

Workers' Dreadnought



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

[Special to the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.]

The Hungarian working class movement was trampled under foot by the White Terror. It is now living through a period of self-criticism, and is collecting its forces for a fresh revolutionary effort. The continuance of the Revolution is assured by the continuance of the counter-revolution. As a result of the increasing fury of the White Terror, and also of the psychological effects of its own disorganisation, the revolutionary sentiment of the workers is manifesting itself in a sort of Christian resignation. In thus, so to speak, waiting for a gospel message, the revolutionary-minded resemble the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats only in their failure to act. The revolutionary will is widespread among the masses; it is only kept in restraint by the impossibility of organising for revolution at present.



The Working Class under Capitalist Government

As the future will reveal, the four and a half months Proletarian Dictatorship in Hungary deserves the solid support of the international proletariat. It deserves support not merely on account of its international significance—it was a useful and devoted ally of the Russian Federal Socialist Republic—not merely on account of the work it accomplished in the realm of Socialist economic organisation (and especially agricultural organisation); but also for the definite revolutionary work it performed, from which the Hungarian proletariat and the proletariat of the whole world will very shortly benefit.

The Gallows spring up like Forests.

Great as the number of victims of the White Terror, and the sufferings endured by the Hungarian proletariat have been, it is, nevertheless, certain that the great masses of the proletariat of other countries will not be won over to the Dictatorship and to Socialism, without a cost at least as great as that paid by the Hungarian working class, whom a bitter experience has cured of all sentimentality. Even while the gallows still spring up like forests, and the bloody hand of the White Terror still casts its shadow on the land, we, standing on the threshold of a new struggle, and drawing our lessons from the old, can assert, with confidence, that we were completely justified when we seized possession of power, however great the price we paid. Only by this swift and determined act could we overcome the greatest obstacles in the path of the Revolution, namely, the immaturity of the workers for the Social Revolution and the organised and ideological expression of this immaturity, the Social Democratic Party.

Hungarian Workers prepare for another Revolution.

The task of overcoming the immaturity of the workers has been accomplished by the Dictatorship and subsequent White Terror. Cherishing the memory of its great martyrs, backed by a revolutionary past and rich revolutionary experience, the Hungarian working class is now preparing itself for the new struggle.

The Hungarian White Terror has assumed dimensions surpassing all the horrors of the Finnish White Terror.

The Trade Union Traitors.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was due at first to the joint, and subsequently to the separate efforts of the Social Democratic Party, the trade union bureaucrats, the militarists and the higher State bureaucrats.

The Trade Unionist Government formed, after the fall of the Dictatorship, whose President, the Social Democratic leader, Peidl, had withdrawn himself from revolutionary activity immediately the Dictatorship was declared, did not once attempt throughout the three and a half days of its existence to unite itself with the Trade Unions. Its one concern was to disarm the workers and to annul the decrees is-

sued by the Soviet Government. In this work it was supported by the militarists, the Brachialgewalt and the bureaucracy. Even under the Social Democratic régime of the Peidl Government there began a persecution of the Communists who had not fled or hidden themselves. The Government flung into prison Otto Korvin, one of the noblest figures in the proletarian revolution and one of the founders of the Hungarian Communist Party, and the railwayman, Franz Janczic (who is now menaced with the same fate as Korvin at the hand of the Whites). This was under the Social Democratic Prime Minister, Julius Peidl, and the Social Democratic Home Secretary, Karl Payer.

But the militarists, the Brachialgewalt* and the bureaucracy wished to take the control of the White Terror into their own hands, and very soon the Trade Unionist Government, deprived of all power, became their mere tools.

Since then the White Terror has frequently changed its outward shape: it formed several coalition governments, in which the Social Democrats did or did not participate, it adopted parliamentarism, it re-established legalism. Nevertheless, the masters of the White Terror are to this very day independent of every class in society, the bourgeoisie included.

The Counter-Revolution defends Private Property.

The reason for the continued independence of the dictatorship exercised by the militarists, bureaucrats and the Brachialgewalt, lies in the necessity felt by all sections of the possessing class to maintain the counter-revolution in defence of private property.

The White Terror is not only directed against the workers, but also against the capitalists; its policy is distinctly anti-industrial. Nevertheless it receives the support of those interested in the capitalist form of private property—bankers and the representatives of large industry—because it is the protector of private property in general—as an institution—against the proletarian revolution.

Formerly the supporters of the White Terror were the small bourgeoisie of the towns, and the farmers and large estate owners. The interests of these two elements cannot be permanently reconciled, because the one is essentially a consumer, and the latter a producer. In fact, the small bourgeoisie of the towns is gradually slipping into the background, and is, consequently, losing what little control it ever possessed over the operators of the White Terror.

Parallel with the retreat into the background of the petty bourgeoisie comes a similar retreat of the farmers. The large estate-owning class, on account of the economic decay of the country, is re-assuming a feudal character, and is ever more successfully driving the farming class out of its path.

This further restricts the social groups which actively support the White Terror, for it separates from them the land-hungry, small land-owning peasant class, which formerly constituted a solid political block, but is now being wholly stripped of its delusions concerning the land reform which was promised. Opposed to the industrial and agricultural proletariat the possessing classes stand solidly behind the military dictatorship. Even the bourgeois Jews support the White Terror, although they are prevented from participation in the power of government, a prohibition which they meet with heavy heart, because in Hungary protection of private property is only possible in a terroristic form. The social background to the independent, military and bureaucratic dictatorship is becoming ever more restricted. The economic ruin of the country is betrayed in an almost unbelievable decline in the supply of foodstuffs and other necessities of life. In the towns the bread ration is most uncertain. The bureaucracy and Brachialgewalt are seeking to safeguard their parasitic existence by political means, agencies and weapons, as well as by the merciless White Terror. One of the political agencies they employ is "Hungarian Socialism," which expresses itself in propaganda in support of so-called territorial integrity and in bellicose threats against neighbouring States. They also use anti-Semitism and frequent pogroms. They create illusions concerning Hungary's international significance as an anti-Bolshevist State, and declare that if Hungary will ally herself with Poland against Bolshevism, this will procure her a more favourable peace, or, at least, a revision of the Peace Terms.

* The Brachialgewalt is the military force created by Horthy to supplement the police and gendarmerie. It is an integral part of the entire White Guard, and is only second to the several isolated Terrorist detachments in its extreme brutality.

(To be continued.)

HOUSING SCANDAL.

The acute shortage of houses is causing untold hardship; families are huddled together against their will, unable to leave the most uncomfortable surroundings, because there is, literally, nowhere else to go. People are fighting for house-room. A case in point is that of Mrs. H— of Old Ford Road, Bow, London, E. There was a fire in the house where she lived, and as she had nowhere to go, the X's, who lived next door, offered to let her have a room there. Mrs. X was expecting a baby, and Mrs. H. left her work at the clothing factory where she was employed, for a fortnight, in order to nurse Mrs. X during her confinement.

On January 31st, the X's having decided that they wanted the room occupied by Mrs. H., an ejectment order, granted on the ground that the X's, who occupied four rooms were overcrowded, was served on Mrs. H. Her husband was dangerously ill at the time, with pneumonia and pleurisy. Mrs. H. went in great distress to the Court, and the magistrate agreed to postpone the ejectment for 21 days. Mrs. H. had paid her rent regularly, and the magistrate advised her to continue offering it, saying that hers was a sad case, but he did not refuse to allow the ejectment. Mrs. H. saw the Police Court Missionary, who said it was now too late to appeal, and would cost £100.

On Thursday, April 13th, the landlord called in the police to turn out Mrs. H. Her husband was still unfit to be moved. The neighbours all sympathised with Mrs. H., and one of them took in Mr. H.

The police refused to carry out the belongings of Mrs. H. and told the landlord he must himself remove them. He flung sheets, blankets, and furniture down the stairs, and the table was smashed to pieces.



J. H. Thomas, M.P., President of the National Union of Railwaymen, tells his members that their policy of "Slow Gear" or "Working to Rule" is "War on the Community," with "All the elements of poison gas." He has similar views on the General Strike. Mr. Thomas is now greatly praised by the Capitalists.

The neighbours grew angry, then rushed in. Children threw stones, broke the window of the X's shop, then raided it, taking all the sweets which he had for sale.

A policeman observed that he had had a worse case recently when he ejected a woman with seven children. Mrs. H. protested: "You did it, and you a Trade Unionist!" The policeman replied, "We have to do what we are told." Eventually, 12 policemen had to be brought to protect Mr. X. and his premises.

Under capitalism, the shortage of working class housing is inevitable, because it no longer pays to build houses for working people. The rents they can afford to pay will not provide the high interest that can be obtained from capitalist investments in other directions.

When capitalism is ended, and the workers are in control, the nation will turn its great energies to providing all the houses the people need, just as it concentrated in providing shells for a capitalist war.

Communists are working for the abolition of capitalism, the socialisation of houses, and the abolition of rent and landlordism.

THE SOVIETS IN BRITAIN.

Dear Editor,

The visit of General Yudenich and General Denikin to our shores is significant, in view of the Polish offensive.

During the past two years a great outcry has been raised in all countries against the Russian war, yet the people have still to grasp its purpose and moral.

I am hoping, in writing these lines, to demonstrate to Socialists that it is of the greatest importance that, while taking our part in the "Hands off Russia" movement, we should emphasise that the only way to obtain peace with the Soviets lies in the establishment of British Soviets.

One often meets quite sincere people who believe that peace with Russia can be obtained by protest meetings or a general strike. This is a false opinion without hope or value. The way to the end of the Russian war lies in removing its cause. What is its cause, and how can it be dealt with? There are two main causes of the Russian war. Fundamentally, the existence of a Workers' Socialist Republic threatens the security of Capitalism; that is the main cause.

Again, at this moment, a control of Russian wealth would stabilise the world credit of governments; that is the other cause.

Yet our European Labour movement still deludes itself with the notion that a strike or public meeting can force the vested interests to make peace with Russia. Let this lesson sink home: Capitalism cannot allow the experiment of applied Socialism in Russia to succeed. The way to peace, therefore, is over the dead body of the world force of Capitalism.

This way is too difficult, it is thought; on the contrary, it is simple.

This is a moment of world-wide unrest. On all hands the people are ripe for new conditions; they have been betrayed by the leaders and officials everywhere, but their spirit remains waiting for a lead. Ruthlessly the commercialists are working to defeat the aims of the people, and British Labour is lulled to sleep by the return of troops, heedless of the fact that concentrated in Poland and the Crimea are the armies of a new war, munitioned, and supported at the expense of the Allied peoples.

We hope, therefore, that workers will realise this stern reality—that the old order must be broken down, to aid the coming of the new.

A glance at Britain, however, is productive of despair. We witness a growing mass of discontent bounding forward, only to be broken up by division and internal strife.

We study the details of Communist Unity negotiations, and feel tempted to smile, but the tragedy makes us refrain. Nothing but vanity and party spirit can be observed; one wonders at the patience of the rank and file.

And we observed that even an avowed Communist Party regards the Labour Party—the hope of the middle class—as a useful body for co-ordination.

Let us say, with William Morris, "Socialism will succeed despite the Socialists," and leave the matter there, meanwhile ever hoping that the day will be not far distant when the people will understand that the establishment of Communism will alone bring peace.

Yours fraternally,

FRED. TYLER,

Willesden "Hands Off Russia" Committee.

THE FRENCH STRIKE.

"L'Humanité," May 13th, gives the following strike news, which shows that the movement is formidable: "In the Tas-de-Calais the miners' strike continues. In the Valenciennes region the strike movement is growing."

"At Roubaix, complete stoppage of work in building and transport; no trams running."

"In Cherbourg, general strike growing among metal-workers, dockers, railwaymen, and builders."

"In Lens and Liévin the workers in the reconstruction of the invaded provinces have stopped work."

"At Saint Malo many strikers in the naval yards."

"In Bordeaux, strike of electricians commenced at midnight on May 12th. Complete failure of electric light. Strike also becoming general in the gasworks."

"In Marseilles, the sailors' strike has prevented the departure of the *Sphynx* mailboat for Alexandria; the *Caucase* mailboat for Piræus, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Beirut; the *Amazon* for Indo-China and Japan."

"Lyons and Marseilles, general tramway strike."

"In Montpellier the Gas Company suspends distribution of gas owing to coal shortage."

"At Pamiers, metal workers' strike."

"In Mewrthe-et-Moselle, miners' strike general."

"At Bar-sur-Aube, movement growing among metal workers. All workshops closed."

"At Romilly, 1,500 railwaymen on strike. Metal-workers and builders are joining the strike."

THE BASIS OF COMMUNISM.

By HERMAN GORTER.

(Continued.)

The small significance of the little businesses becomes even more evident, if we compare the percentage of persons working in the industries, in the small, medium and big businesses.

(As business here means 1-5 persons; a big business, over 50 persons.)

	1882	1895	1907
Small trade	55.1	39.9	29.5
Medium trade	18.6	23.8	25.1
Big trade	26.8	36.8	45.4

We see that, whereas in 1882, 551 out of every 1,000 persons employed in the industries, worked in the small business, in 1907 their number was reduced to 295.

For the medium enterprises, these figures were 186 and 251, for the big enterprise 268 and 454. Perhaps some reader may object here that, although the big enterprise does away with the small one, the medium remains, seeing that, as far as concerns the persons working therein, it has increased since 1895 from 23.8 to 25.1 per cent.

This is quite true, but in order to be done away with, it had to come into existence first. A medium enterprise often is the transition from the small to the big one. But does the medium business retain its place in those industries where in 1895 the big enterprise was predominant; that is to say, in the mines, the brickworks, the engineering, chemical, textile, and paper industries.

On examining the percentage of persons working in these industries, in the small, medium, and big enterprise, we get these figures:—

	1895	1907
In the small trade	19.1	9.9
In the medium trade	22.9	19.2
In the big trade	58	70.9

Of every 1,000 persons, therefore, the number of those employed in the small enterprise, decreased from 191 to 99, the number of those employed in the medium enterprise from 229 to 192, whereas the number of those employed in the big enterprise increased from 580 to 709. Once the big enterprise is firmly established, therefore, we see that the medium enterprise is relatively ousted.

Of this, the statistics relating to Belgium give another clear proof. There we get for:

	1897	1907
Trades with 1 to 5 persons	215,400	211,700
" " 5 to 50 persons	13,800	13,000
" " 50 to 500 persons	2,000	1,465
" " over 500 persons	133	184

Everywhere we see a decrease in the number of enterprises, except for the gigantic businesses, which increased immensely.

England, in the principal industries, presents the same picture.

From 1880-1904, the number of paper-mills in England decreased from 340 to 297, the tin-plate works from 96 in 1885, to 74 in 1906, the number of blast-furnaces from 629 to 369, whilst the pig-iron production increased from 6,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons. We see that, whereas the number of blast-furnaces decreased, the production increased immensely. The trades decreased in number, and increased in size and extent.

This is even more clearly demonstrated by the following table* regarding the United States of America:—

		Number of Trades	Average Capital in 1,000 dol.
Agricultural implements in	1880	1,943	31
" " "	1900	715	221
Shoe factories " "	1880	1,359	22
" " "	1900	1,600	64
Iron and Steel " "	1880	699	295
" " "	1900	668	858
Leather production " "	1880	5,628	18
" " "	1900	1,306	183
Breweries and distilleries " "	1880	2,191	42
" " "	1900	1,509	275
Shipbuilding " "	1880	2,188	10
" " "	1900	1,116	69
Woollens " "	1880	1,990	48
" " "	1900	1,035	120
Carpet-weaving " "	1880	195	110
" " "	1900	133	334
Cotton mills " "	1880	1,240	—
" " "	1900	973	—

The U.S. report on professional statistics observes with regard to this: "The small cotton mills of 50 years ago, with only a few hundred spools, have given way to huge factories, organised according to the principles of modern industrial development in which thousands of spools

* These figures have been rounded off in hundreds.

have been so perfected, as to guarantee a speed of 5,000 to 10,000 revolutions per minute."

Seeing that in all countries the big trade is becoming all-predominant, and with the above figures in view, we can safely declare: LABOUR IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE CONCENTRATED IN BIG ENTERPRISES.

This, of course, is the case to a far greater extent in a branch of industry which, so far, we have not mentioned: the railway. There, one company employs tens of thousands of workers.

There, a body like the Prussian State Railways, has a staff of 500,000 men. Think of the old coach, with its one driver, and one conductor! Compare steamship companies like the Norddeutsche Lloyd of Hamburg (before the war), with its hundreds of steamers, its tens of thousands of workers, its hundreds of thousands of horse-power, with the old sailing vessels, with their crews of twenty or thirty men!

A worker may ask here: But what about the Liberals and the Anarchists, what do they want? Do they not, both of them, say that the small trade increases, and that the doctrine of Communism is a lie? Did I not hear and read that from some of the anarchists? Is all that a lie?

Yes, it is a lie, or rather a distorted truth. And as it is propagated among the masses by means of speeches and books, we will refute it here.

The Anarchists and Liberals cannot, of course, deny our data, the figures speak too clearly. It cannot be denied that there is an enormous concentration of the means of production, alike on the railways, in the mines, in the steel, the textile, and the chemical works.

Nor do they deny it. They try another, more crafty course. In the first place, they give a series of industries, where the small enterprises still predominate. These figures are read and compared, and as a rule, they are correct. At first sight, the unsuspecting reader gets the impression that the small enterprise is still very powerful, and that the Communists seem either to be wrong or to tell lies.

But a closer view shows to what the argument amounts. We see from it, that, as we have already partly pointed out above, those industries where the small enterprise yet prevails, are mainly the following: the rearing of animals, the fisheries, the clothing industries, cleaning, restaurants and inns, horticulture, and the retail trade.

If we further consider, that the clothing industry is carried on through a number of small employers, dressmakers, etc., but that these are for the greater part home-industries, which are completely dependent on some big employer, and are miserably paid. In the small trades also, a large number of dépôt owners, agents, and so on, are entirely dependent on the capitalists. These facts give us an idea how little the figures for the small enterprise are worth.

In opposition to the mines, the ship-yards, the railways, the machine-works, the Anarchists bring forward the restaurant-owners, the innkeepers, the hairdressers, the small tradesmen! As if Socialism could be kept back by these latter, once the former were ripe for Socialism.

The Liberal Democrats and Anarchists have another trick left, however. In order to refute the extensive and undeniable statistics of the Communists, all pointing to a strong concentration of the means of production in the principal industries, they give the figures of such industries where the small and medium trade are yet extant.

Triumphantly they present a list of the small and medium trades, which often does not give the decrease or increase covering a number of years, but provides only a few figures of one special year. And they say: "There, you see, the small and medium trades are still there. They are not dead. The big enterprises have not killed them."

As if it were the doctrine of the Communists, that in a certain year the entire small trade should die out, and only the big trade survive!

All Communism teaches is this: the big trade is becoming predominant, and gradually, as far as the power of production is concerned, it has come greatly to surpass the small trade.

(To be Continued.)

Policies of the Government, the Labour Party and the Communists.

HOUSING.

THE GOVERNMENT.

Has talked much about housing and done little. Only 30 local authorities, up to April 14th, had erected houses under the Government scheme. The rents of these houses vary from 7/- to 17/- a week. These rents do not pay the interest on the capital invested, and the deficit is made up out of the rates and taxes. Thus, we all help to subsidise the money lenders, landlords, and building contractors. To excuse its own inaction, the Government asks for the abrogation of Trade Union regulations and pretends that Trade Unions are responsible for the shortage of houses.

A committee appointed by the Government has recommended a 30 per cent. increase in house rents, and a further 10 per cent. increase in 12 months' time.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

Had a representative on this Rents Committee, Mr. Eldred Hallas, M.P. He signed the Committee's report, thus committing the Labour Party to accept the proposal to increase the rents. The Labour Party news service makes only one additional suggestion to add to the committee's report, it is: "The Labour Party hope the Bill, to give effect to some or all of these recommendations will be so drafted as to admit of their moving an amendment to give protection to business premises."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Communist Party intends to abolish landlordism altogether and to offer the landlord a job or maintenance on the same level as the workers, if he is unable to work. Communists intend to abolish rent and to socialise the houses. Communists intend to bring about the socialisation and workers' control of the building industry. Then we shall combine in a great national effort to provide all the houses the workers need. Whilst there is a scarcity, Communists insist that before any one has two rooms, every one shall have one room. At present there are empty houses in Mayfair, because the workers cannot pay Mayfair rents.

The Communists advise the people not to pay increased rents, but to begin a *Rent Strike*.

THE BUDGET.

THE GOVERNMENT.

Austen Chamberlain's budget taxes tea, beer, spirits, and other commodities. It also taxes income.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

Advocates a tax on accumulated wealth.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Wishes to confiscate all accumulated wealth, abolish capitalism and make industry, the land, banking, railways, etc., common property, with the workers' control in each industry and an equal maintenance for all workers and all who cannot work on account of illness, childhood, old age, or other legitimate reason.

THE CORPORATION TAX AND THE CO-OPERATORS.

The Government proposes to tax the Co-operative Societies as though they were ordinary capitalist concerns.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

Wishes to protect the Co-operative Societies from such taxation.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Wishes to abolish all private trading, shares dividend and private profit, whether by co-operative societies or any others.

THE FRANCHISE.

THE GOVERNMENT.

Has given votes to some women over 30 years of age.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

Has introduced a Bill to give votes to most women at 21. The Government has shelved this Bill.

THE COMMUNISTS.

Wish to abolish Parliament and to place the power of Government in the hands councils of workers, soldiers, sailors, and women who work at home; no one who does not work to elect or be elected.

[Send for our special leaflets on this question. "To British Workers and the Soviets of the Streets," 1d. each, 4d. per dozen.]

HOURS OF LABOUR.

THE GOVERNMENT.

Wishes to exclude agricultural labourers seamen and supervision, managerial, and confidential workers from the 48 hours Bill, which is about to be proceeded with in Parliament.

THE LABOUR PARTY.

Is pressing to include all workers in the Bill, unless they have won shorter hours for themselves by Direct Action.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Urges the workers to secure the socialisation and workers control of all industry, in order that the workers may fix their own hours of labour.

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

Apply: THE MANAGER.

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

HOW THE ITALIANS STRIKE.

By Our Correspondent.

The action which the Italian post, telegraph and telephone workers have been taking, partly to enforce their own economic claims, but also in large measure to aid the striking workers of the Turin district, is known by the name of "obstructionism."

"Obstructionism" consists in simply obeying all the rules. Government employees who practice "obstructionism" do not perform a single illegal act. On the contrary, they execute all the legal acts which the bureaucracies of the departments order—they thereby render the functioning of the departments impossible.

The postal workers examine each package to see whether it is sealed, weigh each letter to make sure it carries sufficient postage, refuse to deliver letters which bear a slight inaccuracy in the address, and the like. The telegraph sending operators query the receiving operators concerning each word of which there can be any possible doubt, refuse telegrams which bear any traces of smudging or erasure, and (still strictly according to the rules) delay transmitting more than ten telegrams until they have received assurance that the previous ten have been received with every word accurate beyond a doubt. This system quickly results in the piling up of undelivered letters, packages and telegrams.

What the telephone operators can do by strict observation of the rules of accuracy passes the wildest imagination.

The character of the recent sporadic railway strike in sympathy with the workers of the Turin district who are striking for the institution of Shop Councils, is suggested by recent events at the central railway station of Florence. Florence is several hundred miles from Turin, and the acts recorded have only an indirect connection with the purpose of the strike, which is to prevent large masses of troops being transported to Piedmont. The following despatch describes what happened at Florence:—

"Train 1721, which leaves for Rome at 6.15 p.m., departed 50 minutes late because the train crew would not permit three carabinieri to board a third-class coach.

"Train 1572 for Bologna left 1 hour and 44 minutes late because carabinieri who wanted to ride on it were obliged to descend. Also train 1576, which should have left for Bologna at 11.55 p.m., was very late because Government Guards, carabinieri, soldiers and officers were found on the train. They were obliged to descend. The train which leaves at 7.10 p.m. from Pontassieve was unable to move before half-an-hour after midnight, because the carabinieri were unwilling to leave the compartments which they had taken."

It will be noticed that none of these soldiers was bound for Turin. The action of the railwaymen at Florence was rather a protest against the transport of troops for any purpose, or at least a warning to the Government against any attempt to transport them en masse for the purpose of suffocating strikes and revolutionary movements.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of these symptomatic events in relation to the revolutionary situation in Italy. The railwaymen are striking not as they did last January, against the State as an employer, but against the State as a wielder of political authority and military force. It is for the first time in the history of the Italian Labour move-

ment an act of solidarity between the railwaymen and the industrial workers. And it is a spontaneous act, undertaken without the orders or even consent of the Union Committee.

The recent session of the Socialist National Council (not a national congress) at Milan concerned itself chiefly with the project of the immediate institution of political Soviets in Italy, according to the demands of the Maximalist programme adopted last October at Bologna. It will be remembered that at the previous session of the Council at Florence, about the first of the year, Bombacci presented a tentative draft of a Soviet scheme for discussion and criticism.

The scheme was generally accepted by the Party locals, but was revised by the officers of the Confederation of Labour, which appears to be jealous lest a Soviet system should absorb some of its prerogatives. The reformists of the Party, including Turati, former leader, and Modigliani, present leader of the Parliamentary delegation, are opposed to the Soviet scheme in its entirety, maintaining that a Soviet system is out of place in highly-developed western countries. The "Abstentionists" of the extreme left, led by Bordiga of Naples, are similarly opposed, on the ground that the revolution is coming immediately any way.

Reacting against the attitude of the Reformists on the Soviet question, the more revolutionary delegates submitted a motion of censure against the present Party Directory, demanding the exclusion from the Party of the Reformist leaders, who form a majority of the Directory and of the Parliamentary Delegation. This motion, presented by Misiano, the revolutionary deputy from Naples, was also signed by the leaders of the Maximalist faction, Serrati and Bombacci, themselves members of the Directory. The Caszamani motion approved the work of the Directory. The result, out of 117,858 votes represented, was:—

Caszamani motion, 71,562

Misiani motion, 26,851

On the Soviet question, Gino Baldei, of the Confederation of Labour, presented a motion for "the gradual and experimental institution of Soviets in Italy," beginning in those sections which are strongly industrial and Socialist. The vote was:—

In favour, 94,786

Opposed 24,950

A motion presented by Bordiga and Grasiadei for the immediate institution of Soviets throughout all Italy received only 8,000 votes in its favour, as against 88,000 opposed. The fear of the Maximalist leaders is that if Soviets were instituted at this time in South Italy, where the workers are politically backward and the Church is strong, they would be used by the priests as a counter-revolutionary force.

The Council took no action on the Turin strike for the formation of Shop Councils, but the Caszamani motion reflected the opinion of most of the Party members on it. The motion, while officially one of approval for the Directory, urged closer co-operation with other workers' organisations (as, for instance, those of the railwaymen and the Anarcho-Syndicalists of Piedmont) as well as a more active work of political education among the backward workers of the south. It was, therefore, in effect, a vote of censure.

COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

Fred Willis, in *The Call*, replying to T. J. Murphy, states that "one of the English delegates" at the Amsterdam Conference of the Third International (not a "B.S.P.-er") accused his own Shop Stewards, quite legitimately, of "being composed of some of the most reactionary and anti-revolutionary elements in the working class."

The inference appears to be that the statement in question was made by one of the W.S.F. delegates, but, if that is the intention, our position has been misrepresented, and our delegates mis-quoted.

Our delegates argued at Amsterdam that the Workers' Committees are the equivalent, not of the Communist Party, but of the Soviets, or rather of a part of those elements which make up the Soviets.

We showed that, if and when organised successfully, the Workers' Committees take in all the workers in the shop. They do not, and cannot if they are to fulfil their special mission, exclude from participation in the Workers' Committees those who are not Communists.

At moments when the popularity of the Workers' Committee movement may be at a low ebb, only the revolutionary kernel of the committees may be left to maintain their existence; whereas at times of popular upheaval the workers flock in great masses to the Workers' Committees. At such moments the committees function with greatest effect; but at the same time their mass character brings about dilution in the intensity of their political convictions. Their opinion is less coherent, more diverse, and it tends to become an average majority opinion, rather than the extreme Left Wing opinion, which the Communist Party represents. At the same time the fact that the Workers' Committees include no salaried officials and are composed of workers actually engaged in the daily struggle with the capitalist class, actually suffering as wage workers under capitalist exploitation, gives these committees a revo-

lutionary impulse and a power to respond to drastic projects of class struggle unknown in the official Trade Unions.

The mission of the Communist Party is to press upon such organs of mass action as the Workers' Committees, a programme of immediate action and an ultimate goal. The Communists must be the advance guard in the Workers' Committees. The masses will not immediately, nor always, accept the Communist policy, but they will do so in the long run.

Therefore the Workers' Committees should not be affiliated to the Third International, but to the Red International of Industrial Unions, which has been formed in connection with it. Communists should work to get the industrial organisations to which they belong linked up with that body.

Our delegates in Amsterdam, in adopting this attitude, pointed out that what we have set forth above represents the actual state of affairs, for whilst the most active workers in the British Workers' Committee and Shop Stewards movement are conscious revolutionaries, we find amongst the shop stewards and members of the committees persons who are actually opponents of Communism and revolution.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, preserves the coherency of its policy by accepting as members only those who are avowed Communists. The Communist Party, the Workers' Committees, and other industrial organisations have each their part to play in the coming Revolution. This question should be reviewed apart from heat and personalities, and regarded purely in the cold, quiet light of reason.

Should the Workers' Committee movement make it a condition of membership that its adherents must accept revolutionary Communist views, it ceases to be an industrial organisation, and becomes, whatever it may call itself, a political party.

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THE DOCKERS' BETRAYAL.

Bevin and Gosling play the Employers' game.

The Dockers' Charter, which has been so much boomed by its promoters and by the *Daily Herald*, is, as a matter of fact, a gross betrayal of the Dockers' interests. Let us consider some of its provisions:—

1. It preserves the iniquitous system of engaging and paying men on a half-daily basis.

2. It does not cover all the workers in the docks.

3. The only gain to the dockers is an increase in wages, the effect of which will not last more than a very short time, as it will rapidly be eaten up by increased prices. Every substantial reform in their conditions of employment for which the dockers asked has been left over for further discussion. These included:—

(a) Maintenance during unemployment;

(b) Weekly payment of wages.

4. It prevents or seeks to prevent strikes.

5. It sets up Committees of Employers and Trade Union representatives.

The worst feature of the agreement, however, is that it strives to prevent the workers fighting for themselves in the class struggle and to prohibit the strike. It adopts the most objectionable practice of setting up local committees of employers and employees, to consider complaints as to breach of the agreement and other matters in dispute. A National Committee is also being considered.

Such Committees are always disadvantageous to the workers. Their officials invariably become influenced by the employers' point of view, and the spirit of conciliation which is thus built up between them and the employers, cruses the workers' representatives to abandon the class war and with it the interests of their members.

The agreement endeavours to rob the Dockers of the right to strike. Clause 21 reads:—

"No stoppage of work or lock-out shall take place locally, sectionally or otherwise, pending any matter being referred to and adjusted by a local committee, and such adjustment shall be accepted by both parties as final."

Such a clause can never be accepted by a workers' representative who understands and means to fight in the Class War.

The Report of the employers, and Trade Union representative who are parties to the agreement, leads off with the statement that the agreement aims at securing "Mutual co-operation between employers and employed, in improvement of output and the avoidance of stoppages in working." It is subsequently stated in the agreement that its provisions are for general application, as far as circumstances warrant or admit, and that "in regard to questions such as overtime it cannot be rigidly applied . . . where elasticity is essential, owing to the nature of the work."

By this agreement, Gosling, Bevin, Sexton, and the other Trade union representatives who took part in the negotiations, have compromised the interest of the workers, which it was their duty to protect. Having begun so badly with the eyes of the Dockers upon them, what can be expected from these men after they have experienced a long and close association with the employers on a permanent national committee? Bevin has been lauded as "the Dockers' K.C." for his speeches describing the Dockers' miserable conditions, but he has conspicuously failed to do anything that will improve the Dockers' lot. We do not blame Bevin and his colleagues for that. The employers have refused to concede to the Dockers anything of substantial value, and only by direct action could the employers be forced to give way.

Bevin and his colleagues are not responsible for their failure to secure advantages at the Council table, but they are gravely to blame for pretending that the agreement is a good one, and for helping to force it upon the members of their organisations.

Amongst the men who work in the docks, dissatisfaction with the agreement appeared in many ports and strikes at once threatened. Gosling and Bevin telegraphed: "Instruct men to remain at work. . . . If matters in dispute cannot be settled locally, they must be referred to the National Negotiations Committee." Meanwhile, Bevin was making speeches declaring that to limit production would not help with the Social Revolution.

It had been widely advertised that the new agreement had guaranteed to the Dockers 16/- a day. As a matter of fact the 16/- only applied to a certain number of the larger ports. In certain smaller ports, the wage is to be 15/- a day, and in certain other ports the rates are to be fixed by a joint committee. The Tees Dockers expected to get 16/-, but at a conference on May 11th, the Tees employers interpreted the national award as giving a wage of only 14/8 per day. A strike at once began. Bevin and Gosling then telegraphed, declaring that if the men did not return to work, the Union would refuse to act for them. The answer the Dockers should make to these officials is: "If you will not act for us, we will dismiss you and choose other officials who will obey our instructions." The Dockers' Union and the Transport Workers' Federation should be brought under rank and file control and both the structure of the organisations and the officials require drastic change.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

**"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT"
OFFICE RAIDED.**

On Friday, May 14th, *The Workers' Dreadnought* Office at 152, Fleet Street, was raided by detectives from Scotland Yard. The police took various ledgers; correspondence files, and card catalogues. They also seized the stock of literature, including the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, Zinoviev on the Communist Party and Industrial Unionism, "The Soviets of the Streets," by Sylvia Pankhurst; "Soviets for the British," by A. Motler; a leaflet addressed "To British Workers," and a few copies of each issue of the *Workers' Dreadnought*, for several months past.

They placed under arrest the manager, Harold Burgess, showing a warrant issued against him under D.O.R.A., alleging him to be guilty of conduct likely to cause disaffection amongst the troops.

Comrade Burgess was conveyed to Cannon Row Police Station and spent the night in the cells, bail being refused.

Next day he was brought up at Bow Street, and the inevitable Sir Archibald appeared shaking his head and talking with unctuous gravity upon the sins of Comrade Burgess and the W.S.F. Again and again he referred to "men with W.S.F. badges" meeting in public houses, in the Strand and other places. Indeed he seemed to be quite filled with awe and foreboding at the thought of them.

The Editor of this paper was dragged in, and much was said of sending arms to Ireland. It seems fairly obvious that the Sinn Feiners are not dependent upon us to procure arms for them, nor are Sir Edward Carson's Ulster supporters. The magistrate, however, took so serious a view of the case, that in adjourning it for a week, he refused bail to Comrade Burgess, and detained him in gaol as an untried prisoner.

As the case is pending, we will not at this juncture make any comment upon it, but will ask Comrades to be present at Bow Street on Saturday May 22nd, at 2 p.m., in order to support Comrade Burgess and to hear the case for themselves.

In the meantime, see that you get a copy of "Soviets for the British," price 1d., by L. A. Motler, "To British Workers," price 1d., and *The Workers' Dreadnought*; for these are the publications for distributing which Comrade Burgess has been arrested. Read them and judge them for yourselves.

A LETTER FROM BERLIN.

A Comrade writes from Berlin:—
"I can imagine you puzzling over the news from Germany, so did we in Berlin, as we were cut off from the other parts of the country for a whole week, owing to the strike."

"The recent movement was very big and very important, and cleared the minds of the workers greatly; it would have done far more, had our party (the Communists) had a better policy and a stronger organisation. The great majority of the workers followed the Independents, who, as always, retreated in the decisive moment; so the battle was not fought out to the end. Had it been, it would have ended, of course, with a victory for the military reaction, which would have established its dictatorship, for the working class here is not yet clear seeing enough and resolute enough to establish its own dictatorship. As it is, the coalition was able to come back, but its basis of support is smaller than it was before, because the Social Democratic Party (the Party of Scheideman and Noske), is developing towards the Left, and the bourgeois coalition-parties to the Right."

"The militarists, from whom not one gun has been taken, and of whom not one leader has been arrested, are preparing for new attacks, and the day will come how soon I cannot tell—when they will sweep the Government away, and the open fight between them and the working class will begin again."

The revolution of November, 1917, accomplished in Russia the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, with the support of the poor peasant, began the creation of the Communist Society. The birth of the revolution in Germany and Austria, the growth of revolutionary movements in every important country in Europe, and the advent and development everywhere of "workers' councils" which tend directly to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; all this is a clear proof that the Communist International has already commenced.

SINN FEIN RULE.

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, who has just held some enthusiastic meetings in London, tells us that the Sinn Fein Courts of Justice are gaining a great hold in Ireland, as people claim through them the protection of the Irish Volunteers from the police murder gangs which are now organised in Ireland. Persons known, or thought to be Sinn Feiners, now frequently receive threatening letters which are followed up by a murderous attack. At the inquest of John Breen of Kilmihill, who was shot dead on April 18th, received shortly before, a document headed "An Eye for an Eye," with a drawing of a coffin, on which was a lighted candle and a skull. This document was produced at the inquest.

Ireland is now the happy hunting ground also of the merely criminal robber, who carries on robbery with the accompaniment of as much terrorism or violence as is necessary to attain his ends. The police do not interfere, apparently thinking all such incidents are best left to be put down to the account of Sinn Fein. Criminal acts of this kind are frequently brought before the Sinn Fein Courts by people, whether Sinn Feiners or not, who desire to obtain redress. The Sinn Fein Courts do not imprison the persons convicted before them, indeed, it would not be possible for Sinn Fein to set up prisons whilst the present strength of the British occupation continues. Sentence of banishment from Ireland, or forced labour on building or other work is therefore resorted to.

More and more the British Government of Ireland is breaking down. Sinn Fein controls the Town and Urban District Councils, which now recognise as their head, not the Parliament at Westminster, but the Dail Eircann. At the next elections for those bodies it is anticipated that Sinn Fein will capture also the County Councils, and Boards of Guardians.

This is not Communism, but National Self-Determination. The working class of Ireland, nevertheless, is having many opportunities to gain a consciousness of its power. Some day the advance guard of British and Irish workers will be engaged in a joint struggle for Communism.

FREE SPEECH FOR COMMUNISTS.

On May 13th, Alfred Greenberg, of the Communist League, was speaking at Osborne Street, when he was interrupted by a policeman, who ordered him to close the meeting. He refused to do so, on the ground that he was not breaking the law, and was then arrested. Next day he was brought up at Thames Police Court and charged with using "insulting words and behaviour." The constable who arrested him then alleged that he had said: "Workmen, organise and arm yourselves. Down with the King, like the Russian workmen have done with the Czar, and form a Soviet Government."

When the constable objected, Greenberg said: "You ought to be on strike with the others."

Greenberg was remanded in £10 bail. He may probably get a month, or two months, like Lark; or even more.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

The Paper Ring and Propaganda.

May 10th. Sir R. Cooper (C.U.) asked why paper is so scarce and costly.

Sir R. Horne (President of the Board of Trade) answered: "General shortage of supplies of paper-making materials throughout the world."

Sir R. Cooper asked why, if that is so, waste paper cannot now be sold in bulk for making up into new paper, though before the war it fetched a good price.

Sir R. Horne: "It would seem to indicate that the shortage of pulp is not so great as some people imagine."

The Government doubtless encourages the paper ring in the hope of checking Communist propaganda.

COAL.

The Increased Price.

Sir R. Horne made the unwelcome announcement that domestic coal is to be increased by 14s. 2d. per ton, and industrial coal for use in this country by 4s. 2d. per ton. The miners wages have been raised by 2s. 10d. Now that the selling price is again raised, the miners will claim a further increase in wages: then the owners will raise the price again.

The same evening the President of the Board of Trade said that the industrial consumer in Britain has been getting coal at 1s. 4d. a ton less than the coal costs the Government after the cost of production and the standard profit guaranteed to the coal-owners has been paid. He did not explain why the price should be raised 4s. 2d. to meet a deficit of 1s. 4d. He stated that the withdrawal of the coal subsidy is a step to the de-control of the industry—then up will go the price, and the coal owners will reap a great harvest. The present rise in the price of domestic coal will increase the hardship of working people—the women and children especially will suffer. The increase in the price of industrial coal will send up the price of manufactured articles. So we go on in the mad race of profits, till things become unbearable and the workers' revolution brings relief.

Miners will demand 4s. a day more.

May 12th. W. Brace (Labour) moved the adjournment of the House as a protest against the increase in the price of domestic coal. He advocated an advisory committee of employers and employed, and shook his head about the danger of increasing wages. As usual, he was congratulated by the Government representative for his moderation. Vernon Hartshorn said that, in his opinion, more than £60,000,000 more profit would be made by the forthcoming increases in prices, and that in every coalfield in the country the miners, whose wages are regulated according to the selling price of coal, would say: "What advance in wages are we going to get as a consequence of this increase in the price of coal. There is this £60,000,000 there, and 1s. a day will cost about £15,000,000; let us go in for a 4s. a day advance in wages!" Hartshorn, like all the official Labour leaders, affected to deplore this. The revolutionary Communists in the coalfields will seize eagerly on the 4s. advance proposal as another step towards smashing Capitalism. All the talk in the House of Commons will not affect the position in the coalfields.

Mr. Waterson (Lab. and Co-op.) said the Thrapston (Northants) Co-operative Society had had no coal for its registered customers since March 16th—a period of seven weeks. There are many complaints in Parliament of the coal shortage.

Spinning Profits 533½ to 800 per cent.

Labour Members complained that in the last half-year the Bell Spinning Company (Oldham) made profits of 533 1-3rd per cent. per annum and 200 per cent. in the previous half-year. The Times Spinning Company (Middletown) paid 20s. for the quarter on its 10s. shares, a profit of 800 per cent. per annum, three months ago the dividend was 600 per cent., and six months ago 400 per cent.

Montenegro.

The Allies are considering whether to destroy the independence of Montenegro and to incorporate it in the new Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom. Bonar Law says the Allies are bound by no guarantees. What about Wilson's Fourteen Points, and Lloyd George's many speeches? R. McNeil said that the Treaty of London (1915) had recognised the sovereign independence of Montenegro, and asked whether the Allied policy towards Montenegro is based on that of the Germans towards Belgium in 1914. As he is a supporter of Capitalism, McNeil refuses to recognise that these are the methods usual in Capitalist diplomacy.

Neglected Servants.

Ex-Police Constable Pippen, of Brislington, after 24 years' service, and now incapable of work, exists with an invalid wife and family on 12s. 10½d. per week. This is how Capitalist governments neglect their tools who keep the workers in order.

Another Small Nation.

The United States has seized the Island of Taboga, which belongs to Panama. Major Lowther asked that the matter be referred to the League of Nations. The Foreign Office Under-Secretary said the British Government cannot interfere. Another bargain between the rulers of the great Capitalist Empires!

The National Register and Ben Spoor.

Ben Spoor thinks the report of the officials who compiled the National Register, which paved the way for conscription, contains valuable information.

He wants it published. Silly fellow to encourage any further tabulation and registration of the workers by their rulers.

German Warships for the Allies.

Five German light cruisers and 10 destroyers are to go to France and Italy, six German torpedo boats are to be given to Poland, and six to Brazil for police purposes. Great Britain, Japan, the United States, Portugal, Greece and Brazil are also to have some of the German vessels.

Soviets in Britain.

Mr. Doyle asked how many Soviets have been established in the British Isles, and what is their membership. The Home Secretary thinks there are no Soviets here.

O'Dwyer's Rule.

During Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab the movements of 145 persons were restricted and 4 persons were prohibited from entering the Punjab under the Defence of India Act. Four hundred were interned in gaol and 1,625 persons were restricted to their own villages under the Ingress into India Ordinance; from 1914 to 1918 eight newspapers were prohibited from circulation in the Punjab; in 1919 twelve more papers were prohibited and 14 newspapers and 24 presses were forced to deposit security for their good behaviour.

Ministry of Food.

Messengers and cleaners in the Food Ministry are supposed to cost £13,000 a year. They serve five blocks of buildings. We cannot believe that the messengers and cleaners really get this money in wages. There are 75 assistant principal officers in the Food Ministry with salaries of £700 a year each and 16 occupants of special posts with salaries of £1,500.

Workers versus Cattle.

Sir Eric Geddes, Minister of Transport, refused the appeal not to withdraw the reduced railway fares, which for 14 years were granted to workers going from Scottish towns to employment in the Perthshire raspberry fields. He declared: "I can find no sufficient justification for making an exception." Sir R. Thomas, then asked Sir Eric Geddes whether he would grant special railway facilities and reduced rates to breeders of pedigree cattle sending their cattle to exhibitions, he blandly said: "I am in consultation with the railway companies and hope to receive a deputation very shortly."

Bankers Refuse credit to Municipal Housing Schemes.

Mr. Hayday (Lab.) said it is the considered policy of London bankers to refuse advances in connection with municipal housing schemes. A small builder who had entered into contracts with one or two local authorities was refused an advance of a few hundreds on the security of his plant, worth several thousands, and on asking the reason, was informed that instructions had been received from headquarters that no money was to be advanced in connection with municipal housing schemes.

Labour Councillors in other districts also know that banks are unwilling to lend money for municipal schemes. The Labour Councillors are finding that within the Capitalist system they are powerless to aid the workers.

Land at £1,000 an acre.

Middlesborough Council will have to pay £1,000 per acre for land for an open-air school.

Land Prices in London.

The Ministry of Health has paid for land for housing £495 per acre in London and £304 in the County of London.

May 13th. The Uxbridge Urban District Council acquired less than four acres of land under the Land Acquisition Act, which gives compulsory powers. The Council paid £2,162 for this bit of land. Evidently there are some landlords on the Council! Communists wish to socialise the land without compensation—Soviet Russia has done that.

Workers' Children deprived of Education.

In Ilford there are free places in the secondary schools for 0.24 per cent. of the boys and for 0.18 per cent. of the girls—a total of 0.21 per cent. for all the children. Yet politicians often falsely say that the educational ladder is now open to all children! Under Communism, education will be free right up to the University to all children, as it is in Soviet Russia, and for all children there will be comfortable maintenance free of charge.

Veneral Disease in the Army.

May 11th. Winston Churchill admitted a considerable rise in venereal disease amongst the British troops in Germany and France since the Armistice.

Parents, how do you regard the prospect of your sons being ruined in the armies of Capitalism?

Education in the Army.

A Royal Warrant establishing Education Corps in the Army will shortly be issued. The education has already begun—it is anti-Bolshevik!

Secret Service.

Asked whether £57,697 voted to make good excess expenditure on the secret service was to be spent at home or abroad, Austen Chamberlain refused to tell.

Bread at 1s. 4½d. per Loaf.

Bread in the Channel Islands costs 1s. 4½d. per loaf in British money.

An Attack on Trade Unionism.

Captain Jessen urged that while Whiteley Industrial Councils of Employers and Employed cover all sections in an industry, only those organisations which are parties to the Industrial Councils should be allowed to administer unemployment bene-

fits. This is an attempt to hamper Trade Unions which refuse to adopt the "industrial peace" compromise, and still endeavour to defend the interests of the working class.

National Factories.

Of the 225 factories owned by the Ministry of Munitions at the time of the Armistice, all but 11 are being sold.

That is quite natural, since the Government upholds private capitalism.

Our Representatives.

Lord Chalmers, Lord Cullen and Mr. Henry Bell are supposed to represent you and me at the Financial Conference summoned by the League of Nations, which is to meet in May or June. The Government appointed these people.

20 per cent. Disablement.

Captain Shearer, of the Shropshire Light Infantry, was a dentist before the war. Owing to injury to the right hand received on active service he can no longer follow his occupation. Yet his disablement is assessed at under 20 per cent. Capitalist gratitude!

THE BUDGET.

May 11th and 12th. The Finance Bill has been read a second time without a division. The Liberals and Tories made the usual speeches. Not a Socialist argument was produced. W. Graham announced that the Labour Party would not vote against the Bill. George N. Barnes expressed, as usual, his desire to preserve the Capitalist system. He said: "I do not know whether I shall vote for the Excess Profits Duty or not. . . . If capital generally is not taxed—and I do not want it taxed—I quite understand the position, that in proportion as you make a levy upon ordinary wealth or capital you frighten people. . . ."

... the capitalist, against whom I say nothing; it is quite a legitimate thing for a man to go into business and get all he can out of it."

Barnes opposed the Corporation Tax on the ground that it taxes the reserve funds of the Co-operative Societies; but the Co-operators will scarcely thank him for his proposal that their entire turnover should be taxed. He admitted that his proposal would "increase the cost of production all round," but said the increase could be "passed on to the consumer" and the "ugly question of taxing dividends" would not be raised. Poor working-class consumers, George Barnes has certainly no sympathy for you! All the Labour Party speakers opposed the tax on Corporations, but W. Graham voiced a general approval of the Budget. His main criticism was that it is built up on too many taxes and that the Excess Profits Duty and the Corporation Tax are bad. Many a Tory might have made his speech: indeed, Mr. Pretymann (C.U.) declared that Graham's speech was "entirely from the National standpoint and not from the Labour standpoint at all."

Bottomley, the financial gambler, demanded Premium Bonds as the one solution of all financial difficulties, saying: "Let every workman have a pound or two in these bonds, and he will not want strikes and revolutions."

THE WAR ON SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Polish Offensive.

May 10th. "We take no responsibility one way or the other," said Bonar Law in regard to the Polish attack on Soviet Russia. When asked whether King George had sent a telegram of congratulation to the Polish General Pilsudski, and whether the Government accepts responsibility for that, Bonar Law said he could not answer the question unless notice of it were given.

On May 6th, Captain Wedgwood Benn (Lib.) had moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the Government's failure to discourage the Polish attack on Soviet Russia. Only 80 members had supported him, though there is a Labour Party of 50, and as the assent of 160 Members is necessary, the adjournment could not be moved. On May 10th, Wedgwood Benn, in view of the Royal telegram, moved the Adjournment to discuss the encouragement by the Government to the Poles in their war. The Speaker refused to accept the motion on the ground that it was virtually the same as the motion of May 6th. J. R. Clynes (Lab.) said that many Members were absent on May 6th and did not know the motion was to be raised. The speaker said: "That is entirely a matter of stage management," and refused to allow the debate!

May 12th. The Government had now concocted a reply to questions about King George's telegram. Bonar Law then said the telegram had been prepared for despatch several days before the Polish offensive began, and that it was sent to congratulate the Poles on their National Fête Day, not on the military offensive against the Soviet Government. He declared that when the telegram was prepared "there was then no question of this war," and "so far as the British Government were aware, they had no information that this offensive was to take place."

This does not match very well with Bonar Law's statement on May 3rd that there is no new war between Poland and Soviet Russia, because there has been no peace between the Polish and Soviet forces. Of course, no one can possibly believe the story that whilst all the world knew of the Polish offensive, the British Government alone was unaware of it, especially as the British Government had helped to prepare for it and arranged that Poland should not lack arms and munitions?

Captain Wedgwood Benn asked Bonar Law whether he was not aware that the Poles had announced they would capture Kieff on the same day that the King's telegram was to be sent? G. N. Barnes (Lab.) asked whether the Government could give

an assurance that it is in no way responsible for the attack by Polish or Ukrainian forces on Soviet Russia? Bonar Law replied that the Government could give that assurance.

The "Jolly George."

Asked whether the dispatch of munitions from the Port of London was morally consistent with neutrality, Bonar Law said he would like notice of the question. He had seen "something about it in the papers," but did not know the facts.

May 13th. Kenworthy again pressed for an answer concerning the "Jolly George." Dr. Macnamara (C. Lib.), Minister of Labour, said that the dock workers had refused to load this ship with munitions and that "the consignment in question appears to belong to the Polish Government."

The British Government assists in equipping the Polish Army and arranges loans of money to the Polish Government; then the Poles buy munitions in this country—yet the Government says it has nothing whatever to do with the Polish war!

There is a British military Intelligence Mission in the Polish capital, Warsaw. A representative from this Mission has gone with the Polish Armies to the front. Churchill said, "both the French and British Governments—last year and so on—have helped to strengthen and equip the Polish Army."

British Troops in the Caucasus.

May 11th. Asked how many British troops are now stationed in the Caucasus, Churchill said: "It is not in the public interest to give exact figures at the present time."

British Munitions for General Wrangel.

May 12th. Bonar Law admitted that munitions and stores are still being supplied by the British Government to the Russian counter-revolutionary armies, although the Government promised the House that such supplies should cease by March 15th. Law tried to excuse the breach of promise by the statement that the stores now being delivered are part of those actually promised to Denikin. He said: "We are not sending, we are only delivering those which are on the way." The dockers should keep a sharp look out for these munitions and stores!

Baku Oilfields.

May 12th. Mr. Kellaway, for the Foreign Office, stated that the oilfields of Baku, of which the Soviets are now in control, contained stocks on March 1st of 4,000,000 tons of crude oil and products in the oilfields and refinery districts.

May 13th. Bonar Law said: "As regards the situation in the Caucasus, the Azerbaidjan Soviet Government is in touch with the Russian Soviet and the Turkish Nationalists. It is not clear to what extent it represents the population."

Mr. Harmsworth, for the Foreign Office, said that the Soviet representatives who will come here to discuss trade will confer with the permanent committee of the Supreme Economic Council of the Allies.

German Arms for Finnish White Guards.

May 10th. In reply to a question by Colonel Malone (Lib.), Bonar Law admitted that at least two ships have recently conveyed arms and munitions to Finland for use by the White Guards against the workers. He admitted this was a breach of the Treaty of Versailles, and said that the Allied representatives at the Finnish capital, Helsingfors, had been instructed to call the attention of the Finnish Government to this fact. Evidently this was merely a matter of form, for Bonar Law admitted that the British Government was aware that Germany was going to send the arms and munitions to the White Guards, and obviously the British Government approved. Here are Law's own words in reply to the question whether the Germans had consulted the British Government: "I think it was done without consultation, but we were aware." Colonel Malone further asked whether the British Minister at Helsingfors, Lord Acton, was recalled, owing to representations from the Finnish Government that he was out of sympathy with the terrorist methods it employs towards Finnish workers and Socialists.

This question was not answered till May 13th, when it was said Lord Acton left Helsingfors on health grounds.

Kenworthy (Lib.) asked whether General Mannerheim, who was responsible for the butchery of Finnish workers and Socialists, was on his way to this country after visiting Berlin and Paris. Mr. Harmsworth, for the Foreign Office, said yes, and "Why should not a distinguished individual visit this country?"

IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT.

May 10th. Asquith, the opportunist, moved an amendment to the Government's Home Rule Bill, the result of which would have been to re-instate the proposals that were made when he was Prime Minister, i.e., county option to remain part of the United Kingdom, instead of joining the Irish Parliament, and the rest. It is quite certain that if Asquith were in the Government he would be quite prepared to swallow Lloyd George's proposal; but as it is he opposes it simply because the opposite Party has brought it in. The Irish do not want either Asquith's proposals or Lloyd George's. Lord Robert Cecil criticised both Asquith and Lloyd George. When asked "What would you do?" he answered: "Appoint myself Chief Secretary in Ireland." That candid remark sums up the policy of all the Capitalist politicians. That policy is to put themselves in the places of those who happen to rule at present, but to keep the system unchanged. George Roberts, the renegade Labour man of Norwich, said he had been a member of the Cabinet

Committee which drafted the Government Bill. He had gone on to the committee because in favour of the Asquith Act of 1914, but now he preferred the present Bill. Asquith's amendment was heavily defeated by 259 votes to 55. The Labour Party voted for it.

Irish Land for Ex-Soldiers.

Colonel Ashley complained that anonymous letters have been sent to the Irish Land Commissioners threatening bloodshed in the event of farms being bought for ex-servicemen, with drawings of five plots of land laid out as graves for ex-soldiers, and five plots with graves for inspectors. The fact is that the Irish do not recognise the right of the British Government to dispose of the land of Ireland. Moreover the fact is that in Ireland there is not enough land to supply all those who are desirous of obtaining it, and the only way to supply the needs of the people is by collective farming, intensive cultivation and the proper draining and development of land which, under present conditions, is capable of yielding little or nothing to the cultivator.

May 13th. Colonel Ashley alleged that in the west of Ireland land has been forcibly taken from the owners by men who have threatened with death any who dared to intervene. The Attorney-General confirmed this.

The People's Justice.

Mr. Archdale indignantly said that Henry Johnston, of Augnagallop, in the parish of Drumshambo, County Leitrim, received in 1919 by his uncle's will a farm in Drumkeelin. Desiring to buy a farm adjoining his own residence, he put up to auction the farm he had received from his late uncle 10 years ago. A crowd of people then gathered and declined to allow him to sell the farm unless he paid £200 to his cousin, Mrs. Flynn. This he was forced to do, and the people also compelled him to accept a much lower price for the farm than he considered it to be worth.

The Attorney-General admitted the truth of the story, but said that Johnston had paid Mrs. Flynn by a cheque, which he afterwards stopped at the bank, so that she had failed to get the money, and that Johnston is again in possession of this farm.

Such incidents show that the people of Ireland are not merely claiming political independence of Britain, but are beginning to display a revulsion of feeling against Capitalist laws and customs. Henry Johnston's neighbours seem to have thought that his cousin, Mrs. Flynn, had as much right as he to a share of the family land, their uncle's will notwithstanding. Therefore they forced Johnston to pay something to her. They also considered that he should sell the farm at a moderate price, and they forced him to do so.

Irish Local Authorities Recognise Sinn Fein Parliament.

Colonel Ashley stated that on May 5th the Clare Morris District Council demanded that Martin Curran, J.P., should withdraw the claims lodged by him for compensation for cattle drives and personal injuries. This district Council also demanded from him a refund of all his profits on the grazing lands he had held, less 5 per cent. Curran refused to comply with the Council's demands. Thereupon the Chairman of the Council stated that the matter would be referred "to a higher tribunal" which would be able to enforce the Council's decrees. It was decided at the Council meeting not to state what methods the Council would adopt for enforcing its decrees.

The Attorney-General was "considering" the question. Of course, the "higher tribunal" is Dail Eireann.

Mr. Foxcroft said that at a meeting of the Llistowel Urban District Council the Chairman read a notice from Dail Eireann ordering that no more extracts from the Council's books were to be sent to the British surveyor of taxes, nor was any information to be given to him. The Council made an order to that effect and cancelled a form which had been filled up to be sent to the surveyor of taxes in Tralee. Foxcroft demanded to be told whether His Majesty's Government will permit the law of the land to be defied in this manner? He further declared that the Dublin Corporation had passed a resolution acknowledging the authority of the Dail Eireann as the duly elected Government of the Irish people, and undertaking to give effect to all decrees duly promulgated by that body. Copies of this resolution were sent to the Republican Minister for Foreign Affairs for transmission to the Governments of Europe and to the United States of America.

The organised and widespread refusal of the Irish people to obey British laws and the steady construction of another system of government is highly important. Communists may learn much from the Irish situation.

Hunger Strikers.

May 13th. The Irish Attorney-General has realised that the re-arrest of Irish hunger-strikers is neither easy nor profitable; he has wavered before the outburst of popular feeling to which that sort of thing gives rise. When Sir J. Butcher, that arch-coercionist, asked whether the hunger-strikers had been re-arrested, the Attorney-General said they had been "released under a misunderstanding. They were not discharged under the provisions of the Temporary Discharge of Prisoners Act, 1918, and they are not legally liable to re-arrest."

The Government never troubles about legal forms when it wishes to arrest or to re-arrest anyone—it would seize those Irish hunger-strikers again without a moment's hesitation if it thought the course expedient. There is a limit to the number of hunger-strikers whom it is convenient to deal with at one time.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE ON PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

A statement from the Executive of the Third International in Moscow on Parliamentary Action contains the following passages:—

"Is it possible to identify the Soviet system with Parliamentarism? No, a thousand times no. It is impossible because Parliament is a weapon of bourgeois class rule. Representatives, House of Commons, the Capitalist Press, the secret treaties of M.'s.P. with bankers,—all these are chains for the working class. They must be broken. The machinery must be shattered, and in its stead must be built up the order—the union of the workers is their Parliament—the Soviets. Only the most execrable traitors to the working class can assure them that the social change can come peacefully, by gradual concessions and Parliamentary reforms. Those individuals are the most inveterate and dangerous enemies of the working class, and against them a most relentless fight must be waged. Any kind of agreements, compromises, or alliances with them cannot be tolerated. Therefore, it is our duty to say to the whole capitalist world, down with parliaments, long live the Soviets. The Social Revolution has come to such a point that the workers must act quickly and resolutely, and not allow their class enemies to penetrate into their camp. Only the Councils of Workers, Peasants and Soldiers, selected in mills, workshops, villages and barracks, can lead the working class in the Social Revolution."

"The bourgeois State, its Kings, Presidents, Parliaments, Constituent Assemblies, etc., are our deadly enemies, and must be crushed."

"Let us now discuss the other question: is it permissible to use bourgeois parliamentarianism for the precipitation of the class struggle? . . ."

"We know very well that neither in France, America nor England have they had capable working-class representatives in the Parliaments. The reason is that in these countries there have been very few individuals who could be said to resemble the Russian Bolsheviks or the German Spartacists. If such elements increase in numbers and strength, everything may get changed. At first it is necessary (1) The centre of gravity of the struggle must be outside of parliaments (strikes, revolts, insurrections, etc.); (2) the struggle inside the parliaments must be closely connected with the struggle outside; (3) the representatives must take part in general organisation work; (4) the representatives must act by directions of the Central Committee, and are responsible to it; (5) they must not conform to the parliamentary customs and manners."

"The Russian Bolsheviks boycotted the elections for the Duma in 1906, but they took part in the elections to the second Duma, coming, meanwhile, to the conclusion that the bourgeoisie and big landowners would rule for many years. In the early spring of 1918, half the Spartacist Party took part in the elections to the German Reichstag, another half opposed, but at the same time the whole of the Spartacists forms the nucleus of the Communist Party. On principle we cannot refuse to utilise parliaments for our profit. The Russian Bolsheviks, being in power in spring, 1918, made a special declaration that the Russians might be forced once more to use parliamentarianism if extraordinary circumstances enabled the bourgeoisie to regain power."

"We have to state again that the most vital part of the struggle must be outside of parliament—on the street. It is clear that the most effective weapons of the workers against capitalism are: The strike, the revolt, and armed insurrection. Comrades have to keep in mind the following: Organisation of the Party, instalment of Party groups in the trade unions, leadership of the masses, revolutionary agitation among the masses, etc., parliamentary activities and participation in elections must be used only as a secondary remedy—no more."

"Revolutionary practice has shown this to be the best and most rational programme. The prostitution of parliament has already gone so far that even Right Wing comrades are coming back to their class-consciousness. The vortex of the Social Revolution carries them to us. We give our approval, therefore, to every individual, group or party, who sympathises with the Soviet system and has the courage to fight for it. We ask them to join with us, and with united forces to wage war against our unscrupulous enemies."

We are glad to notice that the Executive of the Third International has declared that "the most vital part" of the workers' struggle for Communism "must be outside Parliament." We believe that in this country the struggle outside Parliament will entirely supersede the struggle inside, and that British Communists will discard Parliamentary action in the near future.

TWO MONTHS FOR STABBING A COMMUNIST.

Do not be surprised that F. R. Lark only received punishment of two months' imprisonment for stabbing Comrade Hanson in the neck with an ice-pick and causing him serious injury. Mr. Justice Lawrence is an opponent of Communism; in his summing-up he attacked not Lark, but Hanson. Moreover Judges and Magistrates, like the Speaker of the House of Commons, consult with the Capitalist Government of the day as to what their verdicts shall be, and especially in political cases, the Government's will is really the Judge's law.

We offer our sympathy to Comrade Hanson. Our duty as Communists is to see to it that our open-air speakers are always protected by a strong guard of comrades. Will some comrade volunteer to get such guards organised in London, the city where they are most likely to be needed, and where comrades are often inclined to forget the importance of attending our own meetings.

SOUTH WALES NOTES. By R. P.

Rhondda Education Scheme.

On May 13th the adjourned public conference, called by the Rhondda Education Authorities, to consider the scheme drafted by that body, met at Porth. Mr. Berry acted as defendant of the scheme. Discussion first centred around procedure, and from the discussion it became clearly apparent that the calling of the Conference was a farce. It was stated that the Council would thankfully receive any criticisms that might be levelled at the scheme.

A demand for Esperanto and Working Class History.

The slow death of old and narrow instincts was illustrated by the speeches that were then made by the representatives of Welsh National Bodies and various church organisations in their appeals for an increase in the amount of time it was suggested should be put aside for the study of the Welsh language. A. Cook and W. G. Cove, of the N.U.T., urged that if it is necessary to give the children a bilingual training, then let the second language taught be Esperanto. Too long had the world suffered from the results of a narrow nationalistic outlook. The time had come when the workers of the world should refuse to be influenced by the petty jealousies that were aroused by International Capital, and should endeavour to march together towards the realisation of International Brotherhood.

The Authority's scheme of Moral Instruction included lessons in: Obedience, Honesty, Truthfulness, Industry, Temperance, Kindness, Frugality and Economy. Great play was made by some of the comrades present with the logical outcome of the teaching of some of these so-called Morals in a Capitalist country, and an appeal was made for the substitution of a course of Working Class History, so that the children of the workers should understand the true position of their class, and thus become filled with a determination to alter the status of their class and to leave behind for ever the creeping, cringing spirit developed in the workers by Capitalism.

Class Distinctions in Education.

The Rhondda Education Scheme provides for the setting up of central schools for the mass of children. Secondary schools for a minority and vocational schools or University training for a few of the minority. In attacking this policy, which, by the way, is the hub of the scheme, W. G. Cove made what was easily the finest speech of the night. He pointed out how clearly the scheme was based upon the division of classes, and, quoting a great industrial magnate, showed how the scheme was formed to suit the best interests of the Capitalists. He declared that the central schools are to be the graduation centres of the ordinary worker, the secondary schools are for the lower officials (foremen, firemen, and so on), and the vocational schools and University training centres are for the small minority, who will become the managers, etc., of business concerns. Such a scheme, he continued, was an unthinkable one in a district like the Rhondda, and he appealed to the authorities to be true to the people who had appointed them, and instead of making a good education for a few their goal, he urged them to aim at raising the standard of education for all, and to put into operation as early as possible the general principles of the Montessori system, with a liberal system of grants to the parents of all scholars, and, not as was suggested, for a few. The almost unanimous roar of applause which greeted this speech should convince the authorities of the desire of the Rhondda workers for a scheme of education for their children that will not in any way help to perpetuate the Capitalist system. The obvious weaknesses in the arguments put forward against the case made by Comrade Cove merely served to illustrate the strength of his case.

Later demands were made that the authorities should grant a scholarship per annum to send students to the Labour College, London, and with the demands for the immediate provision of playing-fields and swimming-baths, a useful night's propaganda was concluded.

Ca-Canny and Sabotage.

Now that so much interest is being taken in the practice of ca-canny and go-easy, a brief survey of the methods adopted in the South Wales coal-fields may be of interest. Whilst obviously one cannot give a detailed account at this juncture of the work of sabotage carried on, comrades may rest assured that this and every other tactic that may help to make it difficult for the coal-owners to keep going is being adopted. As ca-canny has sprung from an understanding of the theories of Marx, the Welsh miner is practising it with the deliberate intention of undermining the Capitalist system.

Taking Care of the Body.

In the morning the "eye-rest"—that is, the time taken at the pit-bottom to allow the eyes to become accustomed to the gloom—has a peculiar habit of lengthening. Again, after walking up an incline, the miner of to-day is liable to need a rest, and thus where a man a few years ago would rush to work as though pursued by a thousand fiends, to-day he respects his body and treats it with the care that is its due. If in a colliery where the men have to walk a number of miles, an hour or so more than hitherto is thus taken to reach the work; a little step has been taken towards reducing the possibilities of a surplus production of coal.

Safety First!

Whilst at work the modern collier keeps well in mind the axiom "Safety First." Where the usual practice used to be to leave the propping or post-

ing of the roof until the end of the turn, to-day the collier "stands" his posts immediately they are required. In this way the number of trams filled with coal is bound to be decreased. Incidentally, let it be mentioned, the number of accidents are also decreased. Realising the awful consequences facing a man once he becomes unfit for work, the miner takes every precaution not to develop indigestion, and the 20 minutes' snap or food-time is considerably lengthened. A few years back, possibly no class of worker intensified his labour to the same degree as the South Wales miner. This policy, again, is being discarded as a useless and unhealthy one, and in its place what is known as the "navvy stroke" is being developed.

Leaving time is strictly kept, and where in the past men have remained working underground several hours after the stipulated time of leaving, in direct violation of the Coal Mines Act, in a great many pits the men have now passed resolutions, which are adhered to, fixing the latest possible minute for men to remain underground sometimes as much as half an hour before that provided for in the Act. To those who are not familiar with the mines, a word of explanation may be necessary. The Coal Mines Act provides that a man may descend the pit an hour before the stipulated starting time and may remain below an hour after the winding of coal is stopped—that is, finishing time.

How many Hours does a Miner Work?

When explaining these things to comrades in other industries, I am invariably asked: "How many hours a day do you compute the average miner works?" The reply: "Five four, three or even only two hours—who knows?"

THE INDUSTRIAL RENAISSANCE.

Industrial unrest is the problem of the hour. Everywhere there is vague, tossing, uneasiness in the ranks of labour. There is a sense that things are not right. Why is this?

During the war, the people were in the grip of a machine—they were made into parts of a machine. "Man Power" was considered rather than Manhood.

Now that peace has been proclaimed, the cry of "Destruction" has given place to the cry of "Production." Those who do not understand the capitalist system might imagine that the machine would be a casualty of peace. Yet it is not so.

Men are still regarded and treated as machines. This will not do. Men and women will not stand it.

The human body and the human soul react against repression. This must be recognised. Man is a complex creation. If he were intended simply to function as a hammer or a lever, he would have had levers for hands and a hammer for a head, and his brain would be left out. When we try to distort or compress humanity there is bound to be trouble.

Our machine proletariat feel that they are being cheated somehow; life becomes dull and dear to them; monotonous machine work leaves its mark. It makes their lives harsh and unlovely. They react. Sometimes they do it individually. A man may go on the "booze" for a day or two. Why? Perhaps he does not know; but the reason is that the complex demands of his human and varied personality are not met in our machine civilisation.

Sometimes a number strike, and underlying the cause of the strike will be found the same reason. Men are not machines; they are not brutes, and they are beginning to realise it. There is among them a gathering resentment at being treated as such.

This is to the good. There is a growing sense of the mystery and wonder which are at the core of being. Men demand human relations with their fellows.

The desire for truth and beauty, joy and harmony, becomes ever more intense; and as it does so, labour becomes more and more worthy of its place as the regenerative force in society.

The keynote of Labour's demand is that industrial Prussianism—that so-called "efficiency"—which, like its military counterpart, is ruthless and brutal in its dealings with humanity, shall go.

It wastes, deforms, ruins and destroys everything of worth that it touches.

So far as the life of the people is concerned, it is miserably inefficient.

Its ugliness, its hideous crudity and discord offend all the nobler impulses which are stirring in the lives of the workers to-day. The spirit of the renaissance is abroad.

The breath of life is everywhere quickening the desire for social change. Man demands sweeter life, where he can find delight in colour, form and beauty, and where he has room to grow and expand.

This living power is met by the iron hand of industrial Prussianism, which thinks to hold humanity down. But the new power will not be gainsaid, and everywhere the industrial renaissance is gaining ground.

The only reply made to Labour is an attempt to intensify that grind to which Labour is objecting. To the question as to whether we shall be free men or profit-making machines here can be only one answer. The Revolution moves on. R. M. Fox.

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., stating the number required, in which case posters will be supplied direct.

IMPERIAL CAPITALISTS AND BRITISH WORKERS.

We have received from Comrade Shapurji Saklatvala of the Indian Welfare League, the following interesting manifesto:—

The distress which may fall on British workers through the competition of ill-paid, half-slave workers in India and other countries, and which may be deliberately induced by the capitalist class, in order to crush British workers, may eventually turn out to be precisely the cause which will precipitate the Workers' Revolution in this country. It is of the highest importance, that when the Workers' Revolution arises in Britain, there should be similar movements in other parts of the Empire, and that the Communists all over the Empire should be in touch with each other and ready to act together. International co-ordination is, of course, also necessary. Those who desire to free India from the domination of Britain, must realise that in action of the workers, lies their only hope.

Communism and the International mass Comrade Saklatvala and the Workers' Welfare League of India have, for many years, realised that the workers of India and Britain must unite to secure their emancipation. Such organisations as the Home Rule for India League on the other hand, have hitherto built all their hopes on the Indian bourgeoisie.

To the thoughtful reader, a mere glance at the Labour situation in Britain, will make it clear that the life of the workers in this country is made dependent upon raw materials that come from the East, and mainly from India.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

Every ounce of cotton in Lancashire, every ounce of jute in the Dundee district, every ounce of silk for the Macclesfield district, and a large percentage of the raw wool for Yorkshire, all come from abroad.

OIL INDUSTRY.

Every ounce of various oil seeds used at Hull, Grimsby, and other places comes from abroad, almost entirely from India, for edible oils, coconuts, other nuts and cocoa beans have all to come from abroad.

LEATHER INDUSTRY.

For this considerable British trade in the Midlands and in Lancashire, by far the largest portion of raw hides and skins required comes from India.

RUBBER INDUSTRY.

Every ounce of raw rubber from this important industry has to come from Brazil, or from the Malay Peninsula.

On the continuance of these industries depends the great machinery industry of this country, on which again depend the large iron, steel, coal, and transport industries.

By weakening the position of the workers in the principal manufacturing industries, the master class can shake the whole fabric of the working class progressiveness in Great Britain. It is obvious that they would like to do so, and they would not let go a single opportunity of preparing a weapon with which to beat down the growing demands of Labour in this country. Their easiest weapon, is at the present moment, to train local labour in India and in Africa, where politically they can command the work of men and women on absolutely slave conditions. The cotton industry, jute industry, iron and steel industry—are all started in India, where the workers are paid disgraceful wages and are made to submit to other intolerable conditions of work and daily life.

The natural development of industries in India cannot be denied, where the well-paid and well-fed working class will produce a new and healthy demand for production, without creating any competition in wages. The present rapid and phenomenal growth of industry in India, however, is not such a natural development, but is a hurried grouping together and training for modern industrial work of a deaf and dumb population, not even permitted those chances of working out its amelioration, which Labour in this country possessed a hundred years ago.

In any dire conflict between Capital and Labour in this country, the master class has to hold back all the raw materials of which they are the Imperial owners, and starve into submission the workers of this country, by a blockade of raw materials. They can afford to do so as long as they can carry on a part of their work with sure and slave and docile labour in India. Even before reaching such an acute stage, in all the intervening stages of the Labour and Socialist fight in this country, the existence of cheap and well-trained labour in India, will be used, and is being used now as a practical argument against advanced aspirations of the workers here.

This unwholesome competition between two groups of workers within this same Empire and practically under one and the same financial operation, must cease. It is necessary for us to hamper the development of industries in any country, all that we have got to demand as a moral safeguard against the above danger, is to have a classification of conditions of labour within the British Empire.

The appeal, therefore, that we of the Workers' Welfare League of India are constantly making to our British comrades is of vital and mutual interest; it is not an appeal of a beggar, it is not an appeal of an oppressed one to a happy neighbour, but it is the appeal of that foresight, which in human affairs, analyses the life conditions of the working class and sees the danger to both, in the present degradation and oppression of the one.

UNITED VEHICLE WORKERS.

Points from the Nottingham Conference Agenda.

The amendments dealing with the constitution and election of the Executive are numerous and drastic. No less than thirty-two Branches have sent in amendments demanding that the President and General Secretary shall cease to be members of the Executive Council. This is thoroughly in accord with principles of elementary fairness. That Executive decisions should be weighted by the votes of one life official, and a member who is elected for his genius to preside and not to execute, is unwarrantable.

Furthermore, the General Secretary is above all the individual entrusted to carry out decisions arrived at by the Executive Council. He is there to take the instructions of the members via their elected delegates. It is altogether undesirable that he should have a vote in deciding what orders are to be given him to execute.

Many branches also have tabled amendments demanding that the position of President shall be abolished, and that each E.C. meeting, Delegate meeting, and Annual Meeting shall choose its own Chairman from among the assembled delegates. This is all to the good as it is surely best for every meeting to have the Chairman it desires.

But the big fight will take place on the principle of the open Executive Council.

Many Branches have tabled amendments demanding that all meetings of the Executive shall be

open to any financial member who desires to be present, regard being had of course to the seating accommodation of the Executive Room and precedence in requesting this privilege for any particular day. This was in force in the old Red Union and the results were eminently beneficial. The members were able to see how their elected delegates accounted for themselves round the board and see how they spoke and voted on various matters. Now this is only arrived at through rumour. The only argument against the open E.C. is that employers can get to know what is happening. This is very specious, as the employers can usually get to know all they want to with the meetings closed. Secrecy encourages apathy. The Trade Unions have no need to use methods of secret diplomacy. It is desirable that E.C. meetings should always be open to the members. It educates them and encourages them to take a very live interest in their Union. It also gives confidence right through the membership as they can then judge accurately of a situation and not be nervous of being let down. He must indeed be a chicken-hearted councillor who would refuse to let the members who elect him hear him take part in the debates. The strongest argument in their favour is that Open E.C. Meetings were in force for years in the old Union, and were an unqualified success. It is to be hoped that the membership will succeed in winning back the open E.C. at the Nottingham Conference.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

You will have read, Henry, of the strikes in France, and the decision of the French Government to break up the Federation of Workers' organisations. Possibly you may think that what happens in France does not concern you, but I should like to impress on you the contrary.

Some five or six years ago, there was a Great Unrest, as it was called, and certain professors wasted their time looking for the causes of this "disease." Then the Great War came and the matter seemed to have been disposed of. Now, however, we have seen, since the war stopped, that the Great Unrest has revived, and is going stronger than in 1914.

It has been put down to "Bolshevism," and the results of after-the-war disturbances. But the war has been over nearly two years now, and instead of things settling down, they appear to get worse—from a capitalist point of view. And anyway, that does not account for the disturbance before the war.

You will find this unrest in all countries, in your morning paper you read of workers being shot by police and military everywhere. And this is true both in Allied and "enemy" countries. In France, as in Austria, the same tale is told.

What is wrong then? It is not merely high prices, because we have "disturbances" even when prices are low, and there is no need of "more production." And if all prices went down tomorrow we should be no better off, since wages would go down too.

The fact is, that the workers are beginning to wake up to the fact that they are not mere machines for making profit. They no longer want a "living wage," which just allows them to rub along. They want as good a life as possible; they want some of the good things they make, they want to live in the fine houses they build.

They cannot get these so long as they leave industry in the hands of profit-making men. They must have workers' control of industry. And as soon as they wake up to these facts, they find they are "up against Government."

We are told that, even if all this is true, the best kind of workers' control is to have a Labour Government. All we have to do, is to work steadily to help Labour M.P.s get into Parliament, to vote for them and to get our friends' votes for them. Well, supposing we do get a Labour Government in? It will find, as the Labour Mayors, Aldermen and Councillors have found, that they are "up against" a Machine of Capitalist Manufacture. They will have to go by rules and precedents created by Capitalists. They will be like a farmer with a Stone Age plough.

It is obvious then, that we must have a new machine. We must have an up-to-date, twentieth century plough. The Stone Age machine called Parliament, must now be replaced by something better. Instead of voting men into Parliament to pass laws to allow us to do what we want, we must decide to do these things we want done, ourselves. We must get together into conferences and committees of workers who know what's to be done, and find the very best way to do it. In other words, we must have Soviets. These Soviets must spring from the people. The people must find out how to rule themselves without hiring smooth-tongued gentlemen to do it for them.

Let the people make a start here and now. Let there be a Soviet in every street and a Soviet in every workshop.

AN OMISSION.

Our front page article in last issue, entitled "The Birth of the Revolutionary Movement in America," was by Nord Wilgers.

IMPORTANT.

The Workers' Dreadnought has now arranged for press telegrams from all countries. The telegraphic address is "WODREDNORT, BOWROM, LONDON."

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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.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.

Write to the SECRETARY, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone: East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

- Friday, May 21st. The Square, Woolwich 12 (noon). Melvina Walker.
 Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. M. Barnett and others.
 Saturday, May 22nd. Outside Jones' Bros., Holloway Road, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.
 Giesbach Road, near Archway Tavern, 7 p.m. Janet Grove, Melvina Walker, Henry Sara.
 Sunday, May 23rd. Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. B. Colonna, Melvina Walker.
 Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m. M. Barnett, Melvina Walker.
 Friday, May 28th. Manor Park Road, near Willesden Junction Station, 7.30 p.m. Melvina Walker, E. Pyzer.
 Saturday, May 29th. Meetings in Peckham.

INDOOR.

- Thursday, May 20th, 20, Railway Street, Poplar, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class. Melvina Walker.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

- EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
 Sunday, May 23rd, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.
 Thursday, May 27th, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.
 WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
 Tuesday, May 25th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Fix.

DREADNOUGHTS and LITERATURE can be obtained from A. BANKS, 1, Carmarthen Street, Market Road, Canton, Cardiff.

W.S.F. WHIT MONDAY OUTING**FEDERATION HOUSE**

George Lane, South Woodford.

(Book to George Lane Station from Liverpool Street on the Ongar Line, or 10a bus from the Monument down Whitechapel Road and Bow Road.)

ENTERTAINMENTS: MUSIC!

Come and enjoy yourselves and support the Movement. Bring all your friends, and apply for tickets early in order to assist the organisers.

Admission - 2/-

(Including Tea and Entertainments.)

Tickets from Miss BUSH, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

can be obtained from the following newsagents:-

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