# CRITICISM AND UNDERSTANDING,

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September 15, 1923.

WEEKLY.

## The Man Without a Country

am the working man-THE man without a country test upon my shouldersor I am labour! sail their ships and planes— watch their citadels and towers—

run their presses—
drop their bombs—
spread their gasses—
starve their enemiesfurnish the corpses for their faiths and vicblood is the crimson of their flags-

ME their glory lives—
om ME their power comes.—
nake them all cep them all-

guard them allthe man-without a country!

ced the Racelothe the Raceouse the Race-Agricultureansportationm fire and steam-

ght and electricity— vilisation and society— or I am labour! wizard gold producer— raw material of wealth—

exhaustless source ofidendserest-

ofit-- - - - - -Aladdin's lamp and the Frankersien of Capital.—

oulder the Statecarry the Church-build the Unionmake them all— keep them all— guard them all the man without a country! am love and life-

am bread and liberty— le womb of thought and truth—

mother of Democracy-father of Freedom nemesis of Slavery I am labour! All that you hold is mine.—
But for ME our fields were wilderness-

our mines dark cavern in the Earth— our railways streaks of rust across a silent Your mills and factories mausoleums of dead

and powerless steel-Your palaces and temples, mints and banks, the home of ghosts and worms— Your fleets, lost derelicts on portless oceans

drifting,— Without ME all is nothingness;—

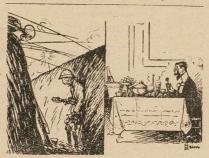
am the Logos he Living Soul of the Machine— he maker, keeper, guarder of the all— the man without a country!

-From the Llano Colonist.

# The Breakdown of Capitalist Finance

Industry Shutting Down.

Germany, in the full blast of her productive powers, is starving. Her factories that worked with feverish haste during and since the war are shutting down, not only in the Ruhr, by way of passive resistance to the French, but through-out the country. The soil of Germany is fertile



IN WAR.

and well cultivated, but the agriculturists are pausing on the verge of refusal to supply the German towns with produce: the peasants are turning towards the policy of producing only what is requisite for the supply of their own families.

The Reasons Why.

The causes are two-fold: Germany has been deprived of raw material, of coal, iron, oil, rubber, pine kernels and so on by the Allied conquerors: moreover, the financial system has broken down: the mark, once 20 to the £, has gone falling down below 200,000,000 to the £.

German money having grown worthless, the means of exchange has broken down; buying and selling are brought to a standstill, and capitalist economics are based upon buying and

So the grim farce moves tragically on its way. Chaos grows.

Attempt to Bolster Dying System.

The German Social Democrats, even those who once belonged to the two-and-a-half International of Vienna, join with the capitalist par-



IN PEACE.

ties in desperate efforts to bolster up the system that seems tottering to a fall. A coalition of Social Democratic and all capitalist Parliamentary parties has been formed to save the system and to preserve a united Germany.

preserve a united Germany.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, the editor of the I.L.P.

"New Leader," declared in that paper that the
German Social Democrats have acted wisely in
joining the capitalist coalition. In support of
that opinion, he stated that, in his view, the
only alternative to the capitalist unity of Germany is revolution and the establishment of a
Workers' Council Republic. This he thought
would mean a greater dislocation than it meant
in Russia: he declared that it would mean starvation and chaos in a complex social organism and chaos in a complex social organism like that of Germany.

Starvation and chaos already grow apace in Germany; but it was curious to find Mr. Brailsford, in the next issue of the "New Leader," complimenting Soviet Russia on the stabilisation of its currency and asserting that the present economic situation of Russia is vastly superior to that of Germany.

Socialism the Hope of the World.

In all such argumentation the essential point is missed that if we Socialists believe that Socialism is the hope of the world, we must press boldly forward towards it—above all in these times of acute capitalist failure. This painful clinging to the expedients of capitalist finance, whether it be of Russian, German, or British Socialists, denotes a lack of capacity to conceive of Socialist practice. of Socialist practice.

Colonel Wedgwood's Programme.

Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, a confirmed Liberal, despite his membership of the Labour Party, writing on the German situation to the "Manchester Guardian," says:

"I suppose it might be possible to save civilisation still. For that the German budget must be made to balance. For that, three things at least are necessary. The colossal expense of paying wages in the Ruhr to 1,500,000 workers for doing nothing must be stopped; the payment of reparations must be postponed and the amount fixed. A dictatorship must be established over German finances, for there is no German statesman who would dare to impose the enormous taxes or to reduce the enormous establishments which will be necessary."

To save civilisation the budget must be balanced! A shopkeeper's notion, truly. How low indeed has the gallant Colonel fallen to be obsessed by such a paltry notion. Does he really believe that the wonderful powers of mankind are dependent upon a budget.

"Now, let it be understood, that the German Government is prepared, even anxious, to end the 'passive resistance' in the Ruhr. It is prepared to promise to pay reparations and to leave the amount possible and dates of payment to any tribunal. It is prepared to accept financial control, which means the abdication of self-government. They would hope for a toan, as in the case of Austria, but the Finance Controller would settle that. They think it impossible to work industries and railways with the Ruhr cut out from Germany; but again the Finance Controller would "Now, let it be understood, that the Gersee to that. All they ask is to be allowed Abundance for All.

As far as the German Social Democrats are concerned Colonel Wedgwood is probably right in his summary; but we do not think Mr. Stinnes and the other German Big Business men only ask to work as helots: they are tenaciously striving to safeguard their profits.

But regard the prospect proposed by Colonel Wedgwood for the German people: to labour as helots under an alien Controller—all self-government abdicated, to labour in hardship and to every mental self-government abdicated, to labour in hardship and to every mental self-government abdicated, to labour in hardship and to every mental self-government abdicated to labour in hardship and the self-government abdicated to labo scarcity, bearing an unexampled burden of exploitation—a two-fold exploitation, by the home apitalist and by the alien conqueror.

Why is such an infamous proposal put forward by a representative of the British Labour

Simply that British Labour M.P.'s may keep their election promises to support making Ger-many pay; simply that the British Labour Party may keep in step with the policies of capitalist

Colonel Wedgwood further says:

"It is conceivable that a revolution of the Right might lead to a war of extermination with the French, which might conceivably end badly for the French and complete more quickly the destruction of civilisation. only other alternative seems to be the ulti-mate 'protection' of Germany by either France or England."

A Wonder Fifty Years Hence.

Fifty years hence it will be hardly conceivable that a Labour Party representative should have such a conception of the situation as this with which Colonel Wedgwood is afflicted.

Franco-German Capitalist Understanding,

In passing we may observe that if the rumour speaks truly that German Capitalism is even now coming to an understanding with French Capitalism for the exploitation of the Rhineland, the protectorate over Germany will turn out very shortly to be French and not British.

It may be that the possibilities of revolution are already cancelled for the time being, by such a Franco-German capitalist understanding. On the other hand the French terms may be too harsh for the German capitalists. Moreover it may yet prove that if such Franco-German capitalist understanding should be come to the terms will be too hard for the mass of the German people to endure, and that an early revolt against the capitalist system itself may

But let us consider further the plan of Colonel edgwood: is it such as one would expect grows seed for freedom, in its turn to WHAT CHILDREN SHOULD BE TAUGHT Wedgwood: is it such as one would expect to emanate from a working-class movement in any country? As a matter of fact the scheme is not the creation of a working-class movement, but of the capitalist politicians who dominate the Labour Party either from outside or inside

To British wage workers it can be only in- Liberty, let others despair of you-I never despair jurious that the wage workers of a neighbour-ing country should work as helots, under a close military control.

Even those wage earners who aspire to do no more than palliate their wagedom and pre-serve a minimum standard of comfort must, in the interests of self-preservation, desire that there should be no nation of wage workers producing under conditions which are lower than their own.

Even those whose aspirations are thus limited pation of the German masses from the proposed dual exploitation. Even they should repudiate with indignation such proposals as those of

Those who go further; those who desire the ending of the wage system, must revolt against the policies both of Colonel Wedgwood and of existing system, as they who fear to swim cling

Gircumstances are teaching, more clearly than ever before, the evils of the system of production for private profit, with its enormous artificial structure of finance and exchange.

intelligence that it will probably be either Oct. ist or 8th.

What is required is not that the people shall be forced into more cruel starvation in order that the budget may be balanced and the cur-rency stabilised. What is required is that the people of the world shall set themselves to pro-duce an abundance of all requirements and to e an abundance of all requirements a distribute them to the people according to need

We have the capacity to provide plenty for all: the task before us is to ensure abundance to every member of the human race, reardless of nationality.

Germany; of all the larger countries posses-

sing perhaps the most highly organised, the most self-disciplined and the best educated people

is nevertheless a nation of starving people at the highest point of her productive powers. Britain, victorious in the war, the heart of the greatest Empire, the most highly indus-trialised of nations, has a vast army of unem-

Surely these things should make the dullest think and the most sluggish rise to revolt against the bondage of an outworn system which holds us all enchained.

E.S.P.

## Europe

By WALT WHITMAN.

Yet behind all lowering stealing, lo, a shape, Vague as the night, draped interminably, head, front and form, in scarlet folds, Whose face and eyes none may see,

Out of its robes only this, the red robes lifted

One finger crook'd pointed high over the top, like the head of a snake appears.

Meanwhile corpses lie in new-made graves, bloody corpses of young men,
The rope of the gibbet hangs heavily, the bullets

of princes are flying, the creatures of power laugh aloud, And all these things bear fruits, and they are

Those corpses of young men,
Those martyrs that hang from the gibbets, those
hearts pierc'd by the grey lead,
Cold and motionless as they seem, live elsewhere

with unslaughtered vitality

They live in other young men O kings!
They live in brothers again ready to defy you,
They were purified by death, they were taught
and exalted.

Which the winds carry afar and re-sow, and the

rains and the snows nourish. Not a disembodied spirit can the weapons of

But it stalks invisibly over the earth, whispering, counselling, cautioning.

of you.

#### THE FOUNTAIN.

From out the brooding shadows of the trees, Amid the shroudy silences of night, Glimmers the little fountain; its pale stones Receive the rays of yonder city lamps.
Thou little shrine of bounty; dost dispense No deadening opiate for mental thralls But freely given waters clear and sweet Poured without measure from the distant hills.

#### SACCO AND VANZETTI.

An urgent appeal for financial aid for the Sacco-Vanzetti defence is issued since it is announced that Judge Thayer has been assigned to Deddam Court for the month of October to

## Nettles and Docks

The failure of Mussolini: The war missed fire because the crisis was timed too late in the

The week's greatest folly:—"The Labour Party has headed the Government in the right direc-tion."—Miss Margaret Bondfield, on the Ruhr.

Ours is a democracy: Our Parliament did not it whilst Corfu threatened the peace of Europe.

Why Mussolini did not do it: sixty bob thirty to Judas and thirty to himself.

G.B.S., the dramatist who accepts cuts in hi plays for stage purposes but hopes that his plays may be read in full. Hauptmann, facin

What G.B.S. cannot do; shake hairpins down the lion's throat.

Yes, we have some bananas-and a mild faith.

Can Labour rule? Of course: by choosing i own masters.

Can Labour run a daily? Surely: by putting in the editorial chair Northcliffe's superannual rather than a football forward from Wales,

Nettles and docks: and the docks? Who care about the dockers since they are beaten r and the fresh fruits reach the Ritz as before Nettles and docks.

No wonder our contemporary, the London 'Star," runs Dot and Carrie. Dot and Carrie and a third vision of beauty have never heard of the Dodecanese which capitalistic Italy faith fully promised to return to Turkey at the en-of the Tripoli war. How piquant the amalgan of flappers, tipping, and foreign politics.

Three cheers for the "Pall Mall." Leighward dared to say that Mussolini is a dictator,

Soon out: Mrs. Beaton's new cookery book, entitled "When Winter is Here; or How Cook for Five with the Wages of One."

#### FROM THE PUBLISHERS.

By C. P. Claridge, M.B., B.S.Lond. Jarrold.

There is an epidemic of books and pamphlet on this subject to-day. Dr. Claridge advocates that not the teacher, the parson, or the doctor but the parent should inform the child concernng the facts of sex and reproduction. I considers that a child of eight "should ha been told of the functions of both father and mother," but as children vary, the proper time to tell the child is, if possible, when it asks

With all this one may agree, though Dr. Claridge's exposition of the subject is far too sketchy to inform the parent who is puzzled how to do it. The concluding passage in the pamphlet refers with approval to a danger movement now on foot:

"If only we do this our children in their generation will be able to tackle such prob lems as the sterilization of the mentally de fective and other questions of a like nature-measures which are really urgent, but which the country does not yet appear to be sufficiently enlightened to consider."

#### "DREADNOUGHT" £1,000 FUND.

Brought forward, £70 15s. 6½d. I. A. Gahill, 10s.; Irene Smith, 1s. (weekly); F. Houghton, 10s. (1s. weekly); F. Brimley, 2s.; Office Col-9s. 6½d. Total for week, £1 15s. 5½d. Total, £72 11s.

# The Trade Union Congress

The main feature of the Trade Union Concess has been the rivalry of the Unions to cure each other's members. This rivalry was almost always does, with Government foreign ways prominent, but it is more pronounced in ese days of falling memberships.

The wrangle between Mr. Havelock Wilson's Scamen's and Firemen's Union and the Marine Workers' Union, in which Mr. Shinwell is proent was referred to the Disputes Commi the Congress. Mr. Havelock Wilson has the tip hand in the struggle, because he has inced the shipowners to agree not to employ y men who do not belong to his Union.

Following this was the complaint of Mr. Bevin, f the Transport Workers' Union, that Mr. Shimell's Marine Workers' Union had encouraged e members of Mr. Bevin's Union, when they efied him, and the other officials of their Union, mployers were attempting to impose. Mr. Bevin and others of the Transport Workers' Union lso attacked the Workers' Union for supporting the mutinous members of the former Union in dock strike, and for poaching upon its mem-rship. Mr. Neil Maclean, M.P., of the Work-Union, retaliated with similar charges against Bevin's Union. Mr. Bevin also attacked Stevedores' Union for assisting the dock strike and trying to enrol the members of the Transport Workers' Union in its ranks. Mr. Ruark, of the stevedores, replied with the charge that Mr. Bevin was endeavouring to crush his

Smillie's Inconsistencies.

Mr. Robert Smillie, of the Miners' Federation, moved the previous question, and deprecated all such squabbling, in which he has taken a lively hand in previous years, in his contests with Mr. Shirkie, of the Mining Engine Winders' Union. The Miners' Federation had procured the exclusion from the Congress of the surface machine men's organisation of South Wales. Mr. Smillie's Union now had another round in its timenoured battle with Mr. Shirkie on that account. The miners carried the day, having enorus voting power in the Congress and being

The spokesmen of the Laundry Workers' Inion demanded that all laundry workers should be automatically transferred from other unions into the Laundry Workers' Union. Miss Ellen Vilkinson, of the Distributive Workers' Union, which includes some laundry workers in its memership, protested against this proposal, as "ridi-ulous," and begged the Congress to throw it

Up the Rank and File Movement.

Whether they call themselves Labourists, I.L.P. Socialists, or Communists, these Trade nion officials are all fighting against the rials of other unions to secure members. Only 000,000 workers are enrolled in Trade Unions, though there are 15,000,000 adult workers in o get each other's members continues.

A resolution was carried approving the increase of payments by members to their unions, ostensibly in order to combat decreases in wages, though the union officials are actively engaged in inducing their members to accept such reductions—witness the dock strike and the manœuvres of Mr. J. H. Thomas.

The proposal to give more power to the General Council, and to enable it to make levies upon the unions to procure funds, was again

All this shows the need for an all-workers' workshop organisation, without paid officials.
Until the workers, through the hard work of pioneering enthusiasts, and the developing consciousness of the mass, have created such an organisation, no real headway will be made to the ganisation, no real headway will be made to the emancipation of the wage earner and the free organisation of industry by those who do the actual work.

The Trade Union Congress lived up to its comfortable reputation by voting the retiring secretary, Mr. Bowerman, a pension of £300 a shortly.

The Trade Union Congress lived up to its comfortable reputation by voting the retiring shortly.

From the "Dreadnought" Bookshop.

almost always does, with Government foreign policy. It has maintained a cautious, though deprecatory, attitude towards the Ruhr occupa-tion, just as the Government has done. It has hitherto refrained from denunciations of Mr. Mussolini and his arbitrary seizure of powe and dictatorship; but now that the policy of Mr. Mussolini has brought him into conflict with British Government policy, Labour imperialists like Messrs, Thomas, Clynes and Jones begin to

make him the butt of their abuse.

The Congress passed a resolution, which the Government must have considered a model of propriety, in which it urged the British Government.

"IT MAY BE THAT THE ONLY ACTION POSSIBLE WILL BE THE WORLD ISOLA-TION AND WORLD BOYCOTT OF ITALY."

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, in a "Daily Herald" leader, which he now repudiates, as will be observed from his letter published in another column, was therefore not out of harmony with the views of at least some of the Labour Party

The amendment moved by Mr. Pollitt, to delete the reference to the League of Nations, seems to have secured only half-a-dozen sup-

That amendment was by no means adequate to meet the case of a resolution framed in accordance with Capitalist Imperialist policy.

Mr. Pollitt rightly said it is the business of

the workers' movement in this country to ad-Greece, and other countries, not to the Governments; but the Trade Union Congress is not a hopeful field for such appeals.

The Ruhr

Union Congress treatment of the French occu-pation of the Ruhr with its stern and bellicose pation of the Ruhr with its stern and believes attitude towards Italy. The Ruhr resolution made no mention of the League of Nations, but called upon the peoples of France and Belgium to change the national policy of their Governments. Miss Bondfield, in moving the resolution fatuously declared that the Labour Party tion fatuously declared that the Labour Party with the right to the property of the property of the property of the property of the parties we happened to find in existence. direction, and asked the French and Belgian workers to do the same. Evidently she does not realise that the Labour Party has been slavishly following the policy of each successive Government that has taken office from the day when Mr. Asquith's Government declared war on Germany, till the present time.

The "Manchester Guardian" correspondent bserved that the attitude of Miss Bondfield and Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., who seconded the reso lution, was but little in advance of Mr. Baldwin's. Mr. Thomas is certainly more aggressively nationalist in his utterances than cautious Mr. Baldwin allows himself to be at this time

The "Daily Herald."

So the "Daily Herald" is to be kept going to the end of the year, if £12,500 is raised for it by the end of September. It would appear from an article by Mr. Lansbury in the "Daily Herald" that this sum is already secured, for he says: "The £12,500 pledged us is only for

A writer in the "Newspaper World" asks how the staff of the "Daily Herald" compares numerically with the staff of an ordinary capi-talist daily of similar size. A comparison both Lof the numbers employed and salaries and wages paid by various newspapers, including the "Daily Herald," would prove interesting.

Secretarial Remuneration.

year, which will give him, with his Parliamer tary salary, an income of £700. Mr. Fred Bramley, the new secretary, was given £750 a year, with the proviso that he must not go into Parliament whilst he retains the office.

wage slavery!

Unemployment.

The usual resolution upon unemployment was passed after a deputation of unemployed had addressed itself largely to empty benches.

The delegate who thought the unemployed maintenance demands too high voted £300 and £750 a year to Messrs. Bowerman and Bramley.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

propriety, in which it urged the British Government "to use its mediatory influence with the Italian Government" to refer the dispute to the League of Nations.

Clynes and Italian Boycott.

Dear Comrade,

I note you make a point that the new union desired to make its object the abolition of the capitalist system. Well, if the new union will look at the membership cards now issued by the old union they will find this stated under "Ob-

Secondly, if the object of the new union is to abolish capitalism, why form a new union at all, when there are plenty of parties who advo-cate such an object, for instance, the Com-munist Workers' Movement.

If there is any logic at all in their policy it is that we should break away and form new organisations whenever a muddle appears on the skyline. It is a policy of scatter and re-form in the rear. It is desertion in the face of the

The unemployed have no workshops, so they cannot possibly be said to work for workshop council organisation. Even so, was it so necessary to make a split in order to be able to do

It is said that "the minority, with its forward policy, finds its propaganda swamped and wiped out by the majority. This is also true of our daily life. The forward minority is always being thwarted and swamped by the "damned compact majority." But the forward minority does not emigrate to the Sandwich Isles and form a new nation there. The forward Very striking was the contrast in the Trade minority stays at home and kicks up some more fireworks .- Yours, etc.,

Comrade Motler misses the point when he says "the unemployed have no workshops, there-fore they cannot possibly be said to work for

workshop council organisation."

The question is whether the unemployed organisation is to be an appendix to the Trade Unions and Labour Party, or whether it is to belong to the rank-and-file movement.—EDITOR.]

Going to press we are informed that the debate between Comrades Soderburg and Hannington will take place in Poplar Town Hall, on Friday, 21st September, at 8 p.m.

# WORKS OF JAMES CONNOLLY

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#### Bur Diew.

If the reports be true that Tokyo and Yokoin ruins and many of the most famous Japanese idols are des-troyed, the question may be asked whether Japan will suffer more from the material loss than she Dear Miss Pankhurst,

of those countless poor people who have wor-shipped the image as something of super-human power, will begin to dawn the light of an eman-

Through Yokohama passed 33 per cent. of Japan's trade, and it is said that the port of Yokohama has been blocked by submarine changes which have made it impossible for ocean liners to get within five miles of their former berths; but Japan has other ports and the capacity to build other cities. The new cities which will arise will be built with all the advantages of modern knowledge. They will be cities without ancient decaying buildings; without the narrow than yours, I am publishing that, and return streets that modern traffic has outgrown. Neither the enclosed with thanks and regrets. Tokyo nor Yokohama had a modern sewerage both had large areas of narrow unhealthy streets. New cities will be built on modern lin and embodying the latest inventions to minimise earthquake and fire risks. We predict as result of the earthquake a great outburst of Japanese energy and constructive achievement

How splendid if only the earthquake had been able to destroy, not merely a couple of cities with their rubbish of slums and idols, but the social system itself, provided the necessary mental change might also have taken place which would prepare the people for comm

The Italo-Greek crisis at the moment of writing is supposed to be solved, since the Ambassadors' Conference of the Allies has spon-Mussolini sored the Italian demands as just, and Greece has accepted them, whilst Italy has "acquiesced." Yet everyone is asking whether the crisis is really over, for whilst it was thought that Mr. Mussolini would now consent to withdraw his troops from Corfu, he is obviously not intending to do so, and though he is supposed to be waiting till the murderers of the five Italians have been discovered and punished, there is a shrewd suspicion abroad that Mr. Mussolini does not mean to withdraw even then. It is even reported that he has taken another island.

Meanwhile the Fiume question is coming to a head, for Mr. Mussolini has indicated that if has not reached an agreement with the Yugo Slav Government by September 15th, he will take the settlement of the matter into his own hands. This means, of course, that Italian troops will be sent to seize the territory in dispute, un-

s French mediation stay Mussolini's hand The French and British Governments each de-ire Italy for an ally when the Franco-British

valry reaches war point.
Italian imperialism, with Mr. Mussolini as its spokesman, is using the situation for its own ends. Italy, at least for the present, is unable to be a first-class industrial or military Power. Therefore her imperialists make what they can from the rivalries of stronger Powers.

Few people realise here in Britain the terror which Fascism exercises in Italy. A friend returning from Italy tells us of numbers of people, factory work—

Mussolini ers, hotel and shop keepers, and others, in defiance of their convictions, donning the black shirt

or wearing Fascist rings with the skull and cross bones, in order to preserve their employment, or to avoid boycott and violence. Fascisti paint their houses in the Italian national color comrades and spared during Fascist pogroms. Many other people, who are actually opposed to Fascism, also resort to the red, white and green, as a protective measure

## Boycotting Italy

A REPLY FROM THE "DAILY HERALD"

will gain in emancipation from superstition by the destruction of the gods.

The priests will explain that the idol is not the god, but the god's image, but into the minds that the reference to Italian restaurant keepers that the reference to Italian restaurant keepers. and ice-cream merchants was ironical. The sentence ran, "If the League of Nations enforces the Covenant," certain things would happen, the idea in the writer's mind being, as appeared obvious to me when I first read it, to suggest that there was no chance whatever of the Covenant being enforced, and to bring ridicule upon

I fancy that the vast majority of our readers must have taken that view of it; but humour does not appeal to everybody, and as I have one other letter calling attention to this point, which

Faithfully HAMILTON FYFE,

#### What the 'Daily Herald' Really Said

The best reply to Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's answer is the "Daily Herald" article in question. Here it is, reproduced in full:—

"BOYCOTT ITALY.

"By Article 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to which Italy is a 'high contracting party,' all the nations which are contracting parties agree to submit disputes which cannot be settled by friendly means either to arbitration or inquiry by the Executive Council of the League. They agree also not to 'resort to war' until they have

'The Italian Government has broken its promise, repudiated its signature, treated as a scrap of paper the Covenant by which it solemnly agreed to be bound. It has resorted to war without warning and murdered a number of unfortunate, helpless people. It has declined to submit its dispute with Greece to our Premier is about to leave for London to the Council of the League.

"According to the Covenant of the League, what comes next? We are told by Article 16, which lays it down that, should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its undertaking mentioned in Article 12, it shall thereby be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately

intercourse between their nationals and nationals of the covenant-breaking State

'Further, the other members of the League must, if they carry out their obligations der the Covenant, immediately prevent al financial, commercial or personal intercourse between Italian citizens and the citizens of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.' In other and plainer words, the Italian Government, by refusing to submits dispute with Greece to the League, has made the Italian nation liable to a complete boycot by almost all other European Peoples.
"If the League Covenant be enforced,

Briton will eat in an Italian restaurant or b ce-cream off an Italian barrow. No touris will spend money in Italian varrow. No fourists with Italian firms will be suspended. And the Italians would deserve this, and more, if they approve of Signor Mussolini's murders and

"There must be no operations of war. Let us all resolve on that. But, short of war, we us all resolve on that. But, short of war, we ought to show the Italians our opinion of such behaviour. For, if they approve it, it is their behaviour. If they do not approve it, they can show their disapproval by turning Signor Mussolini out. We heartily hope they will."

The Blue Pencil. It is interesting to observe that our letter, which Mr. Hamilton Fyfe obligingly returned to us, had been blue-pencilled at the following

'You, who acclaimed Mussolini, when, by Italy over the wreckage of the Italian Labour, Socialist, and Co-operative movement, are more to blame, in connection with Mussolini, than is the defenceless Italian community of Lon-

Hamilton Fyfe and Mussolini

In justification of those words, let us quote from a signed article by Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, when Mr. Mussolini rose to power:
"Whether the Italian Fascisti are enemics

to the point of view of the workers of this country is not very clear. . . . As Browning says: We needs must love the highest when we see it.' [This quotation, of course, is from Tennyson, not Browning.] . . . It is impos sible not to feel a certain amount of admira-tion for this man [Mussolini, the Fascist lead-er], who has organised what he calls a bloodless revolution

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe's reply to us makes very curious reading when taken in conjunction with the speech of Mr. Clynes, at the Trade Union Congress, advocating an Italian boycott. We again ask: What is the Official Labour

## SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

At the Congress of the South African Party, presided over by Mr. Duncan, Minister of Interior, at Bloemfontein, the following resolution was carried amid acclamation:

"That the Government be requested to introduce legislation to prohibit the distribution of propaganda for the advancement of Bolshesian argument ball white and advanced." vism amongst both white and coloured.

As to Bolshevist propaganda, much of this, said the Minister of the Interior, was being carried on by people domiciled in South Africa for over twenty years, and there was no question of turning them out. They were British subjects, and patryally other countries did not subjects, and, naturally, other countries did not want them.

our Premier is about to leave for London to attend the Imperial Conference, as well as to put the rest of the world right; leaving behind 150,000 poor whites.

During the past eighteen months the number

contracting parties break or disregard its undertaking mentioned in Article 12, it shall thereby be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, and the prohibition of all

ek has been saved by the industry on white ince the General Strike.

is since the General Strike.

Let Imperial Government has presented the a Government with a captured gun, insect: "Captured by the S.A. Brigade from Turks." The gun was made by Sir George trong, Whitworth and Co. in 1910. This is the "true international" spirit of Capi-

at the British Empire League, Johannes-on the 26th July, headed "For General

All single men who have been continuously ssisted by this League for the past month ith beds and meals are notified that only a orther three days can be allowed, as employent can now be obtained at Franklin, Har-leespoort. Signed, John Harvey (for Secre-

understood that the wages offered are 6d. per day. God Save the King!"

## Unemployed Workers Organisation.

duch interest was aroused in the Borough of Relief Station in support of Comrade Johns se case was mentioned in the "Workers This was the first demonstration by the U.W.O., and, in spite of the rain, s well attended. The result was a victory ne U.W.O., Comrade Johns gained the day,

onsequently his relief.

necessity for rank and file action has ontinuously pointed out. It is most es that individual members should realise is they who are the organisation, and their own destinies. If numerical strength be taken as a criterion, the U.W.O. car fully be said to have progressed remark-well. The membership in Poplar and Millis increasing, which is to be expected at time of the year. Bow Branch is very ng, and I should imagine it to be the most erful branch of unemployed workers in the ry. Edmonton reports satisfactory pro

hen Comrade Hannington, national or-N.U.W.C.M., addressed the Poplar ch, N.C.W.C.M., addressed the Popular ich a few weeks ago, he purposely refrained expressing any opinion re disaffiliation in bsence of Comrade Soderburg, but expressed ire to debate or discuss the situation pubor before a meeting of members of our

Comrade Soderburg has returned from ital, this opportunity will not be denied to rade Hannington. As soon as the necessary neements are made, and Comrade Soderburg a fit condition, no doubt the debate will

m sure a meeting of this description wilf a lively interest in the East End unem-d circles, and whatever the result may be,

Area Secretary reports having received rous letters, which have all been answered. nation, rules, or manifesto of the U.W.O. be had on application to the Area Secretary, W.O., Town Hall, Poplar.

J. T. BELLAMY,

#### RATIONAL LIVING.

A radical, independent magazine for the workers, voted to the teaching of rational methods of living present society, always emphasising the social-momical-industrial background of wrong living, and for prevention of disease, for conservation of alth, for drugless healing, and against all swindless the healing professions. Special price for the edges of the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. 16 for 12 numbers). Our famous book, "The Child dithe Home," by Dr. B. Liber, on the radical bringing of children, special price for the readers the "Workers' Dreadnought," 1.50 dol. (7/6). Iddees: Rational Living, 61 Hamilton Place, New

#### Mrs. Brown in Search of the Truth

wealth," which I allus used to read. At first was terribly bothered to make out what those and z-meant, but gave it up and left that one and read the other parts; and I find that it means a better life for poor people here, and the other paper was filled with talk about angels and cherrybims, and seraphims and eternal harps; so I sez to the young woman as kep the "You may get me one every week." Sez Mrs. Brown you will get locked up; for man who orders one here is only out on bail, nd is going to be tried for creating seduction."

Never mind," sez I, "I'll find out what it's all about. The other paper tells us that we are all to meet up above and be clothed with glory, which isn't clothes at all, and I think that even if it's true it won't be decent. So get me my 'Weal' every week." Well, the hussy goes and tells our first floor as I was a Socialist and a rioter. Me a rioter! And at my age! And that bad with rheumatiz that I can scarcely So as I'm going downstairs I meets our first-floor. "Oh," sez she, "how do, Mrs. Brown? So you belong to the Socialism, I hear?" "Not me," sez I, firing up a bit, "but I likes to hear both sides." "H'm," sez she, "a parcel of blarsted furriners, what lives on muck that dog wouldn't eat-leastways not an English dog. They want other people's goods, and would swim in blood to get 'em.'' Sez I, "It's odd for you to talk like that, and you have two boys home on holiday, one a soldier and the other a sailor; and I heerd the soldier a-bragging as how they sold and auctioneer'd off the things they stole in Burmah and how many people. they stole in Burmah, and how many people they flogged and shot; and the sailor told us as how his ship fired upon some poor black peo-ple's houses, killing men, wimmin and children, because someone else, not they, had eaten a missionary who went a-poking his nose where he'd no bizness. If he was like the missionaries as es sneaking about our doors they must have felt awful bad, poor things, after their meal. Murder's murder," sez I, "and I shouldn't like to mother 'em or hide 'em as does it." "Do you call my boys murderers," yelled she, "as went out to fight for their country?" "Fight for their country!" sez I. "Bosh. Went because they'd been out of work for nigh a twelvemonth, and had nothing but the workus in front of 'em. A pretty country to fight for!' the likes of you would let all the blarsted furriners come here and take our things." "Oh, no, Mrs. Perkins," sez I, "we've got some good English brokers as can manage that job; that you know!" (She owed a lot of rent.) "And when they've done with you, all ou get of 'your' splendid country will be at the bottom of a parish grave," sez I, "an' a black box with the chalk mark rubbed out, like them people over the way, whose old man was buried by the parish, and they cried over the wrong coffin, because the mark was out." "Anyway," sez she, in a rage, "we don't eat the fith that them wretches as are born abroad do."

Just then her little Annie came in from the shed; she's a saucy little slut. "Mother," sez she". "I can't get no cold forgeste: they're seld." 'I can't get no cold faggots; they're sold out. But the man sez he can let you have some pieces cheap, as the weather is 'ot and he's afraid they'll turn." "You little wretch!" screams her mother, giving her a fearful smack, and, rushing after her, left me. "Well," thinks I, "it's a splendid country to go let your children commit murder abroad for, when it comes to cold faggots on a Tuesday at home!'

We don't speak now, me and Mrs. Perkins.

I went to a meeting the other evening. It was this way. I seed a bill in a shop window to say as how a public meeting was going to be held that same evening to tell people as how if they would give up eating meat and take to nuts and fruit instead they would all be well off, and fruit instead they would all ne wen on, have no more drunkards, fools, or paupers; I was flabbergasted. I stepped back a little to make sure of the address, and a man sez, "Hold make sure of the address, and a man sez, "No," sez I,

Dear Mr. Editor,—I have taken your paper in "only upset." And I was upset to think as how your since the young woman what keeps the my "Weal" comes out every week saying as ever since the young woman what keeps the my "Weal" comes out every week saying as newspaper and cigar shop round the corner sold it to me instead of the "Christian Commonius to me instead of the "C would mend, and here it was, after all, in "nutshell" and all settled; only got to eat nuts and fruit and it would all come right. "I'll go to that meeting," sez I to myself, when I got upstairs, so I takes my old gamp and starts. As I gets on the first landing, Mrs. Perkins opens her door a little and sez out loud, "Oh, there's going to be another row in the Square, and they're going armed," sez she, looking at and they re going armed, see sne, looking at my umbrella. I was going to say something about those faggots, but I let it go and bore it all for the Cause. Well, I gets to the meeting, and there was a lot of thin, pale people on the platform, all lookin' as though they had just got over a bad bout of illness—trained to run un gas pines as my lask used to say up gas pipes, as my Jack used to say.

The Chairman opened with a long speech, and said as how the working people—he wasn't one hisself—eat and drank too much and wasted too much wages, and as we couldn't keep up with the furriners, we must eat nuts and fruit and some prison bread he showed us. After and some prison bread he showed us. After some more of the invalids had said something, someone gets up in the hall and said he was a member of a subbuban branch of the Socialist League. Didn't he let them have it. I could have kissed him on the spot! He said as how they wanted to get us down as low as Chinymen and Hindoos, what lives on rice and nuts, and as how people like Brassey and others ought to try the skilly and prison bread. I shouted "Tar, 'ear!" and banged the old gamp on the floor. "Order, order, 'sez they to me, and then another one gets up and was rude to them. He sez, "I keeps a lot of cocks and hens, and they re vegetarians, and I give them the oats and beans, and they live on that and I live on them." One got up on their side and said as them." One got up on their side and said as how we used to have grandnivorous teeth and now had got cardnivorous ones through eating meat. Then they handed round some prison bread the gallery seized the lot and began singing, I've tasted once or twice, and found them very rice." Then there was a rumpus, so I came out.
I seed some police outside, and I thought as how
I should like to see their teeth before they
joined. I know they must have grandnivorous ones, for they never taste meat until they get quartered on us Cockneys to ill-treat us and take away our rights. Fine body of men, they say, but you should see the one as is on our beat, only just up from the shires. He walks like a retriever pup after a bone. I see in the "Telegraph," which I hears is got up by a Jew, that the police is a brave lot. I don't know what the ponce is a brave for. I unit know what bravery is, but if running after poor people's kids as has only the streets to play in, and knocking them about and stealing their toys to take home to their own brats, or taking money from poor girls on the streets, and persecuting costermongers girls on the streets, and personal and perjuring and cabmen and coffee-stall men, and perjuring themselves is bravery, they are brave. Just themselves, is bravery, they are brave. Just because they catch a burglar once in three times they're a brave lot; so they ought to, they're the servants of the hupper classes, and it's only them servants of the hupper classes, and it's only them as burglars go for. Who'd burgle me and my gamp, I'd like to know? We're more afraid of brokers than burglars down my street. If the Jew what I hear got the paper up what says that we poor people are failures because we are poor, 'had his deserts given him, he would be more civil. If the working-men don't take it out of him and the police he is so found of the out of him and the police he is so fond of, then they deserve to be insulted and knocked about. and this is the honest opinion of

SAIREY BROWN. -(From The Commonweal, January 21st, 1888.)

Read EIRE The Irish Nation Weekly Review of Irish Republican Opinion PRICE TWOPENCE

On Sale Saturdays

## Home Rule Pageant

By TOM ANDERSON. (Proletarian Schools.)

We have had a Home Rule Pageant in Glas We have had a Home Rule Pageant in Glasgow. It was a great affair; better by far than any circus. The cultured bourgeois was there, and so was his daughter, and a few of his sons, and quite a number of Scottish M.P.'s.

Thomas Johnstone, M.P., was there, and he made a speech, and also wrote an article in the "Forward," of which paper he is editor. In his article he defended himself for being the defended himself for being the defended himself for being the page of the p

present at the Pageant. Thomas Johnstone, M.P., a Labour M.P., is a Scotsman: a Scotsman before a Socialist, because he says you must be a Nationalist before you can become an Internationalist. He says if you are not that, you e nothing. Bravo Thomas! Home Rule is good stunt, though it will not fill the bellies of the 100,000 unemployed in Glasgow.

Jimmie Maxton, M.P., was also there; in fact,

nearly all our Labour boys were there. Do you know the reason why? They want to impress upon "Henry" that they are democrats, so that "Henry" will vote for them at the next election.

It was a splendid advertisement and cost them nothing. All the bosses' papers gave them good notices. Is that not grand?

notices. Is that not grand?
But what about starving "Henry"; poor, down-trodden, doped "Henry"?
The very thing for him says Mr. Thomas Johnstone (Scotsman), M.P., with alleged Labour and Socialist leanings, but with deadly enmity to booze. It is good for him, says Thomas, he must be a Nationalist first; afterwards we may get him to read the "Forward" and join the

They had tableaux of Scottish history, and the young ladies of the middle class did the acting. Oh! but it was splendid; just as good

as a royal turn-out!

"Henry" was not in the procession. "Henry" is not a Nationalist—yet; and so the show was got up to cod him into the belief that he was

A goodly number of the respectable members of the ethical I.L.P. were there, but down here

we rate them on the same plane as the Salvation Army; we do not take them seriously.

They passed a resolution about Sir William Wallace—he is supposed to have been a Scottish hero, whom the dirty English beheaded. nero, whom the dirty English beheated. Course, that is about 800 years ago. At that time there were nothing but heroes living in Scotland, and we had only one religion.

The serfs and the slaves were not counted; they were only cattle belonging to the herd. But now the serfs are wage-slaves and have got a vote, and so our Labour men were there so that the slaves might take notice of them.

But let me tell you that the slaves in Glasgow laughed at the Home Rule pageant; they took it as a huge joke. That is one thing that can be said of the alleged Scottish wage-slaves: they like a joke, and they will allow you to tell the biggest lie it is possible to tell, if there is

I heard a group of them on the Labour M.P.'s: "These blokes are doing well," one said,

and the company laughed.

Another one said: "They can ring the changes not bad." "See that parson bloke," said one of them, "he's living on his Master's sheep, in-

stead of feeding them. The laugh here became general.

Then a lady speaker was put up. "She's a top-notcher," said a chap with a muffler.

A thousand to one on," another one said.

A quiet little man, past middle life, turned to me and said: "They are a lot of twisters."

I only smiled; my duty was to listen. But I

## Recent Fighting in Hamburg

From the Workers' Esperanto Service, B.L.E.S

The following is an extract from an Esperanto letter, dated 5th September, 1923, written by Hermann Theobold, of Altona, Steenkamp. It pictures one of the many smaller conflicts which are leading up to the inevitable greater clash between the Left and Right

fifty to sixty thousand workers of the great ship- walls were of wattle, that is to say, interv yards of Hamburg were locked out. Thus the the nearth have remained through the though the wattles have disappeared, but and the rubbish that accumulated in those old and has since gathered upon them, patched payments on Tuesday and Fridays because employers replied to the workers' demands of: 1) payment of wages in the same week as earned the daily and hourly increases in the cost side the indented basket-work pattern of of living; (3) a rise in wages according to gold wattles. On the other side is the prices; and (4) special economic assistance by grant of ten million marks.

Treachery of Union Officials.

On the Saturday evening a report was circulated in the Press—too late for any explanation or contradiction—that the shipyards would be open on the following Monday (13th) and the workers taken on as needed. The latter, of course, meant that a clean sweep was to be made of all the 'live wires' behind the workers' departies to the arrangement about which they did not even trouble to consult their members. At the Elbe tunnel—by which thousands of

Hamburg workers proceed to the shipyards-on e Monday morning following an attempt was ade to hold back those workers who had been left on one of his ribs. Later on the bull the Monday morning following an attempt was misled by the confusing report issued. A successful exposure of the complicity of the Union rib and broke off. The piece of the arrows.

Then the police intervened. But the detachment was too weak, and it was pushed behind the dome of the tunnel. From this refuge it fired upon the crowd and killed two workers In revenge the crowd rushed and disarmed the police, and threw their weapons into the Elbe, dong with some of the police officials; a few police were killed. A larger force was then bilised, and, during the ensuing conflict, according to partial reports, ten to fifteen workers and twelve to eighteen police were mortally wounded. In the fight many of the police voluntarily threw away their arms in sympathy with

A Social Democratic Police Chief.

The stoppage of work continued for a few days, but the workers were finally compelled to return to work with their demands still unconceded. The chief of the police, the Social-Democrat Heuse, had suppressed the "Hamburg Volkszeitung" so that the details of the affair could be hidden, and even now he censors freely this journal. The killed workers (their num uncertain) were secretly buried without conflicts in other towns have occurred. So has ended another wave of revolutionary feeling in apparent failure. However, the Hamburg affair showed the support the Communists have among the workers, and the inevitable and ining misery will soon create a tide of feeling which will produce new conflicts until the great social change is effected."

I only smiled; my duty was to listen. But I was found out: a few gathered round me and said: "Let us have a proletarian lecture, Tom?"

I tried to excuse myself by saying this was a Scottish Home Rule demonstration which the middle class had organised, and begged to be excused from speaking now, but if they would come to-morrow evening (Sunday), I would give them a proletarian lecture. And so I did, to

#### Lessons for Young Proletarians

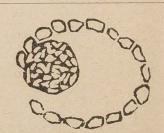
In previous lessons we spoke of the people the early and middle stone ages. The remains of the settlements of late sto

age men are found especially by watercool lakes, and inlets of the sea.

Traces of the wattle huts of the late e Norsemen are to be found in straggling ong the sea beach of Denmark. A cir ones surrounded the base of the walls side the door was a rough stone hearth, I there that the smoke might escape through the south the smoke might escape through the south and 11th of August last, the door, for chimneys were not yet made the hearth have remained through the the human fingers that pressed the clay far-off time, baked to pottery the plaster clay that covered the woven reeds. Remember that modern knowledge of the

ancient times has been largely gathered by servation of primitive people still existing various parts of the world to-day.

Those early Norse people were hunters fishermen. They made rude boats and ca large quantities of oysters and other shell They hunted the wild boar and the wild the forests. The skeleton of a wild bound in the Danish forests bears the mar the arrows of late stone age hunters. The was shot in the back near the spine and leaders and an effective appeal against any par-tial return to work were made. still embedded in the rib. The wounded doubtless pursued by the hunter, attempte doubtless pursued by the hunter, attempte swim a lake, but died in the effort, and its



Plan of Remains of a Late Stone Age I The circle of stones surrounded the wal which were of wattle. The rough stor hearth, to the left, was placed near door to enable the smoke from the fire

became filled, and water ten feet deep was lowed by dry peat of the same depth, v covered the skeleton of the bull. In 1905, haps 10,000 years after, excavators found bull's skeleton, with the flint arrow heads killed the bull, lying beside it.

their families gathered about the fire to what they had caught, tossing aside the o shells and the bones of the animals.

with the shore line, and hundreds of feet

nt to make pottery, and had learnt to it. Some believe they had learnt this the men of the South; but there is no my peoples living far away from each in various parts of the world. It is it that the beginning of pottery was the ng of a basket with clay, to make it ht, as was done also with the walls of that heat would harden the clay.

there important discovery of the late stone
that heat would harden the clay.

that the edge of a stone tool might be as that the edge of a stolle foot hight be ened by grinding on a whetstone, just as tools are sharpened to-day. In the shell are found heavy stone axes, having the

middle stone age people have left be hard stones. Wooden handles were at-to the stone axe heads by lashings, or a as bored in the axe head and the wooden

this and more has been discovered by dig n the shell-heaps left by the people of times. Earth has accumulated upon the times, earth has accumulated upon the heaps, grass has grown over them, crops own and reaped above them; but under-lie these witnesses of the past, ent experiments in Denmark have shown

t into logs, twenty-six pine trees eight thick. One mechanic did the entire work ng the timber and building a house with

#### Is Human Nature Selfish?

#### A plea in its Favour

very Socialist propagandist knows with what notonous frequency he meets what may be perly termed Capitalism's last argument, nely, "You Socialists don't take human nature our calculations; human nature is selfish, ou cannot alter that fact."

his rather interesting attempt to dispos

inpany honow, Mr. J. R. Morts, in the representation of the point couring that which to human nature is utely necessary." Here, undoubtedly, the has "self-preservation" in his view, and is no need to confound that idea with selwhich, of course, is concerned with the tion, at the expense of others, of more is individually necessary. When, however, friend goes the length of declaring that selss is "inherent" in human nature, he not weakens the foundations of Communism a desire to be scrupulously fair in dealing the quibbles of the enemy, but he will extremely difficult, besides, to justify tement from an appeal to the facts of

and experience.
o things immediately confront us when we on the erroneous assumption that human is inherently selfish:

The capitalist system is fatal to the exer-

Apart altogether from the instinct of selfpreservation, there exists a vast amount of unselfishness in the world to-day.

, where did the unselfishness originate? iously (according to our erroneous as-ion) not in human nature; but also, just iously, not in the capitalist system, in whose phere of selfishness human nature draws its from the cradle to the grave. So, we arrive at a deadlock, for unless from for this amiable quality exists that we

notion that human nature is inherently human sympathy, and mutual help, persist pite of the callous brutality which is a con-

stant feature of the competitive struggle under Capitalism. Indeed, when we contemplate the fact that the rewards in the arena of Capitalism fall invariably to the selfish, and not to the de-serving, this phenomenon of human unselfishness becomes astonishing; for, observe, unselfishness, in the main, is practised by those who suffer most from the insecurity of the material scramble which Capitalism imposes upon its victims, and not, in the main, by those who live in comparative security. We can assert quite positively, in short, that whatever forms of unselfishness exist in the world to-day maintain their existence in spite of, and not because of, Capitalism. This being so, we are compelled to turn our attention to human nature itself as nature, itself, it is to be found,

In the Universal Passion will be found the centrifugal power from which, at a thousand tangents, a multitude of unselfish emotions are radiated throughout society, making life (hopeof the most down-trodden.

Self-preservation is forgotten in the presence f the more overwhelming impulse when the wild animal will sacrifice itself in order to save its young. So, under the imperious compulsion of Love, the man will sacrifice himself for the ther for the sister, the friend for the friend, the workman for his mate, and so on in an ever-widening circle; until we reach what might justly be called the apotheosis of unselfishness, in the sacrifice which the disciple of a new social order is prepared to make to hasten the advent of a dawn which he may never see, in the interests of those whom he has never seen.

In one of his inimitable epistles, Burns wrote:

Awa' ye selfish war'ly race Wha think that havins.(1) sense and grace,— Ev'n love an' friendship—should give place To\_catch-the-plack! (2) I dinna like tae see your face

Nor hear your crack; (3) But ye, whom social pleasure charms, Whose hearts the tide of kindness warm Who hold your being on the terms, "Each aid the others!"

My friends, my brothers!

All the poet's righteous scorn of the stonyhearted worshippers of Mammon we feel, as we scan the former verse; and our hearts beat in unison with his as he expresses, in the latter verse, his yearning for human brotherhood. Unrooted in our natures (more deeply than the utterly to stir us; yet the movement towards in-ternational brotherhood grows steadily as "the thoughts of men are widened with the process

'Under Socialism " writes Mr Morris " selfishness will still be the predominating instinct of mankind." On the contrary, unselfishness (that flower of the human heart), which has struggled so amazingly to keep alive in the blighting wilderness of capitalist exploitation, in its new and fertile habitat, will flourish and bloom in unexpected places, and in ways as yet undreamed of.

(1) Decent behaviour. (2) Money-grabbing. (3) Talk.

THE SOCIALIST. Official Organ of the Socialist Labour Party.

A JOURNAL FOR REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

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## Karl Liebknecht's Letters.

Luckau, March 10, 1918.

(492nd day of imprisonment; 674th since my arrest; 968 days more.)

I am writing to you on my work bench; the fresh morning air comes in through the open window, with the twittering of the sparrows. How sharp the March wind is!

I have had all sorts of pleasant dreams to-night, as usual. There is a feeling of 1871 about the Paris Commune—and of the years 1848 and 1849, notable years in all countries; and of the Russian 1917, where the words of the Marseillaise have a very literal meaning just now. The enclosed letter to Willy is about the affairs mentioned in your letter, which, however, seem to be quite different from what I thought. It was kept back by the Governor on account of the political allusions, which you seem to have forgotten for the moment are not allowed. After all the objectionable words had been censored, was allowed to have all your personal news, i such touching, warm, vivid words, that I seemed to have you here warm and living in my arms although we are divided by a wide distance words that surely will render me immortal if Love is still omnipotent.

With respect to the other, you know that my opinion differs from yours only in being harsher, and in that I carry it out in action as much and the individual.

By analysing present events, in order to discover the reason of past events, to find the connecting link between past and present, and thus to prognosticate the probable future and discover our duty respectively to present and future, it seems that, as far as we can judge, events are ripening fast; and this process of meditation before action of the political man, raises him above the mere event, giving it its true spiritual signi-ficance. Here it is not a case of "sub specie æternitatis"—in a kind of eternity.

Just give a glance at history, and you will feel wonderfully encouraged. The passing changes of these days will not deceive you any stun you. How small and miserable men are and sometimes, I think, even ridiculous; even

those who think themselves great!

These are only passing changes, an intermediate stage, and in the meantime it behoves every one of us to hold fast to his duty.

Just think of the dozens of republics of Napo con, and of his factory of new States! The efficacy of his manufacture in this line is more than problematic. You cannot export revolutionary conquests, but their contrary. Nothing is more certainly episodic than that which bears the stamp of a ridiculous opposition to the laws of nature. It can bring nothing but misfortune.

The private and personal side, such as the fate f your mother and sisters, is certainly not settled by all this. It breaks my heart not to be racking agony. Everything torments me, every bit of news in the papers which may have some bearing on their present situation. What a sight will be presented to our eyes when the deluge has passed, and all these chaotic vapours have

It is impossible to hope for news yet. How I would like to keep your hand in mine, to kiss away your troubles, and not let you leave me any more. It is a year ago, all but three days since you came to see me alone for the first time; just before you went to Ebenhausen; and it is already two months and a half since

the matter with your foot. I want to kiss it better. Do you remember how we sat once on that beautiful terrace in Grunewald; just you and I alone? You had a bad foot then, too,

and took off your shoe—for my delectation.

I am pleased to hear what you say about the children. Let it be settled so. Bobby and Vera were very jolly and affectionate when they came on the 2nd, and looked very well. I was plea-

santly surprised, too, to see Willie and Lottie. santly surprised, too, to see Willie and Lottle. Bobby was not very enthusiastic about Holland. He is very reluctant to leave you. He is a family man, and very sensitive. He particu-larly objects to being tied till the end of the

war; but there is no need for that, anyhow-for about six months, isn't it? But you must decide; you know what seems best in the cir-cumstances.

He must take books with him, of course; besides his school books, a few books of history, geography, and natural history. He must read the "Insurrection in Holland" of Schiller, and the "Egmont" of Goethe, a noble drama, not exactly historical, but full of life.

exactly historical, but full of life.

Here there is a tremendous change. By order of the Imperial Economics Department, the shoemakers' workshop is to be transferred to the penal section. A foolish idea, I think, although the idea of Simon (Nurnberg).

My future is dark. I hope I shall not have to turn to bread-making. Perhaps there will be an interim of a few weeks without work, which to me means being able to work at the things I like—"cum grano salis." In that case I shall want some books; you will see what I wrote. to me means being and to work at the times I like—"cum grano salis." In that case I shall want some books; you will see what I wrote about it in my last letter. In any case, my circumstances will change.

Your "hopes of release" appeal to me very little. You know I always wish to the Devil all

amnesties or talk of amnesty. "Autl aut!" To be or not to be. For the present it means in prison, and not out of prison!

I am worried about Mehring's illness; I hope the improvement is continuous. Tell him so when you see him, and give him my congratulations, too, for his speech in the Landtag, which of course I—haven't read, as I have not been able to get the newspaper reports; but the excellence of which, even if I had not imagined it for myself, I was able to deduce from a detestable comment in the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" (German Daily News)

When our friend Franz Jols goes raging about the streets, and causing such disturbances, he needs reminding that he is not seventeen now, but seventy-two! . . . .

I took up the Odyssey the other day. art of it is incomparable. Such clear objectiveness, such luminous colours, such pure naturalness, and such noble style. The great, the mean, the commonplace, all fused into action. Turn to the beginning of the twentieth canto, Ulysses in the night, and the awakening of the household. in the morning, all separate and complete pictures following one upon the other. And again in the twenty-fourth canto, the description of the death of Achilles by Agamemnon, and the mourning, addressed to the shade of Achilles in Frahe. in Erebus

"The weeping Nymphs, beloved daughters of Nereus, wrapped thy body in ambrosial linen. The nine Muses mourned for thee in their silvery voices, and all thy warriors wept around thee."

The Odyssey is a great epic, a song of sorrow, and homesickness; the sorrow of the husband who resists even the temptation and the immortality of Calypso. It expresses virtues actually taken from the Germans, which in the song of the Nibelung, and in Gudrun, have reached to the

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grandest altitudes; but in the latter the sorrow

of the wife and of the servant is equally great. I should like to read for years without raising my eyes from my books, and at the same time be able to act freely without resting. I want a double life, in order to be completely myself. It is afternoon now. I must soon finish my

The newspapers came about mid-day. A thousand thanks. And yesterday I received a packet, for which also many thanks, and for the meat balls, which have just been brought to me. The "Book of Action" and Otto's present never reached me. Keep them yourself as well as the others that have been returned. The care and enlargement of my cony, library is very

and enlargement of my own library is very near my heart.

When shall I see you again? Take care of yourself. They are coming for the letters

yourself. They are coming for the letters.

Much love and many kisses to you, my darling.
I cherish your dreams. Think of me, and keep strong and fearless; and if there were ten times as many enemies, even worse than the present ones, we are always united, you and your Karl.

I am writing to Helmi about his gymnastics, etc. Look after him, too, in this respect. You

used to do gymnastics, too, once upon a time. It is an important help to all the productive faculties; it is also necessary for preparing Helmi for his future fencing lessons. I don't want him to grow up an indoors man. .

#### The Communist Workers' Movement

Works for the replacement of the present system by Communism, a classless order of society in which the land and the means of production, distribution and transport shall be held in com-mon to be used freely by all.

There shall be no money, barter, buying and selling, wages, or direct reward for services ren-dered. All shall give according to their abilities, and take according to their needs and desires.

There will be no need for stinting or rationing,

because the community can produce more than

its members can use.

All shall share the productive work. Short hours of labour for all at essential tasks will allow of abundant leisure for study, recreation, travel, and all sorts of research and creative work, undertaken at will for love of the work

Administration of production and distribution shall be by Soviets or Councils of those who do the work, linked together locally, industrially, nationally, and internationally.

METHODS

To spread knowledge of Communism amongst

e people. To create an All-Workers' Industrial Revolutionary Union of employed and unemployed

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

(b) Organised into departments for each

industry and service.

In other words, to create the Soviets in the workshops in order that they may dispossess the Capitalist and afterwards carry on under Communism.

no part in elections to Parliament and the local governing bodies, to expose their futility to protect, or to emancipate the workers, or to administer Communism.

To refuse affiliation or unity with the Labour

Party and all Reformist and Parliamentary Par-

To emancipate the workers from the Trade Unions, which are merely palliative institutions.

For further particulars apply to the Communist Workers' Movement Secretary at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

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