

LINES FROM WILLIAM BLAKE.

THE CHIMNEY SWEEPER.

little black thing among the snow, rying, '' Weep! weep! '' in notes of woe. Where are thy father and mother? Say!''are both gone up to the church to pray.

Because I was happy on the hearth, And smiled among the winter's snow, They clothed me in the clothes of death, And taught me to sing the notes of woe.

- And because I am happy and dance and
- sing, hey think they have done me no injury, nd are gone to praise God and his priest and
- king, Who make up a heaven of our misery."

THE LITTLE YAGABOND.

Dear mother, dear mother, the Church is cold; But the Alehouse is healthy, and pleasant, and warm.

- Besides, I can tell where I am used well; The poor parsons with wind like a blown bladder swell.
- But, if at the Church they would give us some ale,
- And a pleasant fire our souls to regale, We'd sing and we'd pray all the livelong day, Nor ever once wish from the Church to stray.
- Then the Parson might preach, and drink,
- and sing, And we'd be as happy as the birds in the

spring; And modest Dame Lurch, who is always at church,

Would not have bandy children, nor fasting, nor birch.

And God, like a father, rejoicing to see

- His children as pleasant and happy as he, Would have no more quarrel with the Devil or the barrel.
- But kiss him, and give him both drink and apparel.

LINES FROM JOHN BARLAS.

FREEDOM.

is come among us. Winged from Freedom hell

She rises with the serpents in her locks Kings, priests, republics, with her fiery shocks She breaks and scatters daily. This is well. But though all other false dominions fell, But though all other false dominions fell, There is one tyranny based on the rocks Of nature and necessity that mocks And breaks all waves that gainst its base rebel—

The union of the drove against the deer That follows not its path, of bird with bird Against the lonely one of alien song, The league against the brave of those that

fear, The hate for isolation of the herd The b

Joanding of the weak to crush the strong. ' From "Holy of Holies, or Confessions From of an Anarchist.

The House that was Seized. THE CASE OF FOUR HOMELESS FAMILIES. RIGHTS OF PROPERTY VINDICATED AT THE OLD BAILEY.

The architect of the Central Criminal Court said with his blocks of stone: "Don't you go trying to break out of here or to break in either." He knew something about a Court of Justice. The artists who painted the lunettes inside were more vague in their notions of justice. Mr. Gerald Moira tried to make justice splendid. That he failed does not matter: he tried, and in making such an not matter: he tried, and in making such an endeavour he made a vast mistake. Justice —Criminal Court justice—is not an affair of splendour: it is an affair of sordidness and tears. Sir William Richmond forgot altotears. Sir William Richmond Torgot and gether where his painting was to be seen; Moira forgot too, from the architectural stand-point: all their pictures seem in a fog; but Sir William Richmond forgot the purpose of the building he was to decorate: he fancied that beauty was somehow concerned with it, and he painted nymphs dancing in sunlightvery last of things to be admitted here. tice—Criminal Court justice—would be Justicedaily shocked by those nude female figures, if she ever raised her eyes to them; but they high, and her thoughts never go straying there. The hangman and the gaoler and are up there. up there. The hangman and the gapter and the bars of the cell are the symbols that should have been painted here, in this place of doom, with the white faces of stricken families, the grief-bowed figures of young and old. Richmond nymphs, it is well you are faint and foggy: you should fade away in shame at your naked incongruity—you have no business here. The "Workers' Dreadnought," well that

was a poser! Should the representative be admitted? When is a reporter not a reporter? That is what every doorkeeper in the Courts

would like to know. A genial person, the usher, in a black robe like the lawvers', asks with urbanity but a shade of doubt:

shade of doubt: "Is there any reason why you should not be admitted? Are you a reporter? Is that your purpose? You have not come to make a disturbance. I suppose?" The "Dreadnought" reporter passes in. The Press seats are well to the fore, but there is a lower bench in front of them, on which the usher seats himself, large and ample, ready for any contingency which might arise. It is hot. Off goes the hat of the "Dread-nought" reporter. Oh dear, what a breach of ancient etiquette! "Are you right to remove your bonnet?"

of ancient etiquette! "Are you right to remove your bonnet?" the usher asks. with a note of reproof. "I should think so," the "Dreadnought" reporter ventures, "it isn't church." More seriously the usher corrects her: "You don't want to cause any friction here. I am sure. The rule here is that men should have their hats off and ladies keep them on." From the side door at the end of the plat-form on which the benchers seat themselves.

form on which the benchers seat themselves enters a small procession. A fine gentleman in black, with knee breaches and white lace ruffles comes first. holding a black rod in his hand. He turns his back upon us all to bow to two old men in long red gowns who have fol-lowed him. Like marionettes, they stiffly pos-ture and bow to each other. One seems to be ture and bow to each other. One seems to be regarding a stage play, quaint and ghostly.

One of the old men in red has scuttled away

One of the old men in red has scuttled away like a mouse; the fine gentleman in black is striding away through the side door. The other old man in the red and black gown has come forward and seated himself on the bench. He is Sir Ernest Wild, the Recorder. How smooth and well shaved are his plump pink checks! How serene and comfortable he is.

Everyone in Court stood up when the pantomime on the stage commenced. Now we may sit down.

The prisoners enter the dock. They look very poor, but carefully brushed up for the occasion, and hold themselves bravely. They presented themselves for trial this morning as free men, but their case was held over this afternoon, and they have been detained in the cells during the luncheon hour. The cells have cast something of the prisoners expression over their faces already.

The accused men had intended to defend themselves; but the Court would not have it so, and they have been persuaded to accept counsel to plead on their behalf. Mr. Elliott, counsel to plead on their behalf. Mr. Elliott, properly arrayed in wig and gown, is there to defend them, and Mr. Long sits beside him to prosecute. All is in order, and Mr. Elliot withdraws the prisoners' plea of "Not guilty" and substitutes "Guilty" on their behalf. Mr. Long briefly reviews the case. The prisoners are charged with foreible entry into the house at 40 South Grove Beekham. The

prisoners are charged with forcible entry into the house at 40 South Grove, Peckham. The house is freehold property in Chancery. The premises were left empty in Septem-ber, says Mr. Long. Oh! oh! Mr. Long, 18 that your information? It is not ours. We understand, and we are told by reliable persons residing in the neighbourhood, that the house was standing empty for a year at least, and the general verdict is that it was empty for two years. The house stood empty; no one cared for it; it fell into disrepair; neither the owners and their representatives, nor the august Court of Chancery, knew that humble tenants had stolen in one December night. Mr. Long goes on to repeat the story that the defendants broke in in February. In February, he says, the doors were still securely nailed up, and the house was void of all human intruders. ons residing in the neighbourhood, that

all human intruders. of

Wrong again, Mr. Long, for the Guardians were actually giving relief to one of these defendant intruders in the house at 40 South Grove last December; but how should the great Court of Chancery know? Such little matters as this are beneath its cognizance, except when the vindication of the sacred rights of property becomes necessary in its

eyes. "What sort of a house is it?" the Recorder

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

December 2, 1922.

Mr. Long explains that the rent is £50 8s. a year, and again he asserts that it was only unoccupied three or four months—" a lease had fallen in, or something." Indeed, Mr. Long, you have been most imperfectly in-

.

structed by the solicitor in this case. The Recorder observes that the action is being brought under Acts of Richard II. and

Mr. Long confirms this, and explains incoherently that the case came on from the Lambeth Police Court because the prosecution could not ask for restitution because they could not allege occupation by the lawful

Recorder expresses surprise. Can it be that the legal obstacles to turning out these otherwise homeless tenants only existed m the mind of the Lambeth magistrate, who was reluctant to be the instrument to thrust them forth? Certainly there is an element of uncertainty in the manner in which this case is handled by all concerned

Recorder asks who are the owners.

Mr. Long explains that there are twelve o them, one of whom is Mrs. Bowers or Bars. "What is it desired to do?" asks the

Mr. Long replies, with a note of hesitating suggestion, rather than clear assertion in his tone, that possession is to be regained in order that the premises may be "done up" and re-let. Has Mr. Long an uncomfortable suspicion that these premises are not to be speedily re-occupied as a dwelling house, that they may again be left untenanted for a lengthened period, or that they are to be pulled down, perhaps, to make way for some noney-making venture in spite of the house

What would have happened to these promises—if no one had—squatted there—I think that is the correct term? "asks the Recorder. Mr. Long replies that there was an order

So the premises are to be sold, not re-let,

after all, Mr. Long? The Recorder settles himself more firmly in his official seat; his tones become severe; his voice is louder. He intends that the men m

the dock shall hear him. "So it is desired that the premises shall get back to their rightful owners, and these people be dealt with?

Mr. Long seems distressed. One might mistake him for counsel for defence instead of prosecutor. He replies:

It is a hard case. These people have no home, and they are all unemployed

The Recorder replies with firmness that the rights of property must be respected; but that subtle atmosphere of thought, which always rises where people are gathered together and sit in silence, is opposed to his dictum, although only lawyers, policemen, officials, and a stray Press man or two are in the Court. What about their characters? " asks the Recorder.

Cruel indeed is the Law which punishes, but does not permit the punishment to expiate the offence.

The detective, on oath, declares that nothing is known to the police against two of the defendants; that a third has borne a good character since 1916; and a fourth has borne a good character for a number of years. Three f the men served in the Army.

Mr. Elliot further brings out the fact that these men fought at the battles of Arras, Cambrai, Ypres, and Loos; that one, who was a stoker in the merchant service, enlisted when war began; that another has suffered much from his wound, which has broken out several since his discharge, and that he awarded a 30 per cent, pension only; that an other, who enlisted, was in business for him self, and therefore has had no money from the Labour Exchange, though unable to find work or start in business again on discharge; that, in fact, these men are just such as our rulers have described as heroes, and for whom they promised to do all sorts of good things after the war. The man who was not in the Army, he points out, was adjudged medically unfit to fight, but worked and supported his family as tool maker till 1921. Now the Recorder proceeds to business

the defence of the rights of property. Under the Statute of James I. he is empowered to make restitution, he says, and observes that there is a note to the effect that the Judge at the Assize may, at his discretion, refuse restitution, but if there is a conviction for unlawful seizure under the Acts of Richard and Henry, there will, of course, be restitution. Certainly, he says, he has the power o make an order for restitution; he is not even sure that he has the discretion to refuse it. Then, again, he raises his voice: the legal argument is for the Court; the rebuke that follows is for the men in the dock. They are men of good character; they are ex-Service t they have taken other people's property.

Mr. Elliot modestly interposes that his clients only pleaded "Not guilty " because they thought the date was material; they ome of them, had entered the premises in December; they were accused of entering them in February: before he had had the opportunity of seeing them they had put heir plea of not guilty on this mistaken

The Recorder interrupts: " They had never heard of Richard II." Mr. Elliot, perhaps, hopes the Recorder is

making a little joke

He answers with ingratiating smiles, as counsel should when the Judge deigns to ' I am afraid not.

humour: "I am afraid not." "Did they think they were entitled to seize other people's property?"

Mr. Elliot becomes subdued and discreetly ashed, as befits a barrister who has perhaps noyed the Judge. His clients, he said, had found themselves near Christmas with no place to live in. They had all tried hard to t work. Some of them were in receipt of all amounts, but not enough to pay for ny shelter they could have obtained to cover They had nowhere to go, and one the women was going to bring a child into the world. "They did what was wrong, he humbly pleads, " and what was iflegal. We on't excuse it, but they knew not where

to go.'' "Did they break in?" the Recorder inuires sternly

No; it had been done by others who were there before them

But they refused to go, although they undertook to do so.

They had no possible chance; they made every effort, but failed to find a shelter What is to become of their wives and

the Recorder asks families now? They are in this house—" Mr. sively begins. Does he hope— ' Mr. Elliot im-

pulsively The Recorder sharply interposes: "They

can't stay there.' will go," says Mr. Elliot humbly Has the Recorder still some bowels of com-

passion left? He answers: I don't want them to go out into the with nowhere to go

Mr. Elliot speaks earnestly: " That is what means. It is November. The weather is clement just now, but we are going on towards Christmas. We know not what it may be. Christmas. These children are very young—some of them

That must be for the Judge in Chancery to consider: it is not for me. Mr. Elliot assents, but observes that it is

a pathetic case. " Are they led by others who are mislead-ing the working man?" the Recorder asks sternly Mr. Elliot answers faintly: " No.

The Recorder turns to the prosecuting counsel, Mr. Long, who also says: " No: . am assured that it is not the case.

The Recorder calls for the detective, puts him in the box to answer, and the detective No; it is a case merely of answers: poverty.

This plump pink defender of the rights of Property seems appeased: "That is a miti-

gating circumstance. I am glad to know not a demonstration that there is no su thing as the rights of private property. If had been so I should have given a very s

Mr. Elliot pleads timidly for time for hi clients to find other shelter. The Recorder, mollified, says: "I do

want a woman recently confined to be turn into the streets. My instructions will be make an order for restitution, but to delay Mr. Long: "We are willing to agree anything.

Mr. Elliot reads a letter from the ex-May of Camberwell, offering a portion of his wo yard and some saws to the unemployed m in the dock, " on the understanding that y behave like men and try to be

Mr. Long observes that the prosecution orepared to give the prisoners till January o clear out of the house. The Recorder answers: "That is for yo

discretion and the master in Chancery. e asks whether any of the accused de speak.

Prisoner Nay speaks up boldly, saying after the war he had been sent with the to India. He had not been discharged February 9th. When he came home he t wife and children destitute. my business, as a man, to see that my children had shelter. There was room empty in that house 1 went m fought the Borough Council to try to get t o find me a place. I wrote to the Min of Health, and had an answer from him vrote to the late Prime Minister, Mr. L. leorge, and had an answer from wrote to the King, and got an answer im. I told the Court of Chancery I be prepared to pay the rent; they replied the no rent would be accepted."

"I hope," interrupts the Recorder w ger, " that this is not an attempt to just this unlawful act."

The unseen sword of vengeance seen There is a painful hush in Cour Have the others anything to say? " No."

No

Then Nun, with a trembling voice: "] villing to get out when my wife is able tet out of bed. I have agreed to put hree children in the Guardians' scatte omes, though it's breaking my heart to go; and then perhaps I and my nd baby will be able to find a room

Recorder addresses the prise You have broken two old Statutes. old, but they are founded on ommon sense. The rights of property e respected. Everyone must know they don't know it, it is time that they taught. If I found you were working ersons who were undermining the law and, to replace it by direct action, I have given you considerable terms of prisonment. I understand you found elves under the compulsion of need, and ng an empty house, you went in. Pe must be taught this kind of action is not

It is testified that you are not the sort nen who are trying to undermine society am entitled to pass sentence of two years prisonment with hard labour, and I v

have done it if you were men of that s "I am going to send you back for sente till next sessions, on December 5th, and ke you in custody till then. As you have been contumaceous in the dock, and as y are not working with those who are und mining the social order, I will be lenient w You will be anxious regarding ou. wives and children. The writs of Restitu will be made out at once, but the prosecu are willing to suspend their rights January 1st. You will be kept in custody December 5th. You will be apart from wives and children. You will have tim consider your position. If this had been to ease of persons who thought there were rights of property I should have given seve sentences

ROSA LUXEMBURG'S LETTERS FROM PRISON.

ber 2. 1922.

Translated by M. Campbell.

(Continued.) The letters contained in this collection are addressed to Frau Sophie Liebknecht.

Middle of November, 1917. Dear Sonitschka,—I hope soon to have another opportunity of sending you a and so I find myself driven to write 1 have always delighted in the w. I have always dangine in each of the starting with you, if only on paper, we that I have to break myself of it ime hangs. But it couldn't be helped; v letters I am allowed to write I had rve for Hans D., who was expecting But that is finished with now. My o letters were written to a dead person. had one of them returned to me 1 still cannot quite understand what appened yet. However, we will not about the matter now. I had rather such things for myself and when I am and if it is a question of "sparing shock of bad news and sending me a wails by way of "condolence," as N. I can only say that such actions irritate words. That my most intimate do not come to know me, and underate me so much that they do not underthat the best and most appropriate to do in such a case would be simply me straight away and in two words dead-it annoys me, but we will drop the

It seems such a pity these months years should pass by when we might be to spend so many wonderful hours ther in spite of all the terrible things that in the world. Do you know, schka, the longer it lasts, and the more and atrocious actions each day brings to passes all bounds, the calmer and more nerable I become, like when one is up net an element, a typhoon, a cataclysm, r eclipse, and can make no use of ethical but has to take it as it comes, has to er it as an object of investigation and wledge

These are, apparently, in an objective sense, only possible paths that historical de-pment can take, and they have to be folalthough one must not lose sight of main direction. I have the feeling that this moral slime through which we are ing, this big lunatic asylum in which we living, can all at once, or within the space wenty-four hours, be transformed, as by magic wand, into its opposite, into thing trem ndously great and heroic, and to read "Les dieux ont soif," by An. ding value, primarily because it portrays h the vision of genius, the essential human nent: you are made to see how, in the responding moments of history, such wful figures and such commonplace trities are shaped into the most momentous ats and most monumental gestures. One at take up an attitude toward social events ne does to things that happen in private be calm, broad-minded, accepting every-g with a generous smile. I firmly believe after the war, or when the war finishes, crything will finally turn out all right, but doubtedly we have first to pass through a

Apropos, my last words have presented me ith another presentation, or rather a fact, nd I would like to pass it on to you, because struck me as being very touching and I was reading latterly a scientific rk on the migration of birds, a matter h up to now has been considered a rather

riod of intense human suffering.

of the failure of the revolution, they would be obliged to give up the goods purchased. Another difficulty was that the middle-class technical workers—designers, engineers, etc. upon each other, become peaceful fellow -stood out of the revolutionary movement s it was said, the workmen would be unable they had actually in hand for want of techni-cal knowledge and training. In some cases the technicians sympathised, but had not the in veritable clouds; and among the numbers of birds of prey, hawks, eagles, falcons, owls, courage to side openly with the workmen One I know took a holiday until it blew over ing with them without the slightest vestige of The Communists afterwards accused the Socialists of having betrayed the workers, but a Socialist of Milan told me that though they took that attitude afterwards, they at the time refused to take the responsibility of The Fascisti movement is not, as is pretended, a movement to save Italy from reinhabit. But best of all, it has been observed volution. The revolution had failed from inward weakness, due to the causes I have tried to explain, and to differences of opinion the big ones, thus great numbers of cranes among the workers themselves. The real causes of the Fascisti movement re twofold. First, the desire for revenge on

had been observed how different species, that at other times are deadly enemies and prey travellers when they set out on their oversea journey to the South. Tremendous hosts of birds, on their way to pass the winter in Egypt, darken the sky as they whirl by above there are thousands of singing birds, such as larks, golden-crested wrens, nightingales, flyfear, although otherwise they would be pur sued by them. It seems that while the jour nev lasts, a tacit ' treve de dieu ' reigns, a are striving to reach the same goal, and some-where near the Nile fall to the ground halfdead from exhaustion, to separate afterwards according to kind and type of landscape they that during the journey over " the big pond many small birds are carried on the backs of have been seen to pass overhead with tiny birds of passage chirping merrily on their backs! Isn't that delicious?

. . . Latterly, in an otherwise tasteless and higgledy-piggledy anthology, I discovered one of Hugo v. Hoffmansthal's poems. As a rule I don't care for him at all: I find him affected, sophisticated, lacking in clarity—I simply don't understand him at all. But this poem pleased me very much, and made a poetic impression on me. I'm sending it along to you: perhaps it will please you, too. I am now very much absorbed in geology You will no doubt consider it a very dry science, but that is a mistake. I am reading it with feverish interest and passionate absorption; it widens the mental horizon immensely, and more than any other science of Nature. I would like to tell you a lot about it, but it would be necessary for us to talk about it; we shall have to wander along together one morning in the Sudender Feld, or accompany each other home once or twice on one of those peaceful moonlight nights. What are you reading? How are you getting on with the Lessing legend? I want to know about all you are doing! Write me immediately—if it can be done—through the same party, or at least along the official way, not nentioning this letter. I am already quietly counting to myself the weeks that must pass before I see you again. That will be shortly after New Year's Day, won't it?

What has Karl to say? When will you be seeing him again? Give him my very kindest regards. Well, with a warm embrace I must ay good-bye for the present, my dear, dear Write soon, and a nice long Sonitschka! letter

ITALY UNDER THE FASCISTI. From an Italian Correspondent.

I have just received this week's "Workers' Dreadnought," which comes to me like a breath of fresh air. The article on the Fascisti naturally interests me very much, as I have been living in the midst of the turmoil. You seem to have a good grip of the situation. Yes, the bourgeois were frightened in 1920. Why the occupation of the factories was not followed up by a general revolution I never could quite make out. I think the leaders lost courage because they thought Italy would be starved by the Capitalist countries. I believe that actually a sort of blockading mo ment was commenced in Switzerland. A bourgeois manufacturer at the time told me that the movement could not go on, because no one would give credit to the new owners, and therefore as soon as the supplies of raw materials gave out the factories would be obliged to stop work. Then, again, nobody would buy the goods produced, because the

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Your ROSA. (To be continued.)

the part of the master class, who cannot bear see the slaves rise. The jealousy of the ourgeois women at seeing mere working girls dressed as well as themselves, and the of the men who looked forward to the time when poverty would force the rebels to lick the hand that held the whip was something quite evident. The men were rather me liscreet, but the women expressed themselves

Secondly, quite apart from fear of actual revolution, the workers' associations, trade unions, etc., were sufficiently powerful to have some effect in preventing too radical a reduction in wages

This is proved by the fact that even reformist organisations opposed to revolution shared the fate of the most advanced Communists—as you have noticed. Here, as in England, the middle classes, being heavily taxed, are strong on economy and the reduction of prices. Economy, of course, mean starving the weakest, so the workers had of course, means be weakened into submission to starvation by discharging '' useless '' employees. wages are reduced to such a level that the poor devils of workers cannot pay, they hope prices will come down and all will be well. One does not know whether to laugh at the ignorant childishness of this or to weep. The repulsive cruel selfishness and hypocrisy of it; for of course we are all patriots, and it is the slow starvation and degradation of our own countrymen that we contemplate in cold blood. Into what will not selfishness and cowardice lead people!

To say that Fascismo is a consequence of the revolutionary outbreak of 1920 is partly true; but to say that it was a necessary counter-attack on Bolshevism is not true, pecause, as I have tried to show, that particular outbreak was stillborn

I should like to say a word about a sentence the "Dreadnought" under the heading: An Australian View." The Australian Savs

The Bolshevists make a mistake in not running the land as they run the factories, on a big enterprise scale

This is all very well; but I should like to know if the young Australian Socialist knows anything about the mentality of the average peasant? I do not know anything about the Russian but I know something of the Italian peasant, and I have heard that the French easant has much the same characteristics These are extreme avarice and attachment to the soil, which last sentiment is instinctive, almost animal. I have seen a woman weep a few tears over the son they had taken from her during the war, become fierce over the cow they had requisitioned. They are the narrow-minded upholders of the rights of pro perty. They would rather die on their land than share it. How would the young Socialist propose to dispossess these people which up to now has been considered a rather new owners, having no legal guarantees, heard a peasant woman say it would be better unzling phenomenon, and found out that it foreigners would naturally fear that in case to have no trees because the children picked (Continued on p. 8.)

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

Workers Dreadnought FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

10 Matter for Publication to be Addressed to the Editor Basiness Communications to the Manager: Workers' Breadnanght, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4. TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7240,

SUBSCRIPTION : THREE MONTHS (13 weeks) ... Post Free 1/71

SIX MONTHS (26 weeks) ... ,, 3/3 ONE YEAR (52 weeks) ... ,, ,, 6/6

Vol. IX. No. 38. Saturday, Dec. 2, 1922.

The Outlook.

The election of Ramsay Macdonald to the The Labour is represented in some quarters Party's New as a victory for the Socialist and Leader. Left-Wing elements within the

Party. It is true that the Labour Party Left is undoubtedly far from Left, and the strongest of its Socialism is exceedingly diluted. Yet, even so, it is demore Left and more Socialist than idedly Mr. Macdonald, who is essentially a Liberal Free Trader and nothing more. Tempera-Free Trader and nothing more. Tempera-mentally and ideologically he belongs to the politics of the nineteenth century. His objects and methods are out of date in these days; and Mr. Bonar Law stumbled upon a peculiarly apt simile when he said there was something of the Rip Van Winkle about Mr. Macdonald's first speech on returning to Parliament the other day.

Inament the other day. In fact, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is in-capable of pioneering. He has not introduced a single new idea, or new method, and never will. He will neither lead nor follow a minority who are struggling to bring a new that idea into general acceptance, until that minority has already passed through the first and hardest stages of its struggle. If he joins then, he will continue to temporise and to take up a mid-way position.

His opening speech as Leader of the Labour Party was flat and barren and conventional. He began with the usual compliments to the movers of the Address, and proceeded to twit Bonar Law with abandoning the Unionist con-victions in agreeing to the Irish Treaty, and read out a number of Law's old spe eches containing threats that Ulster would fight to resist coming under a Dublin Parliament. This flippant rustling of the musty pages of old debates showed a truly callous indiffer-ence to the tragic state of Ireland, the sorrows, the outrages, and heroisms of the bitter struggle going forward there. Oblivious all this, he raised a cheap laugh by declaring

I shall never be a party to such conduct . . . and if your authority, Sir, has to be upheld and I find the right hon. gentleman and myself standing side by side doing it, and if your eye sees upon the cheek of either of us a blush of embarrassment on account of our tainted past, the blush will not be upon my cheek.

It was either cynically, with his tongue in his cheek, or with a complete lack of com-prehension of the true state of affairs, that Mr. Macdonald, in speaking on the Irish Treaty Bill, expressed the hope that it would spirit of happiness and co-operation bring a ' etween the two countries.

Referring to the unemployed, Mr. Mac-donald mildly advised the Prime Minister to do something to allay the discontent of the unemployed marchers at his refusal to see ut he made it clear that no demonstration of impatience and discontent by the unemployed would meet with sympathy or support from him:

far as the Labour Party are concerned, we are here to give constitutional force and political expression to the needs and desires of these men. We are here to suade these men and to convince them that that is the best way to act, that no other method is going to do them any good, and so long as I occupy the position that

which I shall be responsible." The unemployed must by no means look to Ramsay Macdonald as their champion through good report and ill report, or they will look

Mr. Macdonald's admirers regard him mainly as a guide to them in the sphere Macdonald of foreign policy. There are few, on Foreign even in the I.L.P., who do not Policy. wards the home affairs of the

proletariat is academic and aloof. His pronouncement on foreign affairs, however, was most grievously unsound. He demanded protection for the Armenians and other nationalities in the Near East by the League Nations "as the minority-protecting thority." Yet everyone knows that the authority." Yet everyone knows that the League of Nations is but the instrument of Big Business in Britain, France, and Italy. Moreover, Armenia has set up a Soviet Re public, and is for the moment comparatively free from outside interference; whilst a scheme is maturing for Big Business, and especially American Big Business, to dash in to save Armenia from the Turks, or from anyone else who is not interfering with her, in order to gain possession of the Armenian oil wells for Big Business.

Like the Suffragettes in pre-war days, the unemployed marchers are endea-The youring to see the Prime Minis. Unemployed ter. Their insistence, like that Marchers. of the Suffragettes, is purely a

propaganda move, for of course there is no question of converting the Prime Minister by the recitation of stories of hardship and want. The unemployed and their leaders have hitherto shown themselves much less persistent and determined than were the Suffragettes.

In part they have based their hope of securing an interview with the Prime Minister on the reluctance of the London Boards of Guardians to continue maintaining the growng number of marchers in the London Law Institutions. The St. Pancras Board has taken the lead in ridding itself of the incubus. It has turned into the street the unemployed who were housed there, on the ground that hospitality had only been offered for ten days. Another move to stop the unemployed from marching, and to drive them back to the provinces whence they came, is the Umpire's decision that Unemployment Insurance shall not be paid during the period of the march, on the ground that the applicants' prospects of obtaining work cannot fail to be din by their getting out of touch with the indus-Trial area in which they previously worked. The marchers may only draw benefit during their stay in the town to which they are proceeding provided it can be proved that they uinely seeking work there. " Vacant

tickets " are only to be issued to persons tra-

velling in a "genuine search for work," and not to those taking part in the march. the march. The Story of the Red Plot and the attack on the character of the unemployed marchers issued from Downing Street had one effect de-sired by the authorities, in that it helped to deter the Labour Party from official support to the demand to see the Prime Minister. The "Daily Herald" declared that the unemployed must on no account attempt to march on Downing Street. Messrs. George Lans-bury, Barker and Brotherton, who interviewed Mr. Law with the object of pressing him to withdraw his refusal, recommended the unemployed to do as the Premier asked and quictly see the Ministers of Labour and Health instead. Mr. Lansbury, in an inter-view with the Liberal "Star," declared that the Prime Minister's refusal to see the unemployed was merely part of a " new policy ' make every department responsible for its own job," and the unemployed should therefore agree to this plan. The Prime Minister had agreed to receive a deputation from the Miners' Federation of Great Britain on an early date, instead of referring them to the Minister of Labour; but then the M.F.G.B is still a powerful Trade Union, and

I now hold, that is the only attitude for the unemployed are, as yet, accounted on the rabble.

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When the unemployed proved orderly eve to tameness, Mr. Lansbury awoke to the fr that the Prime Minister's democratic talk bolishing one-man government was purel veuse for getting rid of the unemployed. become active in demanding that t Prime Minister shall receive the marchers The authorities are for the moment cont

ent conte n having avoided a scene when the King ca open Parliament. Moreover, they are w aware that the fireworks of propaganda monstrations are apt to grow damp if not us at the appointed moment, and fail to go at all if kept too long.

Our advice to the unemployed is that if they have decided to use Suffragette tactics they should apply them whole-heartedly.

The members of the Communist Party Great Britain have thus far

tary Com- the House of Commons noth Parliamen-munists in they mentioned the Soy the House of which in the Communist re Commons. tion will come to sweep Par

ment away. Parliament as a platform for speeches Communism, and for denunciations of Par ment as an institution, that they claim have sought election. Mr. Walton New secured some publicity in the Capitalist for his first Parliamentary oration; he m not be again accorded so much space for time to come. He threatened civil war, a predicted the downfall of many Capitalis but he advanced no solution, offered no hop of a better system to cheer and he poor oppressed humanity. He made attempt to explain Communism and show t npoverished wagedom and destitute uner loyment are features of Capitalism only ange of system can eradicate? Mr. Newbold's sole definite, concrete pr

osal was for an improved scale of relief he unemployment-36/- a week for man a wife, and a rent allowance up to 15/- a we Go to, Comrade Newbold! Is that yo idea of the social revolution? Is that dea of Communism?

Mr. Newbold told the representatives Capitalism in the House of Commons th unless trade is re-established with Sovi Russia certain firms in this country will into the Bankruptcy Court, the export tr of this country will cease and general co mercial ruin will result. On the assump hat the view is correct, Soviet Russia, far from abandoning Communism at home order to trade with Capitalism without, ou prepare herself as though for a siege, fuse all commerce with the Capitalist worl So might she play her part in the destruction of Capitalism. Mr. Newbold fails to mak that deduction from his remarks, because, a says, he is rallied under the flag of Lenn and thus goes into the contest with his min in leading strings. Lenin's policy is based of quite opposite assumption. He is not a icipating the early fall of Capitalism, but long period of stabilisaton. That is why h is making peace with Capitalism. Mr. New bold is, in fact, all at sea. Mr. Newbold taunted the Members of Par

liament regarding their position when t commercial ruin he predicted comes about:

"What is going to happen to you? Yo will have to produce. You say you wo to-day. Oh, yes, you work to-day, but yo will have to work at useful work."

Members interrupted and cried out: "So

Newbold replied: " It is useful work I am doing

That is precisely the point. Mr. Newbold stirred up some of the Members of Parlia ment; made them angry enough to interrupt him. The House of Commons so easily breaks forth into clamour. Behind the Hous and its clamour is the solid power of Cap talism. What does all the talking at West minster do to build up a force which shall replace the Capitalist system of production distribution and transport?

moving the rejection of the Irish Treaty in a hostile House The Irish Treaty Bill. of Commons. He rightly said that the Treaty was based on

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on and signed under duress. The hypo-of the Labour Party Members, who ess their belief in self-determination, was by exposed by their failure to support tvala's motion for rejection. It is not, ver, at Westminster that the question ish freedom is being settled, but in the ggle that is going on in Ireland itself. play being staged at Westminster can e no difference to the result.

the atmosphere of the "New Leader, which has replaced the old The "New "Labour Leader," is half-Leader." journalistic bookishness, half committee-room politics. Two ks ago the editor announced that he had d for a Liberal woman candidate. Last

he tried to justify himself by saving: I would vote willingly (if no Socialist vere standing) for any sincere Liberal or lory, who, as an individual, had helped

lucation, or defended 'native' races in ir Empire, or tried to make the League of a little less of an hypocrisy, and, ove all, for those who actively oppose elty to animals and birds We shall not better Socialists by cultivating a fanati-im which forgets the breadth of life and nores the needs of any fellow-creature Brailsford is certainly no politician! that rate he should vote for Sir Frederick bury, the most hardened old Tory nmons, who always goes down to the House speak and vote for the protection of mals. The I.L.P. certainly made a misin choosing this amiable philanderer to

their national organ. is refusal to engage in the troublesome k of thinking makes Mr. Brailsford, alas! cruel and unjust in some of his s, and causes him to assist in the bol some of the ugliest things in ng up of o-day. On the same page he said:

The Irish Free State, after long months good-natured toleration, is at last appling with rebels whose tactics are, by oodshed and wreckage, to make daily life apossible for their fellow-countrymen Il make no comment on the case of Mr Childers or the shooting of the four armed Irregulars; Ireland wants no advice from London and would not heed it If only the Irish were one of the " native

ces in our Empire they might have had the lvantage of Mr. Brailsford's defence!

The decision of the Italian Parliament by 275 votes to 90 to give the The Musso- Mussolini Government full power lini **Terror.** till the beginning of 1924, partly due to terror of the arm

scisti; partly due to reactionary approve what the Fascisti have done. The text of resolution is as follows:

"The Chamber, considering that it is in the high interests of the country and that it is necessary to entrust the Government vith plenary powers in order to enable settle freely, and without the difficulties of Parliamentary procedure, the most urgent problems of finance and public adtration, approves the Bill and passes

oume to this country in 1919 as a delegate from Italian Trade Unionists, urging a general rike of British, French and Italian workers support of Soviet Russia.

na not to disclose his mission to the Conce, and the project was quietly shelved. he was pliant in the hands of Henderson d Thomas, so Daragona is pliant now. nber of Parliament, he declared himseif tral regarding the Mussolini autocracy

pacifists all over the world are still whitewashing the murderous Mussolini

D'Amalona vole

Mr. Saklatvala is to be congratulated on Poverty and hunger in the heart of this great Empire, whose people are to-day Poverty and able to produce more, both of the Despair. necessaries and adornments of life than they can consume grows daily more tragic. In Whitton Road, Hounslow, a bird dropped a crust of bread, seized it, wiped off the mud of the road where it had falien, and ravenously devoured it. High Street, Hounslow, a woman gave her baby boy a cake and left him in his perambu lator outside a baker's shop whilst she went inside to make her purchases. A poor man snatched the cake and eat it, looking piteously at the child

An Ayrshire man broke a window of the Irvine Parish Council Office because his children were crying for food and his baby had been a day without milk. He has only a soldier's pension of £1 2s. a week, but was fined £1.

infirmary a few days before and poverty

A mother driven desperate by poverty walked into the sea with her seven children at Southsea.

The wife of a porter was deserted by her husband and left destitute. The **The Sanctity** Court ordered the husband to of Marriage. pay a small weekly sum to maintain the wife and children. The husband ceased to pay, but the Grimsby Guardians refused relief because the husband was not unemployed, although the woman and children were thus left to starve. The children were crying for food, and the woman, to help them, lent her body to a man. " M boy was at death's door. I had no food give him, and no fire in the house," pleaded the mother. "I had to do wrong to save my boy's life. It is the only wrong I have ever

A baby was born as a result, and the hus-band then appealed to the Court to annul the order. The magistrate decided that he had no alternative save to comply, but he order the applicant to pay £9 3s. due in arrears of

main Now that the unpaid maintenance order is discharged, the Guardians have power to relieve the woman, but Mrs. Grundy will prob-ably intervene. Because she has a child out of wedlock the Guardians may refuse the voman out-relief.

The "Russian Information and Review

reports that early in November, after the Japanese evacuation, the Assembly of the Russian Far Eastern Republic unanimo decided to dissolve and to unite the republic with Soviet Russia. A Far Eastern Revolutionary Committee of seven persons was then established, and delegates were elected to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. There is no mention of Far Eastern Soviets

Such relapses are regrettable, but are to be expected, and must not daunt us in our work to the discussion of the articles." Daragona, a prominent Trade Union official, me to this country in 1919 as a delegate for Communism

> from new centre tion by the New Year.

The Labour Party officials persuaded Dara

A woman drowned her baby girl, and attempted to throw herself from the Tower Bridge, because her little boy had died m had forced the family to sell everything save

Destitute people are living in caves and holes on the moors of Northumberland. *

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

RUSSIAN NEWS. FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC JOINS SOVIET RUSSIA.

The New Economic Policy and Production The following figures, officially published by the Soviet Government, show that the "New Economic Policy " of reversion to Capitalism inaugurated in 1921 has worked no revolu tion in Russian output

Coal.

Output in tons.—1913, 28,970,000; 1918, 12,180,000; 1919, 8,500,000; 1920, 7,760,000; 1921, 8,930,000; 1921-22, 9,850,000.

Oil.

Output in tons.—1913, 9,400,000; 1918, 4,080,000; 1919, 4,550,000; 1920, 3,890,000; 1921, 4,000,000; 1921-22, 4,570,000.

Iron and Steel.

Pig Iron.—1913, 4,200,000; 1918, 525,000; 1919, 115,000; 1920, 105,000; 1921, 125,000; 1921-22, 170,000.

Martensite. — 1913, 4,320,000; 1918, 408,000; 1919, 203,000; 1920, 167,000; 1921, 183,000; 1921-22, 322,000.

Rolled Steel.—1913, 3,570,000; 1918, 363,000; 1919, 181,000; 1920, 203,000; 1921, 175,000; 1921-22, 254,000.

It will be observed that though the figures show an increase in production since 1920, the increase is not very great, and it may be more than accounted for by the cessation of civil

Growth of Petty Bourgeoisie.

"Russian Information and Review " ob-erves: "With the recent growth of the petty bourgeois class, who are able to proffer bribes other monetary inducements to secure residences," the housing problem for Moscow workers became so acute that the Moscow Soviet issued an order taking under its own disposition one-tenth of the municipalised dwelling houses of the city.

Alas, poor Russia: the new economic policy has gone far indeed!

Michael Farbman, in the "Sunday Times, observes:

'At the last Communist Conference Lenin called to the Communists to 'learn to do business well.' The Communists rushed to lfil this with great zeal. And now to be a thorough business man is as good a Com-munist virtue as it was only recently a virtue o oppress the business man. Talking to a unist who is engaged in managing either a factory or shop, it is now quite im-possible to distinguish him from any bour-cois shopkeeper or factory manager. In fact, some Communist managers have assimi lated the spirit of the new period so well, that a. one distinguished Communist leader peinted out to me: "Even Riaboushinsky, a fymer big textile manufacturer, and leader c⁴ the Whites, would be shy of expressing such views on labour as certain 'comrades' now express.

And so the almost complete reversal of the activities of the Communist Party became possible through the complete reversal of the mentality and psychology of the members. A party which began with a declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited Peoples,' to the exclusion of the rights of al thers, has already recognised the Right of Property, and passed elaborate decrees to safeguard it. The party of revolution is becoming the party of conservatism; the visionaries have become realists."

SEND IT OFF TO-DAY.

Our circulation is rising steadily. Every week brings applications for the "Dread-Our readers are co-operating with comradely vigour in the effort to double our circula-

May we have from you, by return of post, a new subscriber, and a list of the most

advanced men and women you know? It is not too early to suggest to you that a subscription to the "Workers' Dreadis a most appropriate Christmas gift

One new subscriber this week from YOU, please!

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

GOD: KNOWN AND UNKNOWN. By Samuel Butler.

According to Pythagoras, " an adept in the Orphic philosophy," " the soul of the world is the Divine energy which interpenetrates every portion of the mass, and the soul of man is an efflux of that energy. The world, too, is an exact impress of the Eternal Idea, which is the mind of God." John Scotus Erigena aught that " all is God and God is William of Champeaux, again, two hundred years later, maintained that " all individuality is one in substance, and varies only in its nonessential accidents and transient properties." Amalric of Bena and David of Dinant followed the theory out " into a thorough-going Pan-theism." Amalric held that " All is God and God is all. The Creator and the creature are Ideas are at once creative and one Being. subjective and objective. God is the end of all, and all return to Him. As every variety of humanity forms one manhood, so the world contains individual forms of one David of Dinant only varied upon this by "imaging a corporeal unity. Although body, soul, and eternal substance are three, these three are one and the same being.

Giordano Bruno maintained the world of sense to be " a vast animal having the Deity for its living soul." The inanimate part of orld is thus excluded from participation in the Deity, and a conception that our minds an embrace is offered us instead of one which they cannot entertain, except as in a dream, incoherently. But without such a view of evolution as was prevalent at the beginning of this century, it was impossible to see world of sense " intelligently, as forming " a vast animal." Unless, therefore, Giordane Bruno held the opinions of Buffon, Dr. Erasmus, Darwin and Lamarck with more definiteness than I am yet aware of his having done. his contention must be considered as a splen-did prophecy, but as little more than a prophecy. He continues, "Birth is expansion from the one centre of Life; life is its continuance, and death is the necessary return of the ray to the centre of light." This begins finely, but ends mystically. I have not, how-ever, compared the English translation with the original, and must reserve a fuller exam-ination of Giordano Bruno's teaching for another opportunity.

sbelieved in the world rather than in God. He was an Acosmist, to use Jacobi's expression, rather than an Atheist. According to him, " the Deity and the Universe are one substance, at the same time both spirit and matter, thought and extension hich are the only known attributes of the

My readers will, I think, agree with me that there is very little of the above which conveys ideas with the fluency and comfort which accompany good words. Words are like servants; it is not enough that we should have them-we must have the most able and villing that we can find, and at the smallest wages that will content them. Having got them, we must make the best and not the worst of them. Surely, in the greater part of what has been quoted above, the words are barren letters only: they do not quicken vithin us and enable us to conceive a thought such as we can in our turn impress upon dead natter, and mould that matter into another shape than its own, through the thought which has become alive within us. No offspring of ideas has followed upon them, or, if any at all, yet in such unwonted shape, and with such want of alacrity, that we loathe them as malformations and miscarriages ot our minds. Granted that if we examine them. closely we shall at length find them to embody a little germ of truth—that is to say, of with our other ideas; but there too little truth in proportion to the trouble-We can get more truth. that is to say, more coherency-for truth and coherency are one-for less trouble in other ways.

But it may be urged that the beginnings of all tasks are difficult and unremunerative, be made to appear simpler presently.

and that later developments of Pantheism may be more intelligible than the earlier ones. Unfortunately, this is not the case. On con-tinuing Mr. Blunt's article I find the later Pantheists a hundredfold more perplexing than the earlier ones. With Kant, Schelling, Fichte and Hegel, we feel that we are with men who have been decoved into a hopeless quagmire; we understand nothing of their language—we doubt whether they understand themselves, and feel that we can do nothing with them but look at them and pass them by. In my next chapter I propose to show the nd which the early Pantheists were striving after, and the reason and naturalness of their

CHAPTER IV

Pantheism. II.

The early Fantheists were misled by the endeavour to lay hold of two distinct ideas, the one of which was a reality that has since been grasped and is of inestimable value, the other a phantom which has misled all who have followed it. The reality is the unit of Life, the oneness of the guiding and animat-ing spirit which quickens animals and plants, so that they are all the outcome and expression f a common mind, and are in truth one animal; the phantom is the endeavour to find the origin of things, to reach the fountainhead of all energy, and thus to lay the foundations on which a philosophy may be constructed which none can accuse of being baseless, or of arguing in a circle.

In following as through a thick wood after the phantom our forefathers from time to time caught glimpses of the reality, which seemed wonderful as it eluded them, and flitted back again into the thickets, that they declared it must be the phantom they were in search of, which was thus evidenced as actually existing. Whereon, instead of mastering such of the facts they met with as could be captured easily-which facts would have betrayed the hiding places of others, and these again of others, and so " ad infinitum "-they erlooked what was within their reach, and followed hotly through briar and brake after an imaginary greater prize.

Great thoughts are not to be caught in this way. They must present themselves for cap-ture of their own free will, or be taken after a little coyness only. They are like wealth and power, which, if a man is not born to them, are the more likely to take him, the more he has restrained himself from an attempt to snatch them. They hanker after those only who have tamed their nearer thoughts. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to feel that the early Pantheists were true prophets and seers, though the things were unknown to them without which a complete view was unattainable. What does Linus mean, we ask ourselves, when he says: "One sole energy governs all things?" How can sole energy governs all things? ' one sole energy governs an things. How can and the chair on which he sits? What is meant by an energy governing a chair? If by an effort we have made ourselves believe we understand something which can be better expressed by these words than by others, no sooner do we turn our backs than the ideas so painfully collected fly apart again. No matter how often we go in search of them, and force them into juxtaposition, they prove to have none of that innate coherent power with which ideas combine that we can hold as true and profitable.

Yet if Linus had confined his statement to living things, and had said that one sole energy governed all plants and animals, he would have come near both to being intelligible and true. For if, as we now believe, all animals and plants are descended from a single cell, they must be considered as cousins to one another, and as forming a single tree-like animal, every individual plant or animal of which is as truly one and the same person with the primordial cell as the oak a thouyears old is one and the same plant with the acorn out of which it has grown. This is easily understood, but will, I trust,

When Linus/says, "All things are unit and each portion is All; for of one integer things were born," it is impossible fo people-people who do not wish to use wo unless they mean the same things by th both they and others have be habit of meaning-to understand what is tended. How can each portion be all? can one Londoner be all London? I kno that this, too, can in a way be shown, the resulting idea is too far to fetch, a when fetched does not fit in well enough w our other ideas to give it practical and co mercial value. How, again, can all things born of one integer, unless the statement confined to living things, which alone can born at all, and unless a theory s intended, such as Linus would hardly have accented? Yet limit the " all things " to " all livin

things," grant the theory of evolution, an explain " each portion is All " to mean a is akin, and possesses the same essenti fundamental characteristics, and it is surpring how nearly Linus approaches both to trut and intelligibility.

It may be said that the animate and the nanimate have the same fundamental stance, so that a chair might rot and h sorbed by grass, which grass might be eaten by a cow, which cow might be eaten b man; and by similar processes the man m become a chair ; but these facts are not sented to the mind by saying that " energy governs all things "—a chair, we and a man; we could only say that nergy governed a man and a chair if chair were a reasonable living person, was actively and consciously engaged helping the man to attain a certain unless, that is to say, we are to depart fro all usual interpretation of words, in which cas we invalidate the advantages of language an all sanctions of morality.

All things shall again become unity ' intelligible as meaning that all things prot ably have come from a single elementary sub stance, say hydrogen or what not, and t they will return to it; but the explanation unity as being the " unity of multiplicity puzzles; if there is any meaning it is too condite to be of service to us.

(To be continued.)

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

La bezono de konstante etendiôanta ver ejo por siaj produktaĵoj ĉacas la kapitali taron laŭ la tuta supraĵo de la terglobo levas nestiĝi ĉie, enlokiĝi ĉie, starigi interril toin ĉie.

Per sia eksplutado de la komerca kampo la kapitalistaro estas doninta kosmopolit karakteron al produktado kaj konsumado Je la granda ĉagreno de la rea iu lando. cianoj, ĝi fortrenis el sub la pièdoj de indu rio la naciecan teron sur kiu ĝi staris. Ĉi jomlonge staritaj naciaj industrioj estas jam detruitaj aŭ nun ĉiutage detruataj. estas elŝovitaj de novaj industrioj, kies preno fariĝas afero de vivo aŭ morto al civilizitaj nacioj, de industrioj kiuj ne ellaboras enlandan krudan materialon, krudan materialon entiritan el plej malpr maj terzonoj ; industrioj kies produktaĵoj es konsumataj ne sole hejme, sed en ĉiu par de la mondo. Anstataŭ la malnovaj bezono satigataj de la produktaĵoj de la lando, trovas novajn bezonojn, postulantajn por satado la produktaĵojn de malproksimaj la doj kaj klimatoj. Anstataŭ la malnova lo doj kaj klimatoj. Anstataŭ la malnova lo kaj nacia memsufiĉeco, ni havas interrilatoj en ĉiun direkton, universalan interdepen econ de nacioj. Kaj kiel en la materia, tie ankaŭ en la intelekta produktado. La u telektaj kreaĵoj de individuaj nacioj farigas komuna propraĵo. Nacia unuflankeco kaj mallarĝanimeco fariĝas pli kaj pli multe neeb-laj, kaj el la multaj naciaj kaj lokaj literaturoj leviĝas unu tutmonda literaturo. Daŭrigota.

December 2, 1922.

COMMUNISM IN BULGARIA. New York Free-Markham, in the " writes from Bulgaria: Down the street, behind a vociferously

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ant drum and a gorgeous red flag of im-g dimensions, comes a long line of childd youth. The children are clad in red, nd youth. The children are clad in red, young men all wear flaming red shirts of Russian variety—the kind that nangs outside the trousers—and the young s all wear blouses of the same glowing On the arm of every marcher is a small emblem, representing a sickle and a her. The little girls have tied red is in their hair, and their older sisters bound narrow red bands around their , over which their curls flutter attracy are all marching with the preand vehemence of trained soldiers. official of some kind, also scarlet clad, them in perfect formation. Everyone iling and happy. They are all as erect yal guards, and as eager as spirited s. The drum beats, the flag waves, and the street they go, triumphantly

That was a Communist Sunday school, Bolshevik Y.M.C.A. without the C. group of young people represents one of most extraordinary social phenomena in h-eastern Europe. They are devotees of w religion, bearers of a new gospel, and ds of a new day. The Communists here, ether without intending it and knowing ave started a spiritual movement which great many respects is more akin to first-ury Christianity than anything the world een for centuries. turally this movement has swept over the

country, capturing the whole proletariat most of the youth. Just imagine! there Communist clubs among army officers, a large proportion of the primary teachers nists. At the polls the Comhists have elected the municipal Govern-tis in a large number of the more importcities. They represent the second strongest y in Bulgaria. They circulate far more ature than any other group. They are most vigorous and energetic social group the land

They have their own papers and gazines and halls and evening schools, and s and poems, and novels and dramas y completely ignore us other people. y think that they are the chosen people, salt of the earth, the light of the world. y tell all the young folks that if they want e anybody they must come over and join with them : and when they do get a new mber they puff him all up and make him I that they were holding up the whole show waiting for him to come in

What a going concern it all is! What our and vim and ' pep '! In every city, mmunists; in every village, Communists; rywhere, Communist clubs; on every billrd, Communist signs; every holiday, Comunist parades; and once every year, a great ommunist day when thirty thousand people inch through the capital, when everybody as on a picnic, when all work is stopped and world left to get along just any old way

How these Reds do give! Every Commist—they are all poor people getting from e to ten dollars a month—has given two eks' or a month's salary to the starving A mob burnt down their main ssians. ilding in the capital some time ago, but se poor Reds, all undaunted, chipped in work and material, and now, within oney, work and material, and how, while ss than a year, they are completing a very uch larger building, one of the finest in Sofia. hey have one of the biggest printing presses Bulgaria, and the most widely circulated aper, and no end of books. They have aper, and no end of books. They have beetings all the time, everywhere, addressed the most impudent and eloquent orators in e country.

A BULGARIAN COMMUNIST'S VIEW.

Although Bulgaria is only a small country with a population of about 4,000,000, thanks to her geographical position she is playing an of Scheidemann and Noske in Germany.

important part in world politics. Within her This made clear to the workers under the pre-war boundaries Bulgaria was the only social-patriotic flag the real character of their pre-war boundaries Bulgaria was the only country in Europe through which you could go to Constantinople and the Bosphorus by land. That is why, if Bulgaria had joined the Allies in the last war, Germany would have been defeated much sooner.

Bulgaria, with her high mountains thick forests, is the centre and key of the Balkan Peninsula. In order to rule over the Balkans you must first rule over Bulgaria Bulgaria is only 24 hours by sea from Soviet

Russia; and because of this and her peasant Government and strong Communist ment, Bulgaria is a source of great anxiety to the Entente politicians.

Bulgaria is a peasant country. Only 20 per cent. of the population live in the towns. The 80 per cent. live in the villages and are mostly small land-owners. The peasants are illiterate and very ignorant, while in the towns the people are much more educated. Bulgaria is a young State. She was 500 years under the Turkish yoke, and it is only forty years since she freed herself and became an independent State. All that 500 years the Bulgarians were fighting against the Turkish domination, but in vain. The terror exercised by the Turks against the Bulgarians made them revolutionary people. Already forty years ago they were fighting not only against the Turkish tyrants, but also against the wealthy Bulgarians who many times be trayed the revolutionary workers. The leading revolutionary in those days was Christo Botiev, a student of Karl Marx and

Tchernichevsky. Twenty-seven years ago the Social Demo-cratic Party of Bulgaria was formed by two Bulgarian students—Kirkov and Blagoev, the first of whom died a few years ago. Blagoev is to-day the father of the Communist Movement in Bulgaria. In 1903 there was a split in the old Social Democratic Party, when the more revolutionary elements left and formed a Left-Wing Social Democratic Party. These are now the present Communists.

In the two wars of 1912-13 and 1914-18 Bulgaria suffered a severe defeat, thanks to the Imperialist policy of the Government and its incapacity to direct internal or external policy from the nationalist standpoint. These two wars were two great catastrophies to Bulgaria. The best parts of the land-Dobrudja, Macedonia and Thrace-were given to her neighbours, the Rumanians, Serbs, and Greeks. Moreover, she was obliged to pay Moreover, she was obliged to pay tens of milliards of levas in reparations. poor workers and peasants have got to pay it, but they are not able to do it. There sits in Sofia an Inter-Allied Commission and a Bul-garian Minister recently said that an English, French, or Italian stenographer in the Com-mission has more power than all the Govern-ment institutions of Bulgaria taken together! He was right. Bulgaria is to-day politically and economically dependent on the Allies They want to give her a moratorium, on con-dition that the Inter-Allied Commission should take over control of all Government resources-mines, railways, banks, Customs,

The economic position of the masses is becoming worse and worse. They live in misery and starvation. There is also the usual unemployment. But there is something else also. There is class-consciousness. The masses of Bulgaria are much influenced by the Communist Party. There are only 80,000 workers and peasants organised in the Party, but when the election comes the Comr Party gets nearly a quarter of a million votes. The social patriots followed the example of Kautsky in supporting the last Imperialist war. The Communists, remaining true to their principles, were alone in protesting against the war, and in those days they were few and helpless. After the war, one of the social-patriotic leaders, Pastuchov, became a member of the Cabinet and Minister of Internal Affairs. The terror he exercised against the workers did not differ from that

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party, and soon nearly all the members went over to the Communist Party. One after another the different organisations in the towns and villages joined the local Communist Party, with all their members and leaders.

In the last General Election fifty-two Com munist deputies were elected to Parliament Besides this, the Communists have captured majorities on the municipalities of nearly all the towns and hundreds of villages.

Twenty thousand soldiers of Wrangel's army defeated by the Bolsheviki, together with the Russian civil refugees, founded in Bulgaria many Russian colonies. They opened their own schools and courts, made their own laws, and set up their own Government. They created a State within a State. Stambouli sky's Government knew this, but took no ugnout ugitedues teals a batter the Party organ, and by hundreds of through the Party organ, and by hundreds of meetings and demonstrations throughout the land, demanded the disarming of the Wrangel bands and their expulsion. The Government still did not act. Then came sensational revelations.

The police seized papers from the Wrangel headquarters in Sofia, and it was made known to the world that Wrangel, supported by the French Government and by the Bulgarian bourgeois opposition bloc, had planned to overthrow Stamboulisky and to set up his own reactionary Government. After killing all the Communist leaders and smashig the Communist movement, he had anned also to begin a fresh attack on Soviet Russia with the aid of the little Entente Powers. The plans for the coup d'etat were ready. It remained only to act. All the documents of this plot were published in the Communist Press. The Communist Party roused the masses, and Stamboulisky's Government was forced to act—to disarm, though not altogether, the bands, with the Generals, and expel some of them. But for the Communists, we should have had a Wrangel Government in Bulgaria, and a new attack on Soviet Russia. Not in vain has the Times " made recently the statement that the Stamboulisky Government must reckon wih the desires of the Bulgarian Communists

Stories have been circulated about an alliance between Stamboulisky's Government and the Communist Party. This is a shameless fabrication. The Communists are fighting recklessly against both the bourgeois bloc and the agrarian Government—a Government of the big land-owners. This is well known to the Bulgarian workers and peasants.

It was announced that Bulgaria had mobilised her army, in order to help the Turks against her neighbours. Then it was announced that Stamboulisky has considered treaties with the little Entente Powers and with France, according to which Bulgaria binds herself in helping them in their fight against Soviet Russia and Turkey. Whatever manoeuvres Stamboulisky may make, what-ever steps he may take, the Bulgarian Communist Party is on guard, and will at any moment, at any occasion, rouse the masses under its revolutionary flag, in order to prevent any new Imperialist war adventures The Bulgarian revolutionary workers and peasants are ready, and will fight, but not for the interests of the Capitalist class. When the time comes, they will seize the weapon and together with their oppressed brothers of the other lands will smash once for all this system of exploitation, misery, and starvation, and build up the new order of society, based on Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality—the Communist system. For this they are prepared, and this they will do.

[This article, as will be observed, makes no mention of the Workers' Party, Fourth International, news of which we shall give shortly. -Editor, " Workers' Dreadnought."]

A Word to the Hunger Marchers.

Mr. Bonar Law refuses to see you, fellow-workers; Mr. Bonar Law does not wish to encourage you to go tramping about the country. He wants you to stay quietly at home, and he will try to make you do so in future—that is quite certain. The Umpire has decided you cannot have the dole when you are hunger-marching. He also wishes you to stay quietly at home—that is clear. Some of the local authorities, through whose districts you passed on your way to London, refused to feed you or give you shelter: they did not wish to encourage your roving habits.

roving habits.

The St. Paneras Board of Guardians turned those of you out who had been sheltered in its Workhouse. You had overstayed the welcome of the St. Paneras Guardians—and it was not a very warm welcome at best, fellow-workless. Indeed, some of those who experienced it have told us they had not a decent meal whilst they were there. When we met them emerging from the Workhouse hotel they confided to us they were going to have a look at the restaurant windows, in the hope that the sight of food would appease the hungry inner man.

To-day you are following in Suffragette lootsteps, fellow-workless; the Suffragettes were kept out of the political system: you are thrust out of the economic system. You have adopted similar courses.

The Suffragettes never made the mistake of asking, much less following, the advice of The Suffragettes never made the mistake of asking, much less following, the advice of Members of Parliament. They knew they had nothing to gain from wire-pulling and com-promise. They understood that their business was to make themselves unpleasant: and they did it with vigour and persistence. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald tells you that you should be quiet and let the Labour Party speak for you. The Suffragettes were told the same thing; but they were not so foolish as to obey. If you continue to make yourselves unpleasant, you will undoubtedly get something, fellow-workless; but you will not get anything substantial by merely going on a deputation to Bonar Law.

Bonar Law.

If you want to get something big you must do something big.

If you want to abolish poverty and unemployment, you must smash the Capitalist system. You must take the land and the means of production and transport out of the hands of the private capitalist who does not work. You must vest these things in the whole community. You must set up a system in which all shall work, and in which production shall be for use and not for profit. You must set up the Soviets. You must establish Communism, in short.

How, fellow-workers and fellow-workless? How?

By education, agitation, organisation and action. Educate yourselves and your com-rades to understand Communism. Agitate 10r Communism. Organise those who are pre-pared to act for Communism in every centre where work is carried on.

Cont. from p. 3.

up the chestnuts and robbed her. When you consider that chestnuts cost nothing to cultivate, but are a free gift of nature, like air and water, and that they now sell at ten times the price before the war, you will appreciate the greed and unsocial instinct of the peasant. People have to be educated before they are capable of social work. Communists ought to consider this point. I think as advanced ideas grow up among the more evolved town workers these are apt to neglect the food pro-ducers, without whose collaboration a revolution has little chance of success. An armed insurrection, like that of Mussolini, which ne dignifies with the name of revolution, might be got up; but it is bound to fizzle out, unless it is only a preliminary to a real revolution of social standards

Perhaps this difficulty is apt to be over-looked in England, which is so largely industrial; but it is very much in evidence on the

Another point is that a revolution has small chance of success if it is not international, so it behaves Communists to think out the problems involved, not only in their own country, but in other countries.

Did you know that J. J. Rousseau, in his Contrat Social, book III., ch. 25, said that a people with representative government are slaves, except during the period of the elections?

As to the dose of castor oil administered by As to the dose of castor oil administered by the Fascisti, this is not a figure of speech. When the Fascisti got hold of Socialists they did not want to beat or kill, women, for in-stance, they forced them to drink a glass of castor oil, then they blackened or painted their faces, cut off their beards, and otherwise in-sulted them. Ada Costa was treated so among many others. ENNOIA.

ENNOTA

COMMUNIST ESPERANTO GROUPS

Manchester and District meets every Friday, 8 p.m., at Labour College. 32A Dale Street, Manchester, Secretary, H. B. Robinson, 10 Jane Street, Eccles New Road, Salford, Manchester.

RATIONAL LIVING.

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

THE COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT. Works-for the replacement of the present system by Communism, a classless order of society in which the land and the means of distribution and transport shall be held in common to be used freely by all. There shall be no money, barter, buying and selling, wages, or direct reward for services rendered. All shall give according to their abilities, and take accord-ing to their needs and desires. There will be no need for stinting or rationing, because the community can produce more than its members can use.

Members can use. All shall share the productive work. Short hours of labour at essential tasks for all will allow of abundant leisure for study, recreation, travel, and all sorts of research and creative work, undertaken at will, for love of the work and the community. Administration of production and distribution shall be by Soviets or Councils of those who do the work. Inked together locally, industrially, nationally, and internationally.

METHODS.

To spread knowledge of Communism amongst the people

To create an All-Workers' Industrial Revolutionary Union of employed and unemployed workers:

(a) Built up from the workshop basis, covering all workers, regardless of sex, craft, or grade, who pledge themselves to work for the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of Communism administered by the workers' Soviets.

(b) Organised into departments for each industry service.

In other words, to create the Soviets in the work-shops in order that they may dispossess the Capitalist and afterwards carry on under Communism. To take no part in elections to Parliament and the local governing bodies, to expose their futility, either to protect, or to emancipate the workers, or to ad-minister Communism.

To refuse affiliation or unity with the Labour Party, and all Reformist and Parliamentary Parties.

which To at tional For

To emancipate the workers from the Trade Unions, which are merely palliative institutions. To affiliate with the Communist Workers' Interna-tional (Fourth International). For further particulars apply to the Communist Workers' Movement Secretary at 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

SONNET.

To stir sweet sympathy, to lure some mate "Not for itself the wild bird thrills the grove The small breast throbs with love and joy elate

And to some sister pines the brooding dove

But, barred out from its kind, beneath, above E'en in this lonely, hopeless, piteous state The baffled instinct fights alone with fate, He sings apart to his own dream of love

And so shall I. Thrice poisoned by my curse, My fate; my sin, within my own locked heart To lifelong solitude doomed though I seem:

Yet shall I ever in my bosom nurse My fair ideal, high, unmoved, apart; Yet shall I sing for ever to my dream. —John Barlas

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT. Central London Group meets Thursdays, 152 Fleet Street, 8 p.m. For Group business, 9 to 10 p.m. Speakers' class and study circle open, to non-members, taken by Sylvia Pankhurst. Secretary, S. Cahill, 60 Limes Grove, Lewisham, S.E. 13.

THE ALL-WORKERS' UNION OF REVOLUTIONARY WORKSHOP COMMITTEES, For all particulars, write Secretary, c/o "Workers" Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

Send for the Catalogue of the "Dreadnought" Publishers and Bookshop. It will be supplied free on application to 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

THE COMMUNIST LIFE For mutual service. Secretary, 36 St. Peter's Hill, Grantham. Miss Hodson

THE "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT." Agents and canvasers wated in London and the provinces.—Apply the Manager, "Workers' Dread-nought," 152 Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £337 7s. 54d. M. McMahon, 11/5; Captain A. St. John, £1; W. Pentney, 5/-; J. E. Keane, 1/-; Social and Sale, £24 18s. 9d. Total for fortnight, £26 16s. 2d. Total, £364 3s. 74d.

SOCIAL AND SALE.

The Social and Sale held at the Building Labourers' Hall, Blackfriars Road, last Satur-day, in aid of the "Dreadnought" Fund, was most successful. £24 18s. 9d. was the net total realised for the "Dreadnought" Fund, the expenses having been kept down to a mini-mum. The "Dreadnought tenders most cordial appreciation to the comrades who originated the project, and to all who helped to secure success

STOP-WATCH COMPETITION.

Many stop-watch competition books have not yet been sent in. In response to many requests, the time of returning has been post-poned to December 15th, by which date all are requested to return the books.

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

An open letter to President Harding from fifty-two members of the I.W.W. in Leaven-worth Penitentiary who refuse to apply for Individual Clemency. General Defence Com-mittee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago,

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

THE SEARCHLIGHT.