

Workers' Breadnought

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SATURDAY, JUNE 5th, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

RUSSIA TO-DAY.

By Our Own Correspondent.

THE QUESTION OF FOOD.

Has Russia Surplus to Export?

Russia to-day is producing more grain than her people need, though many of her people are hungry owing to the difficulties of transport. As a matter of fact, but for the British Navy it would be easier to send the grain from the Kuban to London than to many parts of Russia.

The Russian peasants never lived under such good conditions as they experience to-day. The grain production of Russia has increased. The last two years have been splendid years for production, and the area under cultivation has increased. A milliard poods of grain are now stored up (a pood is 36 pounds).

Russia to-day is also producing more meat than her people need, but again the difficulty of transport forces many to go short. When Koltchak was defeated and the Soviets entered into relations with the Mongolians, the Russians bought much cattle from Mongolia and so enriched their own supplies. Sugar is shorter in Russia than before the war, but the present consumption of the Russian people is not less than that of the British to-day. Before the Revolution, Russia had plenty of sugar, but the consumption of sugar by the Russian workers was lower than that of any other workers.

Are the Peasants Communists?

And are the mass of the peasants Communists? Not theoretically, but circumstances are forcing them to develop on Communist lines. They are richer than ever they were before, and some of them talk much of their property; but just as Robert Owen's Communist experimenters found that their capitalist environment undermined their Communism in practice, so the Russian peasants find their efforts to maintain private ownership undermined by their Communist environment, and nullified by the fact that the industries in the towns have been Socialised.

How Communes are Organised.

Because the chaos left by the war and the Czarism, the Allied blockade, and the counter-revolution have maintained a shortage of food and raw materials in the towns, causing factories to close and townsfolk to go hungry, town workers migrate to the country, and coming without tools or skill they find it necessary to organise Communes and to work together. Middle-class people whose occupation has disappeared, flock to the country with the rest, and when they take to work on the land they invariably organise on a Communist basis. In Saratoff, for instance, and ex-shopkeeper, ex-clergyman, and ex-police official were amongst the workers in one of the Communes.

The Soviet estates are chiefly cultivated by ex-town workers.

Are the Town Workers Communists?

Now they are largely so; but at first they were not. Two years ago the Communists began to organise meetings in the factories of Moscow and Petrograd, and at first they found many hostile elements in their audiences, because those elements were impatient of the hardships they had to endure in the class-struggle through which Russia was passing. But all that is now changed, and during the Communist Party Week, in November, 1919, the very people who used

to attend the factory meetings in hostile mood actually enrolled as members of the Communist Party.

Last winter was a very hard one in Moscow and Petrograd, yet in the Soviet elections which followed in the Spring the Communist Party received a bigger majority than before. When the Revolution began, the railwaymen chiefly belonged to the Menshevik and Left Social Revolutionary Party, but gradually they turned from those parties to the Communists.

Do Strikes Take Place in the Soviet Factories?

A year ago strikes were frequent, but the Soviet Commissaries who went to discuss matters with the strikers were usually told by the strikers: "This strike is not political. We are not opposing you politically, but we think by striking we shall draw your urgent attention to providing better food supplies for this district." Nevertheless a year ago there were still some political opponents in the factories; there were still some people who demanded to know what had happened to the Czar and his brother; but that has passed, and notwithstanding the very bad food conditions, there have been no strikes this Spring.

The Communists can now say that the working people are with them, and not only the workers of the towns, but also the peasants, took energetic part with the Soviets against Denikin, Koltchak, Yudenditch, and the other counter-revolutionaries last year.

Providing Food for Factory Workers.

During last winter a committee for providing food for factory workers was organised. Food was so scarce that it was found impossible to ensure sufficient food for all workers, and Russia was faced with the terrible problem that whilst the factory workers must produce and could not produce without food, there was not enough food to go round.

A terrible choice must be made. Food must be supplied regularly and in sufficient quantities to the workers in the industries and factories most essential to the people as a whole, and the other workers must get what was left over or migrate to the country districts, where plenty of food could be obtained. In December this special food committee decided that it could supply food to 600,000 workers. By March, with great effort, supplies were provided for 1,200,000 workers—that is to say, the food supplies to these factory workers were doubled in two months' time. The food supplies to these workers on essentials included 1lb. of bread and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of vegetables daily. Amongst the necessary industries was that of munition making—the International Civil War enforced this.

Not only was a selection made of the industries to which special food rations must be sent: there was also a selection of the centres of industry. The best equipped establishments were supplied: they must be kept going fully at any cost.

The children in all districts and of all classes were regularly supplied with full rations.

In many factories where the workers are not supplied with the special rations it is exceedingly difficult to live. It is only because the workers understand the revolu-

(Continued page 2, column 1.)

An Appeal to Direct Action.

As firm as my conviction of the vanity of direct individual action, is my belief in the certain efficacy of direct action by the masses—strikes, boycotting, refusal to transport or to manufacture explosives.

In a century in which the law little by little effaces itself in favour of outrage and crime, it is the duty of the Internationale to protect itself against assassination, and that without losing time in vain appeals to humanity, in vain protestations against atrocities, in having vain recourse to tribunals. The time is past when an oratorical campaign by Gladstone could put an end to Bulgarian massacres.

As well might you talk of virtue to a Fifteenth Century flayer of men, as speak of honesty, or even legality, to a capitalist of the Twentieth Century.

In Hungary.

Example: At this moment they assassinate in Hungary every individual suspected of Communism, of Socialism, even of Republicanism—workmen, professors, soldiers, women, children; all are victims of the rage of Hungarian officers. You know that the massacre of Saint Bartholomew in France lasted through two seasons, the summer and autumn of 1572; but over there in Hungary it has been going on for a year under the indulgent eyes of English, French, Italian and Roumanian officers, and it is redoubling at this moment.

The Labour Party has sent comrades to make inquiries. That is all right; but let those comrades inquire quickly, for the killing will not wait. I have just received information as to this White Terror—precise information, cuttings from Hungarian Governmental journals. Understand that well—Governmental! They are at a high pitch of their orgy. They boast of it, they brandish their red knives under the noses of strangers, calling upon them to smell the good odour of Communist blood. The details of these crimes are luxurious. It is Attila at his purest—Attila as if he had known petroleum, gun-powder, and dynamite. The long death-rattle of horror which comes from the throat of a bleeding people, that is the cry that comes out of those naked lines, those printed lines—awkward and artless.

Workmen—French and English workmen—to allow that calmly? I cannot believe it. Realise how great will be your imprudence. Your masters will be emboldened by your carelessness. What you allow to-day in Hungary will be perpetrated to-morrow upon yourselves. Take care!

In Poland.

Another example: In Poland hundreds and hundreds of political prisoners, of Socialists, of strikers, of people like you are dying of hunger, of cold, and of fetid damp. Intellectual and manual workers—all the militants of the extreme Left—are vowed to an obscure and slow death by the vile Pilsudski. From there also I have received information of a terrible nature. They do not kill but they stifle. Blood does not run but the work is done. That is what is called a *cordon sanitaire*.



Drawn by Arthur Shearby.

CAPITALIST.

"You have been very useful to me in the past. We really must not part now."

I repeat to you—take care. Do not wait till French and English capitalism has entered definitely into the assassination phase. In France they attempted, on the First of May. Timidly as yet. They hope to do better. It is only their fear of you that dissuades them for the moment from following the example of the aristocracies of Poland, of Hungary, of the United States.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

But do not wait too long! Save the Socialists of Hungary and of Poland!

Not by meetings, not by orders of the day branding this one or that, not even by manifestations in the street, where you offer your naive and defenseless bodies to the greater joy of the clubbers. But by a direct action of the masses—by boycotting. Boycot Hungary! Boycot Poland!

The Internationale of the postmen has warned the Hungarian Government that if Tostal is condemned to death, Hungary will be deprived during fifteen days of postal communication. Bravo! But there should be a fixed date to that ultimatum, and the measure should be generalised. One militant should benefit by it alone, but all Hungarian and Polish militants should be snatched from the hands of their executioners by the menace of a total famine.

With brutes, it is only a brutal menace which carries weight, above all with brutes who are afraid. You must know.

RAYMOND LEBEBURE.

SOLDIERS FOR HOME SERVICE.

The Army Council announces its intention to "allow" discharged infantry soldiers to re-enlist. These soldiers must be under 35. They must have served at least 7 years and not more than 13 years. These soldiers are to be used in Ireland and in the class war in Britain.

The Government wants men who have been taught for at least 7 years "not to reason why." It thinks there are enough of such men to enable it to pick and choose. It requires that the men shall be young and fit.

The Government wants to obtain volunteers: conscripts cannot be trusted to fight their fellow workers at home.

(RUSSIA TO-DAY,—Continued.)

tion that they submit to its hardships. But it has been a difficult task for the Soviet representatives to meet and convince the hungry workers. Women especially have often said: "The Bolsheviks have made many promises, but what have they done?"

But the improvements introduced by Communism are constantly growing, in spite of the civil war; and steadily the grumbling lessens and appreciation increases.

Is Labour Compulsory in Soviet Russia?

Yes, because it is necessary that everyone should work. Moreover, in this time of strain and warfare, it is necessary that labour should be used to the best advantage. When there is a shortage of skilled engineers, spinners, and railwaymen, it would be folly for those who are skilled to go as unskilled workers on the land, because the place where they happen to live is deprived of raw material or for any other reason. It is imperative in this life and death struggle with world capitalism that the workers should organise themselves to the very best advantage, and for the most part they are doing it.

There are two ways of inducing those who are not willing to fall into line—(1) the capitalist method: to leave such workers to starve, to wait till they are without food and clothing, and to evict them for non-payment of rent; (2) the Soviet way, which is to say we will let you live rent free, we will feed you and clothe you and we will not deprive you of the necessities of life even though you refuse to work with us; but the condition of the country is such that it is necessary for everyone to work, and we shall oblige you to work.

The Red Army and the Labour Army.

In Britain there are many criticisms of the policy of turning sections of the Red Army into an industrial army. In Russia the only question of dispute was as to whether the step was premature and as to whether it was safe to release any part of the Army from the battle-front. The members of the Red Army who had been long on active service watched the discussions anxiously, for they were eager to be set free from fighting and to be employed in peaceful work once more.

(Continued Next Week.)

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE GENERAL STRIKE. By MORD WILGUS.

A comrade from America inquires of me "whether the Triple Alliance is sleeping." Sleeping does not describe the Triple Alliance correctly. I would rather say that it was still-born. That the Alliance exists can not be doubted, but its existence is that of dead matter, devoid of flesh and blood, and all the other attributes that are characteristic of life and action. The cause of its inactivity is self-evident. The Triple Alliance is composed of three distinct bodies: Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport workers; each of which insists on acting individually on behalf of its own particular interests, without the smallest regard for the interests of the general mass of workers, or even of the other members of the Alliance. The result is that the Central Organisation is powerless to act as a single unit, a situation which is as dangerous to Labour as it is deplorable. Moreover, the moving and courageous spirit that is essential to a strong centralised body is foreign to the fake Labour leaders. Mr. Thomas is still galloping after the coat-tails of Respectability, and his readiness to accept honours from the parasitic hands of the Exploiters is convincing proof of his quite traitorous conduct to the working class. The rewards of Judas Iscariot was microscopic compared with those of J. H. Thomas, the man who would gladly lick the boots of the master-class as a demonstration of his servility. This is the same labour-fakir who shed crocodile tears on his visit to the battlefields of France, where he observed the body of the Right Hon. Raymond Asquith lying side by side with that of a humble proletarian soldier. What further proof is necessary to demonstrate the intrinsic identity of the classes?

The Seattle Strike.

But to return to the topic. Let us pause and see what Experience, the ablest of teachers, will tell us on this fundamental problem of Industrial Unionism and the General Strike. I refer now to the general strike in Seattle—a great industrial city on the Pacific coast—during the early part of 1919. The facts are as follows: The shipbuilders had several grievances against their masters, which they were anxious to clear up. The Union interviewed the owners, and they categorically refused to consider the demands. The workers' powerful industrial weapon was therefore decided upon to bring the bosses to their senses. A strike was declared. The Companies countered with a threat of immediate dismissal of all those men who failed to return to work the following morning, a threat which could easily be enforced, because the signing of the Armistice had diminished the demand for shipping. The situation became critical, and a meeting of the City Labour Council was called to consider the grave danger to Organised Labour. After a little hesitation and rambling, a general strike was decided upon, to take effect at once. The craft Unions greeted this war-cry with great enthusiasm, and the general strike was complete. The buzz and tumult of a great city was no more. Not a thing moved—not even the private cars of the masters. Wherever a wagon or an auto, was observed, it was immediately silenced by the pickets. The factories were shut tight, and the city was as quiet as a dumb-bell. The only vehicles that budged were those bearing large signs, with the inscription: "By Permission of the Labour Council." Now, everyone is quite aware of the fact that if it comes to a test of endurance, the Capitalists are by far the stronger. They do not buy flour, potatoes, coal, vegetables etc. piecemeal; on the contrary, by purchasing these necessities in large quantities, they not only obtain them cheaper, but they have a constant supply on hand. But not so the working class, which lives from hand-to-mouth, day in and day out. The Labour Council therefore found itself face to face with a situation it had never even dreamed of. A firm decision was necessary. The Council either had to feed the workers or surrender. May it be said to the lasting credit of the Council that its members braved the situation and determined to feed the workers. The Council was likewise obliged to provide food for the sick, keep the streets clean, furnish light to the hospitals, etc. Furthermore, in order not to let the rowdies run riot, the Council provided pickets (or Red Guards) to patrol the city streets. Hence the functions of government automatically dropped into the hands of the Labour Council. "But was this Revolution? Not at all. It was never intended to be such. What actually happened was this: the capitalists, terrified at the power displayed by the workers, called on the military to intervene, and with force in one hand and promises in the other, they were prepared to talk to the workers on their own terms—naturally! This ended the general strike. What I wish to point out is that the subversion of the small crafts into that great ocean of General Labour not only secured the rights of organised Labour in particular, but demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that the Working Class was able to take control of the industries, if they only desired to do so.

Industrial Unionism Not Enough.

To be sure, industrial unionism is absolutely essential to modern class-warfare, but industrial unionism *per se* is not the be all and end all of Capitalism. Indeed, there are plenty of industrial unions to-day which are highly reactionary. The Miners' Federation of America still tolerates the renegade Lewis as its President, in spite of his open betrayal of the miners in their last strike. Australia

has a "One Big Union," yet it is far from being revolutionary. It might even be stigmatised as conservative. Hence all talk of Industrial Unionism as the Saviour of Mankind is pure bunkum and clap-trap. Unless the unionism be permeated with a spirit of rebellion, and a conscious desire to overthrow Capitalism, its changing from craft to industrial organisation is like changing from Tweedledee to Tweedledum.

Communism and the Limitations of Economic Strikes.

However, it is not at all essential that all the workers be class-conscious. Had the Russian Communists waited until each and every Russian was a Bolshevik, they might have lingered an eternity—and longer still. If there be dissatisfaction and discontent (and no one can deny that this is so to-day), a conscious minority, conscious of its historic mission, can and must swing the masses towards a revolutionary effort to capture and destroy the Bourgeois State. It is the very absence of this active, organised minority that causes the impetus of all the great strikes to spend themselves in utter exhaustion and in temporary weakness. This is the reason why the Seattle general strike was a failure, in spite of its apparent success. No greater exhibition of solidarity was ever more complete than that of the workers of Seattle. Yet it failed. The same is true of Winnipeg. A general strike such as Seattle or Winnipeg can easily be turned into a national general strike if the active minority is on the job and well organised in a Communist Party.

To recapitulate: Industrial Unionism to-day is made imperative by the development of machinery and the concentration of capital, but this organisation in itself is not, and cannot be, the "Messiah" of the Revolution. The union organisations, by the very nature of things, are not adapted to revolutionary action. Their fight being always a struggle to better conditions, they are not able to distinguish between the immediate illusory gain and the complete emancipation of their class. It is therefore important that we realise the natural limitations of purely economic strikes.

In order to make clearer the essential point, that industrial unionism does not spell Revolution, let us assume that the Triple Alliance is a unified body or One Big Union. True, such an organisation would bring us a step nearer to Communism, but Industrial Unionism in itself is not the Social Revolution. It is simply a more scientific reorganisation of organised Labour, for the purpose of repulsing the onslaughts of the centralised Capitalist class, which is able by means of the trustification of industry to pit one section of the workers against the other. This method of combination by industry instead of craft is not the result of abstract philosophical reasoning, but is forced upon the workers as the only suitable weapon for defense. The proof of this lies in the fact that Industrial Unionism never precedes the trustification of industry, but, on the contrary, is the legitimate and inevitable off-spring of Big Business. In short, neither Industrial Unionism or the General Strike (to wit, the late Irish General Strike to free the hunger strikers), means Social Revolution. The latter undoubtedly must precede and then run concomitant with an uprising, but the successful "engineering" of this general strike is the task of the Communist Party.

When the Revolution Will Come.

To obtain Economic Emancipation, it is necessary to fight for it. To wait, as some evolutionary encyclopaedic pedagogues advise us so very often, until all the workers are organised into Industrial Unions, and then to wait another century until Capitalism crumbles by its own weight, is sheer nonsense and hypocrisy. That Capitalism contains the seed of its own destruction is evident, but we must remember that the fruit growing out of this seed is nothing less than the propertyless proletarian masses. When the gap between those who have and those who have not is widened to such an extent that it becomes unbridgable, then, and then only, is the Revolution sealed. No body of men will starve to death without making a desperate effort to get the food from those who have it; but this is not sufficient. We demand the complete annihilation of Wage Slavery.

The Social Revolution can be successfully retarded by a Triple Alliance that has fallen into the claws of lethargy and vituperation, and is both lazy and impotent to take any action. A Triple Alliance of one solid organisation acting constantly as a single unit will undoubtedly accelerate the "Day of Judgment." In all events, the complete extinction of the Capitalist class can only be accomplished by a Communist Party that declares that to be its sole aim and effort. That is clearly the task of the Third International and all its affiliated organisations. Therefore all haste for a strong Communist Party of Great Britain. Around such a Party the advanced class-conscious guard of the working-class will and must rally in order to assure the triumph of worldwide Communism.

Comrades are asked to sell the "Dreadnought" on commission at meetings of all kinds in their districts.

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152, FLEET STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

THE HUNGARIAN WORKING CLASS UNDER THE WHITE TERROR. By BELA KUN.

(Continued from last week.)

The Right Wing of the Social Democratic Party, following the counsel of Ernest Garami, obtained representation for two of its members in the government of the White Terror. The Right Wing soon split into two sections: the group under Vanczac, which is prepared to serve the White Terror even under Horthy, and the group under Garami and Buchinger, which is inclined to consent to a monarchy on condition that the power of the White Terror is dispersed. Even this second group is in connection with Horthy. Officially the Trade Unions belong to the Social Democratic Party, but the members will have nothing to do with it.

As the revolutionary situation slackens, the Boehm-Kunfi group is beginning to give utterance to international and independent Socialist sentiments, and is entering into relationship with Masaryk, the Czech Social-Chauvinists, and the Hungarian bourgeois Radicals. It aims at a bourgeois democratic revolution, and the ministerial portfolios such a revolution will have to offer. The followers of this group are very few; they are generals without an army.

The labours of the Hungarian Communist Party in the direction of revolutionary preparation are obliged to be carried on underground, not only in Hungary but also in the surrounding States. The ranks of the party have been very much thinned by the numerous legal and "popular" executions, which are even now daily demanding new victims. A great number of the best fighters and leaders have been imprisoned. Nevertheless the emigrants began to rally very quickly, and are organising for the resumption of the bond with the masses, which was severed by the collapse of the Dictatorship.

There is no other path for the Hungarian Communist Party but that of illegal organisation. In this direction the tasks of the Party are as follows:—

1. To perfect illegal organisations and to centralise the existing groups.
2. To raise the revolutionary spirit of the workers to the level of self-consciousness and to arouse their activity.
3. To break definitely with the Social Democrats, whom the fusion saved from their "last judgment."

The struggle against the White Terror is chiefly possible in the form of close co-operation with the other branches of the international revolutionary proletariat.

The formation of an organisation and the awakening of revolutionary activity will make the action of the masses and its culmination, the armed uprising, again impossible.

In spite of signs of incipient decay in the organisation of the White Terror, it is still strong enough to place insurmountable obstacles in the way of propaganda and organisation. Side by side with these objective obstacles to an illegal movement the subjective hindrances are also very strong. The most important of these is the lack of experience in illegal organisation possessed by persons accustomed to legal activities, and also revolutionary impatience, which, although very praiseworthy, is liable to lead to despair. People accustomed to the immediate and visible results of legal activity easily become discouraged and petulant during the tedious wait for the hard-won fruits of an underground movement.

In its revolutionary work the Hungarian Communist Party must be prepared to deal with the police organisations of many lands, and also with the Social-Democratic Parties, which are at one time the masters and at another the servants of these police organisations. But already the fruits of victory are becoming perceptible.

The central organ of the Party, the "Rote Zeitung" (Vörös Ujság) is being published at the preliminary stage at the present time as a supplement to the news sheets of our Austrian comrades, the "Rote Fahne." It will very shortly appear on a more ambitious scale as a weekly journal. Propagandist writings have already appeared in considerable numbers, which increase in proportion as the difficulties of distribution are overcome.

There is just as little of unusual moment to be reported concerning the Hungarian trade union movement as there is concerning the economic conditions of the working class. Just as it can be said of the latter that the level of existence of the workers, as in all capitalist countries and especially in the defeated States, has sunk to unprecedented depths, so the Trade Union movement displays tendencies similar to the other European movements. Only one circumstance preserves its popularity with the workers, viz., that it is their sole legal rallying-point. The movement is firmly controlled by the trade union bureaucrats, and will remain so as long as the bureaucrats are protected by the White Terror from the indignation of the workers.

The Agrarian Question.

As is well known, in Hungary during the Dictatorship the land was not divided up. The Soviet Republic expropriated the large estates and ran them as socialised concerns under the administration of the proletarian agricultural co-operatives. In consequence of the revolutionary inactivity of the rural proletariat, and also because to insure the continuity of agricultural production, it was necessary to proceed cautiously; the expropriation of the large agricultural estates was achieved by an act of judicial dispossession and was not of the requisite revolutionary

character. Nevertheless, the rural proletarian elements united in the co-operative societies on the large estates supported the Dictatorship—even with arms—with the same zeal as the industrial workers.

It was the agricultural workers who were offered the most immediate and tangible benefits by the Dictatorship; it was, consequently, they who deteriorated most after its collapse. The rural proletariat and semi-proletariat will for a long time after the fall of the Dictatorship be dragged in the wake of the land-possessing peasant class. Latterly, however, partly as a result of the league between the wealthy peasants and the large estate owners, partly on account of the monstrous requisitions for the White Army, and partly as the result of the work of the soldiers of the dispersed Red Army, an apparently widespread revolutionary movement has become perceptible among the small peasant proprietors, and especially among the very small proprietors and the numerous landless peasantry. This movement is intensified by the fact that on the desocialised estates, not only the collective agreements entered into by the agricultural workers before the Dictatorship, but also the wages and truck tariffs have been annulled. Moreover the landowners have also subjected the poor peasantry to compulsory labour to expiate "the sins of the past."

The agricultural proletariat has joined the camp of the small peasant proprietors, but they have not yet come forward with independent demands. For the present, in consequence of the economic and spiritual domination of the small and very small peasant proprietors, the only slogans that have gained currency are in favour of the re-distribution of the land.

Without attempting in a theoretical fashion to stem the movement of the peasantry towards the re-division of the land, the task of the Communist Party is to emphasise the inevitable failure that must attend all legitimate attempts at land reform. They must continue to preach their old formula amongst the poorest peasants: Organised, revolutionary expropriation of the land without compensation. In this way a large proportion of the big agricultural estates may be secured for socialised administration.

It is very improbable that a peasant revolt will occur in the present phase of the Hungarian proletarian revolution; but what is certain is, that amongst the peasants the echo of the first movement of the town proletariat will be louder than the voice itself.

To make a detailed prediction of the future of the Hungarian Revolution is at present impossible. What is certain is, that the struggle in Hungary is one of life or death for private property, and is centred round the very basis of capitalist production. Consequently it is impossible for the dominant classes to dispense with the weapon of the White Terror, even if, as is not in the least probable, the now independent Brachialgewalt was disposed to lay aside its weapons.

Should the Horthy régime engage itself in a militarist adventure, an isolated proletarian revolution and dictatorship will again break out in Hungary. The slightest revolutionary victory in Central Europe will immediately draw into its wake the industrial and agricultural proletariat of Hungary.

The White Terror can only be abolished by the proletarian revolution, even if it adopts a parliamentary and constitutional form.

Until then the Hungarian proletariat, which for four and a half months fought at the head of the international proletarian revolution, must rely upon the most energetic support of the international proletarian movement.

The finest examples of this support have come from our Russian and Italian comrades, and we look for it also from the remaining groups and sections of the Third International.

NEXT WEEK WE SHALL PUBLISH AN IMPORTANT ARTICLE BY BELA KUN, ON PARLIAMENTARY ACTION, WHICH HAS BEEN SPECIALLY WRITTEN FOR "THE DREADNOUGHT."

ACTUAL INCIDENTS OF THE TERROR

Confidential Police Documents.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung" has published three strictly confidential documents, which prove distinctly what kind of legal conditions are reigning in Hungary. The text is as follows:—

[Strictly Confidential.]

Chief Command, 286/b/IV.

To the District Commands.

The Chief Command has been informed that in the formations of the armed forces there are still some officers of Jewish nationality. About these a report is to be sent to the Chief Command, mentioning the pretext upon which they could be removed.

BONICZKY, m. p.

[Strictly Confidential.]

Attorney General, 247/1920.

To the Prosecutors of the Criminal Courts!

The Attorney-General has been informed that the public prosecutors in their consideration of cases to which the accelerated proceedings refer, to not give due attention to the decree of the Minister of Justice numbered 1919/1012/Pres. 3., according to which even in cases where the charge seems insuf-

ficient, a verdict of guilty has to be passed if possible. The public prosecutors are hereby summoned to observe this order most scrupulously.

VÁRY, m. p., Attorney General.

Budapest, February 8th.

[Strictly Confidential.]

Chief Command, 476/VI. b. Fv.

Circular Order.

To the Command of the Foreign Groups!

Point 3 of the decree referring to the reward for the seizure or rendering harmless of persons who, in consequence of the Communist work, are now refugees abroad, has been altered as follows:—Add Point (a): Béla Kun, Joseph Pogány, Francis Göndör, K. 250,000. Add Point (b): All People's Commissaries, K. 100,000, as well as for Sallai-Hollander, Deputy of the Commissary for Home Affairs. Add Point (3): K. 20,000.

These rewards are to be paid immediately after making sure that the conditions have been kept. The Deputy of the Chief of the General Staff.

JANKY, m. p.

HARTMANN, m. p.

Budapest, March 26th, 1920.

We have to remark that Beniczky, who signed the first document, is Colonel of the General Staff; Váry, who signed the second, Attorney-General; and Colonel Jankey, who signed the third document, is a brother-in-law of the Governor Horthy.

The Hungarian Government took great precautions to prevent the workers demonstrating on May Day. All meetings and processions were prohibited. At first it was said that the workers might celebrate May Day by taking a holiday and by holding meetings in the Trade Union rooms. In the last hour even this permission was revoked, and the Trade Unions were forbidden to keep their rooms open on May 1st.

Military Murders.

The Hungarian Social Democratic weekly, "Az Ember" (Man), has secured possession of certain authentic Budapest police documents, and is publishing them. These documents record the following cases of official murder and outrage:—

Susan Nagy (a working woman), Joseph Szemkovsky (an iron-moulder), and Kertész (a clerk in the Csepel munition factory), were murdered in the military prison, Margit-Körut, where they were detained.

The bodies of two men who were slain by officers of the Pronaz Detachment were found next day on the dung-hill of the stables of the Kelenföld Honvéd barracks.

The officers of the National Army often visit the provincial prisons and beat the political prisoners there with whips and clubs.

The Pronaz Detachment buried alive the tradesman Stephen Lénárt in Eying, and first tortured and then executed, without trial, Ensign Emery, Vadász, Dr. Eugen Ban (a veterinary surgeon), Private Joseph Vass, Eugene Komlos (a clerk), Dr. Edward Sági (a lawyer), Francis Siky and John Pal (bricklayers).

From the town of Csurgó the same Detachment took Dr. Eugene Dohány (a lawyer), Farcas (secretary of the local Social Democratic Party), Stephen Adam (a worker), Dr. Jacob Keuti (a lawyer), Eugene Kovacs (a clerk), Molnar (a railway official), and Leopold Szabó (a teacher). These persons were all cruelly murdered. Dr. Eugene Dohány had petroleum poured on to his clothes, which were then set alight.

Communist Trials.

The Budapest law court has received secret orders from the Hungarian Government to remove to provincial towns the trials of Communist prisoners who are to be condemned to death, in order that their fate may more easily be concealed. This is reported by the "Bécsi Magyar Ujság," which is an Hungarian newspaper, published in Vienna. It is a bourgeois radical newspaper like the "Manchester Guardian," edited by a noted journalist, Eugen Lazar.

Murdered for Wearing a Red Carnation.

The same paper reports that a young engineer, Stephen Muller, last summer attended a football match in Szeged wearing a red carnation. Bibó, a lieutenant of the Pronaz Detachment of White Guards, boxed Muller's ears on that account; but Muller was protected by French officers. In February, 1920, Muller was having supper with friends at the Hotel Britannia in Budapest. The officers of the Pronaz Detachment make this hotel their headquarters, and, as Muller and two of his friends were about to leave, Bibó and other officers forced them to enter a motor-car, and took them to the Kelenföld barracks, where Bibó and others began to beat him. He was beaten at intervals for three days, sometimes with wire whips in which were pointed nails. Finally he died.

Murder Crosses.

The same paper declares that the "Uj Nemzedék" (New Generation), an organ of White Terror and official organ of the Catholic Press association, on May 12th gave the signal for a pogrom. One of its contributors named the houses of Jews in the Schwabenbey district whom he referred to as "Bochers," a Jewish nickname for Communist millionaires. On St. Bartholomew's Eve crosses were painted on the houses of Protestants. The radical paper says: "The 'Uj Nemzedék' spreads these murder crosses by the help of modern printing machines."

COMRADES SHOULD USE EVERY MEANS OF OBTAINING PUBLICITY FOR THESE INCIDENTS OF THE WHITE TERROR, WHICH SO GRAPHICALLY REVEAL THE CHARACTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS WAR.

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THE MUNITIONS HOLD-UP.**Dockers send Aeroplanes to Alexandria. Why?**

Dockers and railwaymen have united in their determination not to dispatch munitions for Poland; but unless they refuse to dispatch munitions at all, at least some of the munitions ostensibly shipped to other countries will find their way to Poland, and if not to Poland, then to Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, or any other country where men can be found to bear arms against the Workers' Soviet Republic.

Aeroplanes go from London Docks.

On Sunday, May 30th, a shipload of war aeroplanes set sail from East India Docks for Egypt. Why should the dockers ship aeroplanes to Egypt? A glance at the map of the world shows plainly that if these aeroplanes were being sent for the use of Gen. Wrangel or for use by any other anti-Bolshevik force in the Black Sea, the natural course to take would be round by Portugal, through the Straits of Gibraltar, past Tunis, and Sicily, as if going to Alexandria. The ship might change its course on the way; if it called at Alexandria, and even unloaded the aeroplanes there, they could be conveniently re-shipped from there to Constantinople, or some other place convenient to the British and other counter-revolutionaries.

And even if these aeroplanes were not intended for the Black Sea, but for use against the Egyptians, why should dockers send them? The British Government invaded Egypt to protect the money of British capitalists, which had been lent to the ruler of Egypt. The British Government invaded Egypt when the Egyptians were agitating for Parliamentary government. The British Government said then that it had only occupied Egypt to "pacify" the people and that the occupation would be temporary. During the late war for "freedom," it was announced that the British occupation would be permanent, and the Egyptians who want to manage their own affairs have been protesting ever since.

Why then should dockers send aeroplanes to Egypt? Everyone is supposed to be shocked by the Amritsa incident, but there have been many such incidents in Egypt.

N.U.R. Refuses to Act.

The National Union of Railwaymen has referred the question of handling munitions for Ireland to the Triple Alliance. The Triple Alliance will not act; these great executives, with their important officials, never take action on great issues.

The decision not to send munitions to Poland was only taken because the workers had already made their refusal a concrete fact.

Dockers and railwaymen, do not wait for your Executive or for the Triple Alliance; take action on your own account, as the dockers and coalies did on the *Jolly George*, and the sailors on the Government tugs!

Moreover, let it be resolved that neither munitions nor troops shall be moved at all, that they shall not be shipped out of the country or moved about from place to place within the country. Remember Soviet Russia; but remember also the War Office plans for the blockade of Wales in the event of a miners' strike. The War Office has such plans in readiness to use against all sections of workers at home as well as abroad.

AMRITSAR.

The British members of the Amritsa inquiry Commission have whitewashed General Dyer and the Indian Government; the Indian representatives have condemned them.

The *Daily Herald* says:—

"What is particularly disastrous is the rigid colour-line between the Majority and Minority of the Commissioners."

But nothing else was possible: the British members of the Commission were put there to whitewash the Government and were chosen as people warranted to do so.

As for the Indians, it would have been impossible for them to support the whitewashing of Dyer and again face their own people. The Amritsa atrocities and the reports upon them are the outcome of the struggle of British Imperialism to keep the Indians in subjection. The Indians are only retained under British control by force of arms. It is no use evading that fact: therefore the Government Report expresses the view that General Dyer was right to fire, but that he fired too long. He fired too long from the official standpoint because his action, intended to crush the Indian-Nationalist agitation, proved instead a fruitful stimulus to it.

The *Daily Herald* says: "The moral is plain: Imperialism means an endless series of atrocities." We are glad the *Herald* has arrived at that standpoint, but will it stay there? Its habitual policy on India is to advocate Home Rule within the Empire—a solution which would not by any means put an end to Imperialism.

LENIN AND THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS. His Reply to British Labour Delegation.

According to George Young, of the *Daily Herald*, Lenin said that the British revolution must develop in its own way, and that insistence on Russian methods would be a mistake. Before the Russian Bolshevik Party had proved that it could remain in power, most of our Labour Leaders were careful to dissociate themselves from the policy of Lenin and his colleagues. The same people now desire to cover Lenin's Red views with a liberal coat of whitewash, and especially to deter the British workers from turning Bolshevik by insisting that Lenin advises us not to follow the Russian example in this country. But Lenin, we think, if speaking for himself would say that the revolutionary way is not the Russian method, but the international one.

The *Herald* correspondent adds: "Lenin advocated the organisation of a Constitutional Communist Party, participating in Parliament, but pointed out that if 25 per cent. of the workers effected the social revolution in Russia, a smaller proportion would suffice in England, where there are few peasant proprietors."

A "Constitutional Communist Party" seems to us to be a misnomer. We had thought that a Communist Party must be essentially unconstitutional, at least where capitalist constitutions are concerned. We think the *Herald* has made a mistake, but in case it has quoted Lenin aright, we must ask: Who is to form this Constitutional Party? Is it to be the *Herald* League? For our part, we prefer to be with the 25 per cent. making the revolution!

Lenin is further quoted as saying that he personally doubted whether the present Entente governments would ever really make peace.

We believe that the Capitalist governments will not make peace with Soviet Russia.

TO NEWSAGENTS.

Any newsagent or other seller of the "Dreadnought" unable to get posters of the "Dreadnought" should write to the "Dreadnought" office at 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4, stating the number required, in which case posters will be supplied direct.

THE SOVIET DELEGATES IN LONDON.

We do not think the British Government intends to make peace with Soviet Russia, or to arrange satisfactory trading facilities. Trade cannot readily be carried on between countries which are at war. The money and goods and the ships which carry them from the one country to the other must be guaranteed. If Soviet Russia is to trade with Britain a Soviet representative must reside here. Therefore peace should be an indispensable condition of trading. But the capitalists engaged in resisting Communism care nothing for traditional usages. The employing classes are accustomed to buy the labour of the workers and at the same time to fight them in the class war. The British Government will not scruple to buy what it wants from Soviet Russia whilst it is bombarding Russian villages and paying the small nationalities to invade Russia; that is if Soviet Russia will trade on such terms.

We believe the British Government will probably try to get grain and other things it requires from Russia, and that it will endeavour to secure what it wants without allowing the Soviets to buy the things that Russia urgently needs from this country—locomotives and machinery of all kinds. The *Times* and other jingo papers are protesting that the Bolshevik gold is stolen and that the hands of the Bolsheviks are blood-stained; but these are only excuses for continuing the attack on Soviet Russia, and for carrying on a little political duelling with Lloyd George.

Meanwhile the Russian delegates are not permitted by the British Government to make any statements to the Press, and rumour has it that Basil Thompson, of Scotland Yard, is the Englishman who has paid them the closest attention.

Our Capitalist Government has decided to negotiate with the Soviet representatives, but it behoves them to be very wary in negotiating, for the Government is treacherous: fortunately the Russian Communists are fully aware of that.

The Polish attack on Soviet Russia is evidently doomed to fail, and a Soviet Poland is likely to result from the defeat. Various small nationalities may yet be mustered against Russia; Germany and Austria will probably be used in the fight. Into those countries brought into the struggle, and also into the countries not directly brought in, the International Civil War will extend further and further westwards. The Soviets will spread across Europe.

Before Capitalism finally collapses in the fight against Communism, it will probably invoke the aid of the League of Nations. It will probably try to stir the war-weary public opinion of the Liberal bourgeoisie of this country to interest in a war to enforce the decision of the League of Nations. Efforts will be made to raise an army in Italy. Africa will be mobilised, and every effort made to get together an International Army to fight the Workers' Revolution.

THE "CALL" AND HAROLD BURGESS.

In its comments on the case of Harold Burgess the *Call*, failing to take even a virile stand for elementary British liberties, indulges in cheap sneers about treating "peripatetic soldiers" in "occasional public-houses." It forgets that Burgess, by the very decision of the magistrate, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for circulating amongst soldiers, who by statutes are citizens and voters, a pamphlet entitled *Soviets for the British*, which has been for months, and still is in circulation.

We regret that the *Call* should descend below the level of the bourgeois papers and entirely depart from the dignity of a Socialist paper in the attempt to score a miserable partisan point.

The man—a Communist—who has gone with silent dignity to prison is unaffected by such gibes.

The unwarranted insinuation that Burgess was acting on the instigation of others is a thing that would hardly be tolerated in a genuine Communist Party.

The Textile Industry in Soviet Russia.

A Report by V. P. NOGIN.

(One of the Russian Delegates Now in London.)

Soviet Russia, of New York, publishes an official report by V. P. Nogin, a member of the Supreme Council of National Economy in Soviet Russia and one of the delegates now in London. This Report was made in 1919, when the situation in Soviet Russia was very much more difficult than it is now, and when the Soviets were fighting many obstacles which have since been overcome. The difficulties were in the main due to the War, the counter-revolution, the retrograde conditions under the Tsardom, which had prevented the natural development of Russian industry and the impatience of the Russian workers to secure better conditions of life which often made them unwilling to endure the old surroundings before they were able to create new ones. Nogin reported:—

The largest textile factories are already nationalised. In all there are 558 nationalised enterprises. Of these, 183 are cotton factories, 72 linen factories, 112 woollen factories, 109 silk factories, 23 hemp factories, 20 dyeing factories, 34 knitting factories. 446 of these enterprises are united into groups; the remaining 147 enterprises do not belong to groups. These nationalised enterprises have 7,767,262 spindles and 204,591 looms.

The nationalisation of the textile industry began in October, 1917, immediately after the October revolution; but during 1918 (until November) nationalisation was very slow: only 14 enterprises were nationalised during this period. Beginning with November, 1918, nationalisation became more rapid. From November to May was a period of intense nationalisation and in the summer of 1919 the task was completed.

All these nationalised textile industries were divided into groups, of which there are 46.

Cotton.

The supply of cotton began to be exhausted in the middle of last winter. It was necessary to find materials to replace cotton. At this time the Russian factories to utilise fuel waste and all sorts of cotton waste, which had never before been used by the Russian industries. With the aid of fuel waste, and also through the utilisation of flax it was possible to cope with the difficulties. However, as neither flax, nor fuel waste can solve the problem without cotton, this was merely a palliative. It was necessary to prepare for a complete suspension of the cotton industry.

By September 1st, 1919, all the old supplies of cotton were divided among the factories. These supplies were estimated to be 387,606 poods (pood equals 36 lbs.). In addition to this, 39,446 poods were on the way. As far as the fuel waste was concerned, up to September there were 961,842 poods of it. These supplies permitted only a partial functioning of the most important cotton mills for a short time; some worked two or three months, others four months. Besides cotton these mills had ready coarse textile fabrics to the amount of 738,237 arshines (an arshine equals 0.77 of a yard) gave some work to the finishing factories.

During the summer, owing partly to the requisitioning of fuel, which was carried on during the spring of this year because of the oncoming shortage of fuel in the autumn and winter, and also under the influence of the enormous exodus of workers to the villages, it was necessary to suspend many textile mills. Towards the end of August only about 40 textile factories were functioning. But during the summer most of the cotton factories carried on a careful stocking up of peat and wood. In most cases this preparatory work gave very good results. At the same time, according to the information obtained by the main offices of the textile enterprises, most of the factories provided themselves with a supply of wood amounting to 397,241 cubic sajens (a sajen equals 7 ft.) up to September 1st, and this does not include the supply of peat.

On October 1st, 50 of the 183 nationalised factories were working, with 506,941 spindles and 22,334 weaving looms. On October 15th, about 54 factories were in operation with 626,811 spindles and 29,981 looms on November 1st, 59 factories were working.

Cotton from Turkestan.

In the near future, when, with the establishment of roads for the passage of sleighs the delivery of peat and timber will be made possible, we may expect that many factories will function again. The chief administration of the textile industries finds it necessary to pay special attention to the activity of the finishing factories. Their work is mostly needed in view of the fact that the supply of ready-made goods amounted up to September 1st to 419,763,912 arshines. If we take into consideration that cotton from Turkestan has been coming in for some time (four routing cars with cotton arrived already, a few more are on their way), we may assume that the work of the cotton mills will develop in the near future and that the number of factories working will be increased.

The supply of cotton in Turkestan, from which the transport came, is estimated at 12,400 carloads, i.e., about 4,750,000 poods, from which about 5,149 have already been delivered to the railway depot. Raw cotton was bought to the amount of 4,981,500 poods and there remained about 4,500,000 poods. Owing to the decrease of the area under cultivation (it amounts now only to 50 thousand dessyatins) the cotton crop must bring 3,500,000 poods of cotton, if we estimate 70 poods of raw cotton from each dessyatina. Thus the total amount of raw cotton will yield 12,981,500 poods which will bring, after being cleaned, about 4,300,000 poods of cotton fibre. If we add this amount to the amount of cotton ready for shipment we shall have 9,050,000 poods of cotton

fibre, which will represent our cotton supply for the season of 1919-20.

This supply will be sufficient for the curtailed capacity of the cotton mills.

It is quite natural that the chief administration is not inclined to scatter supplies to all mills, but prefers to supply with material the best equipped mills which are furnished with fuel and have a sufficient number of workers and accommodation for them. This fact must be taken into consideration in working out a schedule for the distribution of the fuel supplies. It is quite natural that our commodity fund will be greatly increased if we pay the proper attention to the textile production.

The most important thing is to keep the best individual Russian factories of Moscow in running condition.

Owing to the difficult conditions which confronted textile production of late there is a considerable decrease in the productivity of labour. According to private information in the possession of the chief administration of the textile enterprises this decrease may be expressed, on the average, in the following numbers: for spinning factories, 27.1 per cent.; for weaving factories, 32.4 per cent.; for finishing, 32.7 per cent.; in comparison with the pre-War production. The shortage of the food for the workers made this decrease stronger (the bread supply reached the ration of 1½ lbs. for a person). Apart from the nationalised cotton mills there are 50 mills which are under the control of small arts and crafts industries of the main administrative body for textile enterprises; they receive their support from this administration. The majority of them are working.

Flax.

The flax factories are better situated than the cotton factories. On October 1st, of the 72 nationalised factories, 29 were working; they had 188,009 spindles and 8,465 looms. On November 1st the number of operating factories was increased to 54.

The supply of flax on the 1st of October was estimated as 5,646,958 poods. During the last year—from November, 1918, to October, 1919—the cotton mills received 3,206,877 poods of flax. After the nationalisation the work of flax production entered a new phase. On the one hand the factories began to receive better assorted flax than before—on the other many schemes and measures were outlined which aimed at clearing our flax industry of the chaotic conditions which prevailed hitherto.

The Scientific-technical Department of Textile Enterprises, together with the flax division are carrying on work tending to improve the method of flax cultivation and to find out the best way of utilising these resources of our country.

Hemp.

The conditions in hemp production are worse than in flax because supplies are more restricted. The biggest hemp enterprises (total number of which is 24) with the total amount of spindles and hooks—16,373—and with 1,576 machines and loom-frames, are under the control of the main administration. Only a few factories are equipped.

On October 1st the supply of hemp was 1,120,579 poods. The decrease of the cultivated area of hemp is becoming dangerous for the hemp industry; there may be a hemp famine. It is necessary to take proper measures in order to increase the cultivation of hemp.

On October 15th, 13 hemp factories, with 6,848 spindles and 624 looms were working.

Silk.

The lack of raw materials was most strongly felt in the silk factories. 49 factories have been nationalised. Of these 25 were working on October 15th.

The supply of raw material on September 1st was about 4,511 poods, 6,633 poods of cotton fibre and 732 of other materials. In addition there are 20,852 poods of raw materials in the warehouses of Moscow and on the Volgo; among these materials there are 13,852 poods of silk fibre, 1,364 of cocoon silk, 3,757 of weaving silk, 317 of fringe silk, etc., and 791 poods of cotton fibre.

Owing to shortage of supply the method of utilising the combing is gaining importance in silk production. This naturally leads to a more careful system of working over the silk rubbish.

As to fuel, the silk factories are more or less provided for, because they are small in size and are located in regions where it is comparatively easy to obtain fuel.

There are 34 nationalised knitting mills, with 56,606 machines working.

Wool.

The conditions of wool production are again closely connected with the conditions of fuel supply. In spite of the fact that this branch has been very much behind—lately—the factories were able to keep up their activity even with the scanty supply of material; the wool supply will be sufficient for the majority of them for the coming season.

On October 1st, the wool reserve of the factories was as follows: for thin cloth, 124,259 poods; for thick cloth, 180,283 poods; for crafts, 140,373 poods; various kinds of wool, 280,425 poods; total, 725,340 poods. The needs of the wool industry may also be met with short pieces, which were estimated on November 1st as 677,630 poods. The pieces which go to make up the so-called "artificial wool" are beginning to play an important part in the work of the wool mills; all these methods which have been used in the industry in Lodz are being gradually applied also to our industry.

The supply of wool cannot be increased from the outside; on the one hand, because there is no import of wool from foreign countries, on the other hand, because the number of sheep is greatly reduced in Russia and there is no possibility of taking the measures necessary to develop sheep-breeding.

The shortage of fuel is most strongly felt in the worsted mills. The heavy cloth mills are provided with fuel for the immediate future. The factories of the Moscow group manufacturing thin cloth are among the best-equipped in regard to fuel supply. On November 1st, from the 112 nationalised wool mills with 393,654 spindles and 20,156 looms only 36 were working; they had 109,184 spindles and 4,432 looms; on the 15th of October, 52 mills with 138,376 spindles and 5,710 looms were working. It is expected that many other mills will begin to operate in the near future.

The Russian wool industry is far behind in its equipment in comparison with that of the cotton industry. The lack of specialists with higher education in this line is strongly felt.

The stock of ready cloth and woollen goods was, on the 1st of September, 6,788,160 arshines. According to the estimate of the main administration of textile enterprises all the mills for making heavy cloth which may be put into operation in the coming six months, will be able to produce during this period 2,394,000 arshines. The rest of the mills of this group, which are in a worse condition, will be able to manufacture about 1,000,000 arshines when put into operation.

Twelve mills of fine cloth, well equipped, can manufacture in the coming six months, 2,620,000 arshines 16 mills less provided can put out 1,074,000 arshines and 13,800 poods of thread.

Among the 10 worsted and knitting mills of the better equipped type, we find 9 mills require 34,000 poods monthly.

Of the 23 worsted and warping mills, 16 are able to produce monthly 7,890,000 arshines if 8,430 looms are working.

According to the data of the chief administration there were on October 1st 77,733 thread machines.

Shortage of Skilled Workers.

In summarising the conditions of the textile industry, we must note that besides the difficulties which arise from the lack of fuel and supply, there is a great shortage of skilled workers; this may be explained by the drain of men to the Red Army and to the villages.

The dominating element of the factories at the present time is feminine; due to the lack of men they are obliged to apply the labour of women even in those branches of labour where the work of women had never before been utilised.

Lack of Houses.

The lack of living quarters for the workers and employees is also an important draw-back which is strongly felt in the development of the textile industry. In view of the fact that the demands of the Russian workers have increased in general, the absence of decent living quarters is felt very strongly by the textile workers; the lack of workers in the building industry makes it almost impossible to solve the housing problem. It is true, the hitherto filled dormitories are now being vacated, but there are still factories left which have bedrooms, which accommodate a few families; in almost every factory we find rooms where persons of both sexes are living together in such close quarters as would not be permissible under a normal state of affairs.

The most urgent problem now before us is the building up of working-men's colonies near every textile centre. The need of living quarters is causing friction among the employees and workers in spite of the fact that necessary measures have been taken in many places to clear up the misunderstandings among them. This prevents the establishment of more normal relations between the higher technical personnel and the workers in textile industries; this hinders the coming of a new epoch in the relation of the skilled textile workers to the working masses without the intervention of the capitalists.

The change in these relations came forward more clearly at the last conferences which were called by the main administrative body of the textile enterprises. These were: the All-Russian Conference of Mechanics, and the Conference of Group Administrators.

The winter of 1919, in spite of the newly-created difficulties in connection with the fuel crisis, will undoubtedly see the transmission of the textile industry to a more normal basis.

The present hard year facilitated the creation of many practical organisations in the majority of the mills. These organisations are under the control of simple working-men who were recently very far from the management of the biggest Russian enterprises. At the present time they have their apprenticeship behind them and can surely undertake the task which hitherto seemed to be beyond their power.

The year of management in the nationalised enterprises brought forward many new leaders, who have sufficient experience, gained through the most hard conditions of labour.

This experience acquired in this most difficult year will serve as a guarantee that in a more normal time these leaders will be able to perform the necessary work of production.

AT LAST!

"Programme of the Russian Communist Party."

Adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Party, held in Moscow, 18th to 23rd March, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION.

Mexicans Rebel Against Dictation of American Capitalists.

By LINN GALE (Of Mexico).

Mexico is having a revolution that bids fair to triumph, unseating Venustiano Carranza and seating Alvaro Obregon as President.

It is not a Social Revolution, yet it is a revolution of the masses against the attempt of Wall Street to force upon them a President they do not want—Ygnacio Bonillas, former ambassador to the United States.

It is a revolution in which the workers are almost a unit in supporting Obregon, and which, if the President-to-be is true to his promises, will at least give Mexico a mild form of Socialism. Yet it is a revolution in which professional generals, politicians, bandits and bourgeois are side by side with Radicals, and may easily rob the masses of the fruits of their sufferings if Obregon is not exceptionally strong and honest.

And it is a Revolution that even now Wall Street, with characteristic Machiavellian cunning, is trying to corrupt and subsidise by honeyed words and indirect bribes! American financial interests were originally for Bonillas. These interests have "flopped," because they think that by getting on the winning side, they can emasculate the revolution of any Radical tendencies or potentialities, and perhaps make Obregon their tool.

Whether Wall Street will succeed or not in its undertaking, is a matter of question. Time alone can tell. Radicals who are supporting Obregon say he will be independent of all financial interests when he gets in power—which is generally expected, since he has a great majority of the people on his side. Other Radicals assert that, no matter how good Obregon's intentions, he is so tangled up with certain American capitalists, generals and politicians of both countries that he will be unable to initiate real proletarian measures.

The story of the causes of the Sonora outbreak runs something like this:—

Some months ago, Carranza, having resisted American capitalists and especially the oil interests, for several years, concluded it was folly to continue butting his head against a stone wall, and decided to capitulate quietly. His plan was to do so secretly and thus stave off intervention. As is known, he made a temporary compromise on the oil tax, and it was undoubtedly intended to let the compromise stand permanently—the "temporary" clause merely being inserted so that he could still insist that he had not yielded in principle. He also made other concessions. At about that time "El Comunista de Mexico," official organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, was denied second class rates, though previously these had always been permitted to Socialist, Anarchist, and all other papers. Various similar acts indicated that a decided governmental reaction was setting in.

A bargain was made with Wall Street, so the story runs, and it was agreed that Bonillas should run for President of Mexico, Wall Street financing the campaign and Carranza using all possible government pressure in his behalf. Bonillas is a graduate of an American college, has an American wife, speaks English as fluently and correctly as Spanish, and is more Americanised than Mexicanised in his ways. He would naturally be very acceptable to Americans. He has a likable personality, and would not be a hard man to bargain with. Unlimited funds prodigal hand. Parades, lubricated with "pulque" and gold pieces, were organised throughout the country. Three newspapers were started in Mexico City to boost Bonillas, the streets were plastered with pictures and posters, and literature galore was distributed.

But Carranza had not counted on the popularity of Obregon and on the Mexican prejudice against a "gringo" candidate. The peons and workers generally were furious at the idea of making Bonillas head of the country. Obregon was a halo of military fame, being undoubtedly the ablest general in Mexico. He looked upon as one of the common people, and has had a reputation of something of a Radical. The Obregon campaigners cleverly played on the popular resentment against Bonillas, gathered into their fold all the malcontents and personal enemies of Carranza, and declared that Obregon would do what Carranza promised but failed to do—return the land to the peons. The popularity of Obregon grew into an irresistible wave of passion.

Carranza, getting desperate and afraid he could not carry out his contract with Wall Street, determined to elect Bonillas by fair means or foul. The Obregonistas, also getting desperate and foreseeing that they would stand scant chance in the election with all the official machinery in the hands of Carranza's men, began to make plans for revolution. When Carranza sent troops to the State of Sonora to frighten the people and make sure that they would vote for Bonillas, he overplayed his hand and lit the fuse for the explosion.

The Sonorans, in an outburst of rage, revolted, seceded from the Mexican Union, organised a new republic, and prepared to conquer the rest of the country. Admirers of Obregon, opponents of Carranza and his cabinet, politicians who were not in the favour of the present administration but thought they could feather their own nests under a new regime, most of the army men, the greater share of the labour unions, and many Radicals who looked to Obregon as a real proletarian leader, flocked to the

standard of revolt. It was easy to get the support of Villa, Pelaez, Felix, Diaz and the various rebel and bandit leaders. They all figured that they certainly would be better off under a different President than under Carranza, who had tried to crush them.

The uprising became general. Bonillas' chance of election was killed and buried, and Carranza not only found himself powerless to keep his promise to Wall Street, but even saw his seat of power slipping out from under him. His very life became in danger, and at the time of writing he has not been seen in public for some two weeks, while the national palace is guarded with unparalleled vigilance. The railroad to Vera Cruz is kept in order as never before, and everything is in readiness so that Carranza could take a train to the port and a steamer on the ocean in shortest time, if necessary.

Wall Street awoke to the fact that the jig was up and the scheme upset. Carranza had tried to turn his country over to the same interests that he had so long and stubbornly fought, but he couldn't do it. The people would not stand for it. Revolution had resulted—revolution which would sweep into power a man who had been known in the past as at least semi-Radical, and whose attitude now was a cause of suspense both to capitalists and Communists.

To avoid interference from American troops on the border, and from the three American gunboats of 500 sailors each, in Tampico Harbour, as well as the other armed vessels that have been sent by the United States into Mexican harbours, Governor Adolfo de la Huerta, of Sonora, "provisional President of Mexico," and General Plutarco Elias Calles, head of military operations in Sonora, issued reassuring statements about respect for foreign property rights. Wall Street, although having little faith in these overtures, saw that it had started something that could not be stopped, and decided to make the best of it.

While some American business interests are frankly afraid of Obregon, others are trying to be friendly, and he and his associates are in turn showing a friendly spirit. That the Sonorans are getting firearms from the United States is no doubt true, and that General Alvarado is trying to cultivate amicable relations with interests in New York, Washington, and other cities, is certain. But Alvarado is more of a politician than Obregon, so it remains to be seen whether Obregon will consent to all the bargains that the former has made.

Carranza and Bonillas have been discarded like broken toys by American capitalism. They are useless now. The revolution is sweeping everything before it. Unless the almost impossible happens, the Carranza Government has but a few weeks, or at the most but a few months, of power ahead of it.

The imperialists of the north, realising the utter failure of their scheme, of indirect intervention, are wasting no more time with those who will unquestionably be the losers. They are trying to buy up the expected winners.

Diaz reigned for 30 years as an agent of American imperialism. Carranza, after resisting until near the close of his administration, yielded—when it was too late. Will Obregon, after he gains the presidential chair, yield also?

If he does, the purposes of the interventionists, at first sought through Bonillas, will be attained through his successful opponent.

If he defies Wall Street, armed intervention and war will sooner or later follow, unless the solidarity of the workers of the United States thwarts it.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE CZECHO-SLOVAK REPUBLIC.

The Czecho-Slovak Republic has arisen from the struggle between the Czech bourgeoisie and the German bourgeoisie, which formed the ruling class in old Austria-Hungary under the Hapsburg rule.

On October 28th, when the Austrian power broke down, the Czecho-Slovak bourgeois republic was founded.

The Czech workers and Social Democrats overwhelmed by the idea of national freedom, entered the coalition government, which was dominated by capitalist imperialist Krama, Klocac and Company.

The German Social Democrats of Hungary, led by Seliger and Cermate, pinned their faith to the Second International, declaring that it would secure the self-government of the German people with the Czech republic.

Two years of Capitalist-Social-Patriotic Government have opened the eyes of the Hungarian workers, and there is now a strong revolutionary movement in the Czecho-Slovak Republic. On January 11th the revolutionary elements of the Czech Socialists held a conference and united to form a Communist Left Wing of the Czech Socialist Party, declaring themselves for Sovietism and affiliation to the Third International, and demanding the withdrawal of the Socialist Ministers from the Government.

In the elections to the first Czech Parliament, 45 per cent. of the votes were cast for Socialist candidates. The Left Wing participated in the elections, but only for revolutionary struggle.

The centre of the Communist movement of Czecho-Slovakia is Kladno, near Prague, where *Svoboda*, the

organ of the Communist wing, is published. This paper is edited by Comrade Hula.

The revolutionaries amongst the German Socialists of Hungary have also united, and on Sunday, May 9th, they held a conference at Reichenberg. Comrade Hula took the greetings of the Czech Communists to that conference, and the conference declared for the immediate establishment of Workers' Councils and affiliation to the Third International, whilst every form of coalition with capitalist politicians was condemned.

BRITISH PRISONERS OF THE CLASS WAR.

W.S.F. Members Arrested.

The arrest of Comrade Harold Burgess has been followed by a number of other arrests. The police seem to be bent on coercing the Communists, and the W.S.F. appears to have been specially singled out for their attention. Within eight days our various offices suffered six raids.

Mord Wilgus in Hyde Park.

On Monday, May 24th, Comrade Mord Wilgus, an American who has recently come to this country and has joined the W.S.F., was arrested whilst speaking in Hyde Park, and taken to prison, bail being refused. When brought into Court next morning he was charged with "using abusive language likely to cause a breach of the peace."

The policeman who arrested him alleged, in support of the charge, that Comrade Wilgus had said:

"There is John Lewis, the greatest of all scoundrels, who turned 400 men and women out of work so that he may live in luxury. . . . This afternoon I saw a carriage with two bourgeois sitting in it, drawn by two horses. Is not one horse sufficient? And, think of it, the carriage and the clothes they wore were made in the sweat of the workers. Why don't we use direct action?"

Comrade Wilgus denies that he used these words. He declares that he said:

"There is John Lewis, the venerable old gentleman who turned 400 men and women out of employment because he refuses to recognise the fundamental right of any man to join a trade union in order to safeguard his livelihood. . . . This afternoon I saw two ladies driven in a carriage on the seat of which were two footmen. Now, the carriage and the clothes the ladies wore were made by the sweat of the workers."

Comrade Wilgus said that he did not mention direct action at all at that stage, but if he had done so, can it seriously be said that the Government shall send people to prison for such expressions of opinion? If people are to be punished for such words, the capitalist class must indeed be terrified of the growing intelligence of the workers and must be really afraid that the capitalist system is in danger. Comrade Wilgus is an American citizen, and ever since his ship left London he has been reporting to the American Consul in order to get a ship to take him back to the United States.

After making inquiries of a policeman he was told that having been in England more than a month he must register as an alien. He went to the police station near where he lived and was sent to another police station. From there he was sent to the Docks, but found the office closed. This was a day or two before our Comrade's arrest. Bail was refused to Comrade Wilgus, and he was kept in Brixton Prison till Tuesday, 1st June.

Lillian Thring and Bertram Colonna Arrested.

On May 26th a "Hands Off Russia" meeting was held outside the Polish Embassy in Grosvenor Square. Afterwards a crowd of 2,000 people marched to Hyde Park, singing the "Red Flag." Colonna was suddenly arrested near the Marble Arch and for doing nothing but marching with the rest he was afterwards sent to prison for six weeks' hard labour.

Lillian Thring was also arrested and taken to the police station by the police and ten soldiers. She was fined £2, and chose to go to prison rather than pay, but a comrade paid her fine.

THE SOVIET CREAMERIES OF COUNTY LIMERICK.

The Knocklong Soviet Creameries have come to an end, but only for the time being; they will rise again. After retaining the control of the Manager's office for 6½ days and complete control of the 13 creameries for three days, the workers relinquished the establishments with reluctance, their demand, which had been increased during the strike, being conceded. During the brief period of control, the workers had sold their butter and they would have been able to pay the wages. These, however, were paid by the employers, both for the one day strike and the period of workers' control.

Control was temporarily handed back to the employers, because it was felt that the surrounding farmers would not have continued dealing with the workers after their demands had been conceded, and that to be successfully maintained, workers' control must have a more extensive basis. The Creameries' workers have pledged themselves to reassume control as soon as a favourable opportunity arises to do so, in conjunction with other workers.

Therefore be ready to send in your orders for butter as soon as the news arrives that the Soviet creameries are again in being.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

Mr. Galliford's Lectures.

Two columns of the Rhondda "Leader" have this week been devoted to an account of a lecture on "Bolshevism," given by a Mr. Galliford at the Ton Pentre Conservative Club. The subject matter of his address I do not propose to deal with, because a man who can talk of nationalisation by the Bolsheviks is so obviously talking of matters he does not understand, that it becomes unnecessary to repudiate or criticise his remarks. Now, although our friend Galliford claims to be a schoolmaster lately returned from Russia, he has not the necessary moral courage to come and face a public audience wherein there are likely to be people who are sufficiently sober and intelligent to be able to expose the discrepancies in his statements. Rather, he prefers to visit a club where only members are allowed to be present and the general conduct of which I have previously exposed.

The Rhondda "Leader" and the Coal Owners.

Then a paper like the Rhondda "Leader" comes out with glaring headlines and endeavours to give the impression that a wonderful address has been given to a wonderful audience. If Dame Rumour speaks correctly, coal-owners with large interests in the Rhondda have recently acquired controlling interests in the Rhondda "Leader," and this should be a sufficient explanation of the matters herein described. With the passing of every Welsh paper into the direct control of the Welsh coal-owners, Comrades should see to it that no opportunity is lost of spreading the truth by increasing the circulation of papers with a Communist policy.

Communist Unity.

Every comrade must be sorry at the delay in forming a United Communist Party. All comrades in Wales seem to be agreed upon the necessity of such a Party. With the exception of local parties scattered, and in a great many cases ignorant of each other's existence, there is in Wales only one organisation of considerable size that has a Communist outlook. I refer to the South Wales Unofficial Reform Committee. As an enthusiastic supporter of that organisation, I should be pleased to see a move made by it towards linking up with the movement that has as its objective the formation of a Communist Party. Up to the present no move has been made to link up, yet there can be no doubt that an overwhelming majority of the rank and file Communists of Wales desire to link up with such a Party.

To exploit a revolutionary situation it will be necessary for every Communist in the country to be in touch with an organisation, which even though it cannot direct as to details, shall advise as to the general principles and tactics to be adopted to meet the various situation that will arise. The South Wales movement, therefore, cannot afford to be out of touch with the movement in other areas. True, it may be that in no other part of the country is to be found a movement with the controlling power that the South Wales comrades have, but just as surely as a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, so a revolutionary movement needs that all its component parts shall be strengthened and co-ordinated.

May I therefore appeal, on behalf of those comrades whose Socialism is not parochial, for the summoning of a conference at an early date so that South Wales can take its place in the Revolutionary march forward of British Communists.

Ferndale Miners and Housing Bonds.

The Ferndale lodge, gratified with the results of the Anti-Housing Bond agitation it undertook locally, is not content to rest upon their laurels; but now desire to enlist the full support of all the lodges in the Rhondda area. To this end the Ferndale comrades have had inserted upon the monthly agenda of the Rhondda No. 1 District of the S.W.M.F. the following motion:—

"That this District instructs its representatives on the Rhondda Urban District Council to oppose the system of Housing Bonds, and demands that the whole financial responsibility shall be placed on the profits of the industry."

Sankey Report and Housing.

Readers will remember that Justice Sankey in his report urged that one penny per ton of the selling price of coal should be utilised for the provision of houses for miners. The Labour Councillors of the Rhondda were not prepared to go as far as Sankey, but the Ferndale Lodge seems likely to take them farther.

Treorchy and a Rent Strike.

Great dissatisfaction has been expressed with the new Rent Act, and action will undoubtedly be taken shortly in the Rhondda. At Treorchy the demand is for mass meetings to organise resistance. The rent strike policy is only likely to be partly adopted, the general opinion being that refusal to pay increased rent will be more loyally adopted by the workers than refusing to pay any rent at all. Further, it is believed that the S.W.M.F. can be used to support the former policy. In the event of action being taken against any individual or individuals, the whole weight of the Federation machinery should be brought to bear upon the responsible authorities. The situation is ripe and the developments are likely to be extremely interesting.

The Ocean Company's Dodge.

The Ocean Coal Company have already begun to invite some of their employees to become shareholders. As was pointed out a few weeks ago, the directors determined to raise new capital, a certain portion

of which was to be offered to selected employees. In continuance of this policy, the officials—that is, Managers, Overseers, Firemen and others—have this week been offered an opportunity of investing any amount, not in excess of a year's salary, in the new issue of shares. To this end the Company is prepared to loan the desired amount and charge 5 per cent. for so doing. In the event of more than this amount being payable on the shares, the difference will be paid to the shareholder. A definitely fixed amount of money is to be deducted regularly from the wages of the investing person to repay the loan. It is pleasing to know that, realising that the coal-owners are merely endeavouring to chain them more severely to their work, the officials are not investing their money with the liberality the coal-owners desired.

VIENNA RELIEF FUND.

By ROBERT SELKIRK.

The discussions at present raging among the workers, over the question of contributing to the Vienna Relief Fund, is calculated to bring sharply to earth, those persons who live in an imaginary heaven, which they believe is soon to materialise, and which is founded on the belief in the inevitable, gradual progress of mankind, because of "the great, good, generous heart of the masses," and "the lessons which they allege the workers have learned from the war."

As a matter of fact, the sentiments expressed by those taking part in the discussions, and particularly by those persons who argue against contributing to the "Fund," are so capitalistic as to bring the sentimental idealist, not from heaven to earth, but from heaven to hell. Children are suffering agonising tortures from which the British workers believe a "Fund" would save the children, but the mass of the workers refuse to contribute a shilling to the "Fund" because "Their fathers fought against us"; because "We are not going to feed our enemies"; and because "They caused us to suffer." If one may examine these mass statements, even with a very biased and sentimental vision, without discovering even the faintest trace of generosity, of capacity to learn, or of susceptibility to righteous appeals.

Indeed, the catch-phrases quoted show the workers who use them, to be sillier than the man who thrashed a calf because a bull had chased him the day before; as desirous of vengeance as the mythical Jehovah, who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, as devoid of the reasoning faculty as the man who said: "The moon is of more service to Man, with his unscientifically constructed optical organs, than the sun, because the moon illuminates the surface of the earth's crust when it is dark," and as devoid of imagination as the capitalist who sees no further than the next dividend day of the company in which he holds shares. In these discussions is revealed the generous heart of the masses which allows a dastardly governing clique to blockade whole nations, and to starve to death the populations of continents. We find there still the spirit which animated the workers who protested against their children being freed from slavery in the mines and factories, because "What was good enough for me is good enough for mine."

A lesson the workers certainly have not learnt from the last war is that a carefully conducted avalanche of "authentic" accounts of atrocities swamping the sidishows in the profiteers' press would make British workers enthusiastic "gun-food" to further the schemes of Austrian financiers, and to fight alongside the Austrian workers against the French or Italian workers. The proletariat has not learnt that the capitalist class has fought against the workers, has caused the workers to suffer hellish torment, whilst the workers continue producing for their enemies, the capitalists. Against their supposed enemies the workers are very bitter. They feel bitter towards the Austrians, because it is alleged that some of the Austrians ill-treated British prisoners who were in their custody. The workers display little or no bitterness towards the profiteers, who are ill-treating British men, women and children.

The misplaced bitterness of the ex-soldier would be turned in a different direction if he possessed the qualities which the "sentimental idealists" attribute to him.

GALICIANS FIGHTING FOR THE SOVIETS.

Last summer the Galician Ukrainian army was driven away from Galicia by the Polish army, sent from France, equipped by the Entente and officered by the French officers. The Galician-Ukrainian army was composed of young men of the last levy and was trained by Ukrainian-Galician officers who had passed through Austrian military schools and represented a force to be reckoned with. It was given by France to Poland for strengthening Poland against Germany, but the Galician soldiers were sympathisers with the workers' revolution and retreated to the Eastern Ukraine, where they hoped to obtain help against the Polish reactionaries.

The Galician Provisional Government under the pressure of the workers had in January, 1919, proclaimed a reunion of Galicia with the Greater Ukraine, and that act was solemnised in Kiev on 21st January, 1919. The Ukrainian Galician middle-class democrats were afraid of the revolution in the Greater Ukraine, and tried to avoid the proclamation of union, but the peasants and the workers placed all their hopes upon the reunion with the revolutionary masses of the Ukraine and have no taste for the special Galician State protected by the Entente, of which the Galician "democrats" were dreaming.

When the Polish invasion succeeded, the Galicians retreated on the other side of the Zbruch river, and from that date they were cut off from their country, and anyone who got back when not shot down was interned or imprisoned. Fifty thousand men were thus taken prisoner, many of whom have since died. At Brest alone, out of 6,000 prisoners, 2,500 have died.

Exodus to the Greater Ukraine.

The struggle in Galicia appears on a superficial view to be national, but in essential details and at heart, it is, and always has been, a class struggle between the Ukrainian small holders and farm labourers and the Polish landed and capitalist class.

The Galician Ukrainian Army levied from the workers and peasants was controlled by "democratic" officers. Therefore, when in the Greater Ukraine, it fought against the Ukrainian and Russian Red Army and for Petlura and the Social-Patriotic Socialists, the Galician Ukrainian Army soon found itself face to face with the Army of Denikin, Britain's ally.

The whole of the Ukraine (Bolshevist and Nationalist included) was blockaded by Denikin and the Allies. The majority of the Galician soldiers fell victims to typhus, and after a few months fighting against Denikin, part of them, led by their officers, surrendered to the Russian reactionaries who treated them better than they did the Reds. The Galicians would have preferred, even then, to go to the Red army. They were not then fighting with the Reds and were not in direct touch with them. Nevertheless, part of the Galicians found the way to the Bolsheviks and were incorporated in the Red Army. In the eighth Russian Soviet congress these Galicians were represented by one of their number (Stjack, by name).

The Revolutionary Struggle.

During the last years of the Revolution the Galicians took a very active part in the political struggle in the Ukraine. They speak the same language as the Ukrainians in Volhynia, therefore at Kiev they felt quite as though they were in their own country. A number of them were still, however, strongly nationalistic, and worked equally against the Russian reactionaries, the Russian Communists, and the Polish magnates. But their views changed when the Proletarian revolution came, and the Ukrainian Nationalists plunged into the fight against the Ukrainian Bolsheviks and Borotbists.

Then Galician Socialists organised the Galician Communist Party and started their work amongst the Galician soldiers. The Borotbists (formerly Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries of the Left) had a strong influence in the ranks of the Galician "Striltsy" (Riflemen), a circumstance that helped greatly in the remodeling of the spirit of the Ukrainians from over the once-Austrian boundary. The peasants from "Over-Carpathia," Bukovina and Galicia began to understand what Communism was and to find it to their taste.

The Propaganda Work.

After the defeat of Denikin's Army, all Galician soldiers came into immediate contact with the Red Army, and soon began to organise into Red Regiments. Some of the officers were removed as reactionaries, and these Galician regiments formed the Red Ukrainian Galician Army, called the *Chuha*, or *Cherwona Ukrainshka Halitska Armia*. In every regiment for propaganda work circles have been organised, and when and where possible, lectures are read to the soldiers. The new Commander in Chief, Colonel Witoshinsky, is a good organiser, and has made the discipline in the "Chuha" yet higher than it was before, though Galicians everywhere have shown themselves to be well disciplined soldiers. This army now takes part against the Reactionary Polish White Armies of Petlura and Piesudsky in Volhynia and Padolia.

As there are two Communist parties in the Ukraine two parties work in the ranks of the "Chuha": the Galician Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Carpathian Regional Organisation of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Borotbists). The latter party seems to have greater influence in the Ukraine, but the Ukrainian Bolsheviks are stronger by the preferential support of the Russian Bolsheviks. The Borotbists, however, have stronger organisations in Volhynia, where but lately the Poles have executed nine Borotbists and condemned five to from five to ten years' imprisonment, with hard labour. Both parties penetrate the Red Galician Army with their propaganda, and are spreading Communist ideas amongst the soldiers and labouring masses of Galicia. The following Galician Communist papers appear in Kiev, Vinnitsa and elsewhere: "Perelom," the organ of the "Chuha"; "Striletska Wistka," organ of the first corps of the "Chuha"; "Cherwony Strilets"; "Komunist Prikarpatia," organ of the Bolsheviks; "Nad Dnistriansky Komunist," organ of the Borotbists for Galicia, Bukovina and Hungarian Ukraine; and in Kiev "Halitsky Komunist" (Galician Community).

GREGORY PIDDUBNY.

A LONDON BUILDING GUILD.

A Building Guild for London is being organised. Its promoters state that its "primary and immediate object is to build houses for the nation at the lowest possible cost." Such expedients do not minimise the need for the overthrow of the capitalist system. The workers in the Building Guild getting the standard rates of pay will suffer from high prices like other workers. They will be victims of the general capitalist environment.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

I am writing this in a theatre queue. And it is as good a place as any. There are worse places. Not that there is anything to be ashamed of in being caught like this. No. It is true the theatre was once considered an immoral place and a sort of *annexe* to the Kingdom of Downstairs. But those days are gone, and old Captain Burn—the minions-of-the-Scarlet-Virgin is very much dead.

The theatre now-a-days is a pretty fair place to go to. It is perhaps almost as interesting as a game of bowls, though not so exciting. My uncle Fitzarthur goes there—but he goes in the stalls, while I have to be content with the gallery.

I am not very much in love with the gallery. It is about as comfortable as sitting on a chair with tints in it. I have been in galleries where the fellow behind me has used his knees as a sort of boring machine all through the seventeen years supposed to elapse between the first and last acts. But then I am not a clever capitalist like my Uncle Fitzarthur, so I have to be content with the gallery.

I can see Uncle Fitz. down there. The light catches on his bald spot and sort of semaphore signals to me that he is thinking of me up there. I guess the gallery must be full of proletarians like me who have Uncle Fitzies down in the stalls. There are bald spots all nice and shiny like billiard balls or waxed dancing floors. The flies must have a good time on these skating rinks. That's where they go in the winter time.

Anyway, such a lot of bald spots in the stalls. You know, Henry, that worry makes

the hair just disgusted with life, and it comes out in big bunches. That proves the capitalists must have a lot of worry over you and me, Henry. None but capitalists can afford the stalls, and half of them are bald, so it sort of proves the bald statement of fact that they do such a terrific amount of work with their heads.

Just have a look round the gallery and you don't see a bald spot. No. The proletarians don't have to worry. They just do the work found them by the kind capitalists, and get paid for it: whilst the capitalist has just to scheme and worry and use the watering-can in a vain effort to keep his baldness off. I felt sorry for Uncle Fitz. down there.

But I was not so sorry when someone got up suddenly behind me and nearly bashed my face against the iron piping running round the edge of the gallery. This is to keep the proletarians from committing suicide by falling into the stalls. It might hurt the bald spots down there. There is no iron piping to protect the dress circle from taking a jump, however. That is because the dress circle is not proletarian, and so "knows better." Also they don't have the man behind them digging a channel tunnel into their backs. They sit on a kind of endless Siamese-twin kind of a chair: or several chairs glued together at the sides, if you get me. So of course they have no inducement to suicide.

The stalls are much better off, of course. Uncle Fitzie does not believe in the "class-war." He told me it was utter rubbish and put into the heads of the workers by would-be Bolsheviki who have an axe to grind.

There are no such things as classes, he says: but every man has his proper station, which he made for himself. If a man wants to get on, let him get on by fair means, says Uncle Fitz. He is a clever capitalist, you know, and buys cheap and sells dear: he calls it legitimate profit and the brains of ability—no, I mean the wages of ability. I get mixed. You see I am not so clever as Uncle Fitzarthur.

I wish I had brains and ability: then I would be sitting in the stalls. Just come in late, you know, with my seat ready waiting for me. I'd be close enough to give that jolly nice girl, the third counting from the left, the tip. Of course, Uncle Fitz. is married, but he always believes in a bit of sport. The British are the greatest sportsmen in the world: they are vastly different to Bolsheviki, who nationalise their women. Uncle Fitz. says thank the Lord the British are too much of sportsmen to let Bolshevism plant its foot in Britain. They reverence their women too much. He told me this in Piccadilly, you know; that's how I remembered it.

But, hush, here goes the lights out and up with the curtain.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Rank and File Movement.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

A very interesting point will be raised through the appeal of the South London Cab Branch against the decision of the scrutineers who disqualified a member of our union from taking his seat on the Executive Council, because his Branch had been guilty of circularising Branches on his behalf.

They point out with much show of reason that no member should be penalised for breaking a rule which he has never seen (and what is more, which has never been sanctioned by the membership), the first copy of the new rule book being received by the Branch after the election had taken place.

The rule under which he was disqualified reads as follows: "No circular shall be issued by or on behalf of any nominee or other person seeking office in this Union."

The amendment down for discussion at this A.D.M. reads as follows: "But each candidate shall have the right to publish a statement not exceeding 500 words in the RECORD, to be specially enlarged for this purpose. This to apply to all candidates for E.C. honours, and to all candidates for the post of Organiser and for those of the Chief Officials."

As matters stand at present any candidate is absolutely debarred from getting his views or his platform in front of the membership, except at a few local Branches near where he happens to reside. This means that the candidate on whose behalf the most efficient wire-pulling is put into operation, is certain of election, especially with the vote national as it is at present. Fancy Birmingham Trammen voting 3000 strong in the election of the two London Bus representatives on the Executive. Probably no Birmingham Tramman has ever seen a London Busman in his life, and how are they to determine the worth of the respective candidates they vote for, passes comprehension. Yet that is actually how the last election was carried out.

The amendment is very satisfactory, as it prevents indiscriminate electioneering, and also it definitely pins a man down to a platform which he states when he goes to the poll.

A similar rule throughout the Labour Movement, and indeed throughout the whole political field, would do away with the columns and columns of "dope" that always appear when anything political is about.

Another very interesting inquiry at the A.D.M. is that tabled by the Croydon Lodge as to why the General Secretary sent for the Police on the 27th January, 1920, when a deputation arrived at head office to protest against a certain delegate taking his seat round the board. Considering this delegate had transferred to three branches within eight days in order to secure nomination, the deputation certainly had something to talk about, but the calling in of a Police Sergeant and four burly police-constables from the nearest station to look after a matter of eighteen or so very responsible and respected members of the Society—each and all nominated by their respective lodges—is certainly Gilbertian.

Fancy calling in the capitalist forces of Law and Order to protect officials against their own members?

Even had these members meant to riot there might possibly have been some justification;—in point of fact, the members in question were among the staunchest and most loyal and peaceful members of the Union. At this rate the A.D.M. itself should require about sixteen Police Sergeants and sixty-four police constables to protect it in the interests of Law and Order against itself. Excellent.

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THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and the substitution of a Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, June 4th. Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. C. L'Estrange Malone, M.P. Chair: Melvina Walker.

Saturday, June 5th. The Grove, Hammersmith, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

7 p.m. Minnie Birch, Janet Grove, Melvina Walker. Sunday, June 6th, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. M. Barnett, Melvina Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. David Ramsay, Melvina Walker.

Tuesday, June 8th, Beckton Road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara, Melvina Walker.

Friday, June 4th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Bishop, B. Colonna and others. Chair: F. Tyler.

St. Michael's Church, St. Leonard's Rd., Poplar, 7.30 p.m. M. Barnett, Melvina Walker.

Saturday June 12th. Meetings in Greenwich.

INDOOR.

Friday, June 4th. Camberwell Club and Institute, 16, Peckham Road (see advertisement), 7.30 p.m.

Friday, June 4th and 11th. 400, Old Ford Road, 7—10 p.m. Dancing.

Monday, June 7th, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. W.S.F. Educational Class.

Thursday, June 10th, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, June 6th, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, June 10th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

8.30 WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, June 8th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Sweet.

HANDS OFF GERMANY COMMITTEE.

Saturday, June 5th. Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 7.30 p.m. Colonna, Rosenberg, Cohen.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

May be obtained both wholesale and retail from A. CARFORD, 183, West Street, Sheffield 3s. per quire.

STONEBRIDGE W.S.F.

Our new premises at 91, MILTON AVENUE, STONEBRIDGE, were opened on June 2nd, and several members were enrolled.

GEORGE DOWNS, Hon. Sec. (pro. tem.)

W.S.F. PUBLIC MEETING

IN THE

Camberwell Labour Club and Institute,

16, PECKHAM ROAD.

Near Camberwell Green.

On Friday, June 4th, at 7.30 p.m.

Doors Open at 7 p.m.

Chair: NORAH SMYTH.

Speakers:

TOM BARKER

On "The Position of the I.W.W."

SYLVIA PANKHURST and others.

Admission Free.

Silver Collection.

USEFUL FOR 'HANDS OFF RUSSIA' PROPAGANDA.

New Pamphlet.

"Lloyd George Takes the Mask Off" by SYLVIA PANKHURST. Price 1½d., from W.S.F., 400 Old Ford Rd., London, E.3.

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Splendid portraits of LENIN on card, 7½ inches by 11 inches. Price 1s. 6d. each; 15s. 6d. a dozen.

The "BOLSHEVIK" Post Card Series, 6 for 4½d., and Photographs of KARL LIEBNECHT and ROSA LUXEMBURG, 2d. each, from W.S.F., 400, Old Ford Road.

THE BELLS HILL COMMUNIST GROUP, has published a fine Communist pamphlet for distribution amongst the workers. Copies may be obtained from the Secretary, James Hunter, 520, Main Street, Bells Hill.

No Student of ECONOMICS should miss the

PLEBS

Symposium on the HIGH COST OF LIVING.

Contributions by HERMAN CAHN, MARY MARCY, PHILIP SNOWDEN, BERNARD SHAW, PROF. PIGON, JOHN BARR. Other Articles by R. W. POSTGATE, WALTON NEWBOLD, MARK STARR. From all Labour Bookstalls, 3d., or 4d. postpaid from PLEBS, 11a, Penywern Road, Earls Court, S.W.5.