

Special Irish News.

Workers'



Dreadnought

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SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE END OF THE WORLD.

By L. S. BEVINGTON.

Comrades! The end of the world's at hand!
Our round earth planet? Ah, no;
The planet shall roll, and the great sun stand,
The beautiful sea-waves break on the strand,
The flowers and fruit shall cover the land—
But the world and its ills shall go.

Wherever has rested the golden smirch
White livers prepared to hie;
At sign from the gold god's tottering perch
See, loth and lingering far in the lurch,
Comes Mammon's black hireling, the politic
Church,
Canting the Socialist cry.

Hear how its foolish begin to say,
In fear of the final rout—
"The night grows old, and the dead new day
Requires that we follow the People's way;
Give us your oil, ye wise, we pray,
For our lamps are all flickering out."

The first time passed, and he died alone,
And the deaf world held on its way;
The priest and the ruler the tares have sown,
Mingled with wheat they have rampant grown,
But the Harvester knows his own—his own,
And in judgment he comes to-day.

And houses shall fall, built on golden sand,
And only the Truth be dear;
The rock-built dwellings of faith shall stand,
The glad, free people shall joy in the land,
And heart trust heart e'en as hand helps hand,
For the end of the world is here.

IRISH LABOUR MUZZLED.

It is important to observe that, though the Irish Labour Party secured the election of all its candidates for the Irish Parliament, its official organ, *The Voice of Labour*, was censored by the Government and prevented from appearing at all the week before last, whilst last week it came out with several pages blank. On the editorial page, otherwise quite blank, appeared the following notice:

"TO OUR READERS.

"Owing to the military operations in Dublin it was not possible to publish *The Voice* last week. This week, owing to the censorship and the interruption of our news services on account of the dislocation of the train and postal services and the military operations in various parts of the country we are compelled to omit a number of our normal features. At the earliest possible moment, and as soon as our communications with the country are re-established, we intend to restore to the paper all its usual features. In the meantime, our readers must remember that we are publishing under a censorship not less restrictive than the British censorship was from Easter 1916 until the summer 1919, and hence *The Voice* is not in a position to express Labour's full views on anything touching the military or political situation in any way.—Editor, *Voice of Labour*."

Evidently the British Government, now it rules through Griffith and Collins, will be even sterner in its suppression of opinion hostile to itself than it was when Dublin Castle was its instrument.

How Fortunes were made in the Mines.

REPORT OF ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1841-43.—III.

The evidence given by the children of their terrible sufferings is here reproduced. Those whose family fortunes were built up by such iniquities have small reason indeed to be proud.

FOURTEEN AND SIXTEEN HOURS' WORK A DAY.

Derbyshire.—In this district, as has been shown, the hours of work are commonly fourteen and are sometimes extended to sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, and the mines in general are most imperfectly drained and ventilated. Of the fatigue of such labour, so protracted and carried on in such places of work, the following evidence exhibits a striking picture, and it will be observed that the witnesses of every class, children, young persons, colliers, underground stewards, agents, parents, teachers, and ministers of religion, all concur in making similar statements.

Child Workers of Seven and Eight "Too Tired to Play."

Thomas Straw, aged seven, Ilkinston: "They wouldn't let him sleep in the pit or stand still; he feels very tired when he comes out; gets his tea and goes to bed. Feels tired and sleepy on a Sunday morning; would rather be in bed than go to school."

John Hawkins, aged eight, Underwood: "Is tired and glad to get home; never wants to play."

George Pollard, Strelley: "Feels very tired; his back and shoulders ache; he is always too tired to play."

Thomas Moulton, aged nine, Trowell: "They want no play, but go home to bed as soon as they can."

Matthew Carrington, aged nine, Ilkinston: "Is tired, and very seldom goes out of doors."

Robert Blount, aged ten, Eastwood: "He is always too tired to play, and is glad to get to bed; his back and legs ache; he had rather drive a plough or go to school than work in a pit."

Joseph Skelton, aged ten, Underwood: "He is very tired, and always glad to get to bed; had much rather work above ground; they dare not then work them so hard."

Aaron Chambers, aged eleven, Watnall: "He never plays from one week to another; he is too tired without play; had rather do any work above ground, it is such hard work."

William Hart, aged eleven, West Hallam: "Has felt so tired; glad to get home, and too tired to play; has felt very stiff and tired on a Sunday."

Joseph Limb, aged eleven, Loscoe: "Never plays; when he has done three-quarters of a day's work he is too tired."

George Riley, twelve years old, Babbington: "At night is so stiff and sore that when he sits down he can hardly get up again."

William Watson, aged twelve, Watnall: "Always too tired for play, and glad to get to bed."

Often Lay on Road on Way Home.

William Trance, aged twelve, Bagthorpe: "Is very tired, and glad to get home; his arms, legs, and back all ache."

Stephen Morley, aged twelve, Newthorpe: "Had rather work above ground, the colliers' work is so hard; often is so tired that his limbs ache again."

John Bostock, aged seventeen, Babbington: "Has often been made to work until he was so

tired as to lie down on his road home until twelve o'clock, when his mother has come and led him home—has done so many times when first went to the pits; he has sometimes been so fatigued that he could not eat his dinner, but has been beaten and made to work until night; he never thought of play, was always too anxious to get to bed; is sure this is all true."

"Been a Week Together and Never Seen Daylight."

John Leadbeater, aged eighteen, Babbington: "Has two miles to go to the pit, and must be there before six, and works until eight; he has often worked all night, and been made by the butties to work as usual the next day; has often been so tired that he has lain in bed all Sunday. He knows no work so bad as that of a pit lad."

Samuel Radford, aged nineteen, New Birchwood: "Has been a week together and never seen daylight but on a Sunday, and not much then, he was so sleepy."

These statements of the children are fully confirmed by the evidence of the adult workpeople.

Children Worked Same Hours as Men.

William Fletcher, aged thirty-three, collier, West Hallam: "Considers the collier's life a very hard one, both for man and boy, the latter work fully as hard as the former."

John Beasley, collier, aged forty-nine, Shipley: "He has known instances where children have been so overcome with the work as to cause them to go off in a decline; he has seen those who could not get home without their father's assistance, and have fallen asleep before they could be got to bed; has known children of six years old sent to the pit, but thinks there are none at Shipley under seven or eight; in his opinion a boy is too weak to stand the hours even to drive until he is eight or nine years old: the boys go down at six in the morning, and has known them kept down until nine or ten; until they are 'almost ready to exhaust'; the children and young persons work the same hours as the men; the children are obliged to work in the night if the waggon road is out of repair, or the water coming in on them; it happens sometimes two or three times in the week; they then go down at 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., and have from ten minutes to half an hour allowed for supper, according to the work they have to do, they mostly ask the children who have been at work the previous day to go down with them, but seldom have to oblige them; when he was a boy he has worked for thirty-six hours running many a time, and many more beside himself have done so."

William Wardle, aged forty, Eastwood: "There is no doubt colliers are much harder worked than labourers; indeed it is the hardest work under heaven."

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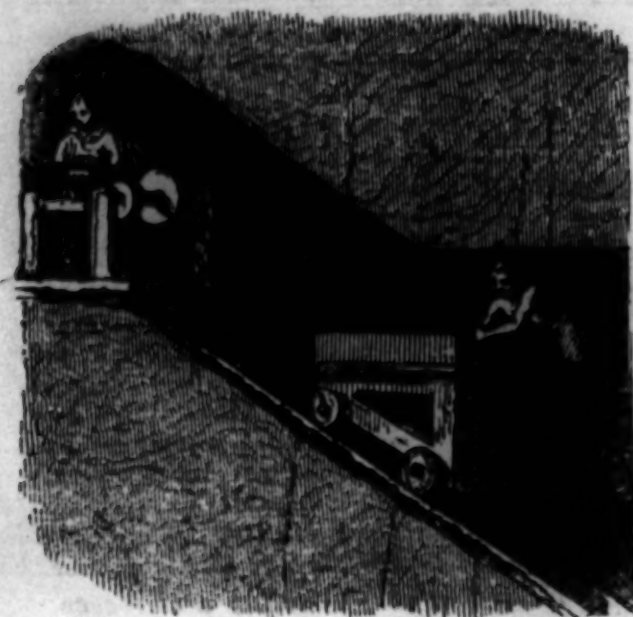
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Beaten, Knocked About, and Covered with Sludge All Week.

Samuel Richards, aged forty, Awsworth: "There are Sunday schools when they will go, but when boys have been beaten, knocked about, and covered with sludge all the week they want to be in bed to rest all day on Sunday."

William Sellers, operative, aged twenty-two, Butterley Co.: "When he first worked in a pit he has been so tired that he has slept as he walked."



William Knighton, aged twenty-four, Denby: "He remembers 'mony' a time he has dropped asleep with the meat in his mouth through fatigue. It is those butties, they are the very devil; they first impose upon them in one way, then in another."

Engine man, Babbington: "Has been working whole days, often seen the children lie down on the pit bank and go to sleep, they were so tired."

John Attenborough, schoolmaster, Greasley: "Has observed the collier children are more tired and dull than the others, but equally as anxious to learn."

Anne Birkin: "Is mother to Thomas, who works in Messrs. Fenton's pits; they have been so tired after a whole day's work that she has at times had to wash them and lift them into bed."

Hannah Neale, Butterley Park: "They come home so tired that they become stiff, and can hardly get to bed. Constantine, the one ten years old, formerly worked in the same pit as his brother, but about half a year since his toe was cut off by the bind falling; notwithstanding this, the loader made him work until the end of the day, although in the greatest pain. He was out of work more than four months owing to this accident."

Too Tired to Speak.

Ellen Wagstaff, Watnall: "Has five children, three at Trough Lane and two at Willow Lane, Greasley; one at Trough Lane is eighteen, one fourteen, one thirteen years of age; and those at Willow Lane are sixteen and nineteen; they are variously employed; the youngest was not seven years old when he first went to the pits. The whole have worked since they were seven or seven and a-half; they have worked from six to eight, from six to two for half-days, no meal-time in half days; she has known them when at full work so tired when they first worked that you could not hear them speak, and they fell



asleep before they could eat their suppers; 'it has grieved her to the heart to see them.'"

Mothers Had to Undress Them.

Anne Wilson, Underwood: "Is mother to Richard Clarke and mother-in-law to Matthew Wilson. Has heard what they have said, and believes it to be true; has known when they work whole days they have come home so tired and dirty that they could scarcely be prevented lying down on the ashes by the fireside, and could not take their clothes off; has had to do it for them, and take them to the brook to wash them, and has sat up most of the night to get their clothes dry. The next morning they have gone to the pit like bears to the stake."

Hannah Brixton, Babbington: "The butties slave them past anything. Has frequently had them drop asleep as soon as they have got to the house, and complain of their legs and arms aching very bad."

William Hawley, schoolmaster, Ilkiston: "Has certainly perceived those children who work in the pits much more dull and stupid than the others, both at school and chapel; it is his opinion children are sent to work at the pits too young, and it is decidedly too long for children to work from six to eight; he has often to complain of the colliers' children's bad attendance on Sunday mornings, and the reply generally is, 'They were so tired, they overslept themselves.'"

Isaac Rowbotham, schoolmaster, West Hallam: "Has observed boys who have been brought up in the free school, and afterwards worked in the pit, and attended Sunday school, read much worse than formerly they did, appear duller and more tired than other boys, although equally as willing to learn."

Samuel Brentnall, Kimberley School: "Has been superintendent more than six years; has observed the pit boys much duller and more stupid at learning; they are very heavy and drowsy, and frequently drop asleep during the service; has observed this more so amongst the younger ones."



(To be continued.)

RED NIGHTS.

A STORY BY L. A. MOTLER.

(Continued from last week.)

As soon as we got to know of the fate of our comrade, we felt we must get him out. We spent a week getting ready the necessary papers, but these were held up another week owing to an unforeseen difficulty. A man who had tramped all the way from Sheffield had shot at and mortally wounded the Head of the Passport Department. He had intended to shoot Slashendon himself, but had been deceived by the misprint in an illustrated daily that had got the portraits of Slashendon and Gallaher, the Passport Chief, mixed. A new Chief was now in the Passport Office, and the clerk in charge, who was one of our men, had had no opportunity to get a copy of the new Chief's signature. Once obtained, however, we affixed this to the necessary documents and forwarded them to Bagoff, who was directing the operations near the concentration camp where Fox was interned.

In five days we had the pleasure of welcoming Fox back to our ranks. But our joy was tempered with sorrow, for we had lost our valuable comrade Talmour. Bagoff told me the whole story.

"I went down to the old Socialist guest-house in that small Cheshire village, which the Government had seized for a concentration

camp. Fox was taken there on Thursday, as you know. I hung round the village pub., where I had taken rooms—one for myself and one for a friend I was expecting. By sheer good luck, I happened to meet Simson, who used to be in business with me in electrical appliances, and whom I had not seen since he had been sent off to Flanders, when I had to sell our business. He was now one of the Loyalist Guards on duty at the camp. After some talk, he was persuaded to let me interview Fox when I deemed it necessary, but beyond that I could see no hope of help from him, and he even made me promise to be extra careful and not compromise him in the matter. I had at first thought I should be able to cut a way through the wires for Fox, whilst a friendly sentry turned his back. As you know, only the middle and bottom wires running through the netting are electrically charged, and there was space enough between for a man to squeeze through without danger. However, this idea had to be abandoned.

"Next day the friend I was expecting arrived in the village. This was Comrade Milly Blandon, who told me Talmour had come on the same train with her, with the papers you sent. I thought it best for the three of us to have a conclave somewhere, so after introducing her to the inn-keeper as my sister she went to her room to change after her journey, then we went to the cross roads by Newton Coomber, where we found Talmour awaiting us. We found a quiet spot near a brook, where we could talk in safety.

"It was Talmour who first suggested the genesis of our plan. He said he had an idea of making a demonstration of escape at the far end of the camp. The guards would then herd the internees together, and leaving them with a sufficient guard, would rush off to where he was. In the confusion Fox would escape.

"I asked him how he suggested Fox should act. He said he had not thought out the details, but was open to suggestions. We did some thinking, then at last Milly spoke.

"I think this is where a woman can help," she said. "I have an idea, and, although I don't like it myself, I think it would help wonderfully." Then she elaborated it, Talmour and I helping her out on a few points.

"We had decided that the next day, Saturday, would do for our enterprise. Simson had told me what hours he was likely to be on duty, so I was able to communicate the particulars to Fox. He agreed to our scheme. Milly cultivated the acquaintance of another guard, without being too forward. When we came back he had tea with us, and after the meal Milly consented to go for a short stroll with him. She made the walk lead in the direction where we were ensconced in a thick shrubbery. At an opportune moment we overpowered him and had him trussed up. Whilst Milly made her way to the station to buy four tickets, we rapidly exchanged the guard's uniform for some old clothes we had brought with us. Then, leaving him in a position where he would easily be discovered the next morning, we hastened to the camp.

"Fox was waiting for us at the agreed spot. It was quite dark by now, and we had no difficulty in pitching the guard's uniform over the wires. Then I made my way to the cross roads, whilst Talmour crept round to that part of the camp farthest away from the hutments of the internees.

"As I waited at the cross roads I heard an interval of intermittent firing. This was Talmour making his demonstration. By this time Fox would be in the uniform, and all he had to do when the firing began was to rush to the exit, for to that point we presumed the other guards would make, and he could mingle with them and easily get outside the camp. Then he and Talmour were to join me.

"This part of the scheme as it concerned Fox went off well. I soon saw him making his way to where I was, gun in hand. But on seeing his agitation I knew something was amiss. Our poor friend Talmour had lingered too long, and in trying to get away had been shot. It is a great loss to us, and I wish things had happened otherwise. The three of us had no difficulty in getting away, for we had timed things to the arrival of the Manchester express, which stops

(Continued on page 8)

IRISH NEWS.

The following communication has reached us through the ordinary post:

"ECONOMIC SECTION PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT.

"Our Department is not the only one in Ireland that is carrying on good work against fakirs, whether they be Nationalist, Labour, or Communist. The other department that is doing valuable work in the direction leading to the overthrow of British Imperialism is the Irish Republican Publicity Department. Here is an example of the way its newspaper is issued. Printing offices are raided, correspondence seized, machinery dismantled, printers threatened. The I.R.A. is winning all along the line in the country districts. The success can be attributed to the Irish system of guerilla warfare."

A copy of the *Republican War News* is enclosed, a small sheet printed upon one side. Its contents are as follows:

POBLACHT na h-EIREANN

WAR NEWS No. 15.

Friday, 14th July, 1922.

Seventh Year of the Republic.

Price Twopence.

TO THE END.

Fifteen days of war have made it clear that the Treaty cannot be fulfilled and the Free State set up. The general rising all over the country, and the undisputed sway of the Republican troops in the greater part of the West assure that result. And precisely because that result is assured we shall probably hear of attempts on the part of the Treaty leaders to undermine our position by the offer of fresh "pacts" destined to lead us into compromise. There can be no paltering with this question. Compromise is impossible. Under whatever cloak or disguise it was offered it would involve the surrender of the declared independence of the Irish Republic and the acceptance of British authority and the British King. We will neither abandon the one nor accept the other. That Irishmen should fight Irishmen is an unspeakable calamity; but in every war of Independence from the coming of the Strongbow to our own day our nation had to face that calamity in one degree or another. Had Irishmen in the past never struck for freedom because some of those who opposed freedom were of their own blood we should to-day have a barren history. We do not fight these men but the infamous symbol for which they stand. We have no hatred of them; we hate only the subjection of our people; and no matter whom England arms to prolong it, we shall bring that subjection to an end.

Mountjoy Gaol is full. The other gaols are filling. And this is the will of the people, the making of Ireland safe for democracy.

The Free State troops are being poisoned against their fellow-Irishmen by slanderous stories of faked atrocities. This is how Greenwood incensed his Black and Tans to murder and outrage the Irish people.

RORY O'CONNOR REFUTES THE EXPLOSION LIE.

We have received the following from Comdt.-Gen. Rory O'Connor:

Mountjoy Gaol,
Sunday, July 9th.

The Publicity Department of the "National Army" repeats the false statement that the big explosion at the Four Courts was caused by a mine placed by us. The facts are as follows:

We established a munition shop with several lathes, saws, etc., for the purpose of turning out land mines for use against the British enemy. Several tins for filling the mines were stored in the H.Q. Block. This was the Block which first caught fire as a result of the bombardment, and the explosion was the inevitable result of the fire, and not of any deliberate attempt on our part to destroy life or property.

It has also been stated that when the fighting was over we exploded a mine in the Rotunda. This is also false. The wing fronting the Quay and nearest the Phoenix Park was battered down by Churchill's big guns, and we were compelled to retreat eastward. To impede the advance of the "National" troops we placed a mine, not in the Rotunda, but in the door of the Lord Chancellor's Court. It contained 20 lbs. of explosive and was exploded during our retreat to the last tenable post—viz., the cellar of the guard-room at the gate in Chancery Street. The fighting was not then over, as grenades were thrown over the entrance gate near which some of us were standing.

We protest against the avalanche of falsehoods which are being officially supplied to a censored Press, and the lies which are being disseminated among the rank and file of the "National Army" to induce them to fight their way into the British Empire over the dead bodies of men like Cathal Brugha.

We call the people to witness that we were first attacked. The responsibility for loss of life and property rests with the "Government" which has usurped the authority of the Republic, and not with us, who in defending it were acting in accordance with our conscience and our oath.

Publicity Department,
Mountjoy Gaol.

THE WAR.

Cork City is "normal," says the censored Press. Quite so. Cork is in the absolute control of the I.R.A. The Customs were taken over on the 8th without any friction, and the funds and administration are in Republican hands.

A British cruiser with 2,000 Marines on board steamed up to Cork on June 29th, the day before the attack on the Four Courts began.

Field General Headquarters for the Southern Area have been moved from Mallow to Limerick. A Bulletin issued on the 11th states that the whole of the South and South-West and most of the West and Midlands are held firmly for the Republic. Killenny City, Thurles, Nenagh, Maryborough, and Shannon Bridge are held by the Free State. Sligo has been re-occupied by the I.R.A.

When war broke out there were only six Free State Posts in the whole of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Waterford; all have been captured. The only hot fight was at Skibbereen.

The capture of Listowel was followed by a union of the two forces under the Republican flag, as already described. The few Free State posts in County Limerick surrendered at once.

Republican troops are active over the rest of the country. On the 11th attacks on Free State barracks and patrols occurred at Mount Druid, Co. Roscommon; Carrick-on-Shannon, Co. Leitrim; Vallambrosa, near Bray, Co. Wicklow; Cabinteely, Co. Dublin; Roscrea, Co. Tipperary; Kilreele Wood, Co. Galway; and Drumkeen, Co. Donegal. I.R.A. are in possession of the important towns of Castlerena, Co. Mayo, and Tullamore, Offaly.

Every shell fired at the Four Courts cost £75. Hundreds of shells were fired. Your money is spent by a usurping Government which at the same time talks to you of its pity for the unemployed.

DEAR EDITOR,—I have to thank you for the generous space offered in the *Dreadnought*, which has enabled me to correct misleading and pernicious reports regarding Ormside Street cottage evictions.

Wilful perversions of the truth by the capitalist Press we expect; but we do not expect it from a Socialist paper. What was really an eviction case was coupled in the Press reports with a robbery with which those who were there had no connection whatever.

The *Daily Herald* repeated this report, with my name in full and address, but the following day left it out when forced to give an explanation that it was not a raid on a works but an attempt by the organised unemployed to re-instate some evicted people.

I ignored my own treatment, but I must take up the case of Comrade Rust, as he is unable to defend himself as he is now in prison.

On Tuesday, July 11th, the trial of Rust and Dallas lasted almost all day, and by conclusive and overwhelming evidence Rust was proved to have been absent from the eviction, having stayed behind to see to the business of the Branch.

It was also proved that he only came up after the arrival of the policeman who took Dallas and myself to the works of Mr. Crook (who is also owner of the cottages) when Rust, who had just come up, offered, as he was our Secretary, to accompany, watch and report on our behalf.

The *Herald* to this important (from the housing standpoint) trial gave a small paragraph deliberately misrepresenting the case, saying, "During the Camberwell unemployed raid on a motor works Wm. Rust was sentenced, etc." I wish to make it clear that neither on June 20th

nor on any other date was there a raid on the works of Mr. Crook by the organised unemployed.

No charge was brought in Court by any Government official or private person that a raid was made on a motor works. We have never been charged with that, and I repeat did not go near the works until Dallas and myself were taken there by a policeman. Though I had owned up to forcing open three doors, and have been tried and punished for it, still Rust and Dallas were charged with forcing those doors, and were sentenced partly on that account.

No windows were broken. Why should we break the windows of the people whom we were trying to reinstate?

The case lasted nearly all day, not in the interests of justice—it was merely a pretence—but in order that the law might be able to boast it had allowed Dallas and Rust to call witnesses. The evidence of these same witnesses was entirely ignored in the summing up.

The sentence was a foregone conclusion. I have long since ceased to expect anything but injustice in the Courts.

Property is far, far more sacred than life.

The magistrate, in summing up, said "We are a law-abiding country or people," and that he believed in "maintaining the law, etc." Law and order I presume he meant.

The more law we get, the greater the disorder that prevails underneath.

The witness for Crook was allowed in Court. It was necessary for him to hear all that was said. Needless to add, none of our witnesses were allowed in Court before giving evidence. I believe I am quite correct in saying that no one from Crook's works was in the alley-way when we reinstated the poor women and children. All

the cottagers (a considerable number) agree that our evidence is true. Rust did not find out that he was tricked into being charged and arrested until we arrived at Deptford Police Station. I saw the shock of surprise when he, ordinarily quiet, rose for a moment to his feet in useless protest.

The reason Comrade Rust is in prison is, first, he dares to be Secretary of the unemployed men who fought, sad to say, to maintain the very Courts that now imprison them. Secondly, he is a budding Socialist, and had to be nipped in the bud.

Thirdly, this putting people under shelter is not to be tolerated or encouraged.

NOTE.—It is only the poor who are being evicted, and that by the wealthy.

This young lad is perfectly innocent of the charge attributed to him, just as was the poor cripple Lancaster, whom Rust went to welcome out of prison a few weeks ago.

They have convicted an innocent boy because they want a conviction ready against him in order to give a heavier sentence in the future.

One may never expiate one's guilt, however long one serves. Always before one is sentenced in Court records are called for, and sentences passed according to one's previous record.

These people give you the New Testament to swear by, in which can be read, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those that trespass against us." "Forgive even unto 70 times 7."

I got three evening papers on Tuesday. No report in any could I find. We are impotent to prove the pitfalls that are dug for us, the plots that are hatched until this evil system has passed away. When the system passed away in Russia the Secret Treaties, and much more, were exposed.

CLARA GILBERT COLE.

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THE OUTLOOK. The Housing Scandal.

Mrs. Broomfield, of Willesden Green, occupied two rooms and a box-room. One of her married daughters was unable to find room to live; therefore Mrs. Broomfield gave up one room to her daughter, her daughter's husband, and their three children. A second married daughter, with a husband and five children, soon after became homeless. She, also, was obliged to ask her mother's hospitality, and the box-room was placed at her disposal. The box-room did not contain cubic space enough for one adult person, but somehow seven human beings managed to exist in it.

Eventually Mrs. Broomfield was summoned for permitting overcrowding. The magistrate made an order to abate the overcrowding, but offered no suggestion as to what is to happen to these over-crowded families.

W. Mellor, Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, dealing with the overcrowding scandal in that area, tells of a boy of twelve contracting venereal disease from sleeping with a nineteen-year-old sister, and a girl of eleven contracting the disease from sleeping with her two brothers. Mr. Mellor complains that when the Manchester Health Committee sought to introduce a by-law giving it power to inspect such property, the City Council turned down the proposal on the plea that it was desirous of protecting the liberty of property owners.

Without feeling any sympathy for the property owners, we cannot refrain from pointing out that the mere inspection of over-crowding does not provide additional accommodation. The inspector would be more usefully employed as a bricklayer making new houses.

Newport Trades and Labour Council has been holding an inquiry into local housing conditions. It tells of a widow obliged to share a room with two lads of sixteen and seventeen, who are unrelated to her; and of a five-roomed house occupied by four families. One of the mothers recently gave birth to a fifth child in her one-roomed home. She was attacked by rats during her confinement, and has therefore taken a terrier to live in the family room!

Before the war 3,000,000 people were classed by the Social Reformers as "living in slums," and 5,000,000 as "living under bad conditions in urban areas." The situation has grown much worse. It "does not pay" to build working-class houses, as higher dividends can be obtained by investing capital in other ways.

London's County Hall.

London's County Hall is a building of costly grandeur. We admire fine architecture, we know that wealthy modern civilisation is capable of producing still greater and more beautiful structures than this without undue effort. Nevertheless, one thinks of the "delightful members' terrace" and the marble halls of the L.C.C.'s new residence with disgust, because one recalls London's many homeless families and its innumerable insanitary dwellings.

German Reparation Payments.

The Allied Governments are still discussing how much they can squeeze out of Germany without injuring themselves or causing a revolution in Germany, and the Labour Party joins in the pow-wow instead of bending its efforts to the destruction of the capitalist system.

There is a general tendency towards letting off Germany more lightly. This is reflected

generally throughout the capitalist Press. Even the *Times*, now that Lord Northcliffe has been banished for a rest cure, shows signs of becoming reasonable towards Germany. The tendency towards a mutual cancelling of war debts between the nations which appears uppermost at present may not, however, lead to any tangible result. Says the *Times* Special Correspondent in Paris:

"There is another proposal which is now making some headway—namely, an Allied participation in German industrial affairs by means of direct accord with great German magnates."

An odd outcome of a "war for freedom" that would be, would it not? But then, of course, we know that it was a capitalist war, and such are the products of capitalism. Mammon, who rules the world to-day, is ever eager for more spoils. The working populations of the various countries are mere material to be used or left unused at the will of the great magnates.

The Sale of Honours.

Periodically an outcry is raised against the sale of honours by the Government in return for donations to its Party funds. Every Government carries on the practice in the same manner, and every politician knows it. How else, indeed, should titles of honour be distributed by Governments of place-hunting politicians in a society in which everything is bought and sold?

The Labour Party, in its usual tinkering fashion, has put down a motion to consider "the desirability of abolishing hereditary titles." If all the titles came to an end with the death of the holder, the Governments would do a still brisker trade than at present in selling the honours to the descendants. Why does not the Labour Party move for the abolition of all titles of honour? The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, Colonel Will Thorn, and the Right Hon. J. H. Thomas are looking forward to becoming Sir Arthur, Sir William, and Sir James when the Labour Government gets into power!

Twenty-two People Live on £1 5s. 9d. a Week.

Mrs. Broderick, of Norbiton, has twenty-two persons to keep—her husband, self, and twenty children. Her husband gives her £2 a week to keep house on. Out of that she pays 14/3 rent. She has £1 5s. 9d. left for food, clothing, fuel, light, soap, etc.; in other words, 1/2½ per head per week to provide all the requirements of the family. As might be expected, she had a difficulty in buying shoes for her numerous brood. Therefore, some of them sometimes failed to attend school, she told the magistrates. Doubtless her anxiety to preserve appearances prevented her from stating the case more strongly. Doubtless the truth was that some of the children had either to stay at home, or go to school naked. The magistrates fined Mrs. Broderick 7/6 for the irregular school attendance of her children. She said:

"Better put us all in the Workhouse and keep us, for I don't know when I can pay."

"Blessed is the man who hath his quiver full of them," says the psalm; but the Church opposes Communism, which would provide according to their needs for everybody's quiver-full.

After the Banquet.

Messrs. Tom Shaw and R. Wallhead, from the Labour Party and Independent Labour Party, with Vandeveld and others from Belgium, have been helping the French Socialist Party in a week's propaganda campaign. A banquet was arranged in their honour in Paris. After the banquet the plebs of the Socialist Party, who could not afford to pay the price of the feast, came in with Red flags and cheered the fraternal delegates. The procedure smacks too much of the usages of capitalism to commend itself to us.

The Anti-Labour Party Bill.

The Labour members of Parliament have quite thrown off their cherished respectability and moderation in opposing the Trade Union Act Amendment Bill, which is admittedly a serious blow at Labour Party funds. If any Labour member had acted thus uproariously in defence of the unemployed or for the furtherance of Socialism he would have been taken seriously to

task by the rest. This Bill affects the Labour M.P.s directly, however, and they have immediately shown a militancy in regard to it which they always condemn when it is displayed by the working members of the Trade Unions that send them to Parliament and pay their salaries.

The Dock Dispute.

The dockers seem prepared to resist the cut of 2/- a day proposed by employers. A strike against the reduction is talked of, and there is also talk of joint action with workers in other industries. It is said that the employers are making preparations to bring blacklegs from abroad if necessary, in the event of a dispute.

It is quite certain that if the dockers act alone, as the miners, shipbuilders, and engineers acted, and if their fight is left to the half-hearted organisation of the leaders, as was the case with the miners, shipbuilders, and engineers, the dockers will presently face a similar smashing defeat. The rank-and-file members are becoming unpleasantly aware of this. They realise that the old Trade Unionism is powerless. When will they wake up to the knowledge that the only salvation is to end the capitalist system, and that the only way to end it is for the workers to prepare to administer the Communist system by organising to take control of production and distribution? The next step is the formation of the *One Big Industrial Union*.

German Prosperity.

There is much discussion as to whether the German worker is benefiting by the British trade slump. As a matter of fact, in 1914 there were 276 kilograms of serial food per head in Germany. To-day there are only 198 kilograms of serial food per head. A man with a family of five, to earn 276 kilos. of serial food for each member of his family at the average wage in the mining, building, and textile industries, had to work 414 hours in the year 1914. The same man must now work 495 hours to earn 198 kilos. each for a family of five. Thus he must now work 81 hours more to earn 78 kilos. of bread less than in 1914.

A New Evil of the Cat-and-Mouse Act.

The order under the Cat-and-Mouse Act compelling John Syme to remain in his home during the period of his temporary discharge to recover from hunger strike is a new and unprecedented application of the odious Cat-and-Mouse Act. The present Government has revived and extended the grosser prosecution of political prisoners and has withdrawn the privileges of rule 243a, secured for political prisoners, at the cost of great sacrifices by the suffragettes.

Prison reform is again coming into fashion. Many comrades, who are striving towards a system in which prisons will disappear, are going in and out of prison in these days, and the sentences upon political prisoners are growing longer. The most important question in connection with prison to-day is, therefore, the treatment of political prisoners.

Russia at the Hague.

The process of playing cat and mouse with the Russian delegates at the Hague, to see how much the Soviet will finally concede, continues with results which are all in the capitalist favour. The Russian Trade Delegation's organ, *Russian Information and Review*, declares that "The world needs Russia more than Russia needs the world," and that Russian "restoration" can be carried on without Western capital, which would only accelerate the process by "perhaps ten years." We do not like the expression "restoration." It was a new civilisation we hoped for in Russia. The capitalistic reformers, however, have, unfortunately, got control of Russian policy, and they can see no future apart from capitalism. The Soviet policy by no means lives up to the statement that "the world needs Russia more than Russia needs the world." Concession after concession is made to the rapacious demands of foreign capitalism.

Exit Socialism.

The Decree on Property Rights adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government is now to hand. It permits "all citizens, whose rights are not limited by law established," to organise industrial and commercial undertakings, to possess buildings in town or

country, to transfer such buildings on lease with the lease of the site on which they stand, to build on urban and county sites, and to possess such buildings during forty-nine years, to possess moveable property connected with workshops, etc., also to possess tools and means of production and the products of agriculture and industry, financial capital, and so on.

The requisition of such property by Government, either with or without payment, is no longer permissible, except in special circumstances established by law.

All citizens as above may mortgage or pledge property as above. The patenting of copyrights, trademarks and inventions is re-established.

Inheritance by testament or law by husbands, wives, or direct offspring, is re-established. There is a limit in total value of 10,000 gold roubles, but this may be expended in circumstances established by special legislation. Oh, jobbery, bribery and favouritism, here are chances for you!

The right is expressly re-established of concluding all manner of contracts, including the leasing of property, purchase and sale, barter, loans, tender, power of attorney, insurance, partnership (simple, complete, in trust, and limited liability), bills of exchange, and all kinds of banking and credit operations—all the old paraphernalia of capitalism has returned!

Political Crime.

The Social Revolutionaries, for whom Ramsay MacDonald and the *Daily Herald* are so solicitous, appear to be a pretty lot of criminals, if the charges made against them are true. They are charged with the organisation and attempted organisation of armed insurrection, bomb-throwing, blowing-up of railway trains and bridges, the murder of trainloads of persons, including the entire Council of People's Commissaries, assassination and attempted assassination of numbers of persons, including Lenin, Trotsky, Zinovieff, Volodarsky, Uritsky, armed robbery, burglary, bribery, assisting counter-revolutionary marauders, including Generals Denikin, Krasnov, and Alexeiev, assisting the enemies of Russia, including the German General Staff of Ludendorf.

If these actions had taken place nearer home, it is unlikely that George Lansbury and Ben Turner would have appealed for clemency. The following petition has been circulated privately, and has been signed by upwards of 1,000 persons:

"We make an urgent appeal to all the lovers of justice to join us in signing a public demand that O'Sullivan and Dunn shall be treated as prisoners of war, and not be executed.

"We call attention to the fact that between July 21st, 1920, and June 21st, 1922, 28,560 Nationalists were driven from their homes; 8,586 Nationalists were driven from their employment; 7,800 Nationalists were seriously wounded; 429 Nationalists were murdered; and that there were in Ulster 3,000 constabulary, armed and equipped by the British Government; 5,000 "A" Specials; 20,000 "B" Specials; and an indefinite number of "C" Specials, all armed and equipped by the British Government; 19 battalions of British Crown Forces.

"Sir Henry Wilson, until recently, was in command of the forces of the Northern Government. Obviously there is war in Belfast and North-East Ulster. O'Sullivan and Dunn acted as soldiers in that war; they acted according to their convictions."

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

CAPITALISM WON'T PAY TO SAVE LIFE. A SOUTH AFRICAN CONSCRIPT FIRE BRIGADE.

Time was that the fire brigades were the property of the fire insurance companies, and only those who had paid for insurance were assisted by the fire brigade in case of fire.

Even to-day the British lifeboat service is a voluntary charity, which is short of funds, and therefore unable to do its work completely.

A curious situation has arisen in Boksburg, South Africa, in regard to the fire brigade. The brigade consists of two permanent firemen and

some auxiliary members. The auxiliary members are municipal employees who volunteer for the fire brigade. During working hours they are called from their employment if required. In the evenings, Saturday afternoons, and Sundays they remain at home in case they should be sent for, but each one is set free twice a week.

At one time the brigade numbered twenty. It dwindled to twelve, who finally resigned because the Town Council would not agree to pay retaining fees to the members of the brigade. The Council was willing to pay retaining fees from April 1922, but only to six persons. The members declared that the work could not be efficiently conducted with so small a number. Their demands are modest: three permanent firemen, six auxiliaries, to report at the station each day, paid a retaining fee of £3 per month, to include attendance at fire drills and special duties; also twelve further auxiliary firemen to be paid £2 a month, to include two drills a month, theatre duties, and taking turns for one of them to be at the fire station three hours a night, fires to be paid for at the usual rates.

The Public Health Committee of the Council has refused these demands, and has decided to make membership of the fire brigade compulsory, without pay, for all municipal employees, if called upon for such service. Employees not accepting these conditions will be called upon to resign.

We imagine that a strike of municipal employees will result. The Boksburg Councillors are likely to find that the voluntary principle is easier to work than conscription.

It should be observed that capitalism on the Rand does not wish to pay for the upkeep of a fire brigade, but desires to force the municipal employees to serve the community without fee or reward in this respect. That would be all very well under Communism, when all service would be voluntary, hours of work would be short, and all would take their fill of the means of subsistence on equal terms. To-day, however, the Boksburg municipal employees are entitled to demand that the brigade should be formed from the property-owners, since they have most wealth for the brigade to protect and they do no compulsory work.

Coercion on the Rand.

W. J. Poynter, a Labour member of the Town Council of Boksburg, where the unprovoked shooting of strikers occurred during the Rand strike, has been committed for trial on account of a speech made at a public meeting held in the Council Chamber. Poynter declared that Captain Fulford, who gave the order to fire on the strikers, ought to be hanged, and urged the people to march to the Reef and demand from General Smuts a public inquiry into the shooting. If his brother had been killed, Poynter said, he would have taken the law into his own hands and would have "exacted a life for a life."

EXIT EX-COLONEL MALONE.

THE END OF A SHALLOW CONVERSION.

"To the Editor of the 'Stratford Express':

"Dear Sir,—I am sending you herewith a copy of our Ministry of Defence Creation Bill, in the drafting of which I have co-operated with Admiral Sueter, M.P., formerly my chief in the Admiralty Air Department.

"It should be of considerable interest to your readers for many reasons, of which, in order not to encroach too far on your valuable space, I will only outline two.

"First, it will increase the efficiency of the three fighting services as a whole by co-ordinating the operations of Navy, Army and Air Force, by regulating the supply of material and equipment, and by arranging through a centralised recruiting service for provision of an adequate personnel.

"Too often in the past has there been overlapping or a lack of united effort between the three services. This was due both to the loose connections between the three services and to jealousies and rivalries. New developments such as tanks, aircraft, anti-submarine weapons, etc., were delayed because there were too many old men in blinkers in control of affairs at the Admiralty and War Office still playing with bows and arrows and rattling scabbards which ought to be hung on the walls of the village museum. Many of these men are, unfortunately, still there, but this Bill would put someone in authority over them to divert their activities.

"There is scarcely any conceivable operation of war in which two, and probably all three, of the

services will not in any future war be engaged together, and yet there is no efficient machinery for the co-ordination of sea, air and land forces. The Committee of Imperial Defence is inadequate, and it has no executive powers.

"The existing deplorable state of the air defence of this country is largely attributable to the absence of a co-ordinating body and to the lack of collective responsibility in the tendering of expert advice on defence. Each Department regards its own needs too much to the exclusion of the other Departments. In reality, all three—Admiralty, Air Ministry, and War Office—are, and must be, interdependent.

"Secondly, this Bill would effect drastic economies, because it will not be bowed down by prejudices and vested interests. It will develop the most efficient fighting weapon, which is also the cheapest—namely, the Air Force—and it will effect economies by uniformity and amalgamation in the finance, accounting, and other departments; and by the co-ordination of the estimates of the three branches of the fighting services.—I am, etc.,

"CECIL L'ESTRANGE MALONE.

"House of Commons,

June 27th, 1922."

This is how the Right-Wing Communists are served by one whom they recently called their Parliamentary representative.

This is the abyss to which the easy path of opportunism leads down.

AN URGENT APPEAL.

The Russian Workers' Opposition, composed of the foremost fighters in the revolution, appeals to Western comrades to pay for the printing of literature to aid the Russian workers in their struggle for Communism and against the rising capitalism which is getting control in Russia. Donations, marked "Workers' Opposition," should be sent to the *Workers' Dreadnought*, 152 Fleet Street.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

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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' OPPOSITION.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

(Continued from last week.)

Every comrade can easily recall scores of instances when workers themselves attempted to organise dining-rooms, day nurseries for children, transportation of wood, etc., and when each time a lively immediate interest in the undertaking died from the red tape, interminable negotiations with various institutions that brought no definite results, or refusals, new requests, etc. Wherever there was an opportunity under impetus of the masses themselves the masses by their own efforts to equip a dining-room, to store a supply of wood, or to organise a nursery, refusal always followed refusal from the central institutions with explanations that there was no equipment for the dining-room, lack of horses for transporting the wood, and absence of an adequate building for the nursery. And how much bitterness is generated amongst working men and women when they see and know that if they had been given the right, and an opportunity to act, they themselves would put the project through. How painful it is to receive a refusal of necessary materials when they had already been found and procured by the workers themselves. Therefore, the initiative is slackening, and the desire to act is dying out. If that is the case, "let officials themselves take care of us." As a result, there is generated a most harmful division: we are the toiling people, and they are the Soviet officials, on whom everything depends. This is the whole trouble.

Meanwhile, what are our party leaders doing? Do they attempt to find the cause of the evil, and to admit openly that the very system itself, which was carried out into the life through the Soviets, paralyses and deadens the masses, though it was meant to encourage their initiative? No; our party leaders do nothing of the kind. Just the opposite—instead of finding means to encourage the mass initiative which shall fit perfectly into our flexible Soviet institutions under certain conditions, our party leaders all of a sudden appear in the role of defenders and knights of bureaucracy. How many comrades, while following Trotsky's example, repeat that "we suffer, not because of adopting the bad sides of bureaucracy, but just because we have failed so far to learn the good ones." ("On one common plan," by Trotsky.)

Bureaucracy, as it is, is a direct negation of mass self-activity, and, therefore, whoever accepts the principle of attracting the masses to an active participation in directing the affairs, as a basis for the new system in the workers' republic, cannot look for good or bad sides in bureaucracy, but must openly and resolutely reject this useless system. Bureaucracy is not a product of our misery, as Comrade Zinovieff tries to convince us, neither is it a reflex of "the blind subordination" to superiors generated by militarism, as others assert. This phenomenon has a deeper cause. It is a by-product of the same cause that explains our policy of double-dealing toward the trade unions: the growing influence in the Soviet institutions of those elements which are hostile in spirit not only to Communism, but to the elementary aspirations of the working masses as well. Bureaucracy is a scourge that pervades the very marrow of our party as well as of the Soviet institutions, and this fact is emphasised not only by the Workers' Opposition, but is also recognised by many thoughtful comrades not belonging to this group.

The restrictions on initiative are put, not only in regard to the activity of non-partisan masses (this would be only a logical and reasonable condition in the suppressed atmosphere of the civil war), the initiative of party members themselves is also restricted. Every independent attempt, every new thought that had passed through the censorship of our centre is considered as "heresy," as a violation of the party discipline, as an attempt to infringe on the prerogatives of the centre, which must "foresee" everything, and "decree" anything and everything. If anything is not decreed one must wait, for the time will come when the centre at its leisure will decree, and then within sharply restricted limits one may express his "initiative." What would happen if some of the members of the Russian Communist Party—those, for instance, who are very fond of birds decided to form a

society for the preservation of birds. The idea itself seems very useful, and does not in any way undermine the "State projects," but it only seems this way. All of a sudden there would appear some bureaucratic institution which would claim its right to the management of that particular undertaking; that institution would immediately "incorporate" the society into the Soviet machine, deadening, thereby, the direct initiative; and instead of it there would appear a heap of paper decrees and regulations which would give enough work for other hundreds of officials and complicate the work of mails and transport.

The harm in bureaucracy lies not only in the red tape, as some comrades would want us to believe when they narrow the whole controversy to the "animation of Soviet institutions," but also in the solution of all problems, not by means of an open exchange of opinions or by immediate efforts of all concerned, but by means of formal decisions handed down from the central institutions, and arrived at either by one person or by an extremely restricted collective, wherein the interested people quite often are entirely absent. Some third person decides your fate; this is the whole essence of bureaucracy.

In the face of the growing suffering in the working class, brought about by the confusion of the present transitory period, bureaucracy finds itself particularly weak and impotent. The miracle of enthusiasm in stimulating the productive forces and alleviating the labour conditions can be performed only by the animated initiative of the interested workers themselves, not restricted and repressed at every step by a hierarchy of "permissions and decrees."

All Marxians, Bolsheviks in particular, have been strong and powerful in that they never stressed the policy of immediate success of the movement (this line, by the way, has always been followed by the opportunists-compromisers), but always attempted to put the workers in such conditions as would give them the opportunity to temper their revolutionary will and develop the creative abilities. The workers' initiative is indispensable for us, and yet we do not give it a chance to develop.

Fear of criticism and freedom of thought by combining together with bureaucracy quite often produce ridiculous forms.

There can be no self-activity without freedom of thought and opinion, for self-activity manifests itself not only in initiative, action, and work, but in independent thought as well. We give freedom to the class activity, we are afraid of criticism, we have ceased to rely on the masses, hence we have bureaucracy with us. That is why the Workers' Opposition considers that bureaucracy is our enemy, our scourge, and the greatest danger for the future existence of the Communist Party itself.

In order to do away with the bureaucracy that is finding its shelter in the Soviet institutions, we must first of all get rid of all bureaucracy in the party itself. That is where we face the immediate struggle against this system. As soon as the party—not in theory, but in practice—recognises the self-activity of the masses as the basis of our State, the Soviet institutions will again automatically become those living institutions which are destined to carry out the Communist project, and will cease to be the institutions of red tape, laboratories for dead-born decrees, into which they had very rapidly degenerated.

What shall we do, then, in order to destroy bureaucracy in the party and introduce in it the workers' democracy? First of all it is necessary to understand that our leaders are wrong when they say: "Just now we agree to let the reins loose somewhat," for there is no immediate danger on the military front, but as soon as we shall again feel the danger we will go back to "the military system" in the party. They are not right, because we must remember that heroism saved Petrograd, more than once defended Lugansk, other centres, and whole regions. Was it the Red Army alone that put up the defence? No; there was, besides, the heroic self-activity and initiative of the masses themselves. Every comrade will recall that during the moments of supreme danger the party always appealed to the self-activity of the masses, for it saw in them the anchor of salvation. It is quite true that at times of threaten-

ing danger the party and class discipline must be more strict, there must be more self-sacrifice, exactitude in performing duties, etc., but between these manifestations of the class spirit and "the blind subordination" which is being developed lately by the party, there is a great difference.

(To be continued.)

ESPERANTO.

SLOSILO DE L'EKZERCO No. 6.

On Monday we shall have another lesson, but Tuesday and Wednesday will be holidays; this will leave only Thursday and Friday for lessons, as we shall all be away Saturday and Sunday.

Next week we must buy some new books, and we will write to thank her for paying (that she paid) her subscription so early.

EKZERCO No. 7.

Sidiĝu, Sinjoro, mi petas. Ĉu pluvas nun?—Ne, nun ne pluvas, la suno brilas.—Ĉu vi trinkas teon?—Jes, mi ŝatas ĝin tre multe.—Ĉu vi prenas sukeron kaj lakton en via teo?—Mi prenas malmulte lakton sed ne sukeron.—Kie vi iros pro via libertempo?—Eble mi restados hejme kaj ludos kun miaj gefiloj, eble mi irus Parizon se la vagonaroj kaj la vaporŝipoj ne estas tro plenaj.

VORTARETO.

brili	to shine	plena	full
eble	possibly	pluvi	to rain
ĝi	it	preni	to take
gefiloj	See notes	restadi	to remain
hejmo	home	sidiĝi	to be seated
iri	to go	ŝati	to value
jcs	yes	sukero	sugar
kie	where	suno	sun
kun	with	teo	tea
lakto	milk	tre	very
libertempo	holiday	trinki	to drink
ludi	to play	tro	too
multo	much	vagonaro	train
nun	now	vaporŝipo	steamer
Parizo	Paris	vojanĝanto	traveller
peti	to request		

NOTES.

MI ŜATAS ĜIN, I am fond of it (tea, not gin!).

GEFILOJ, Filo is a son, but with the prefix GE it includes daughters.

MANIFESTO DE LA KOMUNISTA PARTIO.

Daŭrigo.

Tamen, kiam ĝi estis skribita, oni ne povus ĝin nomi Socialista Manifesto. Per "socialistoj," en 1847, estis signataj, unuflanke, la aliĝantoj de la diversaj utopiaj sistemoj: Owenanoj en Anglujo, Fourieranoj en Francujo, ambaŭ el ili jam forvelkintaj ĝis stato de nuraj sektoj, kaj laŭgrade elmortintaj; ĉe la alia flanko, la plej svarmaĉantaj sociaj kuracistaĉoj, kiuj, per ĉiuj manieroj de riparaĉado, pretendis rimedi, sen ia danĝero al kapitalo aŭ profito, ĉiuspecajn sociajn maljustecojn, en ambaŭ okazoj homoj ekster la laborklasa movado, kaj sin turnantaj plimulte al la "edukitaj" klasoj por subtenado. Kia ajn parto de la laborklaso estis konvinkita pri la nesuficeco de nuraj politikaj revolucioj, kaj proklamis la necesecon de tuta socia ŝanĝo, tiu parto, tiam, sin nomis komunista. Ĝi estis kruda, elhakegita, entute instinkta. speco de komunismo; tamen, ĝi tuŝis la plej gravan punkton kaj estis sufiĉe pova inter la laboranta klaso por produkti la utopian komunismon, en Francujo de Cabot, kaj en Germanujo de Veitling-Tiel, la socialismo estis, en 1847, mezklasa movado. Socialismo estis, almenaŭ sur la Kontinento, "respektinda"; komunismo estis rekte mala. Kaj kiel nia ideo, de la ekkomenco, estis ke "la liberigo de la laboranta klaso devesgas esti la ago de la laboranta klaso mem," ne povis esti dubo rilate al tio, kiun el la du nomoj ni devis preni. Plue, ni ĉiam poste tute ne dixeris ĝin malakcepti.

Daŭrigota.

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INDUSTRIALISM IN THE EAST.

Industrialism is spreading fast in the East, and bids fair to eclipse Western methods in the early future.

Chinese Seamen's Strike.

The strike of Chinese seamen on British ships running out of Hong Kong lasted from January 3rd to March 8th. It was marked by great solidarity. In Canton the strikers were provided for by more than seventy artisan guilds. The British authorities in Hong Kong threw some of the strike leaders into gaol. Thereupon Chinese cooks in British families and hotels left their work in sympathy with the strikers. Chinese workers in British banks did the same.

East Indian Railway Strike.

The East Indian strike was marked by tremendous solidarity, which enabled the workers to withstand great coercion.

The British authorities in Hong Kong broke into the Seamen's Union Headquarters and arrested a number of strikers, throwing some into gaol and deporting others to Canton, suspending the ordinary train service between Hong Kong and Canton in order to hinder the strikers' freedom of movement. Permits were introduced for Chinese entering or leaving Hong Kong. British troops were called out, blacklegs were introduced, and guards for them were recruited amongst Americans, British, and other Europeans. Criminals were released from prison on promise of acting as strike breakers, according to the *New York Call*. British naval crews and Royal Marines were used as blacklegs.

On the other hand, the crew of a French steamer joined the strikers on arrival at Hong Kong.

Why is the Anglo-Saxon race so lacking in solidarity?

Blacklegs, according to the *New York Call*, were imported from the Filipinos and Manila.

The Chinese Seamen's Union, extending to Chinese sailing on ships of all nationalities, had to carry on its fight far from Hong Kong. On arriving at Everett, Washington, U.S.A., the Chinese crew attempted to leave, but was beaten back by guards and longshoremen, and placed in chains, to be dealt with on arrival at the first British port. This is reported by the *New York Call*.

The Chinese strikers issued this manifesto:

"Public notice is hereby given that we seamen, owing to the necessity of maintaining our livelihood, have demanded an increase of wages from the shipping companies. Our demand is not too excessive, and our action has been so slow that a settlement might have been easily effected through negotiations. But, as the shipping companies, taking advantage of the fact they are under foreign jurisdiction, have not yet yielded a bit, we seamen have declared a general strike.

"We have now heard that our reasonable demand has been set at naught in Hong Kong and foreigners have been appointed to take our places, such as on the Hong Kong-Canton steamers, the *Kinshan* and *Heungshan*, on which British naval crews and Royal Marines have been engaged to resume service between Canton and Hong Kong. This sufficiently illustrates the forcible methods of the capitalists and the biased help of the Hong Kong Government to enable them to carry out their wicked plan against the labouring classes. If they can now use it against us seamen they may do the same thing towards the various classes of labourers in future. We are, therefore, compelled to issue this appeal for mutual help from the various classes of fellow-labourers in order to enable us to attain our object. This is the time when we labourers should help each other."

Chinese servants in British households left their employment to join the striking seamen; Chinese cooks in British hotels, Chinese employees in British banks followed, and the strike of Chinese became general.

In Canton 15,000 to 20,000 strikers who had fled or been deported from Canton were maintained by seventy Chinese artisan guilds, who provided with three meals a day, pocket-money, money, and tickets for entertainments.

The strike was won: it is said that the terms were recognition of the Union, 40 per cent. increase in wages, and other concessions.

The East Indian railway strike originated in the assault of an Indian named Ram Lall by a European fireman. The strike rapidly spread throughout the East Indian Railway. The strikers declared that they had been suffering under a series of assaults and injustices for many years. When the strike began the strikers were not organised industrially, no Union being in existence. About a fortnight later a Union of East Indian railway workers was formed, under the guidance of an Indian barrister and editor of *Swadhama*, a paper supposed to be devoted to the cause of Indian Labour, but by no means an advanced organ. As the railway serves large coal areas, the strike soon affected the manufacturing districts. The Punjab mail train was wrecked on April 5th by the removal of railway lines, and the act was attributed to strikers.

The strikers appear to have been sold by their negotiators; terms were proposed by the company and communicated through a British clergyman named Andrews. These were accepted in some centres, but rejected in the coal areas and at the strike headquarters.

Mr. Theo. Thorne, a British barrister and editor of *The Indian Engineer*, *The Indian and Eastern Motors*, and *The Indian Railway Gazette*, three capitalist trade journals, then set out to negotiate. The result was that a settlement was soon reached.

"No further concessions were granted. The main concession was that those men whom the railway were not prepared to take back, because their posts had been filled, would not be dismissed, but would be treated as having resigned."

Apparently the Indian workers are strong in action, weak in negotiation.

That is not to be wondered at, since the industrial movement in India is largely in the hands of well-meaning but entirely pro-capitalist members of the middle class.

Swadhama on April 30th published the presidential address to the first Congress of Labour Unions held in Bengal of Raja Manendra Chandra Sinha, one of those who, in India, is apparently regarded as a leader of Labour (!) This gentleman expressed himself as "flattered" that the Labour people of Bengal had made him President of their first Congress. He declared that India needed less of class distinctions, but he was apprehensive that no good would result from combining in one federation organisations of the more intellectual as well as of the more physical forms of labour. He feared that, whilst on one side might be the brains, the brawn and muscle might win the day. He declared that Labour and Capital cannot do without each other, and that "for the lower forms of Labour the employer should stand more as a guardian than anything else."

"The prime necessity," he added, "is to see that the workman does his measure of work for wages received. . . . It should be the first duty of all Labour organisations to see that no quarter is given to the truant workman or scamp worker."

He then denounced the East Indian Railway strike as the work of political mischief-makers. He urged the Federation to devote itself to providing clubs, reading-rooms, death benefits, and such legislation as workmen's compensation. These, he said, would take ten years to discuss and initiate.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

"EGYPTIAN CULTURE."

By TOM ANDERSON.

Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, Professor of Egyptology at University College, London, has a splendid article in "The Illustrated London News" of July 8th last, dealing with "Egyptian Culture." Only last winter the British School in Egypt made another discovery of a very important nature, which disclosed a long line of graves laid out in squares measuring 250 ft. and 400 ft. long at the sides.

"New Relics of Ancient Egypt 7,000 Years ago."

"Tools, Games, and Toilet Articles of the First Dynasty."

Londoners have an opportunity this month of examining (without payment) this remarkable collection of newly found relics of early Egyptian culture, at the University College, Gower Street, from July 3rd to 29th, between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m., and in the evenings of July 5th and 25th, from 7 to 9 p.m.

I ask every reader of the *Dreadnought* in London to make a point of going to see these relics, which were in use before the creation of the world as given in our Holy Bible. I have made mention of these relics in writing of the psychology of J. H. Thomas in an article which follows this one, and I desire every reader to send J. H. T. a copy of this issue, so that he may read in the next issue of the *Dreadnought* a description of himself.

Egypt 7,000 years ago had risen high in her culture. It had taken more than 7,000 years to bring her to the point here displayed in her relics. Seven times seven would not measure the time; and when you remember that Egypt is but a child of Babylon the vista of years that have gone before are enormous. At this particular period slavery was the economic basis of Egypt. Slaves! Slaves! Slaves! And before the slaves were the Jews, and women were the rulers. How many thousand years do you think? A moderate estimate is at least 500,000 years. A Labour M.P. and Labour Conference sit and laugh at Communism, and Communism was the first beginning of the human race, away back in that period before the Christian Gods were born and Britain was inhabited. Every new discovery reveals to us as if by magic what each of us feels and cannot explain. And these are the "stavisms" coming up in us belonging to periods thousands and thousands of years ago.

We are very conservative in our age. We will only have "Three Gods in One." In Egypt Gods were as common as Labour leaders are to-day. Every new God was given a niche in the Pantheon. They were very cosmopolitan in the matter of Gods. Of course there were superior and inferior Gods. If you desire to read a good description of the making of a God in Egypt, I would advise you to read the "Golden Bough," Volume II., page 180, by Sir James George Frazer, and you will get an intellectual treat. You will be surprised to find that the making of Gods is not of Divine origin, but that the parties had two forms—a human one and a Divine one. The King of Egypt was a God as well as a King. To make the change from a king to a god was merely the changing into the attire of the god, just as our King is one day a soldier, the next a sailor, a doctor, etc., etc. It was the same in Egypt. Our Queen (God bless her!) was recently made a "Doctor of Laws." The Queen of Egypt was the Queen, but when she changed her dress and went to sleep in the "golden bed with God Ammon" she was his consort or a goddess. The child of this union was a Saviour or a junior God. Do you understand? Of course that was 7,000 years ago, and it does not happen to-day. No, no; we have Labour leaders going to the marriage of a Princess, and at the same time they try to cod us that it is a mark of respect they are showing to Labour!

But then, surely a king, a queen, prince or princess is something more than human? Certainly they are half-and-half. At one time they were whole and whole, and they are grandly diminishing. In another million years we will be all kings and queens, etc. You cannot alter the mentality of the mass in one, two, or three hundred years. You must wait till they grow. The Lord Chancellor said that in the House of Lords last week. He said, "You need not be afraid of Communism; you have only to read what the responsible Labour leaders said at their Conference at Edinburgh the other day." And all the lords agreed. Certainly! And so I ask you to read my article next week on Labour leaders, and each reader might send a copy to J. H. T., and also pray for him. For, although it is an impossibility to make a Communist of him, he might, like a man of old, take remorse and hang himself as a warning to others.

ATROCITIES AND HONOURS.

As I laid down the *Workers' Dreadnought* last week, fellow-worker, I thought: "What a blood-stained world!"

Amongst all the news that does not appear in the capitalist rags which I read in the *Dreadnought* was the punitive expedition of British officers against the unfortunate Bhils in India, the mining war in Illinois, the pogroms in Belfast, and the special news from Southern Ireland, to say nothing of the evictions at Woodbine Cottages.

Outrages and tragedies have become so common nowadays, fellow-worker, that, unless we ourselves happen to be the victims, we scarcely pay any attention to them.

That is why we tolerate the doings of this Government. All the Governments are so bad that this bad Government of unscrupulous and dishonest men is quite commonplace. All the Governments are bad, because it is only by cruelty and deceit that 90 per cent. of the wealth of the country can be kept in the hands of 10 per cent. of the people, leaving the others to go short. It is only by cruelty and deceit that the idle are maintained in luxury by the labour of the industrious, who subsist in poverty.

When the Press gets up an agitation about something or other, people get excited about it, though the thing has been going on under their noses all their lives and there are much worse things taking place all around them.

A case in point is the Honours question. Titles of honour have always been bought and sold by those in control of Government, but every now and then a shout is raised about the practice, just to sell the newspapers, make talk, and direct attention from more important matters.

You and I would have expected, fellow-worker, that the Labour Party, with all its faults, would have scorned these empty titles and refused to use them, declaring with Robert Burns that "a man's a man for a' that"; but no, fellow-worker, these Labour leaders carry with pride the title of Right Honourable, the only one bestowing a handle to the name (the O.B.E. does not, you know) which any number of them have yet secured whilst still in Labour Party and Trade Union office.

Moreover, Arthur Henderson's words at the Labour Party Conference were ominous: the title of Privy Councillor is the only democratic honour in this country, he said. Why did Mr. Henderson say that, fellow-worker?

He said it because the title of Right Honourable attaching to Privy Councillors is the only one that has become common yet amongst Labour leaders.

If there were a Labour Government (and nowadays, fellow-worker, all the politicians are asking whether there is an early prospect of that); if the Labour Party should be able to form a Government, would Mr. Henderson and his colleagues make an onslaught on the Honours List; would they make it what they call democratic by getting on to it themselves?

That is a question that must be agitating the Upper Ten, for in giving honours, you must remember, fellow-worker, one condition is always strictly observed—the recipient must be wealthy enough to live in such a style as to preserve the glamour which should attach to titles. That is an unwritten law.

If knights, baronets, dukes, and marquises were to be found living in your street, and if their ladies went to do the shopping side by side with your "old woman," you would not look up to those titled personages with any special respect; you admit that. I am sure, fellow-worker.

Therefore, the raising of the Honours question on this occasion has not been done merely to amuse the public, and instead of the debate ending in smoke this time, a Royal Commission will be appointed.

The unwritten law which has served to guide the classes is to be hedged about with regulations now that the masses may possibly put a Labour Party into power, and the candidates for honours may therefore come from the humbler social strata.

But all this is of no importance to the men and women who toil and moil in the factory and the mine, or to the unemployed half-starving on the dole.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

WE LOVE THE EMPIRE.

WORDS AND MUSIC BY T. A.

Mary was a pretty maid,
Of twenty years or so.
She dwelt away in London town,
A place you all do know.
Her father was a Labour man,
With whiskers on his chin,
And every night he went to bed
He used to sing this hymn.

Chorus.

We love the Empire, dear old Empire;
We love its sons, so brave and true,
We love the Army and the Navy,
We love the blood that's "royal blue,"
We love the Church and Constitution,
We love the "Lords" and "Commons" too,
We love "our country" and "our nation,"
We love the slaves, we do, we do.

Mary, she got safely wed,
And that not long ago,
To a little Army Captain,
A Mr. "So-and-So."
Her Dad that night got very "tight,"
And when the lights went low
He sang the chorus of that hymn,
With Mr. "So-and-So."
Mary now has children four,
Three girls and a boy.
Believe me when I say to you
Her life is one of joy.
She sings the songs of Daddy,
The one he loved so well;
And if you pass their little home
The children you will tell.

The music of the above song appears in "Proletcult" for August. Price 1d. Order from the *Dreadnought* Office.

THE INFAMOUS SYSTEM.

An ex soldier named Dunbar stole £50 worth of goods and pawned them for £2 10s. to buy food for his wife and children. Learning that her husband was to be punished for the theft, the wife drowned herself and two children in the Thames.

At Henley, Oxfordshire, two families are living in a two-roomed cottage. One family consists of a husband and wife and eight children.

Cold feet and an empty stomach know no master. "I am starving," said James Kelly, who had tramped to London from Bradford, seeking work, and broke into a jeweller's shop in Leadenhall Street.

Professional thieves hire boys to steal bicycles from the unemployed waiting for the dole at Ponders End Labour Exchange.

More than 100,000 miners are out of work. Thousands of those who are working are obliged to take their pay tickets to the Guardians to obtain relief.

Miners at work are selling their furniture to buy food. At Treorchy many colliers went to work without food last week-end because they had exhausted their credit at the grocers.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

DUSTHEAP ALLEY AND THE LIVING TOMB,

BY

Clara Gilbert Cole.
Price One Penny.

RED NIGHTS.—Continued from p. 2.

at Newton Coomber for the ticket collectors, and then runs right on to Manchester. After that our journey here was without incident, and here we are."

I felt grieved at the loss of such a good comrade. However, the times were dark enough as it was, and we had much to do. We must apply ourselves to the great task before us, come what may. Both my comrades agreed with me, but it was with sorrowful hearts that we parted to do our allotted work.

(To be continued.)

FROM PORTSMOUTH

On July 5th a large procession of Portsmouth unemployed marched to the Workhouse to demand work or maintenance, headed by the Workers' Union band, the unemployed banner, and two mounted policemen. There was a drizzling rain, and a more pitiable sight has yet to be seen. The marchers, recently discharged from the Dockyard, had a look of high spirits, and wore decent clothes. Those who had been long unemployed showed signs of misery and hopelessness. Their clothes were ragged, their boots worn. On their white banner, in red print, was the slogan, "1914, the Fight for Britain; 1922, the Fight for Bread."

On arriving at the Workhouse, one of the deputation jumped upon the railings, and appealed to the men and women "to keep quiet and act like men." "What you want is work," he said, "but if they will not give you work, then you must have doles. It is a national question. You fought and worked for them during the War, and it is up to them to do their duty toward you now." Another speaker, the Chairman of the unemployed organisation, then followed, and asked every man Jack of them to behave as well as they could, and to let the unemployed of Portsmouth be a credit to the whole of England. This was answered by loud cheering. You may starve and cheer, but you must not kick up a row, appears to be the motto. The deputation, consisting of two of the leaders of the unemployed (Chairman and Secretary) and two of the members of the Trades Council, was then escorted to the Guardians by the "boys in blue," and after about ten minutes' wait came back to say that the Guardians were considering relief cases, and they would be received afterwards. The rain began to pour down still more heavily, and after waiting about an hour the deputation was received. A speaker had the bravery to ask the band to play whilst they were inside. Another long wait, which had the desired effect of getting the men fed up. Many of them left and went home. Finally, at about 4.30, the lost deputation re-appeared with the news that they had presented their case and the Board was now considering it; the result would be sent on to them by post. The following morning, at the unemployed meeting, it was learnt that the Board, after a series of resolutions and amendments, had decided to give the unemployed better treatment in the future, but would still treat each case on its merits. One case which I should say requires the Guardian's attention is that of a man wrecked and ruined in the War, with a consumptive wife and two children, who is in receipt of the luxurious sum of 5/- per week.

The local paper reports that a resolution by the Portsmouth Branch of the Boilermakers' Society was sent in, protesting against the scandalous treatment of the unemployed, and demanding the adoption of a flat rate. I am afraid it will require more than pious resolutions to move the Guardians.

There are more discharges from the Dockyard this week, and I am told that shipwrights are taking labourers' jobs at 13/- per week less than the ordinary rate, in order to have the loan of a job a little longer. This is a scandal to the men involved, and will never be forgotten by the labourers. It is another instance of the need for the One Big Union.

One Big Union, the overthrow of Capitalism, Communism, with its Classless Society of Free Peoples, would alter all this and supply all the needs of the workers, instead of this absurd system of craft, skill, and vocation. When will the labouring worker take the initiative and demand the right to live?

In the building of a ship, or any commodity of utility, one worker is just as necessary as another. Workers, wake up! Organise together with the object of abolishing all class distinctions, and taking the control of industry by the workers, for and in the interests of all. Thus unemployment and its miseries will be abolished, and demonstrations will be needed no more.

T. HOBSON.

DREADNOUGHT £500 FUND.

Brought forward, £239 0s. 8d. W. Cooke, 6/4; E. Newirth, 4/-; H. Wilson, £1; P. Catherley, 2/-; T. Baker, 10/-; T. E. Sellek, 2/6; C. E. Walder, 10/-; Per M. E. Marsh, 5/6; A. J. M. and J. E. M., 5/-; G. Sear, Jun., 5/-; W. Thompson, 5/-; Victoria Park Meeting Collection, 6/2½; Per E. F. Dean, 10/-; F. T. Dent, 5/-; J. W. Kennedy, 2/6; H. Storey, 2/-; C. Drake, 2/6; D. A., 10/-; F. Houghton (10/- monthly), £1 10s. Total for week, £6 7s. 4d. Total, £245 8s.

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