish nationalism. It nothing more than a vagary, a bit of goose-ping by a doezn or two petty bourgeois inals. It was in no sense rooted in the nic, political, and spiritual conditions and country. It was lacking in torical tradition, because the Ukraine had estituted either a nation or a State. It actionary romantic poetry), and was abso-incapable of assuming a definite political ture until a sponsor appeared in the shape e "right of all peoples to self-determina-

This phrase has assumed from time to time a

eal importance in the history of the class ts. It is the unfortunate lot of Socialism be been destined in this world-war to ideological pretexts for counter-revolupolicy. At the outbreak of the war Gerocial-democracy hastened into the Marxian room to find an ideologic shield for the rauding expedition of German Imperialism, laring that it would shortly liberate the Rusclaring that it would shortly liberate the Rusm people from Carism. It fell to those who
ere the direct opposites of the Government
cialists—to the Bolshevists—to provide water
r the mills of the counter-revolution by their
sistance upon the right of nations to selftermination. By so doing they supplied an
eology which was not only able to throttle the an Revolution itself, but which enabled the nter-revolutionaries to carry out their plan liquidating the whole of the world war. It mportant that we should make a thorough nation of the policy of the Bolshevists into matters. The right of nations to selfrmination, coupled with the League of ions and disarmament in a Wilsonian sense, Il form the battle-cry behind the coming conof international Socialism with the bour-is world will be fought out. It is as clear daylight that this pre-occupation with self-ermination and the whole of this national determination and the whole of this national movement, matters which are at present constituting a very grave danger for international Socialism, have been strengthened to an extraordinary degree by the Russian Revolution itself and the Brest negotiations. We shall have to eal with these aspects in greater detail. It was be tragedy of the Russian Revolution that the nevists should have been caught and bled to leath in the spider's web of this phraseology. This should henceforth serve as a warning xample to the international proletariat.

We see how this state of affairs resulted in the we see now this state of affairs resulted in the tatorship of Germany. From the Brest Peace eaty to the "Supplementary Treaty." The 0 expiatory sacrifices in Moscow. This situanaturally led to the Terror and to the stifling

(To be continued. We can supply readers with ck numbers containing previous chapters.)

#### GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

GERMANY VERSUS BRITAIN.

GERMANY;	
German population	60,000,000
Workers on strike	772,891
Total number of strike days	11,608,129
Trade Unionists unemployed out of	
6,631,567 Trade Unionists	1.4
Britain:	
British population	43,000,000
Workers on strike	1,873,950
Total number of strike days	81,211,900
Unemployed, according to Trade Union	
	228,484
Total insured unemployed	1,865,170
Returns, November 1921	



#### RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Restoration of Agriculture in the Famine Area of Russia. Being the Interim Report of the State Economic Planning Commission of the Council for Indour and Defence of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. Published by the Labour Publishing Co., 5/-.

The translators are to be congratulated on having acquired sufficient mastery of a difficult language to render this rather dry report into easy prose. Much of the book will be found rather tedious by the crdinary reader. On the other hand, it is hardly so exhaustive or so technical as to satisfy those who may be studying Russian conditions with a view to practi-

crdinary reader. On the other hand, it is hardly so exhaustive or so technical as to satisfy those who may be studying Russian conditions with a view to practical work there. Many of the details given are merely dull instead of being definitely informative.

Nevertheless, the observant reader will cull many interesting facts.

The famine area (apart from the Uralsk region, from which data are lacking) has a population of \$18,260,000—i.e., 16 per cent. of the total population of Soviet Russia and the Ukraine. The rural population is 16,180,000, and the urban 2,080,000. Barely 4 per cent. of the people are employed in non-agricultural work. The rural population of this area in 1916 was one-fifth of the total population of European Russia at that time. Its cultivated area comprised 24 per cent. of the whole cultivated area of European Russia. It contained 23 per cent. of the draught horses and 17 per cent. of the oxen in European Russia. Its annual export of grain between 1909 and 1913 averaged 187,821,000 poods—i.e., 24 per cent. of the total export of the entire Russian Empire and 55 per cent. of the export of European Russia, with the exception of Ukraine and Northern Causica.

A Russian pood, it should be noted, is 36.11 English pounds averdupois; 3 poods are approximately 1 cwt., and 62 poods 1 ton.

In the year 1916 an average of 92 desyatinas of land 'were under cultivation for every hundred of the population. In 1921 only 58 desyatinas were cultivated for every 100 persons. A desyatina equals 2.7 acres.

Soviet Farms.

It is intereting to beeve that the Soviet farms in

2.7 acres.

Soviet Farms.

It is intereting to bserve that the Soviet farms in the famine area number only 654, and comprise only 1,115,861 desyatinas, as compared with the 56,430,000 which are contained in the whole famine area, not including Uralsk.

Half of the Soviet farms in Russia are in the famine area. These farms are mentioned as valuable for experimental work, and as examples to the peasants; but, as the Report says:

"The work of these farms is only in the initial stage. They are engaged in setting their house in order."

"The work of these farms is only in the initial stage. They are engaged in setting their house in order."

Moreover:

"Many of the Soviet farms..., have not yet been inaugurated. The land is still to be surveyed, and the farms exist only in embryo."

For example:

"TheNovouzensk belt has been handed over to the Gonza [State machine shops] to the extent of 452,358 desyatinas, and no more than 11,000 desyatinas of this are under cultivation. Out of the 170,597 desyatinas assigned to the Soviet farms in Tsaritsin province, the greater part consists of steppe pasture land, and no more than 32,000 desyatinas are cultivated. In Astralan province, where horticulture is the predominant form of husbandry, the cultivated land amounts to little more than 2,500 desyatinas."

All this is disappointing. In the early days of the Soviet Government much was said of the splendid intensively cultivated private farms of the dispossessed great landlords which were to have been taken over as Soviet farms, in order that the peasants might learn thereby the value of modern methods of agriculture, and, above all, of co-operative work? After five years we had hoped to hear good news of these Soviet farms. The war and the counter-revolution have much to answer for. Are they wholly to blame for there being nothing more than this to report?

The Nomans.

The proposals for agrarian reorganisation made in the Report deal with the people, the cattle, and the soil. It is said that the nomad people, "wherever the natural conditions render it possible, should be gradually transformed into a stock-raising population settled on the land." There has been a tendency throughout history for the nomads of the desert to move on to the fruitful lands and settle down there. To enforce such settlement, however, would be an interference with human freedom and development not to be tolerated. The Report indicates that "the plan of agrarian reorganisation" includes the marking out of a land reserve for the Kirghiz and Kalmuck elements which are nomadic. We ho

It is proposed to abolish "the huddling together of the population into closely-set aggregates of farmsteads, forming huge villages along the lines of the Volga and its tributaries, and also in those parts which come within the influence of the railways." It is proposed to create instead settlements ranging from 1,500 to 2,000 desyntians in extent. It is also proposed to form a State colonisation reserve for the population of provinces where there is a scarcity of land.

1,500 to 2,000 desyatinas in extent. It is also proposed to form a State colonisation reserve for the population of provinces where there is a scarcity of land.

Such schemes can only be realised if irrigation and means of transport are provided; for it is, of course, to obtain these that the population congregates along the rivers and the railways.

A considerable part of the Report deals with the irrigation question. Amongst the details of millions of people, millions of desyatinas, millions of poods which fill the Report, it seems somewhat incongruous that we should be informed that for each kind of investigation necessary for these vast schemes draughtsmen's requirements, drawing materials, etc., must be provided; strange to have it noted down that amidst a great expenditure of 39,000,000 gold roubles (a gold rouble is worth 2/2). Two hundred and five draughtsmen's sets will have to be provided, as well as some hydr-meters, meteorological apparatus, gonio-meters, eveis, and plane tables. One conjures up the amazing spectacle of gigantic Russia's reconstruction waiting for 205 paint-boxes.

The Report informs us that industry and trade is moving Eastward, and one is reminded by that phrase that nothing of Socialism finds its way into the Report. It is stated that for 910 skilled workers on the irrigation schemes, 9,050 labourers and 8,220 carts and horses will be needed. Shade of Peter Kropotkin, what sayest thou?

One of the most interesting sections is devoted to irrigation by mechanical-power plants on a large scale.

It is pointed out that, owing to increasing deforestation and the importance of forests in producing humidity, wood must not be used for fuel, except in small quantities floated down from the upper reaches of the Volga. The widespread utilisation of peat fuel is said in the Report to be "out of the question." Bituminous shale, of which a new variety has been found, and of which there is a large quantity in the lower and middle Volga region, can, however, be used. Shale is enormously heavy, a

it is proposed to erect electric pant served by wood fuel.

In the southern part of the area natural gases are found, and these also it is proposed to use for fuel for the electric powe ristations when a searching investigation into these resources has been held.

The winds of the area attain a notable velocity. It is therefore proposed also to use wind power for generating electricity, using asynchronous generators for the electric power stations when a searching in of the motive force.

It is intended to develop the industries of the region and to transfer bither those industries which are carried on in the North of Russia with the products of the South-East, and which have, it is claimed, an altogether artificial existence in the North.

#### BE AUDACIOUS.

BE AUDACIOUS.

In our issue of May 13th "The Searchlight" referred to the case of Charles and Mary Whybrow, who were sent to prison for cruelty to their children because they took refuge in a tool-shed when unable to get a house. "The Searchlight" further suggested that if the Inspector of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children had called on the people who were living under tarpaulins in Camberwell, the same fate might have befallen them. We now learn that the Camberwell Guardians asked the Society's representative to call on this family, but he refused to report against them. We also learn that comfortable neighbours objected to the fumes which arose from a bucket of burning coke with which the family tried to warm their habitation. The police-constables also refused to report against the unfortunate family.

#### "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small Dreadnought show cards with a fine decorative drawing in which the worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the Dreadnought office by those who will display

POEMS OF REVOLUTION By L. A. Motler. 15.

#### RUSSIAN WORKERS v. SOVIET GOVERNMENT By Alexandra Kollontay

(Continued.)

The rank and file worker is observant. He sees that so far the problems of hygiene, sanitation, improving conditions of labour in the shops
—in other words, the betterment of the workers' has occupied the last place in our policy Further than housing of workers' families in th inconvenient bourgeois mansions we did not go in our solution of the housing problem, and, what is still worse, so far we have not even touched the practical problem of housing in regard to workers. To our shame, in the heart of the republic, in Moscow itself, they are still living in filthy, overcrowded and unhygienic working men's quarters, one visit to which makes one think that there was no revolution at all. We all know that the housing problem cannot be solved in a few months, even years, and that due to our poverty its solution is confronted with serious difficulties, but the facts of ever-growing inequality between the privileged groups of the population in Soviet Russia and the rank and file workers, "the frame-work of the dictatorship," breed and nourish the dissatis-

The rank and file worker sees how the Soviet official and the practical man lives and how lives he—he on whom rests the dictatorship of the proletariat? He cannot but see that during the revolution the life and health of the workers in the shops commanded the least attention; that where prior to the revolution there existed more or less bearable conditions, they are still mainained by the shop committees, and where the latter did not exist, where dampners, foul air and gases poisoned and destroyed the workers' bealth, these conditions remained unchanged.
"We could not attend to that; pray, there was
the military front." And yet whenever it was
necessary to make repairs in any of the houses occupied by the Soviet institutions they were able to find both the materials and the labour power. What would happen if we tried to shelter our specialists or practical men engaged in the others of in the sphere of commercial transactions foreign capitalists in those huts, in which the of workers still live and labour? They would raise such a howl that it would become necessary to mobilise the entire housing department in order to correct "the chaoti tions " that interfere with the productivity of our

The service of the Workers' Opposition conists in that it included the problem of improving the workers' lot together with all the other secondary demands of workers into the general economic policy. The productivity of labour cannot be increased unless the life of the workers will have been organised on the new Communist

The less that is undertaken and planned out (I do not speak of something that has been carried out) in this sphere, the deeper is the misunderstanding, the estrangement, and still greater is the mutual distrust between the directworkers. There is no unity, no sense of their identity of needs, dmands and aspirations. The leaders are one thing, and we are some-thing altogether different. Maybe it is true that the leaders know better how to rule over the country, but they fail to understand our needs, our life in the shops, its requirements, and immediate needs; they do not understand, and do not know." From this reasoning follows the

of his children—in his love of the field, and a keen intercourse with Nature, even he has been doomed to disappear for the sake of division of abour. He is an anachronism: he must be subdivision manifests itself even in the ranks of the party itself. The workers, through their Werkers' Opposition, ask: Who are we? Are we really the prop of the class dictatorship or

are we just an obedient flock that serves as a of the future. "An affair of a few years, are we just an obedient flock that serves as a support for those who, having severed all ties support for those who, having severed all ties economists say, "to reform agriculture in an ance with the true principles of the dislature in dustrial organisation." opinions and creative abilities under the reliable cover of the party label?

Whatever the party leaders might do in order to drive away the Workers' Opposition, the latter in their dreams of division of labour. will always remain that growing healthy class claimed the necessity of dividing the force which is destined to inject vitalising energy humanity into national workshops, ha the rehabilitation of the economic life as

Thus there are three causes that bring about a the manufacturing countries; that Britai to provide the world markets with cottons. supreme objective conditions under which Communism in Russia is being carried out and real-so on. Nay, within each nation, each of the civil war, economic backwardness of had to have its own speciality. So it the country, its utter industrial collapse as an for some years since; so it ought to remain aftermath of the long years of war); the second tunes have been made in this way, and wi aftermath of the long years of war); the second cause is the heterogeneous composition of our population (7 millions of workers, the peasantry, the middle classes, and, finally, the former bourgeoisic, men of affairs of all professions, who influence the policy of the professions of the policy o nfluence the policy of Soviet institutions and penetrate into the party); the third cause is the nactivity of the party in the field of immediate mprovement of the workers' life coupled with he inability and weakness of the corresponding Soviet institutions to take up and solve these problems.

(To be continued.) should we care for to-more might bring its own theory! We can supply readers with previous chapters.

#### THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By Peter Kropotkin.
Who does not remember the remarkable chaper on the Division of Labour by which Adam Smith opened his inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations? Even those of our contemporary economists who seldom revert to the works of the father of political conomy, and often forget the ideas which inspired them, know that chapter almost by heart, so often has it been copied and re-copied since. It has become an article of faith; and the whole conomical history of the contemporary economical history of the century which has elapsed since Adam Smith wrote has been, so to speak, an actual commentary upon it.

"Division of Labour" was its watchword.

And the dvision and sub-division—the permanent sub-division-of functions has been pushed so far as to divide humanity into castes which are almost as firmly established as those of old India. have, first, the broad division into producers and consumers; little-consuming producers on the one hand, little-producing consumers on the other hand. Then, amidst the former, a series further sub-divisions: the manual worker and intellectual worker, sharply separated from another, to the detriment of both; agriculral labourers and workers in the manufacture; nd amidst the mass of the latter, numberless sub-divisions again-so minute, indeed, that the nodern ideal of a workman seems to be a man er a woman, or even a girl or a boy, without the knowledge of any handicraft, without any conception whatever of the industry he or she is employed in, and who is only capable of making all day long and for a whole life the same in-finitesimal part of something: who from the age of thirteen to that of sixty pushes the coal cart at a given spot of the mine, makes the spring of a penknife or the eighteenth part of a pin? Mere servants to some machinery of given de-scription; mere flesh-and-bone parts of some immediate needs; they do not understand, and do not know." From this reasoning follows the instinctive leaning toward the unions, and consequent dropping out of the party. "It is true that they are a part of us, but as soon as they get into the centres they leave us altogether; they begin to live differently; if we suffer, what do they care? Our sorrows are not theirs any longer."

And the more our industrial establishments and unions are drained of their best elements by the party which sends them either to the front or to the Soviet institutions, the weaker becomes we really the prop of the class dictatorship, or —such is, we are told, the agricultural labourer

Dazzled with the result of our century vellous inventions, especially in this economists and political men went still well as into the Communist Party which begins to fade and bend low to the ground.

distribution of the economic life as of them its own speciality. We were for instance, that Hungary and Russia destined by Nature to ware, and coal; Belgium with woollen cloth claimed that the wealth of nations is by the amount of profits made by the few, that the largest profits are made by the spec tion of labour, the question was not conce to exist as to whether human beings al would submit to such specialisation; nations could be specialised like isolated work men. The theory was good for the day—wh should we care for to-morrow? Te-morro

And so it did. The narrow conception of life which consisted in thinking that profits ar which consisted in thinking that profits are to only leading motive of human society; and t stubborn view that supposes that what exist yesterday would last for ever, proved in d accordance with the tendencies of human in deny the high pitch of production which may obtained by specialisation. But, precisely in portion as the work required for the indiviin modern production becomes simpler and eat to be learned, and, therefore, also more me tonous and wearisome—the requirements of individual for varying his work, for exerci capacities, become more and more pro Humanity perceived that there is no ac vantage for the community in riveting a hum-being for all his life to a given spot, in a wor or a mine, and depriving him of such we ould bring him into free intercourse w Nature, make of him a conscious part of grand whole, a partner in the highest enjoyment of science and art, of free work and creation.

Nations, too, refuse to be specialised Each nation is a compound aggregate of taste and inclinations, of wants and resources. capacities and inventive powers. The terri ccupied by such nation is again a most var texture of soils and climates, of hills and valley of slopes leading to a still greater variety of territories and races. Variety is the distinctive fe ture both of the territory and the inhabitant and that variety implies a variety of occupation Agriculture calls manufacturers into existence and manufacturers support agriculture. Bo are inseparable; and the combination, the tegration of both brings about the grandest sults. In proportion as technical knowledge be comes everybody's virtual domain; in proportion as it becomes international, and can be conceal no longer, each nation acquires the possibili of applying the whole variety of her energies or applying the whole variety of her energies to the whole variety of industrial and agricultural pursuits. Knowledge ignores artificial political boundaries. So also do the industries; and the present tendency of humanity is to have the greatest possible variety of industries gathered in each county in each separate region side by greatest possible variety of industries gaudeous in each county, in each separate region, side by side with agriculture. The needs of human agglomerations correspond thus to the needs of the individual; and while a temporary division of functions remains the surest guarantee of success in each separate undertaking, the per manent division is doomed to disappear, and to be substituted by a variety of pursuits—intellec tual, industrial, agricultural—corresponding to the different capacities of the individual; as well

Continued on page 7.

#### PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

nteresting piece of Parliamentary manipu ook place on the Tory Private Members' provide that a Trade Union shall not h a political fund except by a majority of in a ballot in which at least 50 per members voted. The Bill also pro-, instead of the unwilling member being o notify the Union that he does not contribute to the fund, the member comply with the decision of the Union to the political fund must fill up a ch year promising his contribution. This Private Members' Bill, but it is going in spite of all the whining by Clynes mas that the Labour Party has prevented

ecome an axiom that Private Memills have no chance of becoming law with-wernment assistance; but this so-called Members' Bill is getting assistance. corge assists it, but avoids some of the ttendant upon introducing it, and the will be said to have been carried by

remember, fellow-workers, and espe-women, how the Speaker for a quarter ry refused to give the closure and allow taken on the Private Members' Bills to women, which came in like hardy r by year? The Speaker was supacting entirely on his own initiative. euse was that the subject was too imbe treated by a Private Members' Bill. the Speaker was acting on Govern-s against votes for women. Of course ng on Government orders now against r Party; for what has happened? This introduced for the first time on May ed to a Second Reading with the ermission, and passed on to the com-Younger said that the Bill had been because of the pressure brought to onist headquarters by Unionist Labour onist headquarters by Unionist Labour.

His organisation has printed a leation forms to be used by Trade not wishing to subscribe to their tical fund. A quarter of these had tical fund. A quarter of these had Unionist Labour Associations. The t relax their propaganda amongst the

Barnes (Labour Renegade) said there deal to excuse, if not to justify, the measure was supported by three other delegates now in the C.N.D.P.sson, Stanton, and Walton—whose another—the Coal Association!

ters of the Bill pointed out that a ag to 42 Unions which support the y financially showed that these a membership of 1,710,869. Of 1,734 voted in the ballot for politi-3,861,563 alone actually voted in and 117,564 against. Therefore mbers, the vast majority, took no ballot

, of course, an impudent interference ties of working-class organisations; in in power manipulates the lawitus as it pleases.

upon the question of Labour reeveals the bogus character of the 's claim to represent organised shows, moreover, the widespread with which the mass of workers Trade Union affairs and the Labour Labour Party politics leave the workers untouched. In the class power will always use the law to

#### LIEF FOR THE LOCKED OUT.

rds of Guardians have consulted Sir as to granting relief to the locked-whom the employers now nvite if they will betray their Union, "relief cannot lawfully be granted r whom work is in fact available." ment helps the bosses to beat the

refused to allow the matter to d by the House.

#### STARVING THE MINERS

Mr. Bridgeman (C.U.), Secretary of Mines, said the coal trade is reviving. In the first three months of the year British coal exports to Western Europe were only 6 per cent, below those of the "great year" 1913, whilst to every country outside Europe except South America they were greater. They were actually greater to France. Labour members, however, complained that the coal had been almost given away; that whilst the export was 54 per cent. greater than last year the total price was only 10 per cent. more; that the miners were being starved, their wage being only £2 2s. a week, per cent. above 1914, while the cost of living is up 80 per cent.; that short time is common in the mines, and many thousands are unemployed.

Charles Edwards (Lab.) said some miners in South Wales are earning 36/- a week and paying 15/- in rent. No reduction had been made mining rents and royalties, which had vided a million and a-half pounds for their

Fred Hall (Lab.) complained that Yorkshire mine-owners are breaking the wage agreements.

J. C. Gould, a Unionist and a coal-owner, thanked the miners for their sacrifices in working for starvation wages, for they had benefited the country, he said; but, of course, they have merely benefited the bosses.

To Labour members' complaints of the agreement forced upon the miners at the close of last year's lock out, the Government representative replied: "Read your Daily Herald, and you will see that the Secretary of the Miners' Federatin says the agreement is a good one."

make the teachers contribute to their pensions was defeated. On May 17th a resolution to increase the pensions of pre-war scidiers and sailors was opposed by the Government and defeated.

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.—

We proclaim integration; and we maintain that the ideal of society—that is, the state towards which society is already marching is a society of integrated labour. A society in which each individual is a producer of both manual and in-tellectual work; where each able-bodied human being is a worker, and where each worker works both in the field and the industrial workshop; where each aggregation of individuals, enough to dispose of a certain variety of natural resource—it may be a nation, or rather a region -produces and itself consumes its own agricultural and manufactured produce.,,

BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THE WORKLESS .- Con-

Brutal Treatment of the Workless.—Continued from p. 1.

nodded his head, meaning yes. C— then wrtoe in his notebook and said something to Hawkins which I did not hear. I then heard Hawkins say, "It's a lie," C— then took out his baton and struck Hawkins on the left shoulder. Hawkins put his right hand on his left shoulder. Hawkins put his right hand on his left shoulder. Hawkins put his right hand on his left shoulder and twitched with pain. He called C— a rotten bully. C— then said to Hawkins, "Shut up, or you'll have another one."

C— and W— were then called outside. Wihle they were out, I and another police-constable had a conversation; he was well spoken. C— and W— then came back and stood together by the desk. C— was writing on a sheet of paper and telling W— what to write on his paper. C— then asked Hawkins and myself our names, ages, addresses, and occupations. When I told C— my trade he sneered, and said to W—, "Look what calls itself a surgical bootmaker." W— laughed. C— said, "I'm proud that I'm a Britisher, and not a lousy Communist. The place you came from is not fit to be seen, it's only a dirty lousy bug hutch. Why, you only have a wash once a month." He then laughed and spoke to W—. W— then told Hawkins to stand up and get over there, the other side of the office window. He then told me to sait down on the chair previously occupied by Hawkins. Then a serge-urt came in and read out the charges. Hawkins said, "I know nothing about it; it's a got-up charge." I said, "Those men are liars. I was not there." The sergeant made us sign our names on the charge side of the officer or ranisations away, also a badge I was wearing. C— then looked at the cards, and holding up my membership card of the Communist Party, said, "This one will get you six months." C— then took the cards and badge he had taken from me into the office. Another

constable took Hawkins to the cell, then came back for me. C—said, "I'll see to him." C—took me to a cell, and when I was inside he said, "Now what you got to say for yourself?" He then punched me on the right side of my face with his left fist, then on the other side with his right fist, saying, "Sit down there, you b—." He then punched me again on the left shoulder. I called him a coward. "Sit down there, you be "He then punched me again on the left shoulder. I called him a coward. He then tried to punch me in the eye with his right fist. I stopped the blow with my right arm and called him a dirty rotter. He then struck me another blow under the left ear, which made me feel giddy and fall to the ground. He then shut the door. I did not see him again until the next morning in the court. The other policemen treated me all right. ad not see him again until the next morning in thourt. The other policemen treated me all right.

This statement I swear is the truth.

(Signed) JAMES LANCASTER.

SACCO AND VANZETTI.

A motion for a new trial has been filed in the uperior Court of Massachussetts, U.S.A.

It is based on two important affidavits.

The first is that Louis Pelser, one of the four witesses put forward by the authorities to identify acco and Vanzetti, now admits his testimony to 
ave been perjured. He says when he gave his testiony: "I couldn't have been in my right mind. I 
not't think I was exactly sane. I must have been 
reced by someone." Pelser declares that previous to 
terial he insisted on speaking to the District 
ttorney-General that he had not seemed.

y.
c second affidavit is that of Roy E. Gould, an intress of the South Braintree shooting with Sacco and Vanzetti are charged. He was a five to ten feet of the bandit car and was through the coat. He retains a vivid memory of the south of the coat.

see that the Secretary of the Miners' Federatin says the agreement is a good one."

Frank Hodges has done the work of the Coal Association more than once.

On May 16th the Government proposal to make the teachers contribute to their pensions was

#### SPICE.

#### WOBBLING AROUND

The Breakdown of Our Industrial System.—

Continued from p. 6.

Individualist political economy has had enough time to preach division.

The wave of right wing communist discipline has broken. Six months ago the orders of the Right Wing Communists were not to sell, buy, or read other than the official Party organ; The wave of Right Wing Communist discipot to act except by order of the Party Executive; not to think other than the officially sand tioned thoughts. Now R. W. Postgate, in quittioned thoughts. Now R. W. Postgate, in quitting the editorial chair of the Communist, declares: "The readers make the paper: the paper cnly lives if the readers are a part of it." He concludes: "And more and more, as the Herald falls into the power of the Labour Party officials, as the various weekly 'Social'st' papers wilt away and become more and more official. What paper but the Communist is there that will express that working-class Reality?"

So as the C.P.G.B. becomes more and more

So as the C.P.G.B. becomes more and me merged in the Reformist United Front it will change its tune, and for the cry "Party Discip-line" it will substitute "Unofficial." Hitherremember, -it has decried the very existence of any unofficial paper.

This is how those who have not quite made up their minds what they are fighting for webble

"A national welcome," quotha! Who wrote that phrase had evidently not seen the public's welcome to Doug, and Mary. If Charlie Chaplin had got no better "nationalwelcome" than that, would have sacked his publicity agent. The Morning Post.

A modern Parliamentarian is not chosen by the people: he is chosen by the Caucus, with no alternative but some similar Parl'amentarian osen by some similar Caucus.—Mr. G. K.

I cannot help thinking that the English Bar s probably the oldest and tightest trade union in the world.—Mr. Patrick Hastings, K.C.

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