

The Searchlight on the Dead End.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 15.

SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1922.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

POEMS BY ISAAC NEWMAN.

HOME-LONGING.

I heard in the outways of some smoke-veiled city
The far-born labourer play his canzonette;
Lonely his lay did voice his own sad solace,
His song was joyous, yet it sounded sad.

I heard the languorous ebbing of calm noon-tides,
Where mountain forests tapering shadows cast;
I heard the murmuring of Italian summers
Across the glimm'ring visions of the past;
I heard the melodious voice of long-dumb sorrows;

I heard the lone-lorn heart entreat in vain:
"Here I am lone, O here I'm sad, I'm weary.
Come, let us thither, let us home again."

VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.

She stood at the prow of a galley,
Wings outspread, head erect, body striving
forward,—
Dashing ahead.
Startling, ploughing through, and shattering
The waves on every side;
Dashing ahead.
Men saw her and said: "This is Victory."

She disappeared.
Centuries later they dug out from the earth
a broken thing.
Neither had arms, nor had it a head—
They were gone—
It had only wings.
And Time said: "This is Victory."

AMERICA.

I.

America, thou marvel of the West,
Thou art yet beautiful, thou art yet young:
O'er thy vast plains and towering mountain
crests
Yet Nature sings her old, primeval song.
See thy streams a mesh of silver flung
O'er thy green continent, thy forests wild
In hazy dreams, traditionless, unsung
In these hide beauties that no man defiled.
See, thou art young, America, thy people—yet
a child.

II.

A child of naught else conscious but the urge
Of tiding energies, who would disown
The ardour and the passion and the urge
Of other forces to the older known.
See in thee a social system grown
To its full height, and this is what it's worth!
Set in this very soil, I know, are sown
The seeds of a bright future—the re-birth
Of a great mankind, of a better life on earth.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

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

The high cost of produc-
tion of the paper necessitate prompt payment

CONSTITUTION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE,

The draft of the Irish Free State Constitution cannot satisfy the Republicans. It leads off by stating that the Free State is a member of the British Commonwealth, and it goes on to emphasise very thoroughly the power of the British Crown in Ireland.

The Irish Parliament, says the Constitution, "shall consist of the King and two Houses." The members of Parliament shall take an oath to be "faithful to King George V., his heirs and successors by law." The Bills passed by the Free State Parliament must be sent to the representative of the British King for his assent. This assent may be refused or reserved, and if it is reserved for more than a year the Bill disappears. The executive authority of the Irish Free State is vested in the King, whose representative shall appoint an Executive Committee, four of whom shall be nominated by the lower House from its members. The other eight, who shall not be members of Parliament, shall be nominated by a Committee of the Chamber.

The Constitution is most involved, but clearly the British Crown retains complete power. In normal times its exercise may appear a matter of form, but should a clash of interests arise, then the power of the Crown could, and would, be exercised. There shall be a Governor-General appointed by the British Crown. The judges are to be appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Executive Council.

War.

"Save in the case of actual invasion, the Irish Free State shall not be committed to active participation in any war without the assent of Parliament."

Does "actual invasion" mean the actual invasion of Ireland? If not, the phrase is meaningless—there is always invasion of some country or other in time of war.

Proportional Representation, Referendum, Women's Rights.

The draft contains some democratic features which have not yet found their way to this country. Women are given complete political equality with men. Proportional representation is introduced. The Referendum may operate under certain conditions, and the initiation by the people of proposals for laws or constitutional amendments may be introduced if Parliament made provision for it, or if 100,000 voters petition for it, and a referendum vote of the people afterwards approve it.

Twelve Year Barnacles.

Nevertheless, the draft includes a number of checks upon the working of democratic government. There is a Chamber of Deputies, to which every man or woman over twenty-one may vote or be elected, but there is also a Senate. The Senate is not a House of Lords, but, says the draft Constitution, it "shall be composed of citizens who have done honour to the nation by reason of useful public service, or who, because of special qualifications or attainments, represent important aspects of the nation's life." Members of the Senate must have reached thirty-five years. Each University shall elect two representatives to the Senate. The other members of the Senate are to be elected by persons over thirty years of age from a panel.

Two-thirds of this panel shall be nominated by the Chamber of Deputies, one-third shall be nominated by the Senate. Persons who at any time have been members of the Senate are eligible for re-election. The method of proposal and selection for nomination to the panel shall be decided by the Chamber and Senate respectively, "with special reference for arranging for the representation of important interests and institutions in the country."

The Senators are to be elected for twelve years! One-fourth of them will retire for re-election every three years.

A strong reactionary block will thus be built up as a bulwark against change.

From the Lumber Room of History.

Money Bills shall be dealt with by the Chamber alone, but if two-thirds of the Chamber desire it, the question whether a Bill is or is not a Money Bill shall be referred to a Committee of Privileges composed of three members elected by each House and the senior judge of the Supreme Court. Truly this constitution smells very musty! Its procedure is more futile in some respects than that of Westminster, which it largely follows. Why should the Free State have gone to the Westminster lumber-room for the framework of its constitution?

A Money Bill may in any case be sent to the Senate for its recommendations, and must be returned within fourteen days. Other Bills must be sent to the Senate, which may keep them 270 days, or longer, if the two Houses so agree. A joint sitting of the members of both Houses may debate, but not vote, upon the Bill. Eventually, it appears the Lower House will prevail if the House fail to agree, unless the Crown should refuse assent, as it certainly would, in support of a reactionary Senate.

"No law may be made, either directly or indirectly, to endow any religion." From our point of view, that is good; but this is, of course, a British Protestant attack on Irish Roman Catholicism, and therefore an interference with Irish freedom and democracy. Our Tories would cry out against such action by a Communist State, of course.

"No law may be made to divert from any religious denomination or educational institution any of its property except for roads, railways, lighting, or drainage works." If diverted for such purposes, compensation must be paid.

This is interesting, in view of the present British claim that Soviet Russia, and all States, are entitled to nationalise any property on payment of compensation. Lloyd George and his Government are making this claim in regard to Russia because British capitalism wants concessions hitherto held by capitalists of other nationalities. The French and Belgian Governments oppose because they do not desire the oil and other concessions held by their nationals to pass over to the British. The confiscation of Church property by the State is a time-honoured custom. The French Revolution found that to despoil the Church was the readiest measure to stave off national bankruptcy.

Regulating Freedom.

Article IX. is odd: it guarantees freedom to express opinion of assembly, freedom of association or union "for purposes not opposed to public

morality." That phrase may be widely construed: what precisely does it mean? It certainly opens the door to coercion.

The right of assembly may only be exercised "peaceably without arms." The Treaty Party, when it governs, evidently does not propose to grant to others the freedom in this respect which it has insisted upon exercising itself. Article XI. further refers to "laws regulating the manner in which the right of free assembly may be exercised."

Surely freedom requires no regulation!! Article XIII. gives the Irish Parliament power to sit where it pleases. Is trouble expected in Dublin?

Article XI. declares that the right of the Free State to national resources of importance shall not be alienated. That sounds a progressive step, but the article continues: "Their exploitation by private individuals or associations shall be permitted only under State supervision and in accordance with conditions and regulations approved by legislation."

Truly this will be named a constitution of compromise in many directions!

The Chamber may not continue without re-election for more than four years. It may not be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council, a Cabinet under another name, with similar powers.

Parliament may create "subordinate legislatures" and "Vocational Councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the nation," on what basis is not specified.

The Paralyzing Hand of Privilege.

Persons who object to a law passed by Parliament may appeal to the High Court, and from thence to the Supreme Court, against its validity. The abuses to which this procedure gives rise in the United States are well known. The U.S. Supreme Court sets its veto on most of the mild progressive legislation attempted in the States. American judges come out for re-election from time to time, but the Free State judges are to be irremovable like the British. They cannot be displaced "except for stated misbehaviour or incapacity, and then only by resolutions passed by both the Chamber and the Senate."

Any person who objects to the decision of the Supreme Court may appeal from it, but to one authority alone. He must petition His Majesty for special leave to appeal from the Supreme Court to his Majesty in Council."

The right of the British Government and Crown to intervene in Ireland is fully secured. The checks upon the free exercise of democracy are comprehensive.

From the democratic standpoint the draft constitution therefore leaves much to be desired; whilst to those who are Sovietists, like ourselves, it is wholly unsatisfactory. Of course, that was inevitable.

On with the Soviet movement.

SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

A CHILD'S LESSON, "ORIGINAL SIN."

By TOM ANDERSON.

This is a curious subject to write about for girls and boys. Still, you have all heard about it, and the teachers in your schools have told you the story of Adam and Eve, the first man and woman in the world. Of course it is not true, but they told you it was, because they were told so, and they are but repeating the story.

How funny! I always laugh when I think or write about "Original Sin." It is the "Jack-the-Giant-Killer" of our feeble brains. It is a real "Blue Beard," and so we are all frightened and say nothing for fear we might be wrong.

The story is given in the Bible that God made a man (Adam) out of the dust of the ground, and blew into his nostrils the breath of life. And He found that the man was lonely, and so He caused a deep sleep to fall on him. And as he slept He took out one of his ribs and made a mate for him—a woman (Eve). That is very nice. It is a beautiful Eastern

story. It is not true, but that does not matter; it reads well and pleases us.

Eve was one day walking in the garden. She had no clothes on, neither had Adam, because "original sin" had not yet come into the world. And if "original sin" had never come, we never would have required clothes. That may seem strange; still, that is what the story says. And whenever you look at people with clothes on you can say that is the result of sin.

Eve stood looking at a tree with beautiful apples on it when another god came along they called the Serpent. He was not as great as the God that made Adam and Eve, but he was acquainted with all the doings of the other God. So he said to Eve "Good morning, lady," and Eve said "Good morning, sir." "Beautiful apples," said the serpent God. It is not usual for a serpent to speak, but the serpent of our Bible story was a god-serpent, and as such he had the power of speech. We have never had a serpent that has spoken since. But that does not matter, it's part of our story.

Eve said to the serpent that her husband had been told by God not to eat any of the apples of the "tree of life" or they would be punished; but she said that they could take any fruit or apples from any other tree in the garden. The god-serpent laughed a little laugh and said, "Nonsense, my lady. God is only jealous because He knows that if you eat the fruit of this tree you will know as much as He, and then you will become as gods."

Eve was just a little afraid, but the serpent coaxed her and she did eat. And then her eyes were opened, and she went in search of Adam; and when she found him she coaxed him, and he did eat as well. And his eyes were also opened, and he knew he was naked.

You will see from this that "original sin" was the eating of the apple. I wonder what would have happened if Eve had ate an orange instead? The story does not say. It would have been well for the world if there had been no apples; then we would have had no sin, no rich, and no poor, no masters, and no servants, no kings and no queens, no getting married or having children because "original sin" means having children, and every child that is born into the world is born in sin. Everyone should read the beautiful fairy-story as given in the first book of the Bible. I could tell you how the story came to be written, but that would take too long. But I want you to remember that man was living in the world 500,000 years before the period of the Adam and Eve episode, and that is the reason the story has got all mixed up. For all that, it is a good story; and if you want a fairy-play, make it "Adam and Eve."

HAPPENINGS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

In 1789 there are said to have been 300,000 French peasants attached as serfs to the soil of their feudal lords, unable either to sell their goods or to transmit them except to those of their children who lived with them. There were also large numbers of peasants and townsmen who were under personal obligations to the lords. It is estimated that the nobility and clergy held, as a rule, half the lands of the village, besides having feudal rights over the lands held by the peasants. Nearly all lands paid something, either in money or a portion of the crops, to some lord or other. Since 1776 the impoverished lords and their stewards had been squeezing the peasants to get as much as they could out of them. In 1780 there had been a wide revision of the land registers for the purpose of augmenting the dues.

The Church tithes often amounted to a fifth, or even a quarter, of all harvests, and the clergy even claimed a share of the grasses and nuts the peasants gathered. The clergy agreed to the abolition of tithes, but wanted the nation to give a regular salary to its clergy. It was decided by the Assembly that whilst means to support the clergy from other sources were being found, the tithes should be paid as formerly, and the tithes which the clergy had sold to private individuals should be paid until they were redeemed at the price of thirty years' payments.

As to the right of killing game, after apparently opening this to everyone, the Assembly decided later that the game could only be destroyed upon his land by the owner of inherited property.

As to the resolutions of August 4th, which in principle abolished the feudal rights, the King wrote to the Archbishop of Arles: "The sacrifice of the first two Orders of the State is fine; but I can only admire it; I will never consent to the spoliation of my clergy and nobility. I will never give my sanction to decrees which would despoil them."

On August 11th the Assembly decided to publish the resolutions passed by it on the 4th. It also accorded to the King the title of "Restorer of French Liberty," and ordered that the *Te Deum* be sung in the chapel of the palace. The President of the Assembly conveyed its messages to the King, who replied that he would accept the title with gratitude and would be present at the *Te Deum*.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED.

For clerical work in the Dreadnought Office, 152 Fleet Street, E.C.

For selling the Workers' Dreadnought and other literature.

For the organisation of meetings, etc., in support of Left-Wing Communism and the Workers' Dreadnought.

To show Dreadnought posters or to secure their display by others.

SPICE.

J. H. THOMAS, THE CHEQUERS, AND LADY ASTOR.

On June 13th the *Daily Herald* joyfully reported a dinner of the English-speaking Union at which Lady Astor and Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railwaymen's M.P., appeared to be very jovial boon companions.

"Who wants to look at the pictures of the owners of the Press?" asked Lady Astor. "Who cared a twopenny dump what Lord St. and-So thought? Let him think aloud in the House of Lords."

"Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., proposing the health of the chairman, said that shortly there was to be an end of the present Government, and he intended asking Lady Lee of Fareham to be good enough to give Mrs. Thomas a few tips on running the Chequers—(laughter)—but Mrs. Lloyd George had passed him a note saying that she and her husband had not cleared out yet. (Loud laughter.)"

In the same issue of the *Daily Herald*, June 13th, 1922, appeared also the following: "In connection with the resolution put forward by two branches of the National Union of Railwaymen requesting the general secretary, J. H. Thomas, M.P., to withdraw from the Privy Council or resign his position as general secretary, the members of the Deptford branch place on record the fact that they still retain full confidence in Mr. Thomas as general secretary of the Union."

How guileless art thou, O British Trade Unionist!

SOVIET RUSSIA AS I SAW IT

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

TWO SHILLINGS and SIXPENCE.

SOME PRESS NOTICES.

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

—Daily Herald.

FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

They were worried at the office of a Communist weekly. The editor looked tired and pale there in its bondage. The hideous word "struggle" seemed to be dancing in the air before his eyes, whilst all the heroic little daily sacrifices of the devoted few were striving like frail waifs to blot it out. One felt sure that before they could end their task the bailiff or some other unwelcome stranger might come knocking heavily up the stairs at any moment.

Miss Mayence, warm-hearted, was fired with sympathy and with enthusiasm. She would go to a well-to-do cousin, who had grown from poverty to affluence in the service of wealthy philanthropists, whose riches had a secure capitalist basis, shrewdly controlled. He had received a helping hand: he would sympathise with others. He had no children to board for. Moreover, he was a Socialist—an old Socialist. He would like to help. She would go to him.

She went swiftly, as was her wont. From the dusty sun-burned street, she entered the shade of the spacious leisurely premises. Their magisterial comfort and security made their impression on her. For a moment she hesitated in the wide passage. Then he faced her, unexpectedly emerging from a suddenly opened door. He had grown stouter and stiffer, and had changed unrecognisably.

She greeted him timidly. He recognised her, because she had telephoned for this appointment just fifteen minutes ago. They scarcely shook hands. He ushered her into a vast room with bill-gold walls, luxurious arm-chairs, low cushioned divans, and flowers on polished tables. The windows revealed a green garden.

They looked at each other without any mutual passage of sympathy, exchanging some commonplace. She felt as though she had never seen him before. His grey morning suit was new and well cut. His silk stockings afforded her sense of fitness. They looked out of keeping with the big heavy frame, and accentuated the impression that his ankles were too thin to support him. His face, bronzed by the sun, was hard and expressionless, as though it were carved in wood. He was clean-shaven, and his long upper lip was deeply grooved. He looked like an American, she thought.

Uninterested in her, despising her for her cheap work-a-day dress, he was impatient to show her errand and pass on to his luncheon engagement with someone else. She told her tale of the earnest few and their struggles, but lamely, because of his lack of response.

"I thought you might help," she ventured. "I'm afraid not," curtly, finally. He told her that he had lost a life's savings in the past year of bad trade, declaring that it was doubtful whether he would pull through at all. She expressed polite regret, quietly inchedulous, ruminating on the substantial commodities, the basic wealth in which his interests lay.

The vials of his wrath broke forth against the revolutionary opinion of those for whom she had headed. She parried his outburst quietly. His complaints flowed on in denunciation of the working class for its ignorance in having returned the present Government. Then he attacked the Labour Party and the Trade Unions for their materialism, and the Socialists for not bringing up to their principles. "They are not even kind to their servants," he said.

"I don't know anything about that," Miss Mayence answered contemptuously; "the Socialists I know; the people I live amongst are not people who have servants; they are poor, and they give to the movement all they can spare from a bare existence. "Oh, I know what it is to be poor," he said, little reproachfully, a little testily. "I know that it is to work; we used to help my mother back the grates and take home the washing. I am not speaking from theory when I talk about poverty."

Then he glided back into what was obviously his favourite theme with him, his voice growing softer and his face melting into smiles. He felt good, irreparably good, as he talked:

"I remember dear old Keir Hardie telling me of some people he stayed with; he said he would never stay in that house again! They had taken him to the theatre, or the opera, or some place, and they kept up the drudge till they came home, to see if they wanted anything—a drink or something when they came in."

"Keir Hardie was working for a society in which there will be no servants," Miss Mayence observed.

"I don't see why, if one is kind to them. They are glad to work for one, if they feel they are considered and appreciated. Why, at a little place we've got in the country—my wife and I—we've got two maids. When I come in, one or other of them always comes up to take off my shoes. 'You're tired,' they say. They love to do such things for you, if you're kind to them."

He lounged back expansively in his chair. He was like a great cat, purring with pleasure at being patted. To Miss Mayence he seemed to have grown so soft that his visage was literally melting, the eyes and nose and mouth flowing into each other. She was quivering with disapproval. He called himself a Socialist. She felt as though the solid world were changing into the grey intangibilities of space. She broke in, blushing because she felt herself a novice in argument, but a little fiercely:

"Under Communism we shall all do, for a few hours a day, some of the manual work, the routine work that is drudgery if one is obliged to work at it constantly. We shall all do our share of that, and we shall not compel anyone to do that only—"

"I don't see it. I like manual work," he rejoined. "It is my pleasure to work with the gardener when I can get away from the office."

"How smug he is," she thought, and turned on him:

"You would not like to work in the garden all the hours the gardener works there. You would not like to have only his wages, only his house and education! Surely you can see that everyone ought to have a share of culture."

"What is culture? I've known old men and women who could neither read nor write—"

"So have I, and anyone can exploit them and take advantage of them. They are dependent on the chance of someone coming along to help them—even to get the pensions they are entitled to. They are liable to be defrauded at every turn."

"That isn't a question of culture."

"Would you like to be in that position? Surely you do not condone a system which leaves masses of people in ignorance: deprived of the knowledge of affairs, of history, of science, of the arts, of the discoveries and achievements of civilisation? I thought all who call themselves Socialists or Communists were agreed that everyone should have the opportunity of knowing something about everything, everything about something. I thought Socialists and Communists were all working for a society without classes, so that there would neither be the rich and the poor, nor the leisured and educated, and the over-worked workers with only an elementary education."

"I can't project my mind into a state of society like that," he answered impatiently.

She was silent. He plunged into an attack on French militarism:

"I admit the poor are suffering; that is because trade is bad. It will not revive till we get peace. The French are preventing that. They don't care what this country suffers, or any country suffers, so long as they get every penny they were promised by the Peace Treaty. Their behaviour has drawn me much nearer to the Germans. I've no sympathy with the French. They are determined to get their pound of flesh at any cost to others."

The softness had gone from his voice. Miss Mayence retorted: "The British capitalists are just the same."

He tossed his head.

"The feeling among the German working class is much finer than among the French."

"So far as that is true, it is merely due to the capitalist Press. German capitalists at present desire to establish peaceful relations with the rest of the world. French capitalists want

the indemnities first. British capitalists want to get on with trade; they have got substantial war spoils in the shape of German colonies and Mesopotamian oil.

"We need money just as much as the French," he snapped. "The German colonies have got to be developed; the British Empire needs developing; Canada isn't developed; India isn't developed. Meanwhile, the French are holding up everything. It is intolerable." He was almost shouting. "They don't care for anyone but themselves. We and our trade have got to suffer because of their policy, their greed, their blatant militarism."

His humanitarianism had fallen from him like a cloak. His thick neck swelled, his face reddened. He leaned forward, his eyes starting with passion. He had become the embodiment of the jingo "Mr. Fat" whose strident cries will roar—in the next war.

"And he is a Labour candidate," Miss Mayence reflected, as she went her way along the Strand, crowded with grasping business men such as he. The sun poured down on them and on the motor-buses laden with striving humanity lumbering by, on the massive buildings; on the people who are "down and out," standing in the gutter to sell their trumpery wares, or loafing, empty-handed, at the corners.

The immensity of capitalism presented itself to her in crushing shape. Her young enthusiasm waned and faltered. Visions chased each other through her mind. She saw a woman with children clinging about her, sinking beneath dark waters, with piteous, pleading eyes. She saw poor folk who crouched in the sunny roadway and were ridden down by the flashing motor-cars. She saw a great hall thronged with gorgeously-dressed people, feasting and dancing. A ragged boy crept in and plucked at the jewelled gown of one of the women. The magnificent company turned upon him and battered him to death.

She stepped on, stung by her dreams and by the newspaper placards comparing the punishment of Jacoby and True.

She met Frank Penman by appointment and unburdened herself to him on an embankment seat.

He rallied her kindly:

"It is not so bad as you say; and as for the office, they've paid the worst of it for the moment. A few postal-orders came in, as they usually do, and a poor fellow on the dole made up the bill with a loan of a few pounds—marvellous chap! There certainly are some good comrades in the movement. When I go in and see them sometimes I feel a skunk for not doing more myself. I always mean to, but one gets absorbed in one's own work."

"Will there ever be any change? I sometimes wonder?" she questioned.

He answered: "Of course there will! Do you really suppose people will always go on tolerating things as they are? That affair at Buckingham Palace the other day, for instance, and then the unemployed!"

LATEST BOOK FROM AMERICA.

The Dreadnought Book Shop has just received a consignment of books from Kerr's Publishing House, Chicago. Order early to avoid disappointment.

LEAKEY'S INTRODUCTION TO ESPERANTO La Lingvo Internacia Price 4d., post free.

Clear, simple and entertaining for students of all ages. Specially recommended for Proletarian Schools and Classes.

COMMUNIST PILGRIMS.

We continue to receive applications for speakers to go into other districts for Communist propaganda, and wish to hear from comrades able to do this work.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOUNDED 1914.

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

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

Vol. IX. No. 15. Saturday, June 24, 1922.

PROPHETIC WORDS.

F. W. Sanderson, the headmaster of Oundle School, who died on the platform of University College after his address on "The Duty and Service of Science in the New Era," uttered in that last lecture of his some prophetic words. He declared that industrial troubles are "due to the fact that the machine invented by scientists is controlled by men of different outlook and vision—hence such inharmonious and unscientific relations as that of master and man."

Evidently this great teacher was a Communist in the fullest sense of the term. Did the scientists who heard him understand the meaning of his declaration?

H. G. Wells, whose sons were pupils of Sanderson at Oundle, told the audience that his boys reported:

"When the old man is talking nonsense it is time to listen. When he seems to be wandering most he is coming to the point."

So it would appear from the teacher's last lecture. Sanderson further observed:

"A member of the present Government has said 'We can't change economics!' That is just what scientists have got to do. Mechanical changes have rushed in before the organisation they require has arisen. Scientific men are needed to re-write every branch of knowledge, even our dictionaries. The Oxford Dictionary, for instance, has no satisfactory definition of democracy."

"The scientific reorganisation of society will expand from the schools through Labour problems right into the realm of international affairs. Not only laws, but human nature itself, can, and will, be changed. Scientists have to collect a band of disciples and proclaim a new world."

At Oundle, Sanderson said, by introducing engineering and applied science, agriculture, metallurgy, bio-chemistry, a scope had been provided for every boy. Even the duller had work he liked. Forms and systems of promotion disappeared. The love of work spread and competition dwindled.

"Competition," he said, "is a feeble incentive, and not nearly as strong in humanity as the love to create."

That is our own contention. We like to have the admission from a scientist whose laboratory was a school and whose principal study was the young human being and the way to train it and induce it to work. It is commonly argued that Communism is impossible, and that the old capitalist system, with all its admitted evils, must remain because mankind would not produce a sufficiency to maintain itself without the spur of competition and individual gain. Here, however, we have one of the great scientists coming forward to tell us, as a result of scientific experiment, that the desire to create is 'the greatest of all incentives to human effort.'

This great incentive the teacher declared to be strong enough to overcome all need of punishment. As headmaster, he had never taken any part in punishing his pupils. Indeed, he said:

"Punishment is not only a crime, but a blunder, damaging to the effective vitality of the community." At Oundle punishment had been left to the prefects, but they had entirely abandoned it.

"The modern school," said Sanderson, "is not made by abandoning Greek and introducing science, but by pressing into the service of man every branch of knowledge. Boys soon cease in the workshops to want to make things for themselves or their mother. Their ambition is to take part in some great work. At Oundle we

do not teach subjects like geography; we teach boys to discover the truth about the standards of life among the Durham miners or the Chinese workers, because thus we may enlist scientific knowledge in the service of mankind."

These were the teacher's last words. How many of his hearers understood their message?

The Poet Completes the Postman.

The *Times*, in a recent leading article, said: "There appeared recently in our columns a review of the work of a poet who was also a postman. The conjunction inspires a first feeling of surprise; but, surely, though unusual, it is neither unnatural nor unparalleled. For all men need, and most men practise, though not all consciously, a refreshing dichotomy of function. The division is normally between the utilitarian and the ornamental; between bread-and-butter and recreation. It marks a natural turning from that which makes life possible to that which makes life worth while. Unhappy they who are so immersed in the common task that they have no time, possibly even no desire, for the adornment of existence. They are the lopsided ones of life, shut up in the narrow ring of vain repetitions. . . . So the postman is completed by the poet. . . . Even so the medieval building, the plain and primary purpose of the architect accomplished, broke out rejoicingly into 'grotesque gargoyles.' It is the cry of the 'abyssal depths of personality' for their just due. . . . The clerk who by day meekly carries out routine instructions may by night sway, with the dictatorial eye of the conductor, the orchestra in which his daytime master is a volunteer."

Quite so. The *Times* leader-writer has here expressed precisely our own view; but the ideal can scarcely be realised when the vast majority of us are, as the writer puts it, "immersed in the 'common task'" so that we are wearied out when we have completed our long day's toil at it, and are beside distracted by penury, and therefore forced into innumerable mean, time-wasting and devaluing economies.

The *Times* is working to retain the present system, in which the minority are producers, the majority are parasites: parasites who live on rents and interest, parasites who cannot obtain work and exist on the unemployment dole, parasites who work—often too hard—at buying and selling and advertising commodities, parasites who administer pensions and doles, parasites who staff the police force and the prisons, parasites who man and equip the Army and Navy, the parasites connected with one of the largest industries in the country to-day: betting, the parasites who act as flunkies to the rich. The mass of useless toil entailed by the capitalist system is perpetually growing. The vast number of non-workers and workers in useless, parasitic occupations, who are supported by the minority of producers, becomes ever greater and greater.

The Human Martyrdom.

Now that the fall in foreign exchanges and the extension of manufacturing in other countries, accelerated during the war, and the closing of the Russian market have reduced British exports, not only are the actual producers of export goods visited by unemployment, but also the clerks who kept account of the transactions, the salesmen, and the agents, the railway men, the dockers, the seamen who carried the goods, the people who were employed by the speculators in foreign goods.

As they fall out of employment these people cease to be buyers of any but bare necessities, and so the home market declines with the export trade.

Humanity suffers a martyrdom in its quest for surplus profit. The producers must produce immensely more than they consume; they must exist on a mere pittance in order that surplus profit may be made out of their production. Unless surplus profits can be made, industry comes to a standstill: the wants of the people go unsatisfied.

In Camberwell three families are living in a little hut made out of some rough pieces of wood covered with old oilcloth, with a sheet of tarpaulin weighted with stones for the roof, and divided into a compartment for each family. They are living thus because, being unemployed,

they were unable to pay the high rent charged for their rooms. They were evicted. They sought shelter in an empty house attached to a disused brewery owned by the Government. The police turned them out of the house, leaving them and their furniture on the paving outside the brewery. There, at the edge of the street, they lived for eight months, more miserably than gipsies; in the centre of the town, without sanitary conveniences, without windows or chimneys.

The fathers of these most miserable families served in the war; they are the "boys" whom were promised "homes fit for heroes to live in."

One of these "heroes" secured employment with a builder when first he was demobilised, but this builder could not find enough work to keep the man employed. Therefore, because the builder cannot obtain orders to build houses, this man and his family must go homeless. It does not pay the capitalist to invest his money in building houses for the workers: other investments are more profitable.

Trial of the Social Revolutionaries.

The truculent argument regarding the Social Revolutionaries on trial for their lives in Moscow is by no means elevating. The Soviet Government did not enhance its dignity, we think, when it sought to make a bargain regarding the lives of the accused counter-revolutionaries a foundation on which to build a political unity from between itself and the Second International, whom it has denounced. The atmosphere surrounding the trial smacks too much of political juggling to be anything but offensive to disinterested persons.

Capital punishment is barbarism; but we must point out that neither Arthur Henderson nor Ramsay Macdonald raised a finger to save James Connolly and his colleagues from execution for their part in the Irish Rebellion of Easter week, 1916.

What, moreover, are these two leaders of the Labour Party doing to save from death the South African strikers who are being tried under an obsolete Roman-Dutch law?

What part did these Labour leaders play in the agitations to save the lives of Tom Mooney, Sacco and Vanzetti, and other victims of American tyranny? These American comrades, remember, are innocent of the offences of which they were convicted, not confessedly guilty of violence like the Social Revolutionaries. Yet these two humanitarians, Ramsay Macdonald and Arthur Henderson, have not made themselves prominent in defence of these comrades.

Why is their careful vigilance lavished only upon the Social Revolutionaries, who fought with the Whites against the Russian Workers' Republic?

THE FAILURE OF THE UNITED FRONT.

The Second International Conference in London has turned down the United Front. The Third International displayed its weakness and withdrew from its own revolutionary position when it proposed the United Front.

The conflict between Reformism and Revolution is older than the Third International. It was intensified by the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian revolutions. The superficial observer may imagine it has died down, but it still continues. The superficial observer may imagine that Reformism has triumphed, but as a matter of fact in this country, at least, Reformism is only now beginning to suffer its first serious defeats. The Russian Revolution left Reformism in this country quite untouched: its power and prestige with the working masses of this country were by no means impaired by that great event. The defeat of the miners in the lock-out of 1921 was the first real blow to Reformism here. The defeat of the engineers in the lock-out of 1922 is the second.

The fact that the Labour Party has refused the affiliation of the Right-Wing Communist Party is an evidence of the conflict between Revolutionary and Reformist ideas which is slowly arising in

this country, though the Right-Wing Communist Party's appeal for affiliation is a proof of the weakness of the Right Wing Communists.

The decision of the International Woodworkers' Union Conference at Vienna, the other day, to exclude from the Union an organisation affiliated to the Red Trade Union International, including all the Russian woodworkers, is one of many similar instances of this conflict, and of the haughty refusal of the Reformist leaders to associate with those who are even mildly revolutionary.

These are all evidences of the hostility of the Reformists towards the proletarian elements which are rebelling against the old Reformism. This hostility springs from that rebellion.

The Third International and its appendage, the Red Trade Union International, is unable to deal with this situation owing to the fact that it has receded from the revolutionary and Communist position.

Out of the welter of penury and uncertainty into which the unemployed and employed workers of London have sunk, has arisen the North London Joint Committee of Employed and Unemployed Workers, an attempt to band together the rank and file for joint action. This body has desired to link itself to the London Committee of the Red Trade Union International, but the Committee refuses to associate itself with that movement of the workers. The Committee has replied that it "cannot accept affiliations from extra-Union organisations, as this would militate against the general policy of the organisation." Time was when the only Red Internationalists, the only supporters of the Moscow Communists, were outside the official Unions. Then Moscow declared that the Red International was for extra-Union organisations, but if the Unions were really truly Red they might be allowed in also. Now the extra-Union organisations are thrust out, and the Red International has ceased to be Red. Do not despair, comrades, the ideas shall grow and spread, even though they who were their mouthpieces prove but weak and vacillating.

From the discontent arising from the failure of the old leadership, the old sectionalism, and the old Reformism in the engineers' lock-out, has arisen a demand amongst the engineers for a new industrial Union. The rebel branches fired with this thought have communicated with the Red International London Committee, believing that this is the only body which should aid them. The Committee has endorsed the reply of its secretary, who stated that the Red International "did not approve at this juncture of any more unions being formed, and urging the branches to work inside the present Unions."

In spite of such rebuffs from those who were once thought Red, efforts are being made by the rank and file in at least one great centre of industry, and especially of engineering, to start a One Big Union for all workers of all grades and industries.

Will the attempt meet with large success? Will the organisation be genuinely revolutionary, genuinely Communist? Time only will show.

All things have a beginning. The seed may be small, yet the tree be great.

Damping Down the Red Light. An Australian Example.

The United Front policy has produced unfortunate results in Australia, as everywhere else. A comrade, just arrived, gives us the following information:

The Trade Unions of Australia all settle their grievances through the Arbitration Court; and now that unemployment has weakened the resisting power of the Unions, the employers take them to the Court and secure reductions in wages every time. The officials put up little resistance.

Forward spirit has been growing up in the rank and file of the Union branches affiliated to the Trades Hall, Sydney. Delegates returning from Russia obtained great popularity, and easily secured the affiliation of the Sydney Trades Hall to the Red International of Labour Unions. A few weeks later the same delegates, all members of the Communist Party, and on the instigation of that Party, proposed and carried a resolution giving the united support of the

Trades Hall to the reactionary Labour Party, which it had been fighting. The Red movement was split for the propaganda group which had formed the Red International in Sydney now dissolved partnership with the Communist Party. Reformism was strengthened by receiving the support of the one-time Reds of the C.P.

The Australian Labour Party, being a party of unconscious Reformism in office, has attracted a host of place hunters. It is as reactionary as the British Labour Party will be when its own opportunity to become the Government is in sight. If Zinovieff in Russia is under the impression that Communists will cement their unity with the masses by entering the Labour Party, it is curious that Australian Communists should not know better.

A prominent leader of the Australian Labour Party is Minahan, the member of Parliament for Surrey Hills. He is one of the largest employers of labour in Sydney, a Roman Catholic, so rich that he is able to give his Parliamentary salary away—not to the Labour Party, but to a Catholic charity. He is chairman of the board of directors of the *Daily Mail*, a capitalist paper of Liberal politics.

Another Australian Labour member of Parliament is J. Lang, lately State Treasurer under the Labour Party administration. He is a house property owner and furniture dealer.

McGirr, another Labour member of Parliament, belongs to a wealthy land-owning family having large pastoral estates and owning a great part of the town of Parkes, in New South Wales.

In the last Labour Cabinet seven members were Freemasons, six were Roman Catholics, Freemasons, and Orangemen, on the one hand; members of the Roman Catholic Federation, on the other, are powerful elements in the Australian Labour Party.

In short, it is a party dominated by the interests and ideology of Capitalism.

Communists should build on a new foundation. They will only waste their time, wreck their hopes, and dim their ideals if they enter the scramble for power and office in the old parties.

The Russian Soviet Government and its friends have returned to negotiations with the old parties because they have returned to the policy of getting something out of Capitalism.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

COURAGE.

Never despair! Let the feeble in spirit
Bow like the willow that stoops to the blast;
Droop not in peril, 'tis manhood's true merit,
Nobly to struggle and hope to the last.
When by the sunshine of fortune forsaken,
Faint sinks the heart of the feeble with fear,
Stand like the oak of the forest unshaken—
Never despair, boys! Oh! never despair.

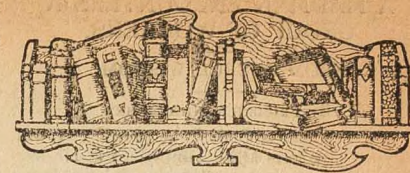
Never despair, though adversity rages
Fiercely and fell as the surge on the shore,
Firm as the rock in the ocean for ages,
Stand the rude torrent till danger is o'er.
Fate with its whirlwinds our joys may all sever,
True to ourselves, we have nothing to fear;
Never despair, boys! Oh! never despair.
[The above lines were written by William Smith O'Brien on the day on which sentence of death was passed upon him, October 9th, 1848.]

FARMERS v. LABOURERS.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, at the Conference of the National Union of Agricultural Workers, declared that the Labour Party could best serve the interests of both farmers and workers. He declared there is no need for any other agricultural party.

It is quite obvious, however, that a trade-union party which is out to secure higher wages and shorter hours for the workers cannot be the party both of the farmer-employer and the labourer-employee.

Either the interests of the employer or the employee must be thrown overboard by the Labour Party: which is it to be?



RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

[Books reviewed may be obtained from *Dreadnought* Bookshop, 152 Fleet Street.]

The Red Republic. A romance of the Paris Commune. By R. W. Chambers. (Putnam, 6/-.) The author declares that the separation of the romance from the facts would leave the historical basis virtually accurate. He has consulted the official records of the Commune and a number of authors, as well as "his revolutionary friends of Belleville, La Villette, and the Faubourgs Montmartre and St. Antoine" and "certain good comrades of the XIXe Arrondissement."

Labour Defended. By Thomas Hodgskin (Labour Publishing Co., 1/6.) This is a reprint of a book written in 1825. Hodgskin was a naval officer who served in the Napoleonic Wars. He attacked naval discipline in an essay published in 1813. He was a friend of Godwin, Francis Place, and Jeremy Bentham. He became editor of the London *Morning Chronicle* in 1823. In 1832 he joined with Robertson in founding the *Mechanics' Magazine*. He worked for the founding of the Mechanics' Institutes, which he desired to be centres of independent working-class education. The present work, "Labour Defended from the Claims of Capital," is an endeavour "to show that the effects attributed to a stock of commodities, under the name of circulating capital, are caused by co-existing Labour." Also.

The veneration men have for capital and capitalists is founded on a sort of superstitious and transmitted notion of their utility in former times. But they have long since reduced the ancient tyrant of the soil to comparative insignificance, while they have inherited his power over the labouring classes. *More Production and More Poverty.* (National Council of Labour Colleges, 2d.) Tells the subjects taught at the Labour Colleges, and why they have been chosen.

WRIT ON COLD SLATE.

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.
Price 1s. 7d., Post Free.

SOVIET ARMS TRANSFERS.

Large size, 12 inches wide, suitable for bannerettes, cushion covers, etc., 6d. each.
Smaller sizes, two designs on a sheet, 4 inches and 2½ inches in width, 2d. a Sheet.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

"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 them.

YOU NEED A UNION SELF-FILLING FOUNTAIN PEN

Complete with clip. Always ready for use. Does not leak.

Do not miss this opportunity. Send a postal order for 1/1 to-day to the *Workers' Dreadnought*, and you will receive the pen by return of post.

Profits to the *Dreadnought* £500 Fund.

A MADMAN ENCOUNTERS A GROUP OF WORKERS.

FROM JOYFUL WISDOM.

By FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

"... Where is God?" he cried. "I will tell you. We have killed Him, you and I! We are all His murderers! But how did we do it? How did we drink the ocean? Who gave us the sponge to wash off the entire horizon? What did we do when we separated this earth from its sun? Do we not keep moving continually? Backwards, sideways, forward, in every direction? Is there still a height and a depth? Are we not wandering towards everlasting annihilation? Do we not perceive the indications of the immense void? Is it not colder? Is not the night becoming darker and darker? Must we not light our lanterns at noon? Do you not hear the noise of the grave-diggers who are burying God? Do you not already smell the putrefaction of the Almighty?—for even the Gods decay! God is dead. God will remain dead! And we have killed him. How shall we be consoled for this, we murderers of murderers? He Whom the world held most sacred and most powerful has bled on our knives—who shall wash the stain of this blood from us? In what water can we be purified? What form of expiation can we invent? Is not the very greatness of this act too great for us? Must we not ourselves become Gods to seem worthy of it? Never before was so great a deed performed—and all those born after us will, by that very fact, belong to a higher form of history than any that has hitherto existed." At this point the madman stopped and looked at his hearers again. They, too, were silent, and looked at him uneasily. At last he flung his lantern to the ground, where it broke to pieces and went out. "I am too early," he said; "the time has not yet come. This dreadful event is still on its way; it is approaching, but it has not yet reached the ears of men. Time is needed for people to see and understand thunder and lightning, the glow of the stars, and deeds, even after they have been accomplished. This deed lies further from you than the farthest constellations—and yet you yourselves performed it."

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO (key) DE L'EKZERKO No. 2.

Good evening, comrade; it is a long time since we met. You are late, and you look tired. What shall we do this evening? Perhaps you would prefer to come into my house to rest. I will introduce you to my wife. Give me your hat and your umbrella, and take off your overcoat.

EKZERKO No. 3.

Cu vi pretarlas vian vagonaron hieraŭ? —Jes, mi devis marŝi tri mejlojn tra la pluvo. —Mi bedaŭras ĝin, ĉu vi suferis pro ĝi? —Ne, mi estas, feliĉe tute sana hodiaŭ. —Nun ni ankoraŭ atendas du amikojn. —Ĉu ni tiam estos tutaj tie-ci? —Krom unu kiu estas malsana.

VORTARETO.

amiko friend
ankoraŭ still
atendi to await
bedaŭri to regret
ĉu had to
devis query whether
du two
feliĉa happy
ĝi it
hieraŭ yesterday
hodiaŭ to-day
jes who
kiu except
krom to walk
marŝi mile
meĝo rain
pluvo to miss
preterlasi because of
pro well in health
sana to suffer
suferi then
tiam

tra through
tie-ci here
tri three
tuta all, entire
vagonaro train
unu one

NOTES.

ĈU is an interrogatory particle meaning "query whether." In English questions are put by reversing the order of the words: in the first and third sentences ĈU VI being with a verb in the past tense we should begin with DID YOU. In the sixth sentence ĈU NI, with a verb in the future tense, the English would begin SHALL WE?

TUTE and TUTOJ, both words are from TUTA, entire or all, as an adverb it means ENTIRELY, as a noun plural it means ALL.

TIE-CI, TIE means THERE, but with CI it means HERE. Just as TIO means THAT and TIO-CI means THIS.

DEVIS—this word must be translated HAD TO, because there is no English verb meaning "to be under the necessity of..."

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

DE KAROLO MARKS KAJ FREDERIKO ENGELS. El la Aŭtoritata Angla Traduko, Redaktita kaj Aĉnotita de Frederiko Engels, Tradukis Esperanto.

ARTURO BAKER.

ANTAŬPAROLO.

La "Manifesto" estis publikigita kiel la principaro de la "Komunista Ligo," unu laborista asocio, unue ekskluzive germana, poste internacia, kaj, sekve de la politikaj kondiĉoj de la Kontinento antaŭ ol 1848, neeviteble sekreta socio. Ĉe kongreso de la Ligo, tenata en Londono en Novembro, 1847, Marks kaj Engels estis komisiitaj prepari por publikigado planan teorion kaj praktikan programon de la partio. Verkita germanlingve en Januaro, 1848, la manuskripto estis sendita al la presisto en Londono kelkajn semajnojn antaŭ ol la franca revolucio de Februaro la 24'an. Franca traduko estis eldonita en Parizo, nelonge antaŭ ol la ribelo de Junio, 1848. La unua angla traduko, de Fraŭlino Helen Macfarlane, aperis en la Red Republikano (Rug) de George Julian Harney, Londono, 1850. Dana kaj pola eldonaĵoj jam estis ankaŭ publikigitaj. Daŭrigota.

FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

Comrade Isaac Vermont writes from Cape Town:

"The Indemnity Bill has now received the assent of the Governor-General. This involves the repeal of martial law in the Transvaal. The printing plant of the International, the organ of the Communist Party (S.A. Section of the Third), and the offices of our party, which were wrecked during the strike, have been put in order.

"There is going to be another strike. Over 10,000 miners (including all trades) are unemployed; the railway department dismissed in 1921 12,672 workmen, and is still retrenching. Those who are working find their wages have been reduced to a bare pittance. The 'blame' for the strike is now said to belong to the Nationalist Opposition Party. The Labourites have been exonerated by General Smuts in his speech in the House of Assembly.

A cap and robe were found by the police during their attack on the Trades Hall, and described as 'our robe of justice.' The cap was one worn by a young lady as part of a fancy dress, May Day, 1921, while the robe was sent up from Natal by an Indian, to be sold by American auction in aid of the strike relief funds. The charge that the strikers were in possession of Lewis guns has also been proved unfounded. These weapons were found to belong to the Municipality.

"The reason for the strike was that the mine-owners were spoiling for a fight with the Afrikaner miners, and seeking an opportunity for replacing these Afrikaners by some old Cornish miners, who would not expect so much pay. Also, it was hoped that the Government would

break the "too aggressive" power of the Afrikaner Labour Party.

"Thus do we enter the struggle against the oppressors. It is all part of the transition drama till Communism is established."

Comrades should observe that 11,000 strikers are in gaol in South Africa waiting trial, and that 850 are to be tried for high treason. Many of them are to be tried under an old Roman-Dutch law, which means that they will be tried for murder, because the police attacked the strikers and people were killed. The Government brought in a bill to indemnify police and military for the atrocities they committed.

FOR THE £500 FUND.

Comrades, we urge you to hasten in helping us to collect this sum, necessary to pay off old and pressing liabilities of the Workers' Dreadnought and to insure the development of the paper.

One of many good comrades who have subscribed to the fund writes from California: "Enclosed find one dollar for your five hundred pound fund. I wish I were rich and could give you the whole five hundred pounds; but I am only a labourer. Yours for Merry England yet to come."

A comrade in Wandsworth writes: "In response to your appeal on behalf of the Dreadnought, I enclose 10/-. I wish I had a banking account and could write you a cheque for a larger amount. But I have not, and it is the most I can do. The Dreadnought is such a plucky paper, it is good to help it."

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

COMMUNIST WORKERS.

POSTERS

A comrade has volunteered to fly-post 50 Dreadnought posters each week.

Who will follow this good example?

NEW HALFPENNY LEAFLETS.

4d. a dozen, 2s. 6d. per hundred, post free. Dreadnought Publishers, 152 Fleet St., E.C.4.

THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

Describes and explains the Communist Proletarian Movement which has grown up in Russia to oppose the Soviet Government's "New Economic Policy" of reversion to Capitalism.

THE GERMAN ONE BIG REVOLUTIONARY UNION.

Programme and Rules of the Revolutionary Union, which includes all industries and is built up from the workshop basis.

CAPITAL TO-DAY.

By HERMAN CAHN. 10s. 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

PROLET CULT.

Price One Penny.

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR THE PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

Edited by Tom Anderson, and published by the Proletarian Bookstall, 94 George Street, From Workers' Dreadnought office, 152 Fleet Street, E.C.

THE IRON HEEL.

By JACK LONDON. Price 2s.

WORKERS' OPPOSITION.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from last week.)

In Lenin's opinion the trade unions—that is, the working-class organisations—are not the creators of the Communist forms of people's economy, for they serve only as a connecting-link of the vanguard with the masses—"the trade unions in their every-day work persuade masses, masses of that class..." etc.

That is not Trotsky's "club system," not a medieval system of education. This is the Froebel-Pestalozzi's German system founded on studying examples. Trade unions must do nothing vital in the industries, but to persuade masses, and keep the masses in touch with the vanguard, with the party which (remember this!) does not organise production as a collective, but only creates the Soviet economic institutions of a heterogeneous composition, and whereto it appoints Communists.

Which system is better?—this is the question. Trotsky's system, whatever it may be in other respects, is clearer, and therefore more real. On reading books and studying examples taken from good-hearted Peters and Johns, one cannot advance education too far. This must be remembered, and remembered well.

Bucharin's group occupies the middle ground or, rather, attempts to co-ordinate both systems of up-bringing; we must notice, however, that this also does not recognise the principle of independent creativeness of the unions in industry. In the opinion of Bucharin's group the trade unions play a double role (so it is proclaimed in its theses); on the one hand it (obviously "the role") takes on itself the functions of a "school for Communism," and, on the other hand, the functions of an intermediary between the party and the masses (this is from Lenin's group); it takes, in other words, the role of a machine injecting the wide proletarian masses into the active life (notice, comrades—"into the active life but not into the creation of the new form of economy, and search for new forms of production). Besides that, they (obviously the unions) in ever-increasing degree must become the component part both of the economic machine and the State authority. This is from Trotsky's "joining together."

The controversy again revolves, not around the trade union problems, but around the methods of educating the masses by means of unions. Trotsky stands, or rather stood for, a system which, with the help of that introduced among the railway workers, might hammer into the organised workers' heads the wisdom of Communist reconstruction, and by means of "appointees," "shake-ups," and all kinds of marvellous measures promulgated in conformity with "the shock system" could re-make the unions so that they might join the Soviet economic institutions by growth and become obedient tools in realising economic plans worked out by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Zinovieff and Lenin are not in a hurry to join the trade unions to the Soviet economic machine. The unions, they say, shall remain unions. As regards production, it will be run and managed by men whom we choose. When the trade unions have brought up obedient and industrious Peters and Johns we will "inject" them into the Soviet economic institutions and thus the unions will gradually disappear, dissolve.

The creation of new forms of national economy we entrust to the Soviet bureaucratic institutions; as to the unions, we leave them the role of "schools." Education, education, and more education. Such is the Lenin-Zinovieff slogan. Bucharin, however, wanted "to bank" on radicalism in the system of union education, and, of course, fully merited the rebuke from Lenin together with the nickname of "Simidicomist." Bucharin and his group, while emphasising the educational part to be played by the unions in the present political situation, stand for the most complete workers' democracy inside the unions, the wide elective powers to the unions—not only for the elective principle generally applied, but for the non-conditional election of delegates nominated by the unions. Pray, what a democracy! This smacked of the very Opposition itself, if it were not for one difference. The Workers'

Opposition sees in the Unions the managers and creators of the Communist economy, whereas Bucharin, together with Lenin and Trotsky, leave to them only the role of "schools for Communism," and no more. Why should he not play with the elective principle when everybody knows that it will do no good or bad for the system of running the industry? For, as a matter of fact, the control over the industry will still remain outside the unions, beyond their reach, in the hands of the Soviet institutions. Bucharin reminds us of those teachers who carry on education in conformity with the old system by means of "books." "You must learn that far, and no further, while encouraging 'self-activity' of the pupils in organising dances, entertainments, etc."

In this way the two systems quite comfortably live together, and square one with another. But what the outcome of all this will be, and what duties will the pupils of these teachers of eclectics be able to perform—this is a different question. If comrade Lunacharsky were to disapprove at all the educational meetings "eclectic heresy" like this, the position of the People's Commissariat on Education would be precarious, indeed.

However, there is no need to under-estimate the educational methods of our leading comrades in regard to the trade unions. They all, Trotsky included, realise that in the matter of education "self-activity" of the masses is not the least factor. Therefore, they are in search of such a plan where the trade unions, without any harm to the prevailing bureaucratic system of running the industry, may develop their initiative and their economic creative powers. The least harmful sphere where the masses could manifest their self-activity as well as their "participation in active life" (according to Bucharin) is the sphere of betterment of the workers' lot. The Workers' Opposition pays a great deal of attention to this question, and yet it knows that the basic sphere of class creation is the creation of new industrial economic forms, of which the betterment of the workers' lot is only a part.

In Trotsky and Zinovieff's opinion the production must be created and adjusted by the Soviet institutions while the trade unions are advised to perform a rather restricted, though useful, work of improving the lot of the workers. Comrade Zinovieff, for instance, sees in distribution of clothing the "economic role" of the unions, and explains: "there is no other more important problem than that of economy; to repair one bath-house in Petrograd at present is ten times more important than delivering five good lectures."

What is this? A naïve mistaken view, or a conscious substitution of organising creative tasks in the sphere of production and development of creative abilities, by restricted tasks of home economics, household duties, etc.? In somewhat different language the same thought is expressed by Trotsky. He very generously proposes to the trade unions to develop the greatest initiative possible in the economic field.

But where shall this initiative express itself? In "putting glasses" in the shop window or filling up a pool in front of the factory (from Trotsky's speech at the Miners' Congress). Comrade Trotsky, take pity on us! For this is merely the sphere of "house-running," and if you intend to reduce the creativeness of the unions to such a scope, then the unions will become not schools for Communism, but places where they train people for janitors. It is true that comrade Trotsky attempts to widen the scope of the "self-activity of the masses" by letting them participate not in an independent improvement of the workers' lot, on the job (that far goes only the "insane" Workers' Opposition), but by taking lessons from the Supreme Council of National Economy on this subject.

Whenever a question concerning workers is to be decided, as, for instance, about distribution of food or labour power, it is necessary that the trade unions must know exactly (not participate themselves in the matter, but only know), not in general outline as mere citizens, but know thoroughly the whole current work that is being done by the Supreme Council of National

Economy (speech of December 30th). The teachers from the Supreme Council of National Economy not only force the trade unions "to carry out" plans, but they also "explain to their pupils their decrees." This is already a step forward in comparison with the system that functions at present on the railways.

FROM CANADA.

Comrade A. S. writes from Weyburn, Saskatchewan, Canada:

"In our city, for want of funds, the children averaging from six to ten years of age in the primaries and grades I. and II. only attend school part time in order that the same teachers can hold classes in all the three schools.

"At Brandon, the second largest city in Manitoba, all the teachers are out on strike against reductions in wages.

"The Premier of Saskatchewan, speaking here a few weeks ago, said that two million dollars of the Public Revenue Tax, collected by the municipalities and payable by them to the Provincial Government, had not been received by the Provincial Government. Someone would go to gaol if this went on," said the Premier.

"Unless there is a good crop and the farmers receive a fair price for their grain this year, the borrowing powers of the province will be greatly reduced, and I do not think the system can function much longer. The great majority of the farmers are hopelessly in debt.

"As to the soldiers whom the Government helped to settle on the land when they were demobilised, only about 10 per cent. can hang on. The majority are on the rocks. They bought land, horses, implements, and other stock at from 40 to 100 per cent. above present prices. The discharged soldiers are having a bad time. Here is a case:

"W. Rowe was discharged as A1 on May 8th, 1919. Nevertheless, he frequently fainted, and soon after had pneumonia and in quick succession two attacks of influenza and a second attack of pneumonia.

"He was unable to get anything but ill-paid casual employment.

"On October 8th, 1918 his wife had taken a house at 12 dollars a month. The rent was raised from 12 to 14, then to 18, and finally to 30 dollars a month. The Rowes tried in vain to find cheaper premises. Owing to the illness of wife and children, as well as that of the husband, three months' arrears of rent accumulated during the tenancy of three years. The company owning the house then served notice to quit and pay up arrears. The wife had got work as a substitute teacher in the Council School. She asked the Council to take the house and let her pay the rent to the Council, but her request was refused. The wife appealed to the legislature and fought with the utmost vigour to retain her home.

"Finally, on May 12th, by order of the King's Bench, the bailiff came and put the family and their furniture into the roadway. They took refuge in a little chicken-house on a vacant lot."

THE LABOUR WAR IN U.S.A.

A manifesto signed by a million persons for the release of the United States political prisoners will be presented to President Harding in July by a deputation of fifty well-known men and women.

The Department of Justice in Albany, New York, issued instructions for the arrest of any person found circulating petition forms for the amnesty of political prisoners.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £210 17s. 9d. F. Haughton, £1; E. M. Brett, 10/-; A. St. John, £1; Camberwell Meeting Collection, 5/2; E. C., 14/-; B. J., 10/-; A. F. M. and J. E. M., 10/-; Per M. Marsh, 4/-; Minerva Café At Home, 7/6; A. Symes, 3/6; H. Hersey, £1; Trafalgar Square Meeting, £2 1s. 14d.; W. Reid, 10/-; E. L. Walder, 10/-; D. Scourfield, £2; J. Schaffer, 1 dollar. Total for week, £11 10s. 4d. Total, £222 8s. 1d.

THE DEAD END.

You have come to a dead end, fellow-worker. You admit it.

"Yes."

The unemployed agitation has failed, so far, has it not? The unemployed have been forced to accept a reduction of the dole to half its former value.

"How is that?"

Through the "gap" system. Five weeks on, and five weeks off.

"They can still go to the Guardians during the five weeks off."

The Guardians are less open-handed than they used to be. The Blauna and Nantyglo Council in Wales has ceased to function: it is bankrupt. It dismissed all its employees on June 3rd because it had spent all the money it could raise. The President of the Local Government Board says it is "not British" for the Guardians to act as kindly towards the unemployed as the Poplar Board does.

"I saw something about that."

Well, you admit the unemployed are worse off than they were, and their position is getting worse: do you not, fellow-worker?

"I must, because it is obvious."

What about the employed workers? Is their position improving, fellow-worker?

"No."

Is there a trade in which wages are not falling?

"No."

Have you heard of the great hardships amongst the South Wales miners?

"Yes."

Do you know that the small tradesmen and lower middle class in business are all complaining of bad trade, fellow-worker?

"Yes."

Well, do you not agree we have come to a dead end?

"I don't see how to alter it. You say it's due to so many being parasites. I can see that; but if we were to nationalise the industries, should we not have official parasites getting big wages, and would not the red tape in the Government Department be as wasteful and costly as the dividends paid to the shareholders? Would not the workers have as many costly parasites to support if all the industries were run like the Post Office?"

Perhaps, fellow-worker.

"But that is Socialism; I thought you said you were a Socialist!"

That is not Socialism.

"I thought Socialism meant there would be only one employer—the State or the Municipality—and we should all get our wages from there."

Under Socialism you will not get any wages at all, fellow-worker.

"How shall we all live, then? Shall we all draw on our banking account instead of working?"

Would you like that?

"I should say so!"

We should all starve.

"Well, I suppose we should; but how should we get money if we had no wages?"

We should not get money.

"How should we live, then?"

Do you eat money?

"No."

Why not do without it, then?

"What do you mean?"

I mean that we should do without money altogether. We should work to produce for the whole people, just as your wife cooks the dinner and cleans the house for the whole family, and as the stuff would be produced we should all use what we wanted of it, as we wanted it.

"Would there be enough to go round?"

Why are so many out of work to-day, fellow-worker?

"Because the employers cannot find markets for their goods."

Does not that prove to you there could be enough to go round if we made up our mind to produce enough for all?

"It looks like it, but it seems such a funny new-fangled idea. I've been to a lot of Socialist meetings, and never heard anything of that."

Did you agree with the Socialism explained at the meetings you went to, fellow-worker?

"I can't say I ever heard it exactly explained, but I always had the idea if the industries were run by the Post Office there would be a lot of 'graft,' as they say in the States—people lining their pockets, I mean, at our expense."

If we did away with money they could not do that.

"How do you mean?"

They could not hoard food and clothes in vast quantities as they can hoard money.

"Why not?"

Because the rest of us would not supply them with warehouses for the purpose. Moreover, when they could get as many clothes as they wanted to wear, and as much food as they wanted to eat, why should they hoard such things?

"But isn't it a new idea?"

No; it is old. Communism existed before Capitalism.

"But the other Socialists don't say what you say—I mean the Marxians—do they?"

Marx did.

"I never heard it."

Have you read anything he wrote?

"No; but tell me where I shall find it."

You will find it, fellow-worker, in the critique of the Gotha programme.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT BOOK SERVICE.

152, FLEET STREET (ENTRANCE, FIRST DOOR ON LEFT IN BOLT COURT FROM FLEET STREET.)

We can supply you with any book, magazine, or newspaper you desire, new or second-hand, from British Colonial, or foreign publishers. Give us all particulars you have, and send a deposit.

By buying books from us, trade discount is transferred to propaganda; for this reason, send

your order direct to us, and not through other societies.

At our office you may consult publishers catalogues and place your order for any book not in stock.

If you order by post, you must add, on the average, one penny for every shilling, to cover postage.

We charge the postage of foreign books, from London only, and fix price at current rate of exchange. Purchasers will save themselves trouble by opening an account of 10/- or 20/- with us, in order to avoid the repeated sending of

small postal orders, which means paying useless poundage to the Government.

WE CAN SUPPLY!

- Books on History, Economics, etc.**
- Poverty of Philosophy (Marx) 7/-
 - Science and Revolution (Untermann) 3/6
 - The World's Revolutions (Untermann) 3/6
 - Marxian Economics (Untermann) 6/6
 - Anarchism and Socialism (Pichon) 3/6
 - The Collapse of Capitalism (Cahn) 3/6
 - Capitalism To-day (Cahn) 10/-
 - The Right to be Lazy (Lafargue) 3/6
 - Social Studies (Lafargue) 3/6
 - The Evolution of Property (Lafargue) 3/6
 - Memoirs of Marx (Wilhelm Liebknecht) 3/6
 - Origin of the Family (Engels) 3/6
 - Essays on Materialist Conception of History (Labriola) 6/6
 - Wages, Prices and Profits 4/6
 - Men and Steel (Mary Heaton Vorse) 3/6
 - Capital (Karl Marx) 7/6
 - Civil War in France (Karl Marx) 1/6
 - Socialism and Modern Science (Ferri) 6/6
 - Economic Causes of War (Achille Loria) 2/6
 - Alphabet of Economics (A. R. Orage) 2/6
 - Fields, Factories and Workshops (Kropotkin) 2/-
 - Conquest of Bread (Kropotkin) 7/6
 - Hugo Stinnes (H. Brinckmayer) 4/6
 - International Labour Legislation (H. J. W. Hetherington, M.A.) 4/6

Paper Covers.

- The Irish Labour Movement (W. P. Ryan) 2/6
- Left Wing Trade Unionism in France (Pierre Monatte and others) 1/6
- Will the Bolsheviks Maintain Power? (Francis Daniels) 2/6
- The Eighteenth Brumaire (Karl Marx) 1/6
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific (Engels) 1/6
- Study Course in Scientific Socialism 1/6
- No Compromise (Liebknecht) 8d.

Reduced Rates are offered to customers taking over a hundred copies of the following pamphlets

Name or Title	Price Each	Price Doz.	Price per 100.
Soviets or Parliament. (Bukharin)	1d.	6d.	4/-
Chief Task of Our Times (Lenin)	3d.	2/6	8/-
Self-Education of the Workers (A. Lunacharsky)	2d.	1/6	8/-
Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off (Sylvia Pankhurst)	1 1/2d.	1/-	5/-
Housing and the Workers' Revolution (Sylvia Pankhurst)	3d.	2/6	8/-
The Finnish Revolution	3d.	2/6	10/-
The Truth About Russia (Ransome)	4d.	3/-	12/-
Programme of the Russian Communist Party	2d.	1/6	8/-
The Hungarian Revolution (Schmidt)	9d.	8/9	24/-
The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism (Zinoviev)	2d.	1/6	8/-
Ireland (Gorter)	1d.	9d.	4/-
Red Russia (Reed)	6d.	4/-	16/-
Communist Hungary (Alice Riggs Hunt)	4d.	3/-	10/-
Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution (J. T. Walton Newbold)	3d.	2/6	8/-
Appeal to the Young (James Stewart)	2d.	1/6	8/-
Bourgeois Democracy (Lenin)	2d.	1/6	8/-
Post Cards: Rosa Luxemburg; Karl Liebknecht; Sylvia Pankhurst. 2d. each. Bakunin; Kropotkin, Darwin, 1d. each.			

JUST OUT.

DESIRABLE MANSIONS.

By Edward Carpenter.

A TELLING SATIRE.

Price - 4d.

FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP, 152 Fleet Street, London E.C.4.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST WORKERS' PARTY.

Communism no compromise with Reformism, non-Parliamentary. Preparation for the Soviets by means of the One Big Revolutionary Union built up from workshop basis.

Write to the Preliminary Committee, Workers' Dreadnought Office, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS—1d. a Word.

—Would like to buy some books on Free Thought. FRANK J. DENT, 156 Whitecross Street, E.C.1.

HAND-MADE STRAW HATS, 10/- each, in all colours, plain, and variegated, to harmonise with your own material. Proceeds to the Workers' Dreadnought 2500 Fund. Apply: Box 1 D, Workers' Dreadnought Office.

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