ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. X. No. 42. January,, 5th 1924. WEEKLY.

THE TALE OF AN ISLAND.

A great ship set sail from Britain laden with passengers. Some of these were rich and fortunate; but the majority were poor emigrants leaving their native land in despair of ever gaining a living there.

Among the latter were George and Flora Budd, both of whom had been victimised for their activities in proletarian causes.

The ship proved an ill-fated one. The steerage passengers in their crowded quarters were already beginning to look eagerly and hopefully for the end of the voyage and its hardships when there arose a tremendous gale, in the course of which the vessel was wrecked and its passengers cast on an uninhabited island.

Though now deserted, the island had obviously not long been abandoned. On every hand were signs of civilisation and abundant prosperity.

An eccentric old Scotsman, possessed of great wealth, had lived there for over half a century and had peopled it with servants he had collected from all over the world.

He had installed elaborate machinery and equipment for supplying all the needs, in food, clothing and housing, of a modern community.

Shops there were none, for there was neither buying nor selling upon the island. Its lord owned all, and dispensed all according to his will. He treated his slaves well in regard to their material needs. They were well fed and clothed, their houses were remarkably comfortable, and though simply furnished and devoid of all ornament with never a picture on the walls, their architecture was artistic, and they were fitted with cleverly devised electric and other labour-saving devices, to insure order and cleanliness.

Theatres and other institutions for amusement were lacking, but there was a great hall in which the lord of the island addressed his people, and a great square in which he reviewed them marching and performing exercises he had devised for them.

At eighty years of age the old Scotsman felt the hand of time heavy upon him, and feared that his power over his servants might begin to wane. He had heard of the monkey gland cure, and in the hope of securing rejuvenation thereby, he chartered a great ship and set sail for Paris. He took all the inhabitants of the island with him, lest any should gain authority in his absence, and dispute his power when he should return with the gift of youth to take up his reign again.

Not knowing how long the monkey gland cure might take, he caused his people to arrange matters so that, as far as possible, everything should be preserved from deterioration, and at the same time be ready for immediate use on his return.

The shipwrecked people were, indeed, fortunate in having been cast up on an island so desirable and so well prepared to receive them. Moreover, they had also passed almost unscathed through the wreck. No lives were lost, and no injuries received sufficient to incapacitate anyone, save Flora Budd, who had been struck by a floating spar, and remained unconscious for several days. Happily, George was of a cheerful, philosophical temperament, and never doubted that Flora would soon recover. Happily, too, the medical and nursing staff of the ship were able to give Flora every possible attention, so that George, knowing his wife to be in capable hands, was free to go about to investigate and explore. He had gathered around him a group of admirers amongst the steerage passengers, a proportion of whom already looked up to him as a leader.

The comfortable homes of the island were open to all comers. Nothing was bolted or barred. Under the Scotsman's rule there had been no temptation to steal, since everyone had been assured from material want.

The Scotsman had seen to it that his servants should always keep a year's supplies of food and clothing in store, and as we have seen, everything had been placed in readiness for a sudden return.

The catering staff of the shipwrecked vessel found the great kitchens and the common meal rooms all provided with necessaries.

The poor emigrants, who had been crushed by poverty in their own land herded together during the long voyage in the steerage and, finally, drenched by the sea water, and buffetted by wind and waves, declared themselves in paradise. They clothed themselves in the garments with which the bedrooms were stocked, reclined luxuriously in the comfortable beds and easy chairs, ate their fill of the petition, which was displayed by his the smiling landscape.

Moreover, they explored the workshops, the granaries, and the farm buildings, the fields, and the orchards. As workers, they realised that this paradise could not be maintained in its plenteous bounty unless they, the newcomers, would immediately take up the labours that had been laid aside by the workers who had gone. They set to without delay. Men and women turning to the work to which they were accustomed, or adventuring in new directions as need arose. The beautifully devised machinery lightened the toil, and the clearly written instructions posted in every workshop and beside every machine greatly facilitated these efforts.

As to the great ones amongst the shipwrecked company, the new conditions affected them in various ways. Most of these leisured people continued behaving very much as they had always done. Their maids and valets still waited on them from force of habit; the masters and mistresses strolling into one of the dining-rooms of the island to take their meals as if it were a London hotel. They managed to reserve one of the dining-rooms for people of their class by icily cold shouldering any others who happened to approach them, and stationing their servants at the door to drive lowly persons away.

Fearing that some time might elapse before a ship would come to take them from the island, a few of the great and leisured ones had formed themselves into a committee to draw up a scheme for governing the island.

The bankers and merchant princes insisted that the money of old England should be the currency of the isle, and generously decided to place a part of their store at the disposal of the island treasury on condition that its land and industrial plant should be theirs, and its possession assured to them by the government.

An ex-chief of police had happened to be travelling on the shipwrecked vessel. His presence was regarded as a tremendous asset, for his subtlety and resource were recognised to be immensely greater than those of the two old generals and half-a-dozen colonels and majors and captains who chanced to be of the company and who, of course, offered to enlist and train an army. It was clear that strategy must for some time largely replace force in maintaining the government, for the old Scotsman had possessed but a small armoury of weapons, and these he had taken with him.

The good offices of the church, as a reconciler, would, it was felt, be of vast importance amongst a people whose government would lack powerful means to enforce discipline until a thoroughly obedient police and soldiery had been built up. The office of archbishop was hastily, though irregularly conferred, on a certain popular preacher, who had not many years before been received into the Church of England from the dissenting pulpit where he had become famous. The ship's chaplain and some other clerical persons of various creeds and denominations grouped themselves about the archbishop to form the island church, for it was felt that unity amongst the religious forces would be essential in the difficult days ahead.

A sub-committee of bankers was formed to deal with all questions of finance and taxation.

At the end of a week of arduous toil, the great ones had prepared all their schemes of government. They instructed the captain, who since the anchor was weighed in British waters, had been the recognised leader of the ship's company, to call a meeting of the entire adult population, informing him that though the newly-created archbishop would, on the first occasion, preside, his position as captain should be recognised by making him First Sea Lord of the island's Admiralty. Meanwhile, George Budd had been active in the cause of Socialism. He had appropriated an old shed as a meeting room, and hung therein the red flag which he had brought from England and had tied about his body, as a talisman, when the ship was wrecked. He had considered hoisting the flag from the roof of the shed, but decided that to do so might arouse antagonism and prejudice the cause. His most cherished possession, a volume of Marx's "Capital," he had also saved from the wreck by wrapping it in his waterproof and lashing it to his body when the ship struck. He now concealed the book under a board in the floor of the shed; and constructed an impromptu reading desk, on which to lay it, when he should bring it forth for his first Socialist meeting.

As soon as the captain's proclamation calling a meeting to adopt a government for the island was posted, George Budd increased his activities: he rushed about amongst the proletarians getting them to sign a petition for the rights of free speech, free press, public meeting, adult suffrage, and vote by ballot, explaining that these rights were the indispensable pre-requisites to future agitation, and that they must endeavour to secure them when the constitution was formed.

When the meeting summoned by the captain assembled in the great square, George had gathered a little group of enthusiasts about him and had made a banner embodying his demands, which was displayed by his group.

George's fame as a Socialist agitator had reached the great ones: they feared he might prove a dangerous influence. The largest banker, a suave and shrewd negotiator, offered on behalf of the great ones' committee to accept George's demands, as part of the proposed constitution, provided the committee's proposals were accepted without other amendments. George accepted this offer with enthusiasm. He congratulated himself on the result of his zeal, and so did the great ones.

Great changes were immediately instituted.

The common dining-rooms and other large buildings were turned into government offices.

The rich men, to whom the great ones' committee, now the government, had sold the industry and the land, now went round to the

working places, called for a suspension of all operations, engaged certain of the workers at various rates of wages, and dismissed others. A small reserve of unemployed was thus created, of whom George Budd immediately formed an organisation to demand a Right to Work Bill.

At the close of the day the police, who had been recruited from the unemployed, ordered all the workers to leave the houses they had occupied and assemble in the great hall. A proportion of the houses were now denuded of all furnishings, and the workers were informed that only these unfurnished houses were available for renting at so much per room. The furniture for them must be bought from the proprietors who had gathered it together in a storeroom.

Taking into consideration rents, wages, and the housing accommodation the proprietors were willing to let as working-class tenements, it was obvious that each working-class family could, at best, secure a single room to live in, and the poorer paid workers would be obliged to take in a single man or woman as lodger, or to share a room with another family.

The houses not offered to let as tenements were bought or rented by the richer people, some of whom enclosed a dozen or more of the small houses with a view either to keep them, to let when the population should increase, or to pull them down and re-build them as a mansion for themselves. Whilst making plans for the erection of suitable residences, the members of the government occupied the old Scotsman's great palace together.

Having reduced the workers' standard of living to an appropriately low level, the great captains of industry from the old country were devising plans for organising a vast surplus production, which could be shipped all over the world. Amongst all the industries of the island shipbuilding had been lacking. The splendid industrial equipment was far in excess of the island's needs, and rendered it independent of the rest of the world, save for certain raw materials, of which vast stores had been laid in. To develop a shipbuilding industry was, therefore, by no means out of the question.

Three weeks had passed since the shipwreck when Flora Budd was released from the care of physicians and nurses, and able to investigate what was going on around her.

George came to fetch her from what was now, and had been in the Scotsman's time, the hospital, and told her that he had half a room to take her to; Joe Thomas and his wife, who were weavers, had curtained it off from their own. George had not applied for work: he was agitating amongst the unemployed and helping to form trade unions on the good old plan.

George soon babbled out the whole story of what had happened since the landing and his own great part in it.

He expected the admiring commendation of Flora; but instead, she turned on him like a wild cat, screaming: "You fool; oh George, you fool!"

(To be Continued.)

THE ENSLAVEMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

From Industrial Problems, by
N. A. RICHARDSON.

To work, to handle tools and machinery, to actually make beautiful things from raw material—this should be required of every boy and every girl every day of school life. The idea (and practice) of capitalism that young men and women should first get an education and then go out into the world and learn how to do something, how to be of good account to themselves and others, is in keeping with the fallacies of the whole system. An industrial regime that destines a majority of a nation's children to the ranks of breadwinners before they can progress even beyond the work of the sixth year of school life, that leaves them practically illiterate, offers small opportunity for preparation for anything but a life of dependence and servility. However, such things may make fairly good slaves—the chief requisite in capitalist industry.

The mockery of industrial instruction known as manual training is gradually gaining a footing in some of the schools of the country. So far as it goes and for the few that it affects, rudimentary and stingy as it is, it beats nothing.

When our industrial system has evolved to the requirements of twentieth century civilisation, the spectacle of a young man or woman leaving a university at the age of from twenty-two to twenty-five, wholly unfit to make a living in the industries, will be a thing of the past. "What, give them all such a course of industrial training as will teach each a trade?" says some capitalist adherent. Yes, every boy and every girl. Why some and not others? Would such a course be lost even on a doctor, or lawyer, or scientist? Hardly. And again, it is the scientific way to educate—strengthen the brain through muscular action and train the hand through thought-governed manipulation. This will be the Socialist means for qualifying each for a universal requirement—that he make his own living.

The author, while visiting an institution in Kansas City, that furnished real industrial instruction to a very small per cent. of that city's youths, called the attention of the principal to the good quality of work but inadequate provision for it. "But," he replied, "it would be a tremendous expense to supply such advantages even for every pupil in the larger cities, not to mention those of the smaller places and the country." That condenses the whole matter in a nutshell. Capitalism cannot afford thus to train its boys and girls, and perhaps it is as well for that system that it doesn't. A little learning is a dangerous thing—for capitalism or any other species of tyranny.

Capitalism cannot afford such facilities for educating its manhood and womanhood. Certainly not. But it can afford to hand over a hundred million dollars a year to a Rockefeller for playing golf and talking to Sunday school classes. A little item like fifteen millions a year to a Carnegie for sitting around in the shades of Skibo and moralising about the curse of dying rich, does not in the least disturb its equanimity; though probably no other funds ever collected represent so relatively great an expenditure of human life, an equal relative degree of murder. It can squander enough millions annually on the depraved rich of New York City alone to build, equip and maintain thousands of such schools. It can spend hundreds of millions annually in equipping for defense or conquest of a market for what it legally filches from the toilers. It can constantly support in luxurious idleness and in parasitic employments such an army of humanity, as, were their energies rightly directed, could easily produce many times the entire cost of bringing to splendid maturity every boy and girl in America. It can—but enough. Such capitalistic pleas, in the limelight of facts, are nauseating to intelligence. When the class struggle has ended and that eight dollars worth goes to its producers, the training that should be and will be the heritage of every child will be an inconsiderable item and the best investment of civilisation.

Yes, men, women and children should work, and the necessity for their doing so should be imperative. No greater blessing can ever fall to the lot of each. But the nation that subjects its womanhood and childhood (or manhood, for that matter), to such conditions of toil as now obtain over a large part of the United States is rotting in its vitals and is unworthy of perpetuity. It is fostering the elements of its own destruction; like the mythical demon of the ancients, it feasts upon its own offspring.

There are about 2,000,000 children under the age of fifteen years employed in the industries of this nation. Hundreds of thousands of them are toiling in such conditions as would shame the old institutions of serfdom and chattel slavery.

For the South, let one speak who has looked upon it. Elbert Hubbard tells us: "Many of the black slaves lived to a good old age, and they got a hearty enjoyment from life.

"The infant factory slaves of South Carolina can never develop into men and women. There are no mortality statistics; the mill owners baffle all attempts of the outside public to get at the facts, but my opinion is that in many mills death sets the little prisoner free inside of four years. Beyond that he cannot hope to live, and this opinion is derived from careful observation and interviews with skilled and experienced physicians who practice in the vicinity of the mills.

"Boys and girls from the age of six years and upwards are employed. They usually work from six o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock at night. For four months in the year they go to work before daylight and they work till after dark.

"At noon I saw them squat on the floor and devour their food, which consisted mostly of corn bread and bacon. These weazened pigmies munched in silence, and they toppled over in sleep on the floor in all the abandon of babyhood. Very few wore shoes and stockings; dozens of the little girls of, say, seven years of age, wore only one garment, a linsey-wolsey dress. When it came time to go to work the foreman marched through the groups, shaking the sleepers, shouting in their ears, lifting them to their feet and, in a few instances, kicking the delinquents into wakefulness. The long afternoon had begun—from a quarter to one until seven o'clock they worked without respite or rest.

"The toddlers I saw, for the most part, did only one thing—they watched the flying spindles on a frame twenty feet long, and tied the broken threads. They could not sit at their tasks; back and forth they paced, watching with inanimate, dull look the flying spindles. The roar of the machinery drowned every other sound—back and forth paced the baby toilers in their bare feet, and mended the broken threads. Two, three, or four threads would break before they could patrol the twenty feet — the threads were always breaking.

"The noise and the constant looking at the flying wheels reduce nervous sensation in a few months to the minimum. The child does not think, he ceases to suffer—memory is as dead as hope; no more does he long for the green fields, the running streams, the freedom of the woods, and the companionship of all the wild free things, that run, climb, fly, or burrow. He does his work like an automaton; he is a part of the roaring machinery; memory is sealed, physical vitality is at such a low ebb that he ceases to suffer. Nature puts a short limit on torture by sending insensibility. If you suffer, thank God—it is a sure sign you are alive."

And then the same author adds:

"The overseer is not a bad man, but he has to make a report to the superintendent—there must be so much cloth made every day.

"The superintendent is not a bad man, but he has to make a report to the president of the company, and the president has to report to the stockholders.

"The stockholders live in Boston, and all they want is their dividends."

And these stockholders are the fellows who, when their dividends fail, order these industries closed; and shut these wretched slaves from even such means of life as these perditions afford.

Robert Hunter for years made a study of child labour conditions in the North and East. Let us quote some of his words from "Poverty":

"At this moment, after one hundred years of war has been waged for the abolition of child slavery, over 1,700,000 (figures from the census of 1900) children under fifteen years of age are toiling in fields, factories, mines, and workshops.

"These figures mean little to most persons, for, as Margaret MacMillan has said, 'You cannot put tired eyes, pallid cheeks and languid little limbs into statistics'; and neither can anyone, by any effort of the imagination, call up before the mind's eye the human units in census figures. . . . They are figures which we see, and not children, and figures come before the eyes and are forgotten. We should never forget one sight of a hundred of these little ones if they were marched out of the mills, mines, and factories before our eyes, or if we saw them together toiling for ten or twelve hours a day or a night for a pittance of a wage; but that we do not see, and we forget figures. New York City has not so many children; all the thousands on the streets are not so many as these children of the workshops. . . .

"In the mining districts of Pennsylvania children labour under conditions which are, if possible, even more injurious to them than the child labour of the cotton-mills is to the children of the South. In the mills, mines and factories, before the furnaces, and in the sweatshops of Pennsylvania, that state of colossal industrial crimes, one hundred and twenty thousand little ones were, in the year 1900, sacrificing a part of their right to live, most of their right to liberty, and all of their right to happiness, except perhaps of a bestial kind. . . .

"The girls go to the mills, the boys to the breakers. A year or two ago, Mr. Francis H. Nichols said regarding these working children: 'I saw four hundred lads working in the breakers. One of the children told me, "We go to work at seven in the morning and stay until six in the evening." 'Are there many in the breakers younger than you?' he asked one of the children. 'Why, sure, I'm one of the oldest; I'm making sixty cents. Most of them is eight and nine years old.' Mr. Nichols then asked, 'Did you ever go to school?' 'To school?' the child echoed; 'say, Mister, you must be a green hand. Why, lads in the anthracite doesn't go to school; they work in the breakers.' They do not go to school, but instead they are put to work as soon as they can be trusted not to fall into the machinery and be killed. There is hardly any employment more demoralising and physically injurious than this work in the breakers. For ten or eleven hours a day these children of ten and eleven years stoop over the chute and pick out the slate and other impurities from the coal as it moves past them. The air is black with coal-dust, and the roar of the crushers, screens of rushing mill-race of coal is deafening. Sometimes one of the children falls into the machinery and is terribly mangled, or slips into the chute and is smothered to death. Many children are killed in this way. Many others, after a time, contract coal-miners' asthma and consumption, which gradually undermine their health. Breathing continually, day after day, the clouds of coal dust, their lungs become black and choked with small particles of anthracite."

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FROM U.S.A.

Fred W. Steed, who lately lived at Clarence Place, Morice Town, Plymouth, writes us from New York:—

"Here in U.S.A. hundreds of intellectual rebels are languishing in the jails. Bottomleys are as common as the noonday sun. Murderers are brazenly allowed to escape for political reasons. Crime amongst the police steadily increases. It is impossible for a married worker to procure necessaries for his family. Appeals appear in the newspapers for clothes and boots for necessitous children and adults who are working.

"People are held up in daylight, and shot and robbed before the passers-by. Prostitution is rampant, and there is an alarming increase in venereal disease.

"Thousands of private houses are said to have been turned into distilleries to avoid Prohibition. Beer and spirits are easily obtainable. Some people have been the gainers by learning to make good beer and whisky, instead of buying bad from the brewers, as they did in the past.

"There are 40,000 unemployed in the city. Wages are on the slippery slope. The following lines by Richard Hovy aptly describe the city.

NEW YORK.

The low lines of walls that lie outspread
Miles on long miles, the fog, smoke and slime,
The wharves and ships with flags of every clime,
The domes and steeples rising overhead,
It is not these, rather it is the tread
Of the million heavy feet that keep sad time;
To heavy thoughts, the want that mothers crime,
The weary toiling for a bitter bread,
The perishing of poets for renown,
The shriek of shame from the concealing waves.
Ah, me: How many heart-breaks every day
Go to make up the life of the vast town,
Oh, myriad dead in unremembered graves,
Oh, torrent of the living down Broadway.

Lines by RICHARD HOVEY.

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Our View.

LABOUR PARTY FOREIGN POLICY.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in the *New Leader*, urges that if the Labour Party is able to get into office, it should—

(1) Treat Russia "with friendly generosity." We suppose that means give the Soviet Government *de jure* recognition, and probably also a loan.
(2) Stop "the provocation at Singapore."
(3) Cleanse "our" hands of the smell of oil and withdraw our pretensions to Mosul.

Mr. Brailsford urges these things on the ground that Mr. Asquith "is committed to them all."

Will the Labour Party never venture further than the commitments of a Liberal party leader and ex-premier?

Why not add to these proposals the scrapping of reparations, of Allied debts to Britain, and the handing back of the German colonies and other British war spoils? Why not also emancipate India, Egypt, Ireland, from the Imperial control they wish to avoid?

Such a programme would show that the Labour Government desired to make an advance on the capitalist parties, not merely to go only so far as the capitalist politicians are willing to commit themselves.

Nevertheless, we do not think a Labour Government with a minority of seats could accomplish even so much as Mr. Brailsford proposes.

* * *

MR. MACDONALD ON FATAL DECEMBER.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's speech at Elgin was extraordinary in many ways, but in nothing more so than in his version of the effect of the Government's failure to resign in December. He said:

"I don't know how many of you understand the technique of the House of Commons; but a Government that comes in in the middle of January is a Government that has all the arrangements for the twelve months' expenditure and for the Budget tied round its neck like a millstone. If you are going to change anything, you are going to change it in December. After December it is too late. Great schemes of expenditure will have been settled in December, and the Government that comes in in the middle of January will find, when it puts this man into that office and that man into another office, that the lines on which he is to proceed have already been cut out, and that he can only make alterations by creating something like a revolution in his own Department.

". . . You know quite well that whether we come in or the Liberals come in, it is of the greatest importance that before a Government meets the House of Commons the heads of its Departments should have mastered the details of the work of their Departments and know what is going on. For instance, the Minister of Labour should know the whole of the schemes now being put into operation for dealing with the unemployed. . . .

"Therefore, it is absolutely essential that he should have at least a month or six weeks in office before he has to meet the House of Commons. We are deprived of that by this decision of the Government. . . . No sooner will the new Ministers be seated in their chairs than they have got right away to face debates in the House of Commons."

Mr. MacDonald by his explanation of the situation, as he sees it, has certainly uttered a very striking condemnation of Parliamentary Government, as he alleges it is practised at Westminster to-day.

Nevertheless, though we are prepared to believe that Ministers are puppets in the hands of the permanent officials, we do not believe they are quite such utterly helpless puppets as Mr. MacDonald asserts.

Nor are we prepared to believe that a Government taking office in January, or in any other month of the year, is obliged to accept, without alteration, the Budget drawn up by the permanent official in the fatal month of December.

We fear that some malicious persons must have been pulling guileless Mr. MacDonald by the leg; for it would not do to suggest that Mr. MacDonald was pulling the legs of the delegates.

* * *

T.N.T. IN OYSTER BEDS.

Oh, those wonderful governments of trained administrators. Who could have believed that a Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries would permit the dumping of T.N.T. in the Whitstable oyster beds when the wide seas provide so many other alternatives? Who would have believed that the Governments of France and Holland would also permit the dumping of T.N.T. in oyster beds? It does not need an expert report to convince us that the excessive mortality among the oysters subjected to the dumping was due to the T.N.T. The experiments of the experts showing that oysters placed in water containing T.N.T. invariably died in a few days are, morever, conclusive evidence. It is not wholly reassuring to be informed that the arsenic found in the T.N.T. dosed oysters was in "minute and harmless quantities."

* * *

GERMAIN BERTON'S ACQUITTAL.

The acquittal of Germain Berton would not have been possible in this country at this stage of its political history; but it is quite in accord with French practice, and a storm of public disapproval would have been raised had Berton been punished for murdering one of the apostles of political assassination, since the murderer of Jaurès has gone scot free.

The French have a tendency to supersede legal forms which is often, but not always, admirable. French Law Courts are spared the outrageous spectable often seen here of Judge and Jury all but weeping at what is conceived to be the necessity of giving the verdict required by the letter of the law. Undoubtedly a higher kind of civilisation is shown by the society which is able to rise above the bondage of the law.

Yet the comparison we make is but a comparison of evils: class society and its antagonisms rules in France as in Britain and its evils and cruelties are manifold.

THAT UNITED FRONT.

The Australian Labour Party has issued an ultimatum to its Communist Members that they must conform to its rules or be expelled.

Apparently this means that the Communists may not carry on propaganda which is in advance of Labour Party majority opinion as registered in the programme and constitution of the Party.

This, of course, is only what one must expect to happen. The refusal to permit Left Wing propaganda or any alternative to the official propaganda is made by the Third Internationalists themselves in a much more rigid and intolerant way than has been shown by any Labour Party.

More far reaching than such decisions of Labour Parties is the attempt being made by Mr. Gompers and his colleagues in the United States to exclude Communists from the Trade Unions. The attempt can be only partially successful; the fact that it is made will hasten the formation of the Workshop Council Movement. Therefore, it will work out ultimately to good results; but in the meantime it will lead to ugly cases of victimisation, for expulsion from Trade Union membership is apt to mean in some cases expulsion from employment.

* *

HARNESSING THE TIDES.

The French Government has at last taken the initiative in harnessing the tides of the sea, on a really large scale, for the provision of electric power.

The fact opens up great vistas of progress and foreshadows the emancipation of mankind from the necessity of delving in the bowels of the earth to find fuel. Coal in the not far distant future may cease to be used as fuel and may be sought only for its by-products. For some time now it has been realised that coal is immensely more valuable in the uses to which its by-products may be put than as mere fuel.

The discoveries of the scientists are opening to humanity vast new fields of wealth and wonder; yet the spectre of want still dogs the majority of the world's people; only the few are secured from material anxiety.

MADAME CURIE.

Even the scientists, whose toil and study are revealing hitherto undreamt of marvels, are not freed from the harrassing troubles of scarcity. Though fortunate as compared with many research workers, scarcity was a hindrance and anxiety even to Madame Curie and her husband, the discoverers who have revolutionised the theatre of science in important directions and have tremendously advanced the struggle against malignant disease. When receiving a tardy pension from the French Government the other day Madame Curie told that she and her husband had carried on their work in a poor shed which did not even properly shelter them from the rain, and that had they had proper means to carry on their work they would have reached their goal in two years instead of five. Her husband had said: "This is a hard life that we have chosen."

FRENCH AND GERMAN CAPITALISM.

The struggle betwen French and German capitalism for the industrial wealth of the Ruhr and the Rhineland has been carried on ever since the war. The proposal of Herr Rechberg, the German potash mine owner, who has been discussing the question in Paris, is that the French should have a share of the profits in certain German industries.

The proposal is not new; it has come up again and again since the armistice. Mr. Rechberg proposes that certain industries selected by the French Government should increase their capital by 30 per cent. and hand that capital over to the French Government in the form of shares, which would sell or lease the shares to French capitalists. The French Government would use the money thus obtained to pay Reparations and the French capitalists would continue to benefit as long as capitalism continues. Mr. Rechberg suggests that British and American capitalists would get some of the spoils by lending French industrialists the money to buy the German shares from the French Government. The proposal is, of course, similar to that made by Mr. Wheatley and the other Scottish Labour M.P.'s who visited the Ruhr some time ago.

Such schemes, however, should be utterly repugnant to Socialists: they are essentially those of Capitalism, and mean the deeper enslavement of the workers.

The only hope for the workers in the Ruhr, as elsewhere, is free industrial Communism or the Workers' Council basis.

"SAVING" HUNGARY.

Hungary is about to be put in pawn to the Allies as Austria was, as Germany will be. The Austrian measure was hailed by the unthinking as a beneficent measure. These hideous expedients destroy democratic government and all popular initiative, and enchain the peoples to a rapacious consortium of international capitalists. Clearly, the only possibility of securing freedom for the people from such bondage is revolution. That bloodthirsty terrorist organisation, "The Awakening Magyars," has announced that to counter the activities of the Red International a White International must be formed. The White Internationalism of Capitalism is dominating our lives with triumphant impunity to-day.

* * *

FRANCO-CZECH TREATY.

The Treaty concluded between France and Czecho-Slovakia brings the next European war a step nearer. It declares that the two countries will follow a common line of policy, and provides for the maintenance of close contact between the General Staffs of the two countries. Hitherto the Czecho-Slovak Government has publicly preserved an appearance of desiring friendship with both France and Britain, but now the Czechs definitely enter the French orbit. There are evidently attempts to link Italy also in the alliance; but Italy will continue to play off the rival Governments against each other for some time yet.

* *

RUSSIAN DIFFERENCES.

The Third International persists, of course, in minimising the differences of opinion which are growing up in Russia amongst the opponents of Capitalism and supporters of Sovietism. The views of the Russian Social Democrat Dan are far from being our own. Nevertheless, an alleged utterance of his, reported by the *Daily Telegraph* Riga Correspondent, is perhaps another of those many straws by which observers may discover the direction of the prevailing wind. The report referred to contains the following passages:—

"The Russian peasants, who through passive resistance have defeated the Communist Government and have forced the introduction of the New Economic party, have now forced the present Government of Russia to face two alternatives.

"The first, according to M. Dan, is a democratic Fascism which will guarantee the rights of private property in Russia. Both the new and the remnants of the old bourgeois dream of this. The second alternative, he declares, is a liquidation of Communism which will be made by a new party, which will support the interests of the working masses. This is feared, and is being opposed by the Bolsheviks.

"Capitalism continues to exist in Russia, but it is Red Capitalism (said M. Dan). The Bolsheviks . . . wanted no rich and no poor. But at first all became poor, and then later the speculators and the Communists became rich. The Bolsheviks promised to do away with the aristocracy and bureaucracy, but they only took the epaulets from the shoulders of the officers and put them on their sleeves. The governing classes have merely changed in Russia. . . . The Russian revolution has not developed a proletarian Government, but it has developed a new bourgeoisie. The workers have gained nothing. . . . A monarchy will never return to Russia. That is out of the question. The Bolsheviks hope to be able to restore the rights of private property in such a way as will permit them to retain what they have gained through the revolution. Their's is a new aristocracy which is determined to hold on to what it has captured."

Such an utterance from such a source cannot be taken without reserve. Nevertheless, we must aver that the documents published by the Soviet Government's own representatives have long led us to the conclusion that Russia is rapidly reverting to complete Capitalism and developing a highly pernicious form of Governmental tyranny.

The one great question conveying the seeds of hope is, What prospect is there of a new movement for freedom and pure Communism amongst the Russian masses?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SAD PLIGHT OF EMIGRANTS TO CANADA.

Numbers of men who have emigrated from Britain to Canada to escape unemployment are there faced with destitution aggravated by the extreme cold of the Canadian winter. Fifty of these destitute ones waited upon the Toronto Trades and Labour Council, which appointed two of their number to visit the local Immigration Control Board in company with one of the immigrants. Some of the men had actually worked in the Canadian harvest, but their earnings had been disposed of in sending money to their families at home and repaying their passage money. All were now completely destitute.

Controller Foster told the deputation that there was plenty of work to be had in the lumber camps, one firm alone being willing to employ 500 men and to advance each man twenty dollars for clothes.

The deputation being sceptical, Sergeant-Major Creighton was appointed to accompany it to the Provincial Employment Bureau.

Captain Hamilton, the officer in charge of the Bureau, reported, however, that there was no work to be had and that 300 men were already waiting there on the chance that something might turn up.

Returning to the Control Board the deputation was assured that no one would be allowed to starve, and the fifty destitute ones were turned over to the British Welcome League.

The destitute men existed for a few days on the charity of the League, their numbers increasing daily. They allowed themselves to be marched in procession to church because they were thereby able to obtain an additional meal through the eleven or twelve dollars collected there. The preacher delivered a sermon on the prodigal son and spoke of the home sickness which afflicts the wanderer.

This seems to have stirred the destitute to revolt. They repaired to the Labour Temple and appealed to organised Labour to rescue them from the Philistines.

The Welcome League hearing of this became decidedly unwelcoming.

The Press at once began to denounce the unfortunate ones. "The Toronto Telegram" published the following absurd story about them on December 8th:—

"IMPORTED FROM RUSSIA.
"GROUP OF COMMUNISTS PROWLING AROUND LOCAL LABOUR TEMPLE.

"At the Labour Temple to-day considerable excitement was aroused when it was stated that during the past few days a group of strangers was noticed around the building, mingling with the workers day and night, apparently spreading discontent. Those who appeared to know allege that this group of foreigners has been imported from Russia, as representing the Communists of that country, whose object is to smash the trades unionists. In 1914 a group of 'One Big Union' people appeared and made the same attempt, but failed, and will fail again if the trades unionists are watchful and true to their principles. The police, it is said, should also be watchful in the interests of the citizens."

The One Big Union, above referred to, was only formed in 1919.

The poor men thus repudiated were all unmistakably English, Scotch or Welsh. Many of them had sold their overcoats for food or a shakedown. Others had been sleeping out.

They were now left to exist on two 20c. meals a day provided from 22 dollars collected at the Labour Temple meeting and collections at other Labour gatherings.

Meanwhile the Ontario Provincial Government offers the deputation another opportunity to present its case; but protests that to offer relief would attract other destitute ones to any relief centre.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSIES.

Dissension is evidently growing fast in the Russian Communist Party. Boris Souvarine, in the French *Bulletin Communiste*, discusses the question. Observing that a section of the Russian Communist Party demands the immediate re-election of the various party committees, Mr. Boris Souvarine says: "The Executive resists this exaggeration and remarks it will not do to break up everything." He adds that one must not throw out the bather in emptying the water from the bath.

Mr. Souvarine also refers to the workers' opposition of the Communist Party. He admits this group repudiates the tactics of the United Front and the New Economic Policy, regarding it as a return to capitalism. He asserts, however, that the group also demands the liberty of the Press for the counter revolutionaries. The manifesto from the Russian Workers' Opposition, which we publish in another column, does not bear out this statement of Mr. Souvarine.

Leon Trotsky has addressed a letter to the Russian Communist Party, in which he denounces the bureaucratic tyranny which has grown up within the party and points out that the younger members of the party are given no share in directing it and are regarded merely as pupils of the bureaucrats. Whoever dares to raise his voice in criticism of the bureaucrats immediately has the number of his party card taken with a view to disciplinary action. Trotsky demands that the "mummified bureaucrats" shall be replaced by vigorous elements and that there shall be a new orientation of the party, the result of which shall be that no one shall dare any longer to terrorise the party. He urges that passive obedience which causes a mechanical following of the leaders, servility and carrierism, shall be put out of the party. "The Bolshevist is not merely a disciplined man," he protests, and he begs his colleagues to take warning by the fate of the Second International, in which, under the influence of the automatic development of the party machinery, the leaders turned to opportunism.

Trotsky is, of course, right in all this; but he has been somewhat late in discovering it, and even now he does not see the full extent of the evil and its causes.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

New York,
December 19th, 1923.

The Publisher, *The Workers' Dreadnought*,
152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4,
England.

Dear Sir,

We receive at the Library the regular issues of *The Workers' Dreadnought*, and it has been found of much interest. We lack a number of the early issues, however, and as it is our intention to preserve the file permanently, we feel it is most important that it should be complete. We write, therefore, on behalf of the Library, to ask if you will be so kind as to send us copies of the numbers needed, which are as follows:—

Vols. 1, 3 and 4, all issues.

If it is not possible for you to send us all of the missing numbers, will you not let us have as many as may now be available, and keep our need in mind in case copies of the remaining ones should come into your possession at any time in the future? Possibly a notice in a forthcoming issue to the effect that these numbers are missing from the New York Public Library's file, and that the courtesy will be greatly appreciated if some reader who no longer needs his copies, will present them to us, may serve as an effective means of procuring for us some of the issues. This method of obtaining back numbers is frequently employed for us by publishers, and almost invariably with successful results. I need not tell you that any service you may render us in the matter will be highly appreciated.

Very truly yours,
E. H. ANDERSON,
Director.

Those of our readers who are able to supply this need are asked to do so.

AN AGRICULTURAL DISTRICT.

The district in which I reside is noted for its Hops and its Desirable Mansions. I am not quite sure which is of supremest importance, nor how far the Mansions of the Elite owe their safe existence to the brewing industry. But, however, we may associate the two; the other great outstanding fact is, that the majority of the population, even in this delightful Suburbia, belong to the ranks of the oppressed. A large section performs direct personal service supplying comfort and luxury to the selfish lives of the few. A larger section renders the most valuable activity to the community at large in agricultural service, with, of course, the first consideration of private profit.

During the war, trade union organisation developed rapidly amongst agricultural and rural workers. The withdrawal of men from the land was in itself sufficient to raise the standard of living of those left behind, without the institution of the Agricultural Wages Board. The demands of the unions, however, were only concerned with wages and working conditions; but they were the means, by breaking down many old traditions, of opening up a new vista in the lives of the rural worker whose environment and long years of hard manual tasks had rendered largely impotent his capacity for thought.

With the end of the war came pregnant revolutionary conditions. The Russian Revolution and other Continental revolutionary disturbances could not be entirely withheld from the English proletariat. The suppressions of the capitalist press could not prevent the broadcasted eddies of revolutionary ideas from penetrating even into outlying districts of rural England. The agricultural hinterland was stirred—mildly—and the labourer saw, in many cases for the first time, the possibility of a freer and more leisured life.

Then came the aftermath of the war. Widespread unemployment, the capitalist offensive against the prevailing workers' standard of living, the collapse of the great trade union organisations, the growth of a spirit of despair and then of apathy.

The hopes of the agricultural worker became blighted. His disillusionment speedily followed the crushing of the town worker. The Wages Board was abolished, and the decreases in wages followed with a precipitation that staggered the slow moving mind of the land tied man. Now the farmers vehemently protest that a wage of 30s. is quite impossible, and the last few days has seen the institution of a weekly wage of 26s. Agriculture under Capitalism is in a bad way, but first and last the brunt of calamitous conditions is borne by the humble, longer suffering labourer whom the war declared to be a skilled worker of first-rate importance. Skill or no skill, his position is precarious, and his prospects hopeless through the existence of a large army of unemployed fellow-workers.

In a certain village of a thousand inhabitants, principally working-class, one may discern without much trouble the appalling conditions of this class of worker. The village is noted for its hovels, called houses, in which the sweated worker dwells. Building schemes are restricted by the fact that huge landowners refuse to sell even their heath lands for such purposes. The sanitary arrangements are conspicuous by their partial non-existence, and the drinking water is condemned for such a purpose. A move is now on foot to modify some of these latter defects.

The labourer accepts his lot. If he thinks much on unconventional lines, he deems it wise to keep his thoughts a secret. Sometimes the "comradeship" of bad times obtains—a sympathy on the part of the "gentry" that means little or nothing. Sometimes there is an utter callousness towards the lot of those who suffer the hell of bare existence—or worse.

Large residential houses and slum dwellings — in comparatively new contrast — are characteristics of the countryside as of the town. Serfdom destroys initiative and independence, and the spare time of the worker is provided for by the direction and on the initiative of those who do not desire to see his mind corrupted by even the mildest of anti-capitalistic notions. For the men, clubs, billiards, football, etc.—and, of course, there is always the pub. For the women, the women's institute, mothers' union, social club, etc. Educational facilities are of the kind intended to perpetuate orthodox social and economic beliefs.

During the recent hop-picking season there were several strikes owing to the smallness of the hops which, in consequence, took longer to pick. Who struck? Not the resident population, but the itinerant hop-pickers who, in spite of their seeming poverty, possessed a spirit of independence born of roving that the tied worker could only gaze on and admire. Everytime the strikers won their demands.

A few days ago a local Agricultural Association held its Autumn Show, and its chief attractions, according to the local press, were "the stimulation of healthy rivalry in the arts of husbandry, ploughing matches, hedging competitions, the bestowal of rewards for long service among farm-workers," etc. The conditions of the countryside receive striking illustration in the fact that prizes were awarded for the following cases:—"Labourer who has maintained the largest family respectably"; "Labourer who has been employed without intermission the largest period on the same farm, or with the same master"; "Single labourer, similar conditions"; "Hop-dryer who shall produce the best sample of hops grown by his employer"; "Labourer, above sixty years of age, or now disabled cottager, who was an agricultural labourer, who shall bear the highest character for honesty, industry, and sobriety"; "Farm carter who can bring the best character from his master for sobriety, length of service, with intermission (not less than seven years), and general attention to duties; "Single woman, or widow, above the age of fifty-five, who is, or has been, chiefly employed in agricultural labour or farmhouse occupation" (winners aged seventy-one, sixty-seven, and sixty-five). The most perfect oratory or writing could not, in my view, condemn more eloquently the social conditions of this district, than this bold narration of items which will be read by the majority of the readers of the newspaper account as a matter of course without a challenging thought.

And yet . . . even in these feudal villages, and under the present depressing conditions, there is some protest. I meet from time to time those who are in revolt against the economic and social tyrannies and injustices that flaunt themselves blatantly to all who think in any measure at all. The social and economic power of squire and parson is brought home too glaringly sometimes by too dangerously inconsistent words and deeds. And very often while the poor labourer has become hopelessly dulled with his year of monotonous toil, there is still to be found the spark of revolt in a wife whose wits have been sharpened by the difficulties of eking out an existence on a pittance. Perhaps deeper down than many realise there may be indications of a recognition of life's unfairness of a sufficient strength and intelligence to make seemingly safe social standing insecure in the not far distant future. The after effects of the war are not all included in despair and apathy. Arising out of a deep sense of injustice there may yet arise even in rural England a force mighty in achievement. And if England is to emerge successfully from Capitalism to Communism, an intelligent and forceful agricultural proletariat is a prime necessity. To this point more attention might well be paid by town dwellers.

E. B.

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

By Defence News Service.

U.S. President Coolidge ordered the release of the 30 remaining Federal war opinion political prisoners before Christmas Day. These include James Rowan, G. J. Bourg, Alexander Cournon, Bert Lorton, James P. Thompson, Harry Lloyd, Charles H. McKinnon; Sacramento men Elmer Anderson, Harry Brewer, Robert Conellan, Pete De Bernardi, Mortimer Dowing, Frank Elliott, John Graves, Harry Gray, Henry Hammer, William Hood, Chris. Luber, Philip McLaughlin, George O'Connell, John Potthast, James Quinlan, Myron Sprague, J. Lori, George Voetter, Edward Quigley, Cæsar Tahih; Wichita defendants Wencil Francik, and F. J. Gallagher.

One hundred and twenty political prisoners remain in Western penitentiaries under State charges.

Walla Walla, Wash.—Membership in the I.W.W. is legal, declared Prosecuting Attorney A. J. Gillis, ordering the return of three sackfuls of I.W.W. literature, membership cards and other papers to four working men arrested by a deputy sheriff while distributing their pamphlets along the highway. The arresting officer was rebuked.

Rock Springs, Wyo.—In violation of the Wyoming Statute forbidding the leasing of convict labour to private concerns, the Reliance Shirt Company of Chicago has been awarded a six-year contract, at 62½ cents a shirt, for the total production of the shirt factory in the State Penitentiary at Rawlins. A new fireproof shirt factory building has been completed in the penitentiary and will start operations as soon as machinery has been installed.

The contract was awarded by Governor Jones and the State Board of Charities and Reform. The law against such awards is explicit, forbidding contracts "either by the letting of the labour of such convicts at a fixed price per diem, or by what is known as the piece-price plan, or in any other manner, whereby the labour of such convicts is let or controlled by any outside person or persons."

Charges are made in the *Rock Springs Rocket* that the Governor, with remarkable generosity, is letting the contract at 31 cents below the 93½ cent rate charged by Connecticut institutions to the same firm.

More serious are the accusations contained in a manuscript handed by a prisoner to a Rock Springs workman engaged in reconstruction work in the prison factory. The charges are that the "water cure" at 75 pounds pressure is given prisoners as a disciplinary measure, that one man was shot dead by a guard for no apparent cause, and that the burning of the prison factory by prisoners followed the unbearable conditions there. The letter deals further with the contract convict labour system, and is signed *Incognito.*

Chicago.—Representative Dave Stovall and other supporters of the hooded K.K.K. in the State Legislature of Oklahoma call for an investigation of the I.W.W. as an alleged secret organisation.

"Stovall is trying to draw a red herring across the demand for an investigation of the Klan which has arisen since the recent orgy of whipping outrages in his State, and the scandals incidental to the Walton affair," declares Feinberg, of the I.W.W.

Stovall's attack on the I.W.W. came when he rose to speak for the Richard Elam amendment to the Klan Bill demanding that lists of officers and membership rolls of secret organisations be filed. He described the I.W.W. and other radical movements as a danger which the Klan and other conservative organisations must fight.

Atlanta, Ga.—Nicholas Senn Zogg, the only remaining political prisoner in Atlanta Penitentiary since Debs and others were released years ago, is in a serious condition from tuberculosis. It is feared that Zogg may go the way of his Mexican compatriot, Ricardo Flores Magon, who died in Leavenworth while Attorney-General Daugherty was insisting that his health was good. Zogg, an anarchist, not an I.W.W., took sick with influenza, which later developed into tuberculosis, after his arrest in Los Angeles in 1918 and his confinement in the city prison with wet blankets for his only bed clothes.

MANIFESTO OF THE WORKERS' GROUP OF THE C.P. OF RUSSIA (BOLSHEVIKI).

To the Communist Comrades of all countries:

The present condition of the productive forces in the countries of highly developed capitalism gives the proletarian movement of these countries the character of a fight for the Communist revolution. Either humanity—drowning by national and civil wars in its own blood—will disappear in barbarism, or the proletariat will carry out its historical mission: take the power and once for all put an end to the exploitation of man by man, and to civil and class wars among peoples and nations, and will plant the banner of eternal peace, of work, and brotherhood.

The hurried proceedings with the armaments of the air fleet by England, France, America, Japan, and so on, threatens with a new never heard-of war, in which many tens of millions human beings will perish through centuries of collected riches of the cities, factories, and worships, and everything which the labourers and peasants have created through centuries of painful work.

It is the mission of the proletariat in every country to throw down its own national bourgeoisie. The quicker the proletariat makes an end of the bourgeoisie of its own country, the sooner will the proletariat of the whole world solve its historic problem.

In order to put an end to the exploitation, the repression, and the wars, the proletariat must cease to fight for a slight increase of wages or for shortening of the working time; formerly it was necessary to do so, but to-day it must fight for its rule.

The bourgeoisie and the other oppressors of all kinds and shades are satisfied with the social traitors of all countries and peoples, especially because these divert the attention of the proletariat away from the chief objects of the struggle against the rule of the bourgeoisie and of the oppressors, and continuously put up such small, petty demands that they cannot check the repression and violence.

The Socialists of all countries are at any given moment the only saviours of the bourgeoisie from the proletarian revolution, because the numberless mass of the working class is accustomed to be suspicious of everything which comes from their oppressions, but when the same things are described as being in its interests and will be adorned further with Socialist phrases, then this workman who is dimmed by these phrases believes the traitors and expends his power for a hopeless fight. The bourgeoisie has, and will have, no better advocate.

The Communist vanguard of the proletariat must, before everything, destroy in the heads of their class-comrades the bourgeois rubbish and capture their consciousness in order to lead them to a bloody fight for victory. But in order to burn out this rubbish, one should stay always on the side of the proletariat in all its dangers and difficulties. Naturally, it should be attempted to win the sympathy of the proletariat by all manner of means, but not by cutting away, neglecting, or giving up its fundamental watchwords.* Whoever departs from them—for temporary advantages—he does not lead, and does not attempt to lead, the masses, but limps after them and does not conquer, but surrenders himself to those with whom he must fight.

One must not, also, always look around for others and wait till the proletarian revolution will simultaneously break out in all countries; one must not excuse its indecision.

"We are ready for revolution and are also strong, but the others are strike the German bourgeoisie and the social "set" (of people), what will take place then? The following happens: The bourgeoisie and social traitors will flee before the proletarian ire to France and Belgium and will implore Poincaré, weepingly, to finish with the German proletariat, promising the French in return for it to keep the Versailles treaty holy and perhaps even to give up the Rhine and Ruhr territory; that is, they will so act as the Russian bourgeoisie and their allied social traitors did and do till to-day. Poincaré and Co. will naturally accept with the greatest pleasure the good cause saving Germany from its proletariat—just as the robbers of the whole worlds did with Soviet Russia. But the ill-luck of Poincaré and Co. consists in the matter that their army composed of workmen and peasants, as soon as it will see, that they should help the German bourgeoisie and its accomplices against the German proletariat and Soviet Germany, will turn its arms against its own bourgeoisie, against Poincaré, and Poincaré—in order to save the skin of himself and his bourgeoisie with their socialist accomplices to their fate, and that, although the German proletariat will break the treaty of Versailles, drive away Poincaré from the Rhine and Ruhr, and will proclaim a peace without annexations and contributions with self-determination of nations. It is not difficult for Poincaré to get the upper hand of the Germany of Cuno and of the Fascists, but he will break his teeth with the proletarian Germany of Councils. Therefore, if there is possession of strength, one must fight and not turn round to see all sides.

There is still another danger for the proletarian revolution. That is the splitting of its forces.

In the interests of the proletarian world revolution, the exertion of the total revolutionary proletariat must be unified. If the victory of the proletariat is unthinkable without definite break and desperate fight with the enemies of the working class—with the social traitors of the second so-called International, who, arms in hand, suppress the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in their own as well as foreign countries, this victory of the proletariat without the union of all forces which are for the communist revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, is equally unthinkable. And, therefore, do we, the workers' group of the Communist Party of Russia (B), address to all honest Communist revolutionary proletarians with the appeal to unite their forces for the last and decisive battle. We call upon all parties of the Three International, the parties which are united in the Fourth International, and also those separate organisations which belong to neither of these, but which pursue the same objects as these, to form a united front. A united front for fight and victory.

The beginning is made. The proletarian Russia has finished according to the proletarian communist art, the bourgeoisie and its followers of all sorts and shades (social-revolutionaries, menshevikis, and so on), who defended them so zealously. As you see, although it was weaker than the German bourgeoisie, it has beaten the whole world buorgeoisie, as a result of the attack made upon it at the request of the Russian bourgeois, landlords, and socialist renegades.

Now it is the turn of the proletariat of the west to act, and it must unify its powers and begin the fight for its rule.

Naturally, it is harmful to close one's eyes before the dangers, which threaten the Russian October Revolution, and also the world revolution from inside of Russia.

Soviet Russia goes through one of the most difficult moments. It has many drawbacks of such nature that it can become disastrous for proletarian Russia and the whole world. These drawbacks result from the weakness of the Russian working class and out of the weakness of the proletarian world movement.

The proletarian Russia cannot yet oppose its will to the tendencies of liquidation of the conquests of the October Revolution—tendencies come from the bureaucracy degenerated in the new Economic policy, and, therefore, a very great danger threatens the achievements of the Russian proletarian revolution, not so much from outside as from inside itself.

The proletariat of the whole world is directly and indirectly interested in protecting the victories of the October Revolution against every danger. Such a country as Russia, as basis of communist world revolution, means already to achieve half the victory, and, therefore, the pioneers of the international proletarian army, the communist of all countries, must give expression to their views upon the deficiencies and illnesses from which Soviet Russia and its troop of the Communist army of the proletariat—the Communist Party of Russia (B) suffers.

The workers' group of the Communist Party of Russia (B), which is well posted on the Russian situation, makes the beginning.

We are not of the opinion that we, proletarian communists, should not speak about our mistakes because there are on the earth social traitors and scoundrels who will be able to exploit our words against Soviet Russia and Communism. All these fears are beside the point. Whether our enemies openly or secretly are inimical to us, it does not matter; they are trouble makers, who, according to their nature, cannot live without doing harm to us proletarians and communists. But what is the conclusion of it? Should we pass, therefore, over our sicknesses and deficiencies silently and not speak of them nor take measures to destroy them? What will take place, then, when we allow ourselves to be chased by the social traitors upon the hours of a dilemma and keep silent? In such a case it can go so that there remains only a memory of the achievements of the October Revolution.

It is, therefore, exactly in the interests of the proletarian world revolution and of the Russian working class, if we, the workers' group, make the beginning, and, without trembling before the opinon of the social traitors, we put the decisive questions of the international and proletarian movement. We have already said that the deficiencies can be explained from the weakness of the international as well as from the Russian proletarian movement, and the best help which the proletariat of other countries can give to the Russian proletariat is a revolution in their own countries, even if only in one or two of these most developed of capitalist countries. If even there is not sufficient strength at present, it is at any rate enough to help the Russian revolution to hold its position of the October Revolution till the proletariat of all other countries will rise and vanquish the enemy.

The working class of Russia, weakened by the imperialist world war, the civil war and the famine, is not all all strong; it can overcome the dangers which threaten at present just because it has acknowledged these dangers and will exert all its powers in order to overcome them and, with the help of the proletariat of all other countries, it will also succeed.

The workers' group of the Communist Party of Russia (B) has sounded the alarm, and its call finds loud echo in whole, great Soviet Russia. Everything which is proletarian and honest in the Communist Party of Russia is uniting and beginning the struggle. It will be successful for us to awaken in the minds of all thinking proletarian groups the thought about the fate of the achievements of the October Revolution.

The struggle is hard. Legal work has been made impossible for us—we work unlawfully (illegal). We could not print our "Manifesto" in Russia. We printed it secretly and continued to copy it upon the typewriter. The comrades who come to be suspected of being near to us in sympathy will be excluded from the party and trade unions simply upon suspection, arrested, and spirited away.

To the XIIth. Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, the comrade Sinoview had announced, under the acclamation of the party and Soviet bureaucrats, a new formula of suppression of every critique of the working class. He said: "Any and every criticism of the central office of the Communist Party of Russia, whether it comes from the right or left side, is menshevism." (Read his speech to the XIIth. Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.) What does it mean? It means the following: If the conduct of the central office does not appear right to a workman-communist, and he, in his proletarian simplicity, begins to criticise, then he will be excluded from the party and from the trade union; will finally declare him a menshevik, and will thrust him into the G.P.U. (political police department). The central of the party does not tolerate any criticism,

because it considers itself to be as infallible as the Roman Pope.

Our concern, the care of the Russian working man for the future, about the achievements of the October Revolution, is declared counter-revolutionary.

We, the workers' group of the Communist Party of Russia (B), declare before the proletariat of the whole world that Soviet Russia is one of the greatest achievements of the international movement. We, therefore, sound the alarm, because the Soviet State, a power of the proletarians and of the October victory of the working class of Russia, is threatened with the danger which we will defend against with all our energy, against every attempt to overturn the Soviet power. We will do so, even though we are sent to prison and deported in the name of Soviet power.

If the ruling group of the Communist Party of Russia proclaims our anxiety about the fate of the October Revolution to be illegal and counter-revolutionary, then you, revolutionary proletarians of all countries, and particularly those belonging to the Three International, express your impartial opinion after reading our manifesto. The attention of all proletarians of Russia, who are anxious on account of the dangers threatening the great October Revolution, are directed upon you, comrades! We do not put before you great demands. We desire that you speak at our meetings about our manifesto, and make it a point that the delegates of your country unroll before the 5th Congress of the Third International the question of Soviet politics of the Communist Party of Russia and its policy within the party. Discuss, comrades, our manifesto and make resolutions. Know it, comrades, that, in this manner, you will help the working class of Russia, worried to death and exhausted, to save the achievements of the October Revolution. And our October Revolution is a part of the world revolution. On to work, comrades!

(To be continued.)

Unemployed Workers Organisation.

With deep regret, during the past few years we have witnessed the gradual decline of what could have been a most powerful weapon in the hands of the working class—the Trades Union Movement.

The theory of industrial trades unionism at its inception was one of the finest conceptions born of working-class brains. Alas! we find to-day, after many years of attempting to materialise, the theory a number of "clubs" up and down the country called trade unions These have failed miserably to give expression to a tithe of the actual meaning or objective of the Industrial Trade Union Movement. Trade unionism, as we know it to-day, has failed ignominously, and, therefore, these so-called trade unions do not justify their existence.

There are numerous reasons which can be attributed to the failure of trade unionism. Let us take one common reason, which is the excuse we invariably get when we are trying to organise men.

They complain (and quite right, too) about the highly-paid official. The men say: "Why should they give high salaries to a number of officials who always seem to let us down at the moment of crises." That is an excuse; the men fail to see that they should be the union and not hand over their power to a few "leaders," to be used or abused as they wish. High-salaried officials have been the primary cause of the disruption and failure of the movement. A man comes from the workshop, gets a job in the union; after a time he is elected to a prominent position with a pay-roll running into hundreds a year. What happens is what has happened: the surplus cash which the official is in possession of is invested, it goes into the industry which the owner knows about. This has happened in seamen's unions, railwaymen's unions, and various other unions.

So we have the leaders opposed to any suggestions of strikes, as it would interfere with their dividends.

There are about 1,200 different trade unions in Gt. Britain, which is by far too many. There can be no unity of the working class while they are divided so. It is rare that two or three parties can agree on a common point, so we cannot expect 1,200 parties to agree. The reason for so many "unions" reverts again to salaried officials. Each union, large or small, has its own set of paid officials, and in the event of a fusion a number would lose their jobs. Therefore, before there is any talk of one big union for industry, we have a large number of biased, unreasoning enemies.

As the unions are constituted one can quite constitutionally and legally scab upon another. The recent dock strike is a very good example. The lightermen were authorised to strike by their union. The goods which they transported, particularly oil, was being carried by road in motor-lorries driven by men who were trade unionists, but were not ordered to strike. Perhaps it was not in the interest of the "leader" to order them out.

The fatal blow which is leading to collapse was struck during 1921-22, when the wages of workers were being ruthlessly attacked. The men were prepared to fight but were held back, and consequently let down by the men they trusted—their officials.

The members have lost all power in their unions. They have handed themselves, their destinies, their power, over to a few officials, thereby giving great power to these individuals who use this power for their own self aggrandisement, as detrimental to the welfare of the rank and file and workers' cause. The present system of Industrial Trade Unionism has proved to be futile, therefore, we must construct a trades union which must be a success. This can be an Industrial Union of Workshop Committees.

The first thing which is needed is propaganda. We must point out to the workers the necessity for organisation, unity and solidarity. Organisation is essential and necessary; we must organise in order to present a bloody revolution, which will inevitably occur unless the workers are prepared.

For a trade union to be a success we must present to the workers a real rank-and-file democratic organisation, which will be so constituted that if officials are necessary they will receive no more wages weekly than the average member receives. This will prevent them apeing in the interest of the boss, buying shares, etc.

Only a few industrial unions are needed. The transport section, for instance, would be a combination of workers which would embody sea, road, rail, and river workers. This alone would sweep away a large number of petty unions.

These big unions would be so constituted that the power would always be in the hands of the individual members, who would be the deciding body on all subjects. This would give the men the stimulant they have long been needing. Each would be able to take an active part in the union affairs, and as it is expected from them to control their own destiny, naturally they would take an interest in their own affairs.

No large dues are necessary to run a big industrial union. One penny per week per member would be sufficient.

No great expense is necessary to start these Workshop Committees which would constitute the union.

The initial outlay for a few cards is all. These cards could be sold for a penny, which could be used for purchasing fresh cards for other workshops.

When 5, 10, or more men joined in a workshop or factory, they would select a committee, which could be linked up with the nearest workshop committee in the vicinity. A delegate could be appointed in cases of emergency to meet other delegates from workshops, to discuss the important local business. This could be nationalised and internationalised. This system of organisation started is sure to grow. When a workshop committee is formed it will be the duty of each of them in turn to act as collecting steward. The dues of 1d., besides helping for printing, etc., will be a weekly reminder to the members that they are in an organisation, and should be doing something. If a delegate owing to union activities is forced to lose time, such loss of time and expense could be met by a penny levy.

I am sure that a man with the movement at heart could get a number of his workmates to join, just for consulting at first, and when he formed a committee and joined up with another workshop some useful propaganda work could be mutually arranged, which must, and would, be for the benefit of the working class.

These industrial unions, through workshop committees, can be formed; they must be formed, and they will prove to be the only salvation for humanity; that humanity—the working class.

It is now for those few class-conscious men to think a little more; educate your fellow-workers to the cause; start a workshop committee and organise. J. T. BELLAMY.

GOODNESS.

Prayers have been offered in the State Church, fellow-worker, asking the Lord of the religious people to take pity on the "lonely fields" and the "empty shippons," and to stay the cattle plague in order that the Church-goers might "rejoice" in his "goodness."

Have you noticed, fellow-worker, that the attitude of the Capitalist State towards the unemployed and all unfortunates is very much like the attitude the State Church imagines its God adopts towards humanity and the animals?

They believe that their God visits plagues upon living creatures, and they say to him: Please remove the plague you have sent in order that we may bless you for being so good as to cease to torture us.

The unemployed worker is expected to accept with resignation and humility dismissal by the employing class from the socially necessary services he performs on the land or in industry, for which alone he is given the means to live.

Then he is expected to beg with humility and patience that his exclusion from the social economy shall be so far mitigated that he shall receive a bare minimum subsistence which will ward off actual starvation till the employing classes call him back to work.

Religions are, in fact, a reflection of people's experience of life and opinions thereon.

In a barbarous society, as ours still is, we need not be surprised by the barbarous prayer which has been offered up in the Churches for the staying of the cattle plague.

THE SEARCHLIGHT.

WANTED.—Second-hand copies: "How the War Came," by Lord Loreburn; "Economics for the General Reader" (Clay); "Brass Check" (Upton Sinclair), cheap edition; "Ancient Lowly" (Osborn Ward).

SUBSCRIBERS.

A certain number of subscribers have fallen into arrears with their payments, and as we need funds very urgently we urge them to pay up at once. Their papers are marked each week with the date when their subscription expired. Rates: 1s. 7½d. three months, 3s. 3d. six months, 6s. 6d. twelve months.

Some of our 1s. a week subscribers, too, need a reminder that their subscriptions are due.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, meetings to explain the policy of this movement, can be arranged on application to the Secretary, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

SYLVIA PANKHURST is booking provincial lecturing engagements.—Apply for dates to "Dreadnought" office, 152, Fleet Street.

FOR SALE.—Engineer's Taper Guage, £1; Radius Guage, 7s. 6d. (Starrett's). Proceeds for "Dreadnought" Fund.

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