British Trade Union Leaders through German Spectacles

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by
SYLVIA PANKHURST

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THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF ASIA.

The growing power of the Russian Soviets is of the greatest importance for the future of Asia. Under circumstances essentially different from those of Europe will the most mighty of all continents—Asia—realise her Revolution, and therefore it was necessary that the International of Moscow should put no European slogan in the way of the Asiatic population. The Revolutionary Theses which concern Asia have another meaning than those which concern the European revolution, and just this fact will ensure sucess.

In Europe, Capitalism became the most powerful factor, and by its mighty organisations, acquired that real power with whose help it was possible to hold the millions of different peoples in slavery. Military and police were at its disposal in the same way as Church and School. This fact is not to be despised, for it means that Capitalism, either by force of arms or by dope (literally—ignorance), can choke off any eagerness for knowledge or direct action on the part of the workers. The chief feature of the European Revolution is that:

1. The proletariat shall recognise the erroneous dictum of Capitalism and emancipate itself from the teaching of the capitalist school, the chief teaching of which is that Capitalism is Culture, and that it listens no longer to those people who tell it that if Capitalism breaks up, civilisation is destroyed;

2. They must arm themselves in order to be able to disarm the organs of power.

In Asia the position is essentially different. There the economic conditions are of quite another kind. What is strange in the European and American ear is the remark that Asia, despite its size, is far more easy to permeate and teach than Europe, and the reason for this lies in the fact that they are at a far lower level of technical knowledge than the inhabitants of Europe. Original Asiatic Capitalism does not exist, only a form of exploitation imported from Europe.

Some countries were experiencing the period of feudalism, others a period of pre-feudalism. In China there was even a Communist order of society, and Capitalism everywhere had quite a different effect.

At the beginning, the feudal lords of India received with resolute hate the colonists who were bringing Culture by means of guns and arms, but just because of their social position, they soon recognised that they could make use of Capitalism for their own ends, and so the Indian princes bowed themselves under the yoke of the English. In this way, a feudal-capitalist rule took root in India, in which the English supported the feudal princes in their feudal rule, and, on the other hand, these princes supported the English in their trade. Then ensued the good and beautiful "Pax Britannica." The working people of India were exposed to the greatest suffering. Hitherto they had been a nation of peasants who worked on their own soil, the population of India; now the Indian princes declared that the land was their private property, in order, with self-sacrifice, to be able to pay the tax of the English. Proof of this, that I am not saying this in jest or making an exaggeration, is a circular decree which appeared in 1884, in which the expropriators quite seriously spoke in that way. The peasant could now choose quietly. He could remain to work his own soil for the prince in order to get a wretched pay which was not enough to keep body and soul together, or, on the other hand, he could go to the capitalists who gladly employed the "natives" in their factories, because they were a cheap labour power and nobody troubled about their lives.

The natives of India were not European workers, and as they were stuffed with religious superstition, one delayed teaching them that European Capitalism is the same as Culture, so they can hate the capitalist form of production freely and unhindered, especially the bringers of it—the foreign exploiter. On the other hand, although they are taught loyalty to the princes, they do not forget the robbery of the land, and await the moment of settling accounts with both kinds of oppressors with that cold, revengeful hatred of the oriental race. The organising work can only go on slowly, because the machinery of power functions perfectly; but even to-day, every Indian proletarian understands his position, so to speak, as the wide-spread revolutionary strike can prove. The Indian middle-class is capitalist in outlook, as in Europe, and, in contradiction to the proletarian comrades, hates—not Capitalism—but the English exploiters who are robbing them of their prey. These people set the "Emancipation of the Fatherland" on their banner. Their model is Japan, and their aim is to make out of their proletariat, who speak as many as 132 different dialects, one great Indian nation. Although they are so communicative, they are carefully silent on the fact that if the English were driven out, the end would come. Without a doubt, the proletarians will be obliged to reckon with these Nationalists, although, until now, their way has been in common.

The same is the position in Indo-China, where the democratic nation, France, has made an agreement with the feudal kings, and shares with them the booty which is got from the blood and sweat of the natives. They (the kings) enjoy the protection of the French. Little Holland is hastening with sweet-sour means to squeeze to the utmost, because she knows that it will not continue much longer. To this shameless slave-driving is to be attributed the fact that the natives of Dutch India are the most revolutionary of all, and perhaps the social revolution will first start from that part in Asia.

Essentially different is the position in China, where centuries ago, two powerful peasant revolutions annihilated feudalism and set up a form of state which is coloured with Communism, the traces of which are still to be found to-day. The conquerors amongst the Manchus wanted to destroy these Communist organisations, and built up a kind of feudalism, the essence of which was that each province was under the rule of a vice-king, who considered himself as the owner of the province, and sent his taxes as homage to Peking, where the Emperor, on his side, reigned as the owner of the whole Chinese kingdom. When the European capitalist knocked at the door, the Emperor and his vice-kings were frightened until they perceived that they could make use of these people as allies (confederates) to suppress their subjects. The common people were not at all pleased with their position, and after that did not lack a strong Ccommunist organisation under the leadership if Tai Ping, they wanted to chase the Emperor with his vice-kings out of China.

It is worth mentioning that Tai Ping appeared as the new Christ and the true prophet of Christendom, whereupon the French bishop of Canton, who was also in the pay of the capitalists. banned the venturesome Chinaman, and summoned the Europeans to a veritable Crusade.

The sublime moment came when the people who were backing up the Chinese Emperor, in alliance with the European Crusaders of the adventurer Gordon, washed out the Chinese rising in blood. The Empire was overturned, but the Republic did not improve things for the proletariat. Now the people were not exploited by the Junkers of the Manchus but by the intellectual mandarins of the middle class. The comparatively class-conscious bearing of the agricultural proletarians is an extraordinarily strong starting place for the social revolution of Asia. In China, where the introduction of the Soviets, although not completed, is yet planned out, important events are not to be expected. Here the revolution will not show new organisations to be necessary. but the abolition of the corrupt officialdom and the completion of the autonomous organs. Singhsien, whose name was so much spoken of years ago, wanted to build up this system, though in a Utopian way, in the spirit of Henry George.

Finally, we must turn our attention to Japan, which country can look back on an almost European development—although in double quick *tempo*. The feudal period was followed by the Mey'she, which we can call the epoch of capitalist development. The impoverishment of the people was most rapid. By the side of the big capitalists, the proletarian layers are becoming more and more inspired for the Social Revolution, and if the open organisation is not yet possible, the effect of the secret underground movement is all the more remarkable. The Siberian anti-Bolshevist action of Japan was obliged to remain without result, for it was shown that her proletarian soldiers are no longer disposed to fight for capitalist-imperialist objects.

The Emirs, and the Sikhs of Central Asia and Asia Minor and the presidents of the republics united with them, who hired themselves out to European Capitalism, are experiencing from day to day the terrible warnings of the Social Revolution; they already know that the path is leading to the revolutionary future of Asia. The nomads of the steppes feel the prestige of the Russian Soviets just as much as the mountaineers under the rule of the Himalayan Llama, and the natives of Java feel it just as much as the enslaved people of Korea and India.

DEAR COMRADES,—

The war chest is empty, and I appeal to you to send a donation at once to keep the DREADNOUGHT *afloat.*

It would be tragic to feel that we, who are not undergoing the misery of imprisonment, had failed to keep the workers' paper alive until Comrade Pankhurst is released. What a sad return to liberty it would be for her to learn that the DREADNOUGHT, *for which she has already done four months, had sunk. Surely we can raise the funds for another five weeks? Send along as much as you can, but do not be afraid of only sending a small amount; shillings soon become pounds, and we can each help that far.*

Yours fraternally,

NORAH L. SMYTH.

P.S. Will those who have collecting cards please send them in. More can be had on application.

THE TRAITORS' YELLOW MANIFESTO.

By C. B. JIMACK-WARWICK

Of all the manifestoes and the terrific resolutions issued with the intention of showing sympathy in the solidarity and rebellious aspirations of Labour, this one takes the bally biscuit.

It is the duty of every staunch Communist to expose every traitorous act coming from working-class mis-leaders, as well as the machinations and tyrannies of Governments and class-parasites. We have lately, in utter disgust, been exposing the traitorous activities of a bunch of "negotiating compromisers," who have led the British workers, through their Trade Union organisations, into a deeper mire of class defeat and servility than ever. The whole of the rank and file movement in this country has been, and is, filled with indignation over the leaders' treachery that sold the working-class battle to the Magnate-Bugs, and stabbed in the back one valiant section, the Miners. And yet these very same spineless beings have the damned cheek to come forward, while yet their execrable deed is hot in the toilers' mind, and to issue a manifesto proclaiming working-class solidarity (Comrade Clark, please supply the appropriate denunciation!). Hence, the above title.

'Tis a May Day Manifesto, friends! The "comrades" who are responsible for issuing it sign themselves: "The Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International." 'Tis the Yellow Second International, the same which has repeatedly sold the international working-class cause.

On with the Manifesto! They tell us that "Capitalist Governments sit in power among the ruins, and move only to further destruction!"

Sure, they sit in power, too, amidst the torn and violated Trade Union organisation, and "move to further destruction" with the aid and connivance of the traitorous authors of this declaration.

"Your wages fall": and when you make a fight to prevent them falling further, you know how your Trade Union officials act!

"Unemployment is everywhere. The capitalist, holding political and economic power, attacks you," and your beautiful direct-action-fearing leaders let him, help him, to attack you. What a game!

"Many Governments suppress civil liberties" (do you notice that tame constitutional Labour B-Leaders never get suppressed? They ought to be. *We* are the people, the slaves, who should suppress them!).

"If you voice your grievances, you speak sedition."

Quite true, Henry, quite true; but I never knew of one of the Dear Tame Leaders who ever spoke sedition!

"You are allowed to starve, but you are not allowed to work."

It's about time *they* were made to work again; it would roughen down their bourgeois habits.

On with the Manifesto! It proceeds so:

"We demand"—yes, that's it—"We demand"—". And here follow their very revolutionary demands (they must have been at one of those Big Dinners before they formulated them!).

They are: National Justice, Revision of Peace Treaties, Restoration of Trade, Freedom of Exchange Between Nations, the Destruction of Militarism, the International Policy of Peace.

Nice lot, aren't they? How much would you give for the lot, taking them all together? Here, don't go home yet; there's some more.

The "dear people" then, as a sort of grand finale or fiasco, wind up thusly:

"We renew our pledges to secure" (they're always strong on the Pledge point, at least Henderson is! They have to be renewed, you know, they get so moth-eaten!) "the socialisation of the means of production, and the substitution of the International Co-operative State for Capitalism."

Capitalism will worry, *we don't* think, over such braggadocio pledges coming from such worms.

Now for the end. Take a breath!

"Let the one thought, expressed in many tongues, in many nations, be:

'LABOUR MUST RULE.'

To think that such "rotters" (Gosling's term), should add insult to injury, after their treachery, in this manner. Never mind the rest of the —— (the Yellow declaration is signed by their kind, who mislead and bleed our fellow-slaves in other countries), let us denounce the British Bleeders who signed the May Day Insult. They are: *Arthur Henderson, J. H. Thomas, J. Ramsay MacDonald, H. Gosling, and Tom Shaw.*

Keep out of such bad company, Henry! If they seek yours, send them yapping. Beautiful May Day, and our Cause to be so insulted!

THE POSITION OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

From the Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung in Germany.

The break-up of the paper Triple Alliance.

Solidarity is regarded by the whole of the English Labour Press, Menshevist as well as Communist, as the most important event in the history of the English Labour movement.

For all grades of the English working class, it is, at the same time, the one pointed proof that the pure work of education, the period of propaganda only, is at an end. The Triple Alliance, that powerful organisation of working-class solidarity, which even the German Menshevist theorists and especially those Trade Union leaders whose prestige is being threatened, to the very last have been holding up as a model example, has proved to be mere bluff. It has been shown as an instrument calculated to break the class-consciousness of the working class and to cheat the workers who were inclined to a revolutionary activity and defraud them of their will to fight.

At this point the workers have to consider the question as to what new means they can use instead of the propaganda activity of the Parliamentary Labour Parties. Here there stands before the English working class both the question of the Social Revolution and ways and means to the same. The Miners, in spite of the betrayal of the Railway Workers and Transport Workers, have decided, by an overwhelming majority, to remain out. The mine-owners, who, under pressure of the English Government, had already made so-called offers and were at last getting ready to negotiate, have drawn back again, as the immediate result of the betrayal of the Triple Alliance.

The fight between the mine-owners and the miners is growing more and more acute, and one can see, already quite plainly, that England has entered on the stage of the Social Revolution, for the tactics of the Government, the Parliamentarism of the Labour leaders and the manœuvring of the Courts have become futile.

The reduction of wages which was planned, and the blocking of trade, which will result in the shutting down of many mines, throws not only the workers on to the streets, it lowers their standard of life to an unbearable degree. The crisis is of that nature that the Government and the mine-owners cannot alter it fundamentally. It is the result of the high price of English coal in the world-market, which is doing away with the demand for English coal abroad. It is the first immediate effect of the imperialist policy, which England has to rue, and is a vile morass into which capitalist imperialism will, and must sink. England's chief customers are provided now with German coal, which France is delivering. France, who, under the mask of payment of her most necessary war debt, is hurrying to supply German coal at reparation costs to the former customers of England, and can least of all be blamed by the English coal lords. It is the shackle on the leg which will drag the victorious England down into the bog. From this crisis the English working class will view all the problems of the Social Revolution in quite a different light than was hitherto the case. In the depths of the proletarian masses, the will to fight is being born, in consequence of the disintegration of the system, it will no longer tolerate the nationalist indolence and imperialist pride which has blinded the English workers in years gone by and made them the easy tools of the English Government for its own imperialist ends. A decisive blow struck at Trade Unionism in England will be the further consequences of the development of the Social Revolution. The first signs of this are already there. At a Conference of Miners' delegates a resolution has been passed which shows plainly the change of character of this strike from an economic to a political one. The Miners' strike is no longer directed merely against the mining capitalists, but against the Government, and, in some districts against the power of the Government. Perhaps the English Noskes, thanks to their better equipment and military discipline, will be able to maintain the authority of the Government for this time. Its fall is, however settled, for the pact is made and the Social Revolution is unfolding, and is ready when circumstances are specially favourable, to swell up like a larva from inside the English State. The Trade Union bureaucrats and the Trade Unions generally, also the Socialist Parliamentarians and the Labour leaders will still be able to betray and block things. They will still be able to betray the fighting proletariat in sections, but there is one thing they cannot do; they cannot ensure work and a living wage to the industrial proletariat, and that is the pivot on which the whole question turns.

"Ye sheep without shepherd, it is not the pasture that has been shut from you, but the Presence. Meat! perhaps your right to that may be pleadable; but other rights have to be pleaded first. Claim your crumbs from the table if you will; but claim them as children, not as dogs; claim your right to be fed, but claim more loudly your right to be holy, perfect, and pure.

"Strange words to be used of working people! What! holy; without any long robes of anointing oils; these rough-jacketed, rough-worded persons; set to nameless, dishonoured service! Perfect! these with dim eyes and cramped limbs, and slowly wakening minds? Pure! these, with sensual desire and grovelling thought; foul of body and coarse of soul? It may be so; nevertheless, such as they are, they are the holiest, perfectest, purest persons the earth can at present show. They may be what you have said; but if so, they yet are holier than we who have left them thus."—John Ruskin.

H. M. Emery, one of the leaders of the unemployed in Coventry, was released last Saturday after serving two months in Warwick Green prison.

Leonard Jackson, secretary of the Coventry branch of the Hands Off Russia Committee, was remanded until Wednesday, May 4th, the charge against him being the usual one of "he did an act calculated or likely to cause disaffection among the civilian population" on April 24th.

John Brown, of Rotherham, and Robert George Murray, of Sheffield, were arrested last Saturday at midnight on the same charge, also on April 24th.

Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst is to be released from Holloway Prison on May 30th, after serving five months. Comrades should be there at 8 a.m. to welcome her.

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 9s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

News from Soviet Russia.

Social Feeding.

The All-Ukrainian Conferences on social feeding at Nikolayeo resolved to concentrate on feeding in the home at the expense of the State. It was also resolved to establish social feeding at all railway stations.

Woman's Rights.

The Turkestan Soviet has decreed a series of measures to raise the general status and to protect the rights of women.

Water Transport.

A decree was published on April 11th placing all water transport under the control of railway administration. Schedules of fares and rates, etc., are compiled by organs of People's Commissariat of Communcaitions. Free fares are granted to workers and employers travelling to and from work or on furlough, also pupils and students, excursionists, all children under sixteen years, invalids, and unemployed.

Medical Examination.

The Siberian Health Department has decided to conduct a universal medical examination of all young workers, and to send every ailing youth to health resorts this summer.

Moscow Soviet Election.

The totals of the Moscow Soviet election recently held comprise 1,668 deputies, consisting of 1,322 Communists, 221 Non-Partisans, and 18 of various other parties.

Moscow Women Vote Communist.

"Pravda" notes a considerable influence of the women workers' vote in the present Moscow Soviet election. A great number of Moscow factory women are classed as Non-Partisans, but they vote almost solidly for the Communists. About two hundred women deputies are already elected to Moscow Soviet, including Madame Kollontay, Mrs. Lenin, and other noted figures of the woman workers' movement.

The Moscow Communists scored another great victory at the election assembly of the educational and cultural workers, which brought together the very cream of the Moscow intelligensia. The opposition speakers produced little effect, and one Communist and one Non-Partisan were elected to represent them in the Moscow Soviet.

The Kiev Soviet election totals 1,225 delegates, comprising 911 Communists, 301 Non-Partisans, and 13 of other parties.

Capital Press Yarns.

The Entente Press reports that Trotsky is going to the Afghan frontier and to the Bessarabian frontier are all lies. He is and remains in Moscow. He goes nowhere, and the General of Soopra has absolutely no aggressive or warlike designs.

White Guards Repentant?

Many officers of the former White Guard armies have applied for permission to return to Russia. Similar petitions have been received from Wrangel refugees in Constantinople.

Far East Republic to Great Britain.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs for the Republic of the Far East, Krasnoschtschekov, has sent the following note to the British Foreign Office:—

"The Republic of the Far East, which has been elected by the people of the Republic of the Far East on the basis of universal suffrage, has authorised me to inform the British Government through you of the setting up of our Republic, and at the same time to express the hope that you, in conformity with your policy of recognition of the Republics which are formed in the territory of the former Russian Empire, will take into consideration the favourable moment of the opening of the session of the Constituent Assembly for the commencement of commercial relations with the Republic of the Far East."

Georgian Lies.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Soviet Republic of Georgia sends the following manifesto to the workers of all lands:—

"After having shamefully taken to flight with all the stolen goods of the people, the overthrown Menshevist Government circulates the most malicious lies concerning the workers and peasants of Georgia in order to bring the imperialist governments of other countries to their help.

"The Revolutionary Committee takes the most decided stand against these lies and slanders in the bourgeois press and states that since the moment of the liberation of Georgia from the Menshevists, exemplary order and quiet reigns in the whole land. The complete liberty of the workers has not been hindered one moment by a terrorist act of any kind. No murder nor suppression of personal liberty has taken place, as it did under the rule of the Menshevists. The workers have generously given a full emnesty to all its enemies. Thanks to the brotherly action of the neighbouring states, Georgia is supplied with bread, naphtha, and other articles of necessity. The Entente and their crawling lackeys of all lands must learn that the Soviet power in Georgia is founded upon the strength of the workers, and that only over the bodies of the champions of the people and of the government which has been set up by them can the old government be re-established, which found its support from the capitalist robbers and the imperialist reaction."

MINERS AND PIT PONIES.

Dear Editor,—I understand that there is much sympathy for the pit ponies among those people in London with soft hands, velvet skins, high heels and short skirts. Why in all the world did they not cry out before the strike about the ponies? They ought to come and visit our mines for a holiday, but of course they have never had one trip into our mining villages in the history of the mining community. The pit ponies have been quite safely guarded for the duration of the strike, as far as the miners are concerned, and the poor things will be glad every time a strike takes place; but after the long stand they have had a large percentage of them will be quite unable to work, because after having had to work so hard they go stiff in the legs and are no more use, and then they get thanked for it by a bullet. The miner of course gets his thanks when too old to work, by being thrown on the scrapheap. The pit lads who work with the ponies fight hard battles with the colliery managers, and if the case is too bad, then the manager with say, "Go steady with them"; but at the same time the manager knows that the pit lad's wage depends on the pony going to its utmost, because this class of workers is on piece rates. Ponies will always be disregarded where profit is the end. Any Londoner who cares to visit the mines will at once see that if we miners had the mines we could easily have the ponies substituted by machinery, and this would result in a saving of ponies' lives and suffering, not forgetting the lives of the pit lads. Should those soft-handed swells in London come and have a go at hewing coal or transporting it from the coal face, they would die in despair and the pit lads would get a fine laugh. Fancy hard graft staring you swells in the face till you go to the cemetery. Fancy trotting over to the pit with one eye open and the other shut at 2 a.m., and plunk! down the dark hole to get skinned hands and your lungs and stomach full of coal-dust till you get put down to your long rest. It is awfully good for the miners' health standing up to their knees in water day after day amidst powder smoke, which is every bit as thick as your London fogs. Yes, dear friends, it is lovely amidst crashing roofs and the cries for help at 2 o'clock in the morning, when one is half-dreaming and exhausted with years of weary toil, and all for the sake of coal-owners who do nothing; in fact, many are abroad, and will hardly know there is a strike on at present. The coal-owners have always got enough profits and cheap labour without having to put in machinery to substitute ponies. To do this means a big jump by the owner, because at first it may mean the foregoing of profits for a time. To do this he would have to make a decent road between the shaft and the coal face. He would have to make enough heighth and width by engaging more men to shoot down more stone and fill it away. If this was done the fruit would be gathered later, and in a short time at that, the nation would not hear of so many accidents, and the pony would then have equality among the rest of his species. At the present time ponies are down the pit drawing tubs of coal, and their backs scrape the roof; in fact, it is a hole just large enough to let him move, and the tub of coal scrubs along the sides, and many a time timber gets knocked out, and down comes the roof with a crash on to the backs of both the pony and the pit lad. Of course, it is just two less, and it means a compensation case which has got to be fought hard for.

In our County of Northumberland, many colliery villages are dependent upon the company for water, which is pumped out of the pit for drinking purposes.

There are no sanitary arrangements down below ground among hundreds of men and boys, and thousands of rats go scampering in amongst this water. Now, I feel sure that, with a pair of lungs full of coal-dust, also a stomachful, gassed from day to day with powder smoke, and wet to the skin is far from being healthy, apart from other dangers which are numerous.

My dear friends, you don't see rosy cheeks and smiling faces, but grim, desperate ones. Our lives may be wrecked with hardships, but the coal-owners and shareholders in London who live joyous lives in motors, and swank in Kew Gardens, will never break our hearts and spirits.

I appeal to you shareholders of London to be reasonable, and do not make us get too desperate. Just fancy a miner working under such conditions, where he will have to go to the pit and work a full week in order to buy his wife a decent hat, and then have nothing left.

We, as miners, who can't afford to go to Oxford University, have, for all that, got a good school of our own, and that is the hard school of experience; and even if we had the chance to go to Oxford University we should act the part of critics.—Yours, etc.,

F. McDONALD.

430, Langwell Ter., Pegwood Colliery, N'land.

"THE TRADE UNION SCOUNDRELS."

It is well to see ourselves as others see us, and therefore we will make no apology to the *Morning Post* for reproducing as accurately as we can, an article which appeared lately in a German newspaper. We would like to point out here, however, that we should have had equal pleasure in quoting from an Italian, French, Dutch or Spanish paper if such had been to hand, as we are confident that the doings of our Trade Union leaders have been as anxiously watched by the working classes of our gallant Allies and the neutral countries as by those of our late enemy.

THE ENGLISH TRADE UNION SCOUNDRELS.

"The powerful struggle in England is still going on. Yet, side by side with the heroic fight of the English coal slaves, there is going on a ruthless, secret undermining against the interests of the working class. *An undermining or sabotage which is being carried on by the English Trade Union leaders.*

"Nowhere in the world have the conditions which are necessary to lead to Socialism been so thoroughly developed as in England. This country is not only the Cradle of Capitalism, but it is the El Dorado also. History shows here an example of the Marxian principle that the conditions of the new society are already developed in the womb of the old. In all industry, Big Business rules supreme, and consequently the proletariat has organised itself in big organisations—Trade Unions. This circumstance is good for mass action. Why then does class-consciousness of the English proletariat fail to appear? This is because of the peculiar position of English Capitalism, which has been able to bring under its rule a large part of the whole world. *The unscrupulous exploitation of many hundred millions of Colonial slaves, enabled the English capitalists to pay out a, comparatively speaking, sufficient wage to the most important sections of its proletariat at home.* By this means, more than in any other country, an aristocracy of labour was developed, and this in its turn produced a Trade Union bureaucracy. This Labour aristocracy and Trade Union bureaucracy, which literally lived on the enormous treasures squeezed out of the yellow and black Colonial slaves, acquired more and more interest in maintaining and protecting this beautiful capitalistic order of society. THEY BECAME THE MOST POWERFUL SUPPORTS OF ENGLISH CAPITALISM. *They choked off every fight of the great masses, before it could become dangerous*, they sabotaged every strike movement, and prevented the workers from gaining what they could have done, by reason of their tight organisations and the weight of their masses.

"THIS ACTIVITY, AIMED AT CHOKING OFF THE STRIKE MOVEMENT, HAS BEEN SET GOING BY THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRATS WHO DELEGATE THE ENGLISH LABOUR ARISTOCRACY, AT THE VERY BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT MASS STRIKE. Their first aim was, of course, to isolate the miners. This was difficult to start with, because the railwaymen and transport workers were longing to fight. Capitalism had been too blatant even for them. First the miners must be defeated, and then the other workers would be an easy prey. It was impossible for railwaymen and transport workers to stand by passively. Here the bureaucracy got the 'wind up,' and by skilful manœuvring contrived to postpone the strike notices from one day to another. Meanwhile, the miners would be starved into submission by the sight of their starving families, for fair words butter no parsnips, and expressions of sympathy from the rank and file of the N.U.R and Transport Workers do not take the place of direct action.

"How far this treachery of the Trade Union leaders will succeed, remains to be seen. However these gentlemen may be in choking off strike movements, whatever trickery they are capable of, circumstances are stronger than they are. The ill-feeling between bourgeoisie and proletariat has become so intense even in England, and the extra profits have so dwindled of late owing to the crises in England and her colonies, that it is probable that the lackeys of the capitalist class, these Labour bureaucrats, will not be able much longer to stave off the life and death struggle between capitalists and wage slaves."

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RANK AND FILE ACTS.

The firm stand of the miners is having a very good effect upon the rank and file of the transport workers, who are taking the matter into their own hands, and acting without consulting their leaders. This has shamed the leaders of the Transport Workers' Federation into issuing the following appeal:—

"On the Clyde and the West Coast of Scotland, in the Firth of Forth, in South Wales, in London, in Manchester, in Bristol, on the East Coast and on the Tyneside ports, the transport workers are loyally carrying out the instructions of the Federation. We are acting in co-operation with the National Union of Railwaymen, who have declared unhesitatingly that they will refuse to handle any coal from abroad, even though that coal is handled by naval ratings, the military, or strike-breakers enrolled by the employers or the Government.

"The rank and file are ready and anxious to act. Some officials, adopting a time-serving policy, are standing between the Federation and the affiliated membership. We urge you to carry out in the best of good faith the instructions of the Federation."

Whenever a general strike has been mooted, we have have been told that the leaders have not called it because the men were not behind them. Now we are getting at the truth of the matter, which is that the rank and file were in front of the leaders, and this is the first time that they have taken the lead and shown what the true position is. Of course, the general strike has not yet been called, but the railwaymen and some of the dockers have refused to handle coal from abroad, *without official sanction*. The Bristol dockers have gone further and have passed the two following resolutions:—

"That we Bristol dockers resolve not to handle any goods in ships which have bunkered in foreign ports;

"And we decide not to work any ships in port until such time as the miners' dispute is definitely settled."

On the Clyde, the dockers' strangle-hold remains firm, and the police are getting active. The ship-owners declare the dockers' conduct to be a breach of the working agreement, and are likely to threaten a national reprisal if the transport workers endorse the hold-up. The attitude of the Scottish Executive is that it would be better to fight alongside the miners than allow the members to bleed to death in inaction. The rank and file approve this action.

The Ipswich dockers are refusing to handle coal from Belgium.

Nine railwaymen refused to handle coal from any colliery siding pending a settlement of the lock-out, according to official instructions, and were dismissed; but on the E.C. of the N.U.R. declaring its determination to use all the weight of the organisation to secure their reinstatement, the Great Northern management thought better of it and reinstated the men.

But the other side is not idle all this time. The capitalists think they can break the miners by importing coal from abroad. The French Government has authorised the exportation of French coal to England, which is reported to be the result of the request of a British firm to be allowed to purchase from 10,000 to 15,000 tons daily from the Nord and Pas de Calais. The question arises, will the French transport workers handle this coal, for the Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation reports that he has received assurances that Dutch, French, Belgian, German and Austrian workers will take steps to prevent the export of coal to Great Britain. Thus the power lies in the hands of the workers, and the capitalists are helpless without their co-operation. They think of all sorts of ways of getting over the coal shortage difficulty, but the workers can checkmate them every time if there is only solidarity amongst them.

Meanwhile the Government is standing by the coal-owners, men who, in 1843, employed children of four and five years of age to make profits for them. They have called up the Reserves, on whom they have already spent £1,000,000 a week of *your* money, and have placarded the hoardings with huge posters detrimental to the miners cause, at *your* expense also. There is no money to give the miners a decent wage, but plenty with which to starve them!

The Trade Union Ballot Bill was introduced into the House of Commons this week. This is a mischievous measure, which proposes to interfere with the management of Trade Unions by regulating how they shall conduct their ballots. It makes the taking of a ballot "on any question arising out of a stoppage of work" compulsory in the case of Trade Unions concerned in mining, shipping, and railway industries, and in gas, water, and lighting supply industries. A new body, to be called the Trade Union Ballot Regulation Committee is to conduct the ballot. The obvious object of this measure is to deplete Union funds, by delay and to confuse and demoralise men on strike. As it is, there is too much delay in calling strikes, which gives the enemy time to complete his preparations for breaking them.

On May Day, Labour's Day, huge demonstrations were held all over the country, though considering the special circumstances, they should have been far larger. Yet, the workers as a whole, are supporting the miners, as evidenced by the huge collections made for their wives and children, which is a most important matter. The *Daily Herald* has already collected £25,000, and needs another. Over £273 was collected in Hyde Park on May Day. Those who cannot help in any other way, should contribute as generously as possible.

But we must not only think of the workers at home. We must know what is happening in other countries; for the workers' cause all over the world is one.

In the United States, a huge shipping strike has begun, against the bosses' decision to make a 15 per cent. cut in wages. On Monday it was reported that 20,000 seamen and 10,000 oilers would quit their ships in New York in the next 24 hours. The leaders stated that no ships would be able to leave New York.

And how is the Ruhr occupation, which has been decided upon by the Allies, going to effect the German workers? The Allied Supreme Council, which wishes to rule the world in the interests of the capitalists, has decided to send an ultimatum to Germany respecting her payment of the indemnity, disarmament, trial of criminals, etc., on May 7th, and if not complied with, the Ruhr valley is to be occupied, and the German ports blockaded on May 13th. Four hundred thousand French troops are being got ready for the occupation.

The *Petit Journal* reports that workers in the district have been notified that the hours of work will be reduced in case of the occupation, and manufacturers have asked the shopkeepers to suspend their business. That means stagnation in the Rhineland, the greatest industrial centre in Germany, as the miners are not likely to continue work for their enemies. Therefore the German workers will have a bad time, and the French workers are not likely to gain either by this Napoleonic move of the French Government; they will only have to sacrifice more of their lives to the greed of their masters. And if the British send troops and men-of-war, what are the British workers going to gain? Already they are suffering from the coal that is being exported, and when the blockade—that most infamous weapon that has ever been used in barbarian or so-called civilised times—is imposed, they will suffer again from increased cost of living.

There is only one thing for the workers to do, and that is: Workers of the World Unite!

WAKE UP, LABOUR!

"I hate the poor." "Those beastly Labour men!" "The working class are better off than *we* are!" "We must cut wages, or the country will go down."

These are some of the expressions which fall from the lips of certain fine ladies and gentlemen who know full well who their enemy is. Their enemy is the working class, the wage-slaves, who, by the way, have produced the wealth which these people are enjoying. These impudent wage-slaves who are wanting a decent life.

These gentry know quite well that there is no common interest between capitalists and workers. *They* are class-conscious. They want good dividends. They are in business for *profit*, and they know—only they don't tell the workers—that profit is got by withholding from the producers the larger part of the fruits of their labour, and keeping them on a fodder basis. The more "these beastly labour men" want a decent life, the more they will absorb the fruits of their own labour (beg pardon, Ladies and Gentlemen), the more they will reduce your "Divvies." If, then, Labour demands to LIVE, then the capitalists' dividends are switched off.

The capitalist class realises this. So, when Labour puts a notice in the paper that it will probably strike in the middle of next month, there or thereabouts. Big Business gets ready an Emergency Act. When Labour begins to get more definite and talk about putting the Triple Alliance in motion *next week*, then Big Business calls up the Reserves *that day*, and it doesn't mind if it's on a Sunday. Isn't it naughty! Fancy calling up the Reserves on a Sunday; but then, you see, it had to do so, in order to avail itself of the services of the other sections of the Triple Alliance before they went on strike.

No flies on Big Business!

What about Labour?

Do you know there is a wonderful insect which lived in the tropics until Mr. Leopold de Belges imported it into Europe in one of his Congo-rubber cargo vessels. When it bites it oculates its victim with the sleeping sickness. Not so far from Brussels, as the crow flies, is another city called Amsterdam, which is a very interesting historic place. It is so interesting that several of our Trade Union leaders take t ips over there during the year, and as the inse t I was talking about just now, was at Brussels, it just flew over to Amsterdam to have a look at these ladies and gentlemen, and *they*, well, they got a little box and caught it and brought it back to this country, and they have turned it loose amongst their rank and file members, making them go to sleep. In their sleep they did strange things—as sleepwalkers do—first they carried soldiers and munitions to the mining districts; secondly they joined up with the Reserves to save their King and country, and thirdly, they are prepared to march into Germany to suppress the German miners and other workers, so that they can produce cheap goods on a starvation wage, and bring down wages at home.

How strange that Labour leaders should want the rank and file workers to go to sleep and do these funny things. How strange that they should want to continue the capitalist system! *Not at all.*

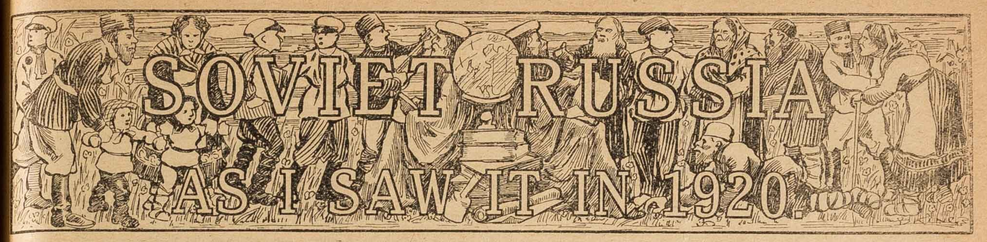
No flies on the Labour leaders. They have got good jobs. Will they keep them? Perhaps, if they get one or two more of these sleeping sickness flies over from Amsterdam—this one has about spent itself.

Gospel according to St. John, translated by Labour:—

"*In the beginning was the WORD.*"

Gospel of St. John, translated by Capital:—

"*In the beginning was the DEED.*"



By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The Red Trade Union International: A Question of Tactics. — The Problem of Management. — The Dictatorship of Scientific Organisation. — A Conceited Working Class? — The Petrograd Palace of Labour. — The Mother and the Child.

The Communist Party moreover, regards the Trade Unions as the political training-ground of the masses. Every worker must belong to a Trade Union, for everyone must work, and none can obtain work without presenting the Trade Union card; but only the tried and educated minority of the workers belongs to the Communist Party.

The mission of the Communist unit within the Trade Union is to teach Communism to the masses of Trade Unionists outside the Party.

The Russian Trade Unions have formally accepted the political guidance of the Communist Party. The Third All-Russian Trade Union Congress, held after the Soviets came to power, which took place in April 1920, declared:—

"The Trade Unions as a whole, standing on the platform of the realisation of Communism through the dictatorship of the proletariat, are guided in their activity in the proletarian revolution by the Rusian Communist Party."

The Communist Party, in its turn, has declared the importance of the Trade Unions, and the necessity of the co-operation between them and the Communist Party itself. The Ninth Congress of the Party recorded its opinion thus:—

"Any antagonism of the economic organisation of the working-class, known as the Trade Unions, towards its political organisation, the Soviets, is an absurdity, and a deviation from Marxism towards bourgeois ideas, and particularly towards bourgeois Trade Union prejudices. This kind of antagonism is still more prejudicial and absurd during the epoch of proletarian dictatorship, when all the struggle of the proletariat, and the whole of its political and economic activity, should more than ever be concentrated, united, and directed by a single will, and bound by an iron unity. . .

". . . Proletarian dictatorship and the construction by Socialism, is only possible to the extent to which the Trade Unions, though nominally remaining non-party, in reality, adhere to the Communist policy, and actually realise this policy in life."

The Russian Trade Union Congress early declared against political neutrality, and for solidarity with the Soviet Government and the Communist Revolution, and finally, at the Congress of April 1920, declared themselves a part of the machinery of the Soviet State, thus:—

"The Trade Unions in Russia practically become an inseparable part of the Soviet system, a necessary supplement and support of the proletarian dictatorship of the Soviets."

The easy rapidity with which Russian Trade Unionism was won for Communism is explained by the fact that Trade Unions did not achieve any conceivable foothold in Russia until after the overthrow of Czardom, when Russian institutions were already in a state of flux, and Russia's desperate economic situation was swiftly urging the workers onward to Communism.

Workers' Mutual Benefit Societies date back in Russia to the early nineteenth century; but fighting Trade Unions, which appeared later, had only a small, precarious and illegal existence; formed and nursed by the Socialist organisations, they were always under Socialist influence. A law of 1874 made membership of an organisation "for rousing hostility between employers and employed," and "provoking" strikes, punishable by eight months' imprisonment, exile to Siberia, and forfeiture of rights and property. This law was no dead letter. The first Conference of Russian Trade Unions could not be held until 1905, when the first Revolution had almost burst the chains of Czarist authority. Even in 1906, despite that revolution, there were only 200,000 organised workers in all Russia. With the fall of the Revolution, the Unions were again suppressed, 104 of them being shut down in 1907. Nevertheless, the efforts to form Trade Unions continued, and these attained to some small successes in 1912-13. The Unions were again utterly crushed at the outbreak of war, and when the successful Revolution of 1917 broke out, there existed not a single Russian Trade Union. That is a very remarkable fact.

The Council of Workers' Deputies, which sprang into being as the organ of the Revolution, took the initiative in forming Trade Unions, and either aided or substituted the Unions as the workers' champion in disputes with the employers. It was the Council of Workers' Deputies which convened the Third Trade Union Congress in January 1917, the first effective Trade Union Congress ever held in Russia.

The Council of Workers' Deputies was at that time led by the Mensheviki and Social-Revolutionaries, and the Third Trade Union Congress had also a non-Bolshevik majority. The Mensheviki were in co-operation with the bourgeoisie, the palliation of the capitalist system, and the prosecution of the war, side by side with the capitalist Allies. The Bolsheviki were, of course, for the entire sweeping away of Capitalism, the establishment of Communism and proletarian rule, and peace with the workers of all countries.

Though it took the part of the Bolsheviki against the Mensheviki, the Third Trade Union Congress adopted a programme of reform, including the eight-hour working day, which produced continual conflicts with the employers. Moreover, the factory committees, which sprang up with the outbreak of revolution, carried on a vigorous struggle to obtain control of the factory management, and the right to engage and dismiss the workers.

Strike followed strike, and at last, in August 1917, the Moscow Trade Union Council called out 500,000 Moscow workers to strike against the Coalition Provisional Government, with the battle-cry of "All power to the Soviets." Already the Bolsheviki had gained the majority in the Unions. At the Democratic Convention, held in Petrograd in September, 1917, nine-tenths of the Trade Union delegates were opposed to the Coalition, and 70 per cent belonged to the Bolshevik Party. The Unions and factory committees were now forming Red Guards and Red Cross detachments for the fight against the Government. The Unions and Councils of Trade Unions were directly represented on the revolutionary committees, and their premises were used by the revolutionary troops.

When the Soviets took power, the Trade Unions placed all their machinery at the disposal of the Soviet Government. The only purely proletarian Union which definitely opposed the rise of the Soviets to power in October, 1917, was that of the printers, who came out in support of the Provisional Government and the freedom of the capitalist press.

The majority of the Unions, whose members had struck to secure the fall of Kerensky's Coaltion, called their members back to work when the Soviets took power, and declared that striking against the workers' Government could only injure the working class.

The first Trade Union Congress held under the Soviet Government was in January, 1918. It represented two and a half million workers, and declared firmly for the Revolution, saying:—

"The idea of neutrality of the Trade Unions was, and remains, a bourgeois idea. There is, and there can be, no neutrality in the great historical fight between revolutionary Socialism and its opponents. Support of bourgeois policy and betrayal of the working-class was always concealed beneath the mask of neutrality. Least of all in Russia, a country passing through a great revolution, having overthrown the bourgeoisie, could the Trade Unions be 'neutral.' All the questions arising in the process of the revolution: Constituent Assembly, Nationalisation of Banks, the fight against the bourgeois press, the repudiation of loans, etc., directly affect the interests of the Trade Union movement. In all these questions, the Trade Unions must give their entire support to the policy of the Socialist Soviet Government, as conducted by the Council of People's Commissaries."

Every declaration of the National Congress of Trade Unions proved the falsity of the statements made by Alexinsky and others, that the Trade Unions of Russia are opposed to and oppressed by the Soviet Government. It is true that the Clerks' Union and the Printers' at first declared for political independence, but by 1919, the National Congress of both these Unions had announced their solidarity with the workers Revolution. The position of the Mensheviki in the Three All-Russian Trade Union Congresses held since the Soviets came to power, was as follows:

	Total Delegates.	Mensheviks.	Per cent.
1st Congress, Jan. 1918	416	66	21.3
2nd Congress, Jan. 1919	748	29	9.4
3rd Congress, April, 1920	1,229	48	6.8

The Red International.

Finding themselves quite out of sympathy with the existing Trade Union International, the Russian Trade Unions, in which, as has been seen, the Communists have the lead, decided to form a Red Trade Union International to rival the old International, the headquarters of which is at Amsterdam. The organisations which at once decided to send representatives to the Red International, were the American, and other branches of the Industrial Workers of the World, the British Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee Movement and kindred organisations in other countries. These bodies were reluctant to agree to the admission of the orthodox Trade Unions, which the Russians desire to attract and transform. The conflict between the ideas of permeation from within and attack from without, which had been acutely manifested at the Third International Congress again arose at the discussions held at the same time at Moscow, regarding the Red Trade Union International.

It was argued that the Russians, if they were to act in logical accord with their own theories, should make no attempt to form a new Trade Union International, but should transform the existing one; but the Russians insisted that whilst the masses within the old Trade Unions can be won for Communism and a Red International, the Amsterdam organisation cannot be won, and must be fought.

Gallacher, of the Scottish Workers' Committee, declared that the proposed Red International would be, not Red, but piebald. Every Red Internationalist present was sceptical as to the Russian project.

Tomsky, the Russian Trade Union leader, who presided over the discussions, a little man with Tartar eyes, had something of Lenin's skill in negotiations. No one doubted his revolutionary fervour, and somehow he induced the delegates to agree to everything. He argued just as Lenin does:—

"This is not a question of principle for us; it is a question of tactics. We have never regarded existing organisations as sacred. We have always been of opinion that it is easier to get at the masses through existing Unions; but if that is impossible, the existing organisation must be destroyed and a new organisation created. That is why we wish to destroy the Amsterdam International. We do not wish to help Appleton and Gompers. Therefore we must not build up a territorial structure by which the existing organisations must be reactionary in any case.

"In Russia we have a much wider basis for the Trade Unions than for the Communist Party. We do not demand that every Trade Unionist shall be a Communist. Therefore we are also proposing something wider than the Third International. The principal difference between the Mensheviki and the Communists in this regard is that the Mensheviki are only willing to admit the official Trade Unions. We admit also the unofficial organisations. The Italian Confederation of Labour is ready to join the Red International, but we are inviting also the Italian Syndicalist Unions, which are outside the Federation."

The Factory Committees and the Industrial Unions.

As we have seen, the Russian Trade Unions were active supporters of the proletarian revolution, but the Workers' Committees were earlier and more active in the fight. They were, indeed, the first organs created by the masses in their struggle to overthrow Czardom and Capitalism. The factory committees provided delegates for the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers' Delegates. The factory committees carried on the class-war with the employers and the Coalition Government. In some cases, where the employer had closed the factory in order that hunger might crush the revolution, the factory committee re-opened the factory and carried on production; in other cases, the factory committee ejected the employer and took over the management. At first the factory committees were striving for workers' control of industry under the capitalist employer, later for workers' management of industry owned by the workers' State.

The industrial unions had first enrolled but a few of the workers. The factory committees, a vast, spontaneous growth, performed all the functions of industrial unions. In some cases the factory committees soon became the local nucleus of the industrial union; in other cases the factory committees regarded themselves as rivals and more efficient substitutes of the Unions, which they considered out of date. Central Councils of factory committees were formed, and conflicting national organisations of factory committees and industrial unions began to grow up. It was soon decided, however, that the factory committees should form the local branches of the industrial unions, and the central councils of factory committees were dissolved after the Trade Union Congress of January 1918.

The basis of a Russian industrial union is very broad and comprehensive. For instance, the Metal Workers' Union included all persons engaged in obtaining metal in any form, from smelting to the making of machines and metal instruments. Unskilled workers, office staff, technicians, engineers and all the various craftsmen in the metal works, the wood mould makers and all who work in the metal factory, are included in the membership. The factory committees are elected every six months at a general meeting of all the workers in the factory. Conferences of the factory committee elect the Regional Committees, and Regional Conferences elect delegates to the National Congress of the Metal Workers' Union, held once a year. This Congress elects the National Committee.

There now exists in Russia, but twenty-three industrial unions, covering all branches of industry. These are:—

1. Medical and sanitary workers (doctors, nurses, hospital porters and attendants, pharmacists, etc.).
2. Transport workers (railwaymen, sailors, stevedores, chauffeurs, etc.).
3. Miners.
4. Woodworkers.
5. Land and forest workers.
6. Art workers (actors, choristers, musicians, painters, sculptors, theatrical, circus and cinema employees, etc.).
7. Workers on public feeding and housing.
8. Leather workers.
9. Metal workers.
10. Workers in Communal services (drains, water, militia, fire-brigade, baths, laundries, hairdressing, street lighting, etc.).
11. Workers in education and Socialist culture (teachers, professors, school and university staff, porters, etc.).
12. Workers in public communications (post, telegraph, telephones, wireless).
13. Printers.
14. Paper workers.
15. Workers in food industry (bakers, confectioners, sausage makers, etc.).
16. Builders.
17. Sugar workers.
18. Soviet workers (in co-operatives, shops, commissariats, etc.).
19. Tobacco workers.
20. Textile workers.
21. Chemical workers (soap, perfume, explosives, matches).
22. Workers in sewing industry (outer and under garments, hats, etc.).
23. Workers in taxation, finance and control departments.

All these Unions are constructed on the same principle, with the factory committee, as the local branch.

In the first period of the revolution, the factory committees strove everywhere to become the managing authority in the factory. Afterwards, the factories were managed by boards, consisting of representatives of the factory committees, the Trade Unions, and the Council of National Economy, which is a body created jointly by the Trade Unions and the Soviets. The steady tendency is for the election of management to give way to selection, based on practical experience, technical competency and organising capacity. The Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party declared in favour of managements by single persons. These passages from the resolutions adopted are interesting, as indications of the trend of thought developed by the effort to secure an abundant production and the removal of capitalist exploitation, which made control by the rank and file appear the paramount necessity.

"The chief problem in the organisation of industry, is to create a competent, firm, and energetic dictatorship, whether the question is one of individual or of an entire sphere of production.

"For the purpose of attaining a less complex and more exact form of industrial administration, as well as in the interests of the organising powers of the country, the Congress finds it necesary to introduce in industrial administration, instead of the hitherto prevailing management by collegiates and boards, a management by single persons . . . in workshops and guilds, and in factory and work administrations, as well as decreasing the collegiates and boards in all the average-sized and more important links of the administrative productive apparatus . . .

". . . The Congress makes it obligatory upon all the members of the Party to fight mercilessly that particularly obnoxious form of ignorant conceit, which deems the working-class capable of solving all problems without the assistance, even in the most responsible cases, of specialists of the bourgeois school. The demogogic elements who speculate on this kind of prejudice in the more backward section of our working classes, can have no place in the ranks of the Party of scientific Socialism."

The last paragraph quoted, of course refers to the present transitory stage; for Communists hope to eradicate all class distinctions, and produce a generally cultivated population, in which the expert in some particular line will neither expect, nor secure, a higher social and economic position than the general average of the people.

Not only the Communist Party, but the Trade Unions also have declared for individual management where this will benefit production.

The present function of the Factory Committee is to act as the basic nucleus of the Trade Union, to assist in raising labour discipline amongst, to see to the carrying out, in the factory, of instructions by the Trade, the Labour Commissariat, and the factory management, to hold Courts of Honour for the enforcement of discipline and punishment of offenders, and to enforce the decisions of the Courts of Honour. To carry on propaganda, both political and industrial, in support of the workers' revolution, to educate the workers and to interest them in the general activity of the factory, to assist in selecting labour administrators, inspectors, industrial union officials, and so on; to take part in controlling the industrial commissions, which fix the rates of pay. *Except indirectly by their part in electing officials and boards, the factory committees no longer interfere in the management of the factories.*

The industrial unions fix the wages of the industries and define the conditions of labour. The decisions of the unions are merely confirmed by the Commissariats. The wage rates worked out by the industrial unions are submitted to the wages department of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, in order that a uniform wage policy may be established. Having been systematised in relation to the conditions of other industries, the wage rates are finally passed by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and sent to the Labour Commissariat for final ratification.

The Labour Commissariat and all its responsible officials are elected by the Trade Unions. All legislative and other proposals of the Commissariat affecting questions of principle must first be submitted to a joint meeting of the industrial unions and the Labour Commissariat, and none can become operative without the sanction of the Unions.

The Unions, jointly with the Soviets, appoint the Councils of National Economy and the Central economic administations at the head of the various industries, such as the Committee for State Building and Construction, and the chief administration of the nationalised textile undertakings.

Except in taking part in the appointment of managers and managing boards, the Trade Unions do not interfere with the management of the industries.

The Labour Commissariat has the duty of protecting the workers from exploitation and injury due to the exigencies of Russia's productive needs, and of improving the conditions under which their work is carried on. The Commissariat has established clinics and laboratories for the study of industrial diseases. It is studying to discover how the scientific foundations of such schemes for increasing production as the Taylor system can be combined with care of the workers' health and development. The Commissariat is responsible for the hygienic and sanitary construction of housing and working places for the limitation of working hours and special protection of women and young people, and it provides inspectors to see to the enforcement of its regulations.

The Labour inspectors are elected at conferences of Trade Unions and factory committees. The Inspector of Labour, though responsible to the Labour Commissariat, must work in close touch with the Trade Unions. He reads papers to Trade Union branch meetings, and carries out the instructions of the local Trade Union councils. He may be withdrawn by the local Trade Union Council if found by it to be inefficient. In April 1920, out of 405 Labour Inspectors, 375 were men, 30 were women. They were drawn from the following categories:—

Workers	232
Foremen and technicians	75
General clerks	60
Medical assistants	5
Teachers	6
Druggists	2
Students	6
Doctors	3
Lawyers	1
Engineers	2
Unknown	9

Their educational attainments were as follows:

Higher education	16
Average education	38
Average technical and craft	49
Lower education	272
Domestic education	13
Not known	17

The majority were between twenty-five and forty-five years of age.

Their Party affiliations were as follows:—

Communists	183
Communist sympathisers	85
Mensheviki	15
Left Social Revolutionaries	6
Anarchists	2
Zionist Socialists	1
Bund	
Non-party	93
Unknown	18

It should be remembered that these Inspectors are elected by their fellow-workers in open conference.

To assist the Labour Inspectors, 125 technical inspectors and 60 medical inspectors have been elected. They act in a consultative capacity to the Labour Inspectors who bear the responsibility for the work of labour inspection.

Soviet Russia is so short of industrial labour, caused by the need for production, so much sapped by war and the backward state of the country, that ideal conditions of labour are far away.

The eight-hour day was inaugurated on October 29th, 1917, as soon as the Soviets came to power. Overtime is allowed only on work of extreme social necessity by sanction of the Trade Union and Labour Inspector. It is paid for at time and a half. Night-work is limited to seven hours in sedentary and mental work, considered as exhausting than manual work, to six hours. Work in tobacco, gas, chemical and other dangerous processes is limited to six or seven hours a day. The dinner interval is from thirty minutes to two hours during the working day. There must be a weekly rest of 42 hours. Each worker was entitled to two weeks holiday on full pay after six months' work, but in view of the economic crisis, this holiday was reduced to two weeks per year, except for children and persons engaged in harmful trades. Women are entitled from work on full pay for eight weeks before and eight weeks after confinement; factory workers for six weeks before and six weeks after. Nursing mothers have half an hour's rest every three hours for feeding their children. *Crêches* for the children are attached to factories. For juniors between sixteen and eighteen years, the working hours are limited to six per day. Children under sixteen who are already working in the factories, must not work more than four hours a day, and may only remain at work until a school or other suitable environment can be provided for them. When the child taken from work was giving financial assistance to the family, the equivalent is provided for the family from Soviet sources.

As the cultural development of the workers increases, as their sense of responsibility and zeal for the common good enlarges; as the industrial unions lose the narrow sectional outlook produced by Capitalism and the struggle with the exploiting employer; as the disproportion between Russia's enormous population and tiny sources of manufactured goods is reduced, the need for these opposing bodies, the Trade Unions and the Labour Commissariat and the Economic Council and the Central administrations of the industries will probably cease. Losovsky's prediction that eventually there will be but one organisation in place of these, will probably be fulfilled.

At present, the Trade Unions comprise the workers organised to protect themselves and especially their wages. The Labour Commissariat comprises the Inspectors, the doctors and experts on hygiene, who strive to protect the workers from exploitation, both by those who are responsible for production, and by themselves in their own eagerness to earn as much money as possible.

The Economic Councils and the Central Industrial Councils are the bodies responsible for production; those who are faced with the duty of supplying the needs of great Russia and her vast population, and who, in the effort to meet these ever-pressing needs, must somehow mould the raw material of circumstances, and the wayward wills of masses of human beings, to the productive end.

Already the Trade Unions have largely discarded the character of a body fighting purely for the interests of the workers as employees, caring nothing for the needs of the consumers. This is proved by the resolutions adopted by the Unions' Congresses, by their willingness to give power to the factory managements; their own assistance to the management in maintaining discipline amongst the workers without interference with the rules imposed by the management, and by their acceptance of the principle of compulsory labour. It must be remembered in this connection, that the committees of actual workers in the shops are the branches of the Unions, the basis on which they are constructed.

The Petrograd Palace of Labour.

Like every other institution of Soviet Russia, the Trade Unions are labouring under a great shortage of capable administrators. The proletariat has suffered from lack of educational opportunities. It has been held down always in stultifying drudgery and poverty. The Russian Proletarian Republic and its gigantic institutions has created a need for immense numbers of efficient organisers deeply imbued with Communist ideals. This need could not possibly have been supplied at such short notice in any event; and the counter-revolutionary war is constantly reducing the ranks of those best fitted to administrate. Nevertheless, great things have been accomplished.

At the Petrograd Palace of Labour, where all the Industrial Unions have their offices, a staff of 300 persons was at work, a staff much too small for the requirements of their task. Our guide, an important official, was going to the Polish front in a few days' time. Whilst willing to go, he spoke with regret of the work he must leave behind.

The interior of the Palace was beflagged and upholstered in revolutionary red, with special adornments added in honour of the Third International. The main assembly hall, which seats 1,000 people, was hung with the banners of the Unions, and every one was red. The banner of the Tailors symbolised the solidarity of the workers by the figures of a European, an Indian and a Negro. A smaller hall is used almost continuously for conferences. An extensive library is open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.

A class in physics was being held in the laboratory. The students, six men and five women, were textile workers elected by their comrades in the workshop. They are provided with free board and lodging and their shop pay during their studies.

Part of the Palace of Labour was, like Smolney, a school for noble girls. An enormous and splendid stable, which formed part of the building, has been converted into a dining-room, where meals are provided for the workers in the palace, and many others in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER XII.

The House of the Mother and Child.

Soviet Russia early adopted a new code of laws of marriage, divorce, guardianship and inheritance. Under the code which is already obsolete, divorce can be obtained by mutual consent, or the desire of either party. Husbands and wives can choose what surname each will adopt after marriage and on divorce. They can also decide each to retain their original citizenship after marriage, or both to take that of husband, or wife. Marriage does not establish community of property, and contracts between husband and wife, having a right to diminish the right of either over property, are void. If husband or wife is in need and unable to work, he or she has the right to support from the other, provided the latter can afford it. Parents and children have the same mutual right to support, if in need and unable to work, but not otherwise, and other members of the family have the same claim on well-to-do relatives. Men over 55, and women over 50 are considered unable to work. The right of inheritance is abolished, but husbands, wives, children and other relatives who are in need, may be maintained out of the property left by the deceased, maintainence being paid out to them by the Department of Social Security. In determining the character of the maintenance, the code directs that the Department shall take into account the need and working capacity of those concerned, and the minimum wage of the district. If the property in question is a trading or industrial enterprise, its management passes under control of the local Soviet. The mother of an illegitimate child should notify the time of conception, and name and residence of the father, not later than three months before the birth of the child. The person mentioned as father is then notified, and if he wishes to appeal against the mother's statement, must do so within two weeks. Should it be established that the person designated had such intercourse as to become in the natural course of events, the child's father, he must share in the expenses of pregnancy, birth, and maintenance. If several persons had such intercourse with the child's mother, they must all share the expenses. Paternal rights are exercised by both parents conjointly. All measures concerning the children are taken by mutual consent of both parents. Parents are bound to maintain and educate their children under age.

This code, revolutionary as it may seem to the jurists and legislators of capitalist countries, is already obsolete. The steady disappearance of private property, the progressive discarding of money, and the assumption by the Soviet community of the duty of maintaining the children, the aged, the sick and disabled, and pregnant mothers, have practically swept away all occasion for such private claims for support as are dealt with by the code.

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OUR COMPETITION.

We have received, by registered letters, for our competition the following: A typescript of 21 pp., signed "M.I.C.P."; and a MS. of 49 pp., signed "Early in the Morning." Altogether the number of competitors is twelve.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The Chinese Troops of the Red Army.

The Capitalist Press is spreading the news that the Soviet Government could only get the rebels out of Kronstadt with the help of wild Chinese troops. The truth is that not a single Chinese soldier has taken part in the operations against Kronstadt which is easily understood, since not a single Chinese soldier exists in Soviet Russia. In the year 1917, during the first months of the Soviet power, two or three thousand Chinese workers who were in Russia at the time joined the Red Army willingly. The greater part of these have long since gone home. Since 1918 the volunteer system of the Red Army has stopped, and no Chinese soldiers are now in the army. We also take this opportunity of denying the presence of German officers in the Red Army—a false report which is so greatly circulated in the Press.

Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia.

The Executive Committee (Vorstand) of the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party had a meeting on April 19th and discussed the report of Comrade Kreibich on the March action in Central Germany. It expressed itself in full sympathy with the United Communist Party of Germany, and with the movement of the revolutionary proletariat of Central Germany, and assured the revolutionary German workers of the solidarity of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. It viewed with disgust the behaviour of the former comrade of the V.K.P.D., Dr. Paul Levi, who, at a critical time, has stabbed the whole movement in the back. "This is not a question of right of free discussion and criticism inside the Party, for the brochure of Dr. Levi has far exceeded the measure of criticism, and shows that the author has not the qualities which are to be required of a leader of the Communist Party. This is not a question which concerns *only* the German Communist Party, but *all* Communist parties, and is a situation in which *any* Communist Party can find itself in the course of revolutionary development. Therefore the Party Committee of Czecho-Slovakia approves of the expulsion of Levi from the V.K.P.D."

From Lenin's Letter to the Italian Socialists.

"In Russia we have committed many faults, and made a thousand mistakes, owing to the incapacity of new and inexperienced persons in the federations and trade unions. We have no doubt that other people more experienced than ourselves would have made fewer mistakes. But in spite of all our mistakes, we have gained our end, the conquest of political power by the proletariat, and we have kept this power for three years.

"Serrati does not understand the character of this transition period in which Italy now finds herself, in which the decisive battle for the conquest of political power is the order of the day. At such a time it is not only necessary to turn out all Mensheviks, Reformists, and Turati's from the Party, but it would be even advisable to turn out some very good Communists who are inclined to wobble and take the part of the Reformists. In any case, it would be advisable, I repeat, to remove such comrades from responsible positions."

Communist Movement in Northern France.

Fourteen months ago a section of the Socialist Party of Northern France founded the weekly paper, "Proletaire," which at that time could only appear under great difficulties, and had a small circulation. To-day the "Proletaire" is the organ of the Communist section of Northern France, which to-day has just as many members as the Party had before the breaking off of the Reformists, and the paper now has a circulation of 10,000. The sheet was founded by workers, and is being carried on by workers. The chief editor, Delourne, is a manual worker.

"The Workers' Union," organ of proletarian class politics, appears for the present once a fortnight. The yearly subscription is 5 francs.

This is a new paper which aims at organising the proletariat on a class basis. It claims non- or anti-political in the sense of the old-fashioned party dope hitherto understood as politics. It is to be published by Friedrich Schneider, of Basle, and Conrad Wyss, of Turich. The first number appeared on May 1st.

CLASS WAR IN AMERICA.

According to data obtained from the Labour returns of the Ministry of Labour, in 182 large industrial towns there are at present about 35.5 per cent of the workers unemployed.

Last year in January 9,402,000 workers were employed, while to-day only 6,070,648 workers were employed. This means that in 182 towns there are at least 3,331,352 unemployed.

Over against this, according to calculations of bourgeois income, made by Klein, we see that in the United States fifty families have more than 100,000,000 dollars each; one hundred families have more than 50,000,000 dollars each; five hundred families have more than 10,000,000 dollars and John D. Rockefeller's estate is valued at 3,000,000,000 dollars. Two hundred persons in the United States control 15,000,000,000 dollars.

In America misery on the one hand, and riches on the other, are growing day by day.

Thus the process of concentration of capital is rapidly perfecting itself in America, and it is time that the proletariat prepares to take over control. Should it be smart enough to outwit Samual Gompers and Co., it may be able to stave off the coming world war.

We learn from another source that the American workers are getting busy. At the Congress of the American Federation of Labour, a tremendously increased opposition demanded the renewal of trade negotiations with Soviet Russia. This, of course, was snuffed out by the Great Samuel, the prophet to whom the Lord has forgotten to speak. All the same, it looks healthy in the A.F.L., while in the great industrial unions of the working class there is much animated discussion over the Red Trade Union International. Detroit, Seattle and Chicago are turning Moscow-wards.

A CHANCE FOR ITALIAN SOCIALISTS.

The elections are to be held in Italy on May 15, and the Socialist candidates are experiencing the greatest difficulties in making their preparations, as the Fascisti are assaulting their congresses, which are meeting to nominate candidates, and intimidating the notaries into refusing to witness separately the 600 signatures required to place candidates' names on the ballot-paper. They have warned Giolitti that if they are not afforded protection they will not take part in the elections, which, the "Daily Herald" correspondent says, would create a revolutionary situation. "There are more than 2,000 Socialist municipalities in Italy with thousands of office-holders. In addition, there are Socialist officials in the joint Government commissions of charity, economic, industrial, and other bodies. The resignation of this great number would throw great sections of Italy into actual anarchy."

What a splendid opportunity for the Socialists to create a revolutionary situation. Abstention is better than participation!

INDUSTRIAL JOTTINGS. By WARD NEWTON.

A Reply to "Associated."

My paragraph, "An Internal Danger to Trade Unionism," in the issue of April 16th, has moved "Associated" to reply that I did the A.S.L.E. and F. an injustice. He assumes that I was attacking the A.S.L.E. and F. as being less loyal to the principles of trade unionism and the labour movement generally than the N.U.R. That was not my point. He says: "Our friend Ward Newton asks us to combine with the N.U.R., whom he terms as 'those weaker unionists.'" If he re-reads my notes he will find that I did not speak of the N.U.R. as weaker unionists. I explicitly said: "Its [the A.S.L.E. and F.] refusal to come out whole-heartedly on the side of the miners will have a baneful effect on the weaker members of the N.U.R." There are weaker members in all unions, and I was only referring to the fact that the sectionalism, manifested in the separatism of the A.S.L.E. and F.—which is a craft union—by its very constitution and its narrow determination to "manage its own business" before it considers that of the industry as a whole, undoubtedly makes for lack of harmony and solidarity in the ranks of railwaymen as a whole.

* * *

I would be the last to say that the individual members of the A.S.L.E. and F. were less loyal to labour than the individual members of the N.U.R., and do not depreciate the help given to railwaymen by the A.S.L.E. and F. in various labour disputes. My whole point was that the existence of craft unions rather than industrial unions makes for weakness; it discourages the unity of the workers, and divides them upon questions which are secondary to the supreme question of class solidarity. The fact that the N.U.R. has weak leaders who love soft jobs and political power rather than the emancipation of the workers does not affect the issue. Membership in the N.U.R. at any rate is based upon the principle of employment in the railway industry. The A.S.L.E. and F., be it ever so desirous of emancipating the workers, and ever so loyal and solid, could do little towards that end alone. Its membership is based upon the principle of employment in a single craft.

* * *

"Associated" admits that "the reason that the A.S.L.E. and F. did not go in whole-heartedly with the Triple Alliance was because we were of the firm opinion that they were not sincere in their desire to help the miners." Surely that admission gives away the whole case for sectionalism, for if it is admitted that the A.S.L.E. and F. were willing to help the miners, but only for tactical reasons were not whole-hearted, all the more reason is there for fusion of the two. The N.U.R. in excusing themselves could just as easily claim that a section of the workers in their industry—the A.S.L.E. and F.—were not sincere in their desire to help the miners. That is just the point I am trying to make. As long as there is division among the workers in one industry, so much more difficult is it to get the whole of the industry to move together—which is admittedly the only way in which victory can be won.

* * *

Behind all the plausible arguments for sectionalism lies the baneful prejudice of *craft* consciousness—the feeling of individual superiority over less skilled or specialised workers. While the preferential treatment of the more skilled workers may be a question for open discussion, there can be no question that until the workers abandon their craft selfishness and concentrate on the task of emancipating the whole class, neither the skilled nor the relatively unskilled workers will get a fair proportion of the wealth they produce collectively.

"All civilised society has been ruled by classes, and the classes have ruled by sheer strength. The proletariat—because it is the strongest of all—can and will drag down the bourgeoisie."—Jack London.

Lieut. A. E. Woods, M.C., who served on the Western Front from 1917 to 1919, has been arrested for refusing to act in accordance with the orders calling up the Regular Reserve of Officers.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

John A. Kershaw 3s 8d, Anon. £5, Miss Tighe 2s 6d, per Miss Limousine 10d, J. Leakey £6, M. E. Marsh 2s, J. Clarges 10s, Mrs. Sparbro' 1s, F. Lawes £1, Anon. 1s 8d, Collecting Card 112 1s 11d; total £14 3s 8d. Brought forward £34 0s 10½d. Grand total £48 4s 6½d.

COMMUNIST PARTY: Bow Branch Meeting.

Sunday 15th May, at 11.30.—W. Savage.
Sunday, 22nd May, at 11.30.—R. Bishop.
Thursday, 8 p.m.—Obelisk, near Bow Church.
Members' Meetings 141, Bow Road, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

COMMUNIST PARTY.

DEMONSTRATION
to demand the
RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.
VICTORIA PARK,
SUNDAY, MAY 8th, at 3 p.m.

Speakers:
R. Stewart (Communist Party), H. Pollitt (Trade Union International), J. King (Communist Party), Melvina Walker (Communist Party), T. Hodson (Communist Party), G. Lester (Canadian Socialist Party), W. Windsor (Communist Party), Ben Gray (Communist Party), P. Edmunds (Communist Party), and M. Baruch (Communist Party).

Chairmen:
A. A. Watts and N. L. Smyth.

Collection for dependents of Political Prisoners.

Come and show your solidarity with those who are in prison for fighting your cause!

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