

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

VOL. VI.—No. 37.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6th, 1919.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

## SWEATED LABOUR : 4/- To Make an Overcoat.

To the Editor of the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

Through the columns of your valuable paper, I should like to bring to the notice of your readers the following remarkable collection of statements taken from the letters of one of my correspondents.

It was my good fortune to attend a conference in Manchester a short time ago, and whilst in that district I renewed the acquaintance of a friend I had not seen for many months. I must confess I was startled to note the pale face and haggard look of my friend, and I assumed that she had seen more of the sordid side of life than was good for her health. I discovered that she was employed by a clothing manufacturing company as a machinist, and that the conditions of work, etc., were not too pleasant. This, of course, led up to a statement on general conditions, which appalled me, and I made up my mind to do what little I could towards supplying to the public these statements.

I can only do this by means of the most honest and fair of our progressive newspapers. The extracts are taken from a number of letters I have received since October the 12th. I may say that my correspondent is quite sincere and honest in her opinion, and I can vouch for her integrity.

Stockport, 12/10/19.

Dear Mr. Smith,—As promised during your visit of last month, I have been trying to collect what information I could to serve your purpose of bringing our wretched conditions to public notice. Herein I give you the facts of the case, principally from personal experience.

In the first place we do business by the name of "The ——— Manufacturing Co.," but the place where we have the honour of having the following miserable conditions imposed upon us is only a branch works situated in ——— Street, Portwood, Stockport.

We girls are given to understand that the place entirely belongs to a gentleman formerly bearing a long Russian name. The new manager, I must add, only took over the management a few weeks ago, since when there is an improvement both in wages and conditions. The late manager is still here in a subordinate position.

I have been trying to get the girls to give me a written statement with reference to the conditions of work, etc., including the amounts of their wages for the past two months.

Some of them were dismissed from their late employment because they could not earn the minimum wage fixed by the Government (28/-) according to the piece-work rates paid by the firm. Many of them are very poor, and will not risk being discharged even from a place like this, arguing that half-a-loaf is better than no bread.

Of course, if you are prepared to state a case on my evidence alone, I am quite prepared to bear witness as to the state of existing conditions.

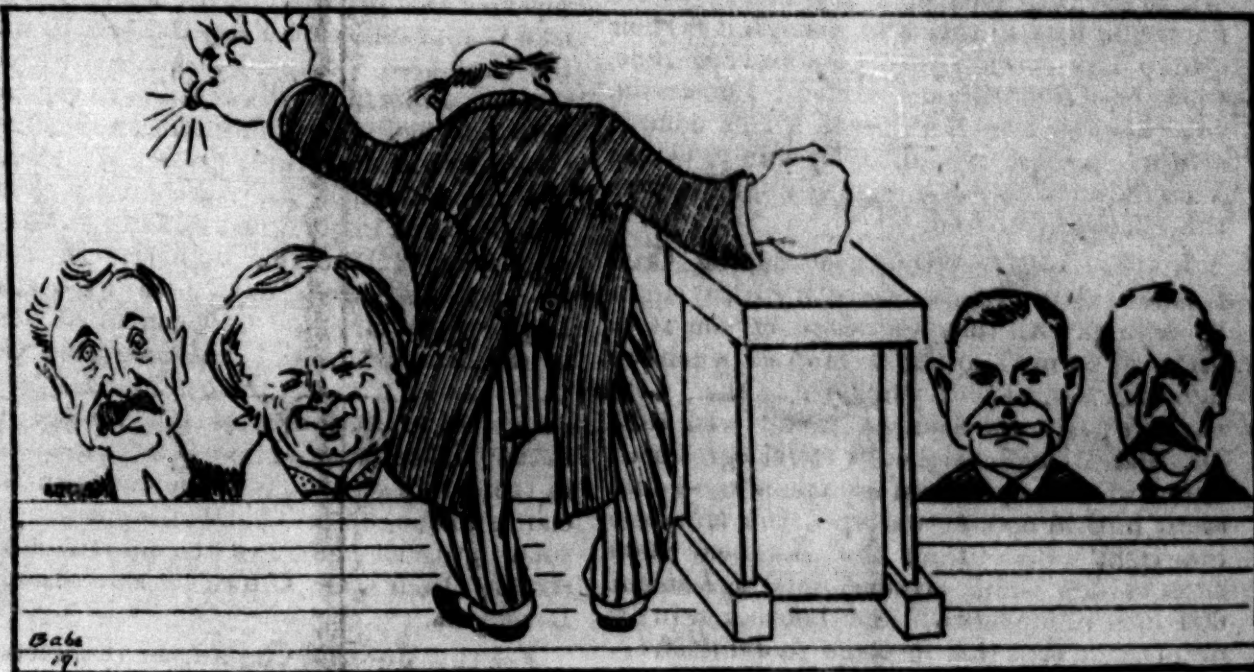
Perhaps I ought to explain the position of the girls here. I do not want you to think them cowards because they refuse to furnish particulars. Dismissal from here would not trouble them so much, but the whisper would very quickly travel round to all other shops of this kind in the vicinity that such and such girls were "dangerous," that is, to the employer's

interest, and very soon these girls would find themselves quite unable to find employment—a very serious matter to most.

With the exception of a few girls with several years' experience, no one gets more than £1 for a full week, from 8 a.m. to 6.30 p.m., excluding Saturdays. The worst trouble is, however, shortage of work. Never do we get a full week. Thursday, mid-day, generally finds us at a standstill. Sometimes we are sent home, but more often we are kept hanging about in the hope that some more work will come from the head branch of the firm. Being on piece-work, no allowance is made for this loss of

a short time when he was transferred, we believe, to headquarters. And now again we are being sent back whole days and half-days, so that the wages are averaging from 8/- to 16/- per week, according to work.

I will now give you a list of my earnings. We have two books, which we use alternatively to allow one to go to the headquarters to be checked each week:—July 24th, 10/3½; August 29th, 19/10½; September 18th, 19/0½; October 2nd, 16/11½; October 9th, 13/8; October 23rd, 24/5; November 6th, 21/3. I may state, that while I have not had a very long experience of machining, you can take my earnings as



**CAPITALIST:** There must be no levy on Capital, that would discourage us, no nationalisation, no limitation of profits! **Trade Unions:** Sh! the remedy is compulsory arbitration. All you have to do is to trust us Capitalists.

time. Then, again, we are sent home whenever it happens to be one of the various feasts of the Jews, and again, no allowance in wages is made. By going on strike about twice each week, we have been able to get the prices (per section) raised, but there is still heaps of room for improvement. The piece-work rate—paid in sections—works out at not more than 3/- now for making an overcoat.

I will now give you a list of the prices paid for piece-work sectionally, and this should show to the public that the present high price of clothing is not due to the cost of labour—that cry of the profiteer. Linings, 5/-, 5/6, 6/-, and 6/6 per dozen coats; sleeves, 2/3, 3/- and 3/6 per dozen coats; backs, 1/- and 1/6 per dozen coats; collars, 1/- per dozen coats; pockets, 4/- per dozen coats; closing, 3/- per dozen coats; running round, 4/6 per dozen coats; finishing (hand sewing), 4/- per dozen coats; sleeving (putting in sleeves), 1/6 per dozen coats; pressing (done by men), 4/- per dozen coats. Trousers (machining throughout), 9d. per pair; finishing throughout, 4d. per pair.

The above prices refer to both overcoats and jackets belonging to suits, but I cannot vouch for the price paid for pressing trousers, but shall estimate it at 3d. per pair. Nothing extra is paid for the larger and heavier garment.

Our new manager was only here

rather more than the average. The slight improvement is due to my getting a better supply of work.

I consider we ought to be guaranteed a fixed wage, if only £1 per week, as ours is a trade very liable to slackness.

It is hardly fair that the workers should suffer for the bad management of the firm. All union shops pay the girls at least 9d. per hour for waiting. *We get nothing.*

To make the statement as to working conditions as complete as possible, I may add that we have no heating apparatus, and are not provided with hot water. We find our way out at night down two flights of stairs in total darkness.

We are threatened with dismissal if we join a union, and three girls have already been dismissed without notice for this "offence." The cold and draughts in the place are terrible. Can you tell me of any factory inspector we could inform, as half the girls' hands are in a dreadful state with chilblains? I, myself, have had an enjoyable few weeks with neuritis in my hands, all due to the cold and draught.

The list of prices I forwarded to you is complete save for the basting which is done by men tailors, and I hear that it is possible for these men to earn as much as £10 per week. I cannot make out how

Continued on next page, col. 3.



## THE TRAIL OF CAPITALISM.

*This article shows clearly that wherever Capitalism and Imperialism set their foot, there misery and injustice are found rampant.*

Southern Rhodesia with its 90,000,000 acres of land and its 800,000 native population does not belong to Great Britain, but is a friendly country bound to the British Crown by a Treaty of Amity, and yet not one single native owns one single foot of his own land.

On land bought by or given to white men the natives are permitted to remain if they pay £1 per head administrative tax and £1 per head to the white occupier of the land stolen from them. On land which no white man yet desires, the natives are permitted to remain if they pay £1 per head administrative tax, and £1 per head which will go into the pockets of the white man who may come along at any time and purchase the land from the Chartered Company which has stolen it from the natives. On land known as the Reserves, natives are permitted to remain if they pay £1 per head administrative tax to the Chartered Company, but they have no secure title to this land, though it is their own. The sordid story goes back to 1888, when the Rudd-Rhodes Mineral Concession was obtained from Lobengula. This concession was at once denounced by him to Queen Victoria when he learnt that it would lead to the alienating of land.

In 1890 a Mr. Greeff was making Cecil Rhodes (then Premier of South Africa) laugh by saying: "All that we desire of you is to grant us farms and not to stop us when we fight the natives. If you agree to that, Lobengula's glory will soon be past." In 1893 Dr. Smuts Jameson signed a secret agreement under which he promised each man who would assist him in making war upon the Matabele the 'right' to take from the Matabele 6,000 acres of their land. Under this agreement 600 men volunteered. And Lobengula in his desperation sent this message to Jameson:—"I thought you came to dig gold, but it seems that you have come not only to dig gold but to rob me of my people and country as well."

All was now ready for war, save a reason with which to force the High Commissioner's hand, for he refused to allow an unwarranted invasion of Matabeleland.

A lie known as the "Victoria incident" was soon forthcoming to take the place of a reason. A Mashona chief in charge of cattle belonging to Lobengula cut some telegraph wires. It is said that the Chartered Company seized the cattle though knowing they belonged to Lobengula. An Impi was sent by Lobengula to punish the Mashonas for cattle thefts and wire cutting. The Matabele Impi attacked the Mashonas near Victoria, where was Dr. Jameson, and killed some of them. Then Jameson ordered the Matabele to leave Mashonaland which they did, but thirty-eight men of the Chartered Company followed them without provocation (officially admitted) shot nine to eleven Matabele, including the Chief. Jameson wired a few days later, to the High Commissioner that Matabele had fired on white men; this was a lie, but the lie was accepted, war followed and Matabeleland was seized. Mashonaland was also seized as it was said the Mashonas were the subjects of the Matabele. But they were not.

The Chartered Company is now asking the British taxpayer to pay for these wars. It has been already said that a certain area of land is known as the Reserves and that here natives may live after paying £1 per head

administrative tax. In 1910 the Chartered Company started an agitation for cutting down the size of this Reserve land. A Commission of three members was appointed to consider the question. There was no Native on the Commission, there was no official of the Native Affairs Department on the Commission, and no natives were allowed to give evidence before the Commission in the accepted sense of evidence, though some were consulted. The findings of this Commission were "very satisfactory" to the Shareholders of the Chartered Company, the Reserves were cut down by 6,000,000 acres and the natives were given 5,000,000 acres elsewhere.

The Chartered Company's officials state that the "natives prefer lands of granite soil and uninhabitable portions of Southern Rhodesia." I would point out that they did not live on such land when they had a free choice. It is estimated that 85 per cent of the Reserves land is granite.

In 1914 the Committee of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society prepared a separate case for the natives before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to whom the Chartered Company's claims to commercial ownership of the lands of Southern Rhodesia had been submitted. The Chartered Company did everything possible to obstruct the preparation of the Native Case and it was prepared under great difficulties. At the beginning of 1918 the Judicial Committee sat and after eleven days gave its decision. Legal ownership was declared to be vested in the British Crown. The Chartered Company lost its claim to the commercial ownership of 73,000,000 acres of land, no legal title in the "unalienated" or richest land was vested in the White settlers, commercial ownership claims to the Reserve land disappeared, and such rights as remain to the natives are derivable from the Crown in Succession to Lobengula.

For this Judicial Committee the costs of the Crown are a public charge, the costs of the white settlers are a public charge, the costs of the despoiled Matabele and Mashonas are declared to be the liability of private persons.

To sum up, the land of Southern Rhodesia has been torn from its rightful owners, thousands of natives are paying white men for living upon their own land, thousands of natives are living upon their own land: which may be taken from them any moment and for which they must pay the Chartered Company, and thousands of natives are living on their own Reserved land, with no security of tenure whatever and after payment of a tax. The British Government knows these things. The British Government allows these things to be.

L. D'O. WALTERS.

## JAPANESE CAPITALISTS IN MEXICO.

According to Senor Manuel Perez Romano, Mexican Minister to Japan, there is no movement on the part of the Japanese to establish colonies in Lower California or Mexico. Japanese capitalists, however, who are seeking investments which are favourable, are securing data with a view to establishing manufacturing enterprises of various kinds in Mexico, those of textile fabrics being especially favoured.

—International Labour News Service, Ny.

SWEATED LABOUR  
Continued from front page.

and why this great contrast in prices is made.

You will find that it works out at 2/3½ per overcoat for the machinists. Add 4d. for the pressing, then there is only the cutting and the basting to be accounted for.

The firm is constantly advertising in the local papers and theatre programmes for machinists. Whenever any girls apply for work they are started, although the firm cannot keep going those they already have for a full week.

If this was made public it may benefit us already here, and prevent other girls from falling into the net. I may say that the Labour Exchange stops the out-of-work pay for girls who refuse to come here. Hoping I have made myself quite clear, I remain, sincerely yours,

Your readers will, no doubt, understand that I refrain from using the name of my correspondent, also the name of the firm, for obvious reasons. I shall be willing to assist anyone who may be inspired to act on behalf of these girls. It should be unnecessary for me to supplement this appeal to humanity. The fact of my correspondent showing her willingness to bear witness to her statements proves the truth of them. If they are untrue, it is now up to the firm whose head the cap fits best to disprove them.

That my correspondent is above the average standard of intelligence is obvious. And in this letter she has shown a desire to do something towards the emancipation of her class.

You have seen the table of my correspondent's wages, representing seven weeks' pay, and the average only reaches 18/- per week. Yet this great soul is only asking for a fixed wage of 20/- per week. How she would live on that I cannot tell. It seems to be good policy on the part of the firm to keep more workers in stock than work on hand. This is obviously what forces down wages, and makes the strike weapon a useless one.

When making a note of these prices paid for sectional work, one wonders where the surplus goes. No doubt, a new overcoat will cost me from £4 to £10. Allowing for about four yards of cloth, buttons and lining, and 4/- the approximate cost of making, the rest is absolutely clear profit.

Where does it go, and who gets it?

The Profiteering Tribunals all over the country are dismissing complaints made against the retailers on the grounds that the retailer is not at fault. Their powers are not extended to the wholesalers and manufacturers. Why?

These folk are in the position of being able to make the laws to suit themselves and their schemes. Consequently, the Tribunals cannot function, except in the sense of being a means of chloroforming the public. Quite a useful function in the interest of the bossing class.

We must have control of the means of production by the people for the people.

Capitalism is an historical advance upon Feudalism along the line of democracy and civilization. But, nevertheless, Capitalism is and remains the system of wage-slavery, of enslavement of millions of toilers to a little minority of modern slave-drivers—the landowners and capitalists.

E. H. SMITH.

HAVE YOU PLACED  
YOUR ORDER FOR OUR  
COMMUNIST NUMBER?

## THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANISATION.

Valuable lessons are to be learnt from the Revolutions which have failed, as well as those which have succeeded; indeed, the revolutions that have apparently failed are but stages in revolution which will eventually succeed. We are told that the Spartacist Revolution, like that of Finland, was not well organised, that there was no definite plan and that the paper money found in the banks which were seized was burnt by the revolutionaries although, of course, for the time being, it was a valuable asset.



## BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

## PUSH OR HUSH?

I wish, Henry, that you will take this article as a kind of Post Scriptum to my remarks of last week. In that article you will remember that I let you into a secret shared between the DREADNOUGHT staff and the half million or so readers who take the paper weekly. This secret was to the effect that the issue of December 13th will be an Extra Special Number, for which there will be no extra charge, although extra expenses are involved.

Then, I urged each member of the Dubb family to save up twopence—in farthings if necessary—and blue it on the Extra Special Number hereinbefore referred to, as they say in Hire Purchase Deeds. This week I have an elephant of a different colour up my sleeve.

If you take an ordinary issue of the DREADNOUGHT, you will find that it usually has some news, some articles bearing on Soviet Russia. Maybe, sometimes, you will have asked, "Now, isn't this Soviet Russia business being a trifle overdone? Wouldn't it be more to the point to talk about Soviets for Britain?"

Well, that is just the point that bristles at the end of each article or piece of news about Russia. Here we have in Soviet Russia Socialism being put into operation. Or, rather, I should say, a Workers' Revolution in operation towards a Communist classless society of free peoples. Here we see the difficulties that the workers of any country—and of Britain in particular—would have to face with a Revolution on our hands.

If the spectacle of Soviet Russia teaches us anything, it teaches that the workers are the backbone of a Revolution. Without the workers' support the Soviets of Russia would be like the Westminster Gambling Den—the refuge of the do-nothing.

It is obvious, of course, that this being Britain, not Russia, a Revolution here would not take exactly the same course as over there. But

practically the same difficulties would arise. What causes an unrest amongst the people? It is usually an aggravation, a worsening of the misery the workers take as part of their destiny. As soon as their misery oversteps a certain point the workers grow restless, and make active protest against the Government of the day. If the workers are not quietened by a show of force or an application of force by the Government, then it becomes an open revolt.

This happens when the "affairs of the country," as they are called, are grossly mismanaged by the politicians in power. Naturally, if these politicians are overthrown, they leave things in a muddle for the people to clear up. And the people had better do their own clearing up than let some new sort of politician do it for them.

And, further, as soon as the Workers' Revolution starts its clearing-up process, it will find it is giving nasty knocks to folk of other nations who have "interests" in this country. There would then be "intervention" by non-Revolutionist countries, say, America or France. Now, the workers cannot very well do any clearing up with strangers knocking about; it is, therefore, to their interest to help on the Revolution in other countries beside their own. And the best way of helping a Revolution in another country is to have one in your own.

This is what the DREADNOUGHT is out to preach. It must not be imagined that the Revolution will be started from 152, Fleet-street, whilst the workers look on or obey orders. The Revolution must be the work of the class most interested in it—the working class. Therefore, when you have read a Revolutionary article or so in the paper, you do not help in the least by putting it in your pocket and waiting for something to happen. The last thing you will see will be Sylvia Pankhurst producing the Revolution from her fountain pen amidst deafening cheers and the singing of the "Internationale."

No, Henry, the circus won't begin that way. It may be news to you, but if you liked, you could bring in the Revolution even if there was no such paper as the DREADNOUGHT, and no such person as—Myself. But, first of all, you must have an exact idea as to what a Revolution is.

It is not rushing into the streets waving a red shirt and putting all top-hatters inside a noose affixed to the nearest lamp-post. It is not by putting yourselves in Parliament in place of the Boorjoys, and calling yourselves a Soviet. What a revolution means may be put in two words—Hard Work.

To begin with, the revolution must be done by the working class, and they must have an idea in their brain boxes as to how they are going to go about it. And in order to get the right ideas they must read and talk over things with their fellow workers. It is not for the DREADNOUGHT to issue magnificent orders to the working class, and tell them—like an infallible Pontiff—the right thing to do. In last week's issue you will find an article entitled "Ideas for a Programme." Observe, they are ideas. They are not orders. It is up to you to discuss those ideas, and if they are sound, to push them amongst the workers for all you are worth.

You may know all about them. You may be full to bursting point on Communist ideals. But don't burst with them. Load a few on to the fellow who works next to you. And in order to give something to go on with, hand him a copy of this paper.

And now, I want to repeat the fact that on December 13th the DREADNOUGHT will be full of Good things—and it will be only twopence. But for three bob you can have twenty-six copies to sell or give away to twenty-six fellow Dubbs, who will otherwise be in the way when you start the Revolution. Who said three bob?

## DEATH OF DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

The following particulars of Nieuwenhuis by F. S. are taken from "La Feuille":—

Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis was born in Amsterdam December 31st, 1846. He was one of the dozen eccentrics which nearly every generation produces, who think that all is not for the best, that the social organisation is bad, or rather that there is no social organisation at all, that there is a social exploitation of the masses by a few rogues. He belonged to those prophets who know how to preserve illusions during the worst crisis, and go straight on their way, despite the cries of hatred which pursue them. Thus it was that during the war he was one of those rare spirits that did not succumb to its intoxication. Domela Nieuwenhuis was a Lutheran, and became a pastor in 1871. In 1878 he gave up his pastorate, as he considered that the Lutheran Church was the enemy of humanity, and, realising that, his conscience forbade him to remain in it. In 1870 he voiced his revolutionary ideas in founding, during the Franco-Prussian War, a group of pacifists, and sending a petition to the King asking him to relinquish his constitutional right of declaring war. He started a paper at that time, *Rights for All*. In 1886, he was sentenced to twelve months hard labour for *lèse-majesté* on account of an article: "The King Comes." In 1888 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, but remained isolated, and became the most determined adversary of the existing parliamentary circle. He was not returned in 1891. From that time onward he became more and more of an anarchist; he turned from Marx towards Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Reclus, and started a new organ, *The Free Socialist*.

At the Second International Congress at Brussels, in 1891, he fought the German Socialists, and defended the general strike and resistance to military service. He suffered an absolute defeat then, as well as at the Congress at Zürich. He has written many works, amongst them "The History of Socialism"; "The Débauché of Marxism"; "The Bible: Its

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Origin and History." In the Dutch movement there are few more revolutionary figures than this Lutheran author. He had thoroughly understood the dangers of education as it is practised by the State. "Our rulers," he said at a Conference on free education, "understand perfectly that true and free instruction imparted to the people would be the death of all government, because it is thanks to the stupidity of the people that the rulers can play their game at the expense of the people who cry 'Hosannah!' one day and 'Crucify Him!' the next, who applaud indiscriminately two orators who say exactly opposite." He continually denounced the "schools which are establishments of training in which good citizens are made who obey the governments." In his book, "Socialism in Danger," he writes:—"Have confidence in liberty, which will triumph one day. It is true that the men of science are

afraid of this giantess, this daughter of the old gods, whose power in the day when she shall arise in all her strength no one can calculate. Everyone contemplates her with terror, and predicts terrible days for the world if ever she breaks her bonds, except the few rare lovers who mostly belong to the poorer classes."

Domela Nieuwenhuis died at the age of 73, a poor man, though he had been born of well-to-do parents, but he was very generous and made good use of his fortune. Until his death he remained true to the conception he expressed so clearly in these few words:—"Everything, absolutely everything, must be changed when society has broken the economic chains which encompass it." It is this purity of doctrine, this negation of political and parliamentary action for which he was never forgiven by the Socialists, Latin as well as German, but it is this also that makes him a great and beautiful figure.



## THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: Sylvia Pankhurst

Published by the Workers' Socialist Federation.

Annual Subscription, post free—10s. 10d

Back Numbers, 4d., post free.

MSS. should be addressed to the Editor at

400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

All business communications to the MANAGER

152, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

Telephone. Central 7240.

Vol. VI. No. 37

Sat. Sept., 6th, 1919

### ITALIAN ELECTION Result And What It Means.

For three weeks before the Italian elections of this week, the Socialist daily, *Avanti*, made its daily full-page headline something about Russia. This was to tell its readers that the only issue on which it was contesting the election was the Russian Revolution—the world Revolution. But a corollary to this was the condemnation of imperialistic war, especially victorious imperialistic war, like the one just—pardon, not yet, ended. So its sub-headline was usually about the war. No one who voted the Socialist ticket in Italy was in the dark concerning what his vote meant. It meant, so far as a parliamentary vote can mean anything, a vote against the war and in favour of the world Revolution.

On this platform the Socialists increased their representation in the Italian Chamber of Deputies from 42 to 156, nearly quadrupling their number of deputies, and attaining almost a third of the next Italian parliament. What is more important, in fact, the only thing in this election which the Socialists considered important at all, they increased their popular vote from 900,000 in 1913, to something more than two millions and a half.

When the campaign opened, it required faith and courage to "play up" Soviet Russia in headlines. It appeared at that time that Petrograd was about to fall. Yudenitch was in the very suburbs of the city, and one could only judge from the dispatches that the Russian transportation system had broken down, and that Trotsky had been unable to ship supplies to his northern army. At the same time Denikin was less than 200 kilometres from Moscow. Poland was pushing ahead from the west, and Finland seemed about to intervene. The Baltic States had broken off their peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks. The British Admiralty had made what appeared to be an official announcement of the fall of Kronstadt to the British warships, a loss to Russia which could never have been retrieved. Even Koltchak seemed to be successfully resisting the Bolshevik attacks.

Then, with one of those marvellous turns of fortune which occur but a few times in history, the situation suddenly cleared. Yudenitch was driven back, Finland refused to intervene, the Ukrainians mobilised in Denikin's rear, Kronstadt proved to be safe, Poland and the Baltic States made definite efforts toward peace with Russia, Denikin was hurled back, Kieff fell, and then Omsk. All this was known on the occasion of the second anniversary of Soviet Russia, and the Italian workers had a week in which to draw the moral.

I can testify that the results of the election far surpassed the hopes of the Socialists. In all those parts of Italy in which the masses of the people can read and write, the vote was pretty consistently 50 per cent. Socialist. Rome, the nest of the petty bureaucracy, and one of the weakest Socialist cities, gave a plurality for the Socialists for the first time in its history. The province of Rome, in which clerical influences are strong, gave the Catholics only 5,000 votes more than the Socialists. Venetia, which had

been invaded by the enemy, and which had been counted on to give a tremendous vote to the patriotic party, gave a clear majority to the Socialists over all the other parties combined. The industrial cities, like Milan, Turin and Alessandria, and the Romagnan provinces around Bologna, went Socialist by an enormous majority. All the districts north of Rome, save three or four, gave a Socialist plurality.

All but a handful of the patriotic and yellow Socialists were defeated. In Genoa, Guiliotti edged in with his yellow "Party of Labour," thanks to his enormous popularity as secretary of the Seamen's Union; but his confrère, Canepa, one of the men who presumed to represent the Italian working class at the Lucerne conference in August, was defeated. Naples, in which Socialist organisation has always been weak, elected, it is true, the patriotic Socialist Labriola. But with him it elected two official Socialists, one of them Francesco Misiano, discharged from the government railway service for strike activities, condemned to prison for anti-militarist activities, deserter from the army, arrested in Switzerland for revolutionary propaganda, arrested again in Berlin for Communist activities during Spartacist week, and now in prison.

The Clericals, with their thousands of permanent party organisers in the persons of its priesthood, came out much weaker than had been expected. This is the more remarkable since they had offered a programme of land distribution and taxation of wealth, which was designed to catch all those workers and timid Socialists who still fear the word "Bolshevism."

Everywhere the patriotic party, the imperialists, those who want to make a meal of the Balkans in the next ten years, were defeated. In nearly every district they came at the bottom of the list. And this in spite of the fact that they offered a programme of internal reform still more radical than that of the Clericals. In all they have scarcely more than 30 seats in the coming parliament.

The remainder of the seats, some 215 out of 508, go to the dozens of local groups which are called by the capitalist papers the "parties of law and order." But these have no national organisation and no programme which they dare announce. They cannot unite on any single point, and even if they had a clear majority in the chamber they could not form a government.

What, then, will the next government be like? Let us leave the answer to those guessers to whom it matters. The next government will be formed as all previous ones have been, pussy-footing and bribes, and conferences behind closed doors. It will have as little clear policy as the one now departing un mourned.

The newspapers are having their silly season over the results of this election. They are, in fact, more nervous than they have been since the general strike of July. They note with anxiety that the news caused the exchange to drop, and they fear that the new political situation will make it more difficult for Italy to obtain favours from the Great Council in Paris.

They deplore the fact that the conservatives were split, and that they had no national organisation with which to oppose the Socialists. They forget the fact that party combinations would have no effect on the Socialist representation under the new system of proportional representation which they themselves created in an effort to make their democracy "pure." They point enviously to the results in France, in which, as a result of such combinations, the Socialists lost two score or more of their seats. But they forget to mention that the French Socialists increased their vote from 700,000 to 1,700,000, and that increase in popular strength is the only thing a revolutionary party cares a straw about.

The wiser of these papers understand, however, that the election does mean a change of front on the part of bourgeois Italy. *L'Epoca*, which is from time to time a ministerial organ, points out that the result of the election will alienate Italy still more from the western

powers, which have been far from sisterly toward her hitherto. They assert that Italy must in the future look for her necessary supplies of coal, of oil, and of wheat, not from England and America, but from Russia. Yes, from Soviet Russia! These papers accept the fact that the Allied intervention in Russia has failed, that Communist Russia is going to live. They openly say that economic and semi-diplomatic relations with Russia must be opened at the earliest opportunity.

And yet these bourgeois leaders are not so panic-stricken at the Socialist victory as foreigners might suppose. They do not worry too much over the fact that a third of their new legislative body is composed of avowed revolutionists pledged to oppose and obstruct at every turn, pledged to preach only the Communist Republic, and to organise a violent Revolution at the earliest opportunity.

Why this strange blindness? It is not blindness. These politicians have not been playing the political game these many years for nothing.

I asked a prominent Roman editor about the "Socialist danger."

"It is perhaps the best thing that could have happened," he said. "Socialists out of parliament are dangerous. But Socialists in parliament soon become —"

"Become what?" I asked.

"They soon become tame," he answered.

And *L'Epoca* prints at the top of its first page a sentence from one Luigi Luzzatti:—

"WHERE A REVOLUTION MIGHT BE ABLE TO BREAK OUT VIOLENTLY, PARLIAMENT CAN CANALISE IT."

Which means that these people believe that the proletariat's parliamentary activities are anti-revolutionary activities. These papers are consequently offering the new government to the Socialists, if they will be tame and co-operate with the bourgeois parties. The offer must, of course, be refused, for the Socialist party, and each and every deputy representing it, is pledged against any sort of collaboration with the other groups.

Now, this is satisfactory so far as it goes. But human nature is ambitious. Among the 160 odd Socialist deputies there will be many who itch for office, even as Briand in France itched for office a decade or more ago. And it may be too hard to refuse, when office can be had for the asking. There will be the old cry of "immediate benefits for the working class," and the more popular of the moderate deputies may feel themselves safe in forming a separate group and intriguing for ministerial responsibility. It is easy to reply that they will be expelled from the party, as they doubtless will. But what if they were able to carry their own local constituencies with them? It would mean a new moderate Socialist party and another split in the Italian proletarian movement.

It would be foolish to deny that the thoughtful Socialists are worried over this situation. The warnings of Bordiga at the Bologna conference are already being demonstrated with an eloquence greater than his own.

This, however, is in the future. The immediate actions of the party group in parliament will be of a character sufficiently embarrassing to the middle-classes. It will demand the formal recognition of the workers' councils, now being formed in the industrial centres, with direct representation in parliament. And it will demand public control over the finances of newspapers, and an inquiry, in conjunction with the parliaments of other nations, into the financing of newspapers during the late war.

Italy, if not a revolutionary country, will be at least an uneasy one in the months that are to come.

HIRAM K. MODERWELL.

NEXT WEEK

SPECIAL COMMUNIST NUMBER



## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

## BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

Just as the reign of terror of the British Government in Ireland results in policemen being shot, a similar state of affairs is being brought about in Egypt. The Egyptians have declared they do not want the Milner Report; the Irish have declared that they do not want Home Rule but Independence. Imperialism hastens to exasperate both "possessions," get a few "hands of the law" inhumanly treated, and then screams for strong measures against the "reign of lawlessness." It is a nice game to watch, if life were not so short, and the need of relief so great.

## NEWS STRIKE ENDED.

After about three weeks' firm stand, the Paris Press strike is reported to have terminated. The employers have won the day, since the men are to go back without getting any increase in pay.

## DIGNITY.

The fact that postmen are refusing to have anything more to do with the degrading practice of collecting Christmas boxes is a hopeful sign. When the Bolsheviks came into power, visitors to Petrograd reported that in hotels and restaurants this notice was displayed: "Do not insult your brother by offering him a tip."

## A BEGINNING.

The Washington Labour Conference decided that women wage-earners shall be entitled to six weeks' respite before child-birth and six weeks after on full pay. The State, or some insurance system, is to pay the money. Will the sum be equal in every case, or based on previous earnings, and will those out of work receive equal support? In Soviet Russia none of these doubts arise, as all mothers get support.

## LILLIAN SCOTT TROY.

News reaches us from America that the case of Miss Lillian Scott Troy is being actively taken up by the Labour world there. The following resolution was sent by Labour Unions from every State in the Republic to 1,008 United States Senators and Congressmen:—

Resolved: That we urge President Wilson and the Congress to compel the State Department to see that Miss Troy is permitted to return to England for the purpose of attending to her large business interests.

## A FALSE MOVE.

The No-Conscription Fellowship held a Convention on November 29th and 30th; the fellowship, as such, has been dissolved, but two new organisations rise from its ashes. One will consist of objectors to war on any or every ground, whereas the other will be composed of Tolstoyans only. Since unity is strength this split can have none but disastrous effects, unless some treaty is made to join forces in any grave crisis.

## HUNGARIAN ELECTIONS.

There is to be a Parliamentary election in Hungary on December 21st. The National Assembly is to meet on January 3rd. Its duration is to be two years with the right of an earlier dissolution. The vote is granted to every man and woman at the age of 24. Women voters must be able to read and write in one of the languages of the country. Men under 24 can vote provided they have been at the front before November 1st, 1918. Men and women are eligible for Parliament at the age of 30. The ballot is secret. Prohibition will come into force on election day. Voting is obligatory.

## MUNICIPAL SALARIES.

The Leeds Labour Party has adopted the following programme with regard to municipal salaries:—

That no salary be higher than £1,000 per annum, and that below that the wages and salaries paid shall be such as are acceptable to the Trade Union of the grade; that each head of a department should have a fully competent and trained assistant, and that greater facilities be given to the workers to obtain the necessary education and training to fit them for such posts. They also suggest that the conditions and emoluments attached to every office should be fully stated when applications are invited, and that the fullest opportunity should be afforded to the rank and file in publicly-owned services to use their abilities and ideas for the service of the common weal. An alternative report suggested that heads of departments should be paid "the fair market rate," and that the salary should be fixed for the job, and not based on the particular man.

But what is the minimum wage to be?

## ALIEN BILL.

It is quite possible that the House of Lords will greatly alter, or even reject, the Aliens' Bill, which the House of Commons passed recently.

## SOVIET RUSSIA.

## UNITY IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

The All-Russian Central Executive, a Wireless announces, has decided to grant admission to the seventh Congress of the Soviets of Russia, in an advisory capacity, to representatives of all those parties who have decreed the mobilisation of their members for the defence of the Soviet Republic. These parties are:—

Russian Communist Party.  
Ukrainian Bolshevik Communist Party.  
Menshevik Social Democratic Party.  
Revolutionary Communist Party.  
International Social Democratic Party.  
"Bund."  
Ukrainian "Borotbisti" Party.  
Ukrainian Social Revolutionary Party of Left.  
Dissident Fraction of Social Revolutionary Party.  
"Poale Sion" Party.  
League of Maximalist Social Revolutionaries.

Each of the above-named organisations will be allowed to send two or three representatives to the Congress.

The Bolsheviks seem to recognise that these various parties and sections intend to support the Soviet Government not only against the external foe, but in its great work of building up the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

## COPENHAGEN NEGOTIATIONS.

The negotiations between Soviet Russia and England on the exchange of prisoners are progressing slowly in Copenhagen. What interests us most about the present negotiations is Maxim Litvinoff's statement that he is ready, on behalf of the Soviet Republic, to approach the subject of Peace officially. Those who imagine that intervention has now ceased may think that peace is less urgent; but look at the rigid blockade circle which the Allies

have welded by forcing the neutral countries to boycott Soviet Russia!

Peace with Soviet Russia is more urgent than ever. There is no reason for delay, unless it should be that the Allies hope to hang on till the spring and find other "heroes" of the Yudenitch, Koltchak and Denikin type. Such a move must be frustrated by the determined action now of the workers of this country. Soviet Russia wants peace, not as a defeated Power, but as one victorious on all fronts which now wants to concentrate on building up its industries in peace.

## PROTECTING BOY AND GIRL LABOUR IN RUSSIA.

To all youths and girls working in Soviet establishments, the Commissariat for Labour has granted one month's holiday with wages. They have been sent by the State to those parts of Russia which are rich in food and with good climatic conditions. Here they are maintained by the State. The youths and girls have been divided into groups which form independent colonies and are housed in the many bourgeois mansions.

The People's Russian Information Bureau.

## FREEDOM TO ALL PRISONERS.

The women of Holland have issued an appeal on behalf of all prisoners of war, soldiers and civilians, who are still in captivity in France and Russia. In our last issue we gave some terrible details of the conditions under which these unfortunate men are imprisoned.

Maxim Litvinoff has proved by his recent statement in Copenhagen that Soviet Russia is not responsible for the retention of these men in Russia, by saying that all that is required is free transport overland to get the men home. Hence no one can deny that this inhumanity is purely a crime of the Capitalists, who care nothing for the misery they bring upon their victims.

## AUSTRIA.

## HOW THE TREATY WORKS.

In glancing through the sections of the Austrian Peace Treaty, the one which strikes one most forcibly is Section 2, Annex 4, of the Reparation Clauses, by which Austria is requested to deliver to Italy, Jugo-Slavia, and Roumania, 6,000 milch cows, 1,800 heifers, 100 bulls, 3,000 calves, 2,000 working bullocks, 2,000 sows, 2,000 draught horses, 2,000 sheep. Deliveries are to be made in equal monthly instalments in the three months after the Treaty has come into force. There is no proviso made that it may be impossible for impoverished Austria to comply. From this it would seem that the Allies are ignorant of the true facts of the situation.

But this is not the case since for weeks and months correspondents have tried to tell the public of the pitiable condition to which Austria has been reduced; as the Vice-Mayor of Vienna said last month: "Vienna is literally starving."

There is a movement on foot to help the unfortunate Viennese children, whilst the Great Powers or sharks are "considering." Sir Thomas Cunningham, the military representative in Vienna, said recently at a meeting for this purpose that the Society of Friends had been able to buy milch cows in order to provide a little milk for the Viennese children. And this is the capital of the Republic that is asked to deliver up 6,000 milch cows!

The coal situation is appalling, and a letter just to hand from Vienna informs us that the people themselves are cutting down the woods to try to get something to cook a little food, the coal supply being now about half a stone a week! Can we rest whilst our fellow beings are being thus tortured to satisfy the greed of the great?

## EDUCATION BILL.

A Government Bill with the object of improving the system of education in all Ireland will be introduced shortly. But even the "loyal" *Irish Times* of Dublin asks why the Government is doing this since it has circulated the fable of establishing two Parliaments in Ireland?

## SINN FEIN MEETING.

At Manchester on Sunday last there was a most successful Sinn Fein meeting in support of the Connolly Labour College in Dublin. Countess Marekiewicz was one of the speakers. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington also spoke, and said in reference to the present state in Ireland: "Don't confine yourselves to demonstrations; action, and direct action, are what is wanted." Another proof that the needs of the masses bear no nationality!

## GOVERNMENT PROFITEERING.

No Tribunal is empowered to catch the real profiteer. The latest disclosures show that the Government has profiteered to the amount of £3,000,000 on butter! The Food Ministry boasts of the fact that butter is cheaper in England than in Germany, and other countries; but that does not render overcharging any the less criminal.

## A WOMAN M.P.

Here in England the mental vision of the average man seems still to be somewhere in the Middle Ages. The only thoughts they seemed to have when Lady Astor was elected the other day in Plymouth, were: Whether she would have a room to herself in the House, if she would wear evening dress, where she should sit, etc. In short, one would imagine women has just emerged from the middle ages, and were not yet considered responsible beings by the lords of creation. Anyhow, Lady Astor is not the first woman M.P., for Countess Marekiewicz, Sinn Fein, was elected at the last General Election. She, however, chose to sit in an Irish Parliament, where none of this nonsensical gabble would be tolerated.

## THE COMING UPHEAVAL.

## Madrid, Sunday.

Acts of terrorism are increasing in Barcelona. Hardly a day goes by without a bomb explosion. Two bomb outrages were committed yesterday. Central News.

## IN MEMORIAM.

We are sure that all W.S.F. members will learn with much regret of the tragic death of NELLIE KNUDSON, aged 10 years, who on Friday, November 28th, was run over by a motor lorry and died a few hours later, and join with us in extending their deepest sympathy to Mr. and Mrs. Knudson in their sad bereavement.



## PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC.

MICHAEL IVANOVITCH KALININ.

Michail Ivanovitch Kalinin was unanimously elected chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets at the meeting of the Executive Committee on March 30th, 1919, in place of our late comrade Sverdloff.

M. I. Kalinin was born on the 7th November, 1875, in the village of Verkhney Troitzky, Tver Government, of a peasant family. He lived with his parents till the age of 13, and from his early childhood helped his father in the work on the farm. From childhood he had a great yearning for knowledge. He taught himself to read, and devoted all his leisure time to reading. When he turned thirteen one of the neighbouring landlords, Mordukhai Bolkhovsky, sent him to the Zemstvo elementary school at his own expense, for, his father being comparatively poor, could not afford to pay for his son's education. At school he was regarded as one of the best pupils. On finishing his schooling, he went to work on Mordukhai's estate, but the life there did not satisfy the inclinations of the young man, and his mistress placed him at the Cartidge works in Petrograd as an apprentice. He remained at the works for two years, and then, when he reached 16, he went to work as a turner at the Putloy works.

In 1898 Kalinin joined the Social-democratic Party, and from that time his trials began. In 1909 he was arrested and exiled to the Caucasus, where he worked in the railway workshops. Here he was twice arrested.

It is interesting to note that when comrade Kalinin was exiled in the Caucasus he was permitted to pass through his village, and when he appeared there everybody was surprised to see him alive, for a rumour had been spread in the village that he was placed in the Petropavlovsky fortress as a dangerous political worker, and there literally ground to pieces in a mill.

As the work of comrade Kalinin seemed too dangerous to the authorities in the Caucasus, they had him transferred to Reval, but still as an exile, and here he continued his fruitful work amongst the Estonian workmen. In 1908 the authorities in Reval again arrested comrade Kalinin, and decided to exile him to Eastern Siberia. While on the road, the Japanese war broke out, as a consequence he was brought back, and sent to the government of Olonetzky, where he stayed until 1905, when he was included in an amnesty, and was released.

From 1906 to 1908 comrade Kalinin worked at the Central Union of Metal Workers, and was a distinguished worker of the Petrograd Bolshevik organisation. Later on, after the death of his father, comrade Kalinin temporarily ceased his political work, and retired to the village, where for two years he managed his farm. In 1912 comrade Kalinin went to work at the Central Tramway Electrical station, but shortly after was again arrested and exiled from Moscow, and was deprived of the right to reside in industrial centres.

He returned to the village again, and took up his farming, but the satraps gave him no rest, and he was arrested again.

In 1915, we find him working at the "Ivaz" works. On 7th of January, 1916, he was again arrested, and put into prison, where he was kept for a year, and then sentenced to be exiled to Siberia. That, however, could not be carried out, for by that time the February revolution took place, and he was set free.

Comrade Kalinin, in an interview with a correspondent of the *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, made a few brief remarks referring to the immediate aims of the Soviet Government.

"In the first place," he said, "it is necessary to induce the middle-class peasantry to take part in the revolutionary struggle with the same intensity as the proletariat does. It is essential that Soviet government should become near and dear to the village. As chairman of the Central Executive Committee I consider bringing the Soviet government into closer contact with the

village to be my principal and fundamental task.

"I consider my election as chairman of the Central Executive Committee symbolical. I am at the same time a workman and a peasant. I personify the union between town and village. Even now I am managing a farm, and as much as my duties will permit me, I will continue to do so. I stand between the poor and the middle-class peasant, my farm is not large, but in good order. I know rural life well, and the psychology of the peasant is quite familiar to me. I know that every peasant must love the Soviet Government. Because I am a peasant I take a part in the revolutionary movement, and serve the Soviet Government. From the standpoint of his economic interests, the middle-class peasant must support the Soviet Government. Misunderstandings may arise between the Soviet Government and the middle-class peasantry, but hostility never. We must protect the middle-class peasant from every kind of oppression, misunderstandings, red-tape, and bureaucracy; and assist the economic development of the village and in no case to destroy, but to encourage small industry, handicraft, etc., among the peasants.

"I should like to say a few words about the Petrograd proletariat. Nobody has suffered so much for the revolution, nobody has invested in the cause so much energy and patience, as the Petrograd workmen. And, undoubtedly, they have the right to claim our particular attention. The Petrograd workmen are starving. Only a short time ago Petrograd suffered from hunger more than Moscow. At present, the food question in Petrograd if not better, is at least not worse than in Moscow. It is necessary to improve the food conditions of Petrograd for that reason. I repeat, that the Petrograd workmen fully deserve all the attention we can devote to them. Petrograd workmen will yet again give evidence of their revolutionary heroism."

Comrade Kalinin speaks about himself very reluctantly. "I am a peasant of the Tver government. When I was 20 I seriously studied the labour question. In 1898 I joined the Social-Democratic Party. My best reminiscences are connected with this first illegal organisation, which I joined when I was a youth of 22. It was a small circle. At our meetings we read, we discussed, dreamed. We loved to dream. Amongst us were dreamers who gave free scope to their imagination, and in their dreams they went ever so far. We even dared dream of a Constituent Assembly. Of course, we never thought that this would be accomplished in our days (in our children's, perhaps). We could only dream of it. Our dreams never went beyond a Constituent Assembly—it seemed to us the topmost pinnacle."

"What do you expect from the future?"

"I am an incorrigible optimist. I am sure we will overcome all misfortunes. In a few days I am going on a tour to various villages and small towns. I will speak to the peasants. I am sure we shall come to an understanding very quickly and easily."

On April 26th comrade Kalinin began his "All-Russian tour." A special train was constructed in Moscow, which is called "The October Revolution," the route comprises: Orel, Kursk, Voronezh, Lysky, Novokhopersk, Balashov, Penza, Riazan, Jitemir, Kieff, Elisavetgrad, Odessa, Kherson, and the Crimean peninsula. Apart from the principal aim of this tour, that is to come into closer contact with the village, to draw nearer to the province, to know what they require, it has an educational purpose as well. There is a book store in the train, moving cinema, theatre, museum, and exhibition, etc. Wherever comrade Kalinin comes he speaks with the peasants and workmen, takes interest in their business, listens to all their complaints, etc. His speeches are the simple speeches of the peasants. Here is an extract from his speech which he delivered at a crowded meeting held by Red Army soldiers and peasants in the Government of Simbirsk:

"Comrades, the workmen's and peasants' Government must see to it that everybody should be placed in the best conditions. But at the present time Russia has become very poor. There is a scarcity of food, of clothes, of every thing. For a period of four years Russia did not produce anything, but has spent all her wealth, and now we have no stock of food or goods, we have even no wood for baths. We have become very poor. The greedy bourgeoisie is responsible for this. It began the war. It accumulated wealth while the people were starving, and getting poor. There is no other way of salvation than the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the landlords.

"The Red Army is performing a noble task, and it faces great difficulties. Our enemies possess science, technique and foreign gold, and still we beat them. We beat them because our army is conscious that in the event of our defeat the landlords and the bourgeoisie will suck our blood and the blood of those who come after us. I urge you all not to be discouraged, and to devote all your free time to studies, in order to acquire knowledge, and impart your knowledge to your family and to your fellow-villagers, which will enable you to take an active part in administrative work, and to dismiss all bureaucrats amongst whom there are many of our enemies in disguise.

"The aim of the Soviet Governments is to abolish bureaucracy, to place the administrative work into the hands of workmen and peasants: to-day to plough your field or work at the bench, and to-morrow to manage a District, Government, or the State, and on the next day to return to your plough or bench.

"Comrades, we are passing through a hard time, but at the same time a heroic time. Those who have lived quietly during this time will not be remembered by posterity. People will for ever remember our time, our deeds. Centuries will roll on, and our children's children will narrate our heroic struggle, how we could sacrifice our lives on the altar of freedom, for the welfare of the people. In their songs they will sing about us, glorifying our struggle. Individuals, such as Kalinin, Petroff, Ivanoff, will be forgotten, but we will all be remembered with awe and pride. Being conscious of this, comrades, we fear no enemy, and are convinced of our final victory."

Actors travelling in this train, give theatrical performances, cinema pictures are shown, books are distributed. A newspaper is edited in the train, which contains the latest telegrams of the Russian telegraph agency. This paper gives varied information to the peasants, and carries on propaganda. Referring to the arrival of the train of the "October Revolution" to the station on Sasovo, one of the workmen present writes in the *Isvestia*, organ of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, as follows:—

May 16th.—"The train of the 'October Revolution' arrived here. The news that the head of the Soviet Republic, comrade Kalinin, was in the train spread very quickly. The beautifully decorated train attracted everybody's attention. The attention of the crowd is concentrated on the engine, and a burst of cheering greets the man who is so near to them. This spectacle leaves a great impression; the head of the Soviet Government dressed like a simple peasant on an engine amidst his fellow-workmen. And quiet, reserved, without exaggerations or affected pathos the 'All-Russian elder' addresses the crowd. In his quiet speech he outlines the present state of affairs. He avoids use of foreign words, and his speech is understood by everybody present. The workmen at once understand that he is the only person who in mind and body deserves to occupy such an honourable post.

"The speech made a great impression, and for a long time the crowd cheered the retiring leader. 'We will all become Communists if all the representatives of the Government are like comrade Kalinin,' said the workmen."

Vänsterpress.



## IRELAND: AN ILLEGAL ASSEMBLY.

## IRISH NATION SUPPRESSED.

The English Government by a proclamation dated 25th November, prohibits and suppresses under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, the following organisations throughout all Ireland:—

Sinn Fein.  
Sinn Fein Clubs.  
The Irish Volunteers.  
The Gaelic League.  
Cumann na mBan.

These organisations include in their membership the vast majority of the Irish people, and the proclamation is tantamount to a declaration of war on the Irish nation.

Mr. Arthur Griffith, the acting President of Dail Eireann and the Sinn Fein organisation, states in reference to the proclamation:—

The English Government in Ireland has now proclaimed the whole Irish Nation as it formerly proclaimed the Catholic Church an illegal assembly. The Irish Nation will continue to live when its proclaimers have passed from the memory of mankind. The latest act of what styles itself a Government, while it will be treated with contempt by the Irish people, will recall to all men Edmund Burke's aphorism:—"The Government against which the claim of liberty is tantamount to high treason is a Government to which submission is equivalent to slavery."

The Act under which this proclamation is issued was described by Gladstone as a cup of poison; by Lord Morley as the "essence of tyranny," and by Lord Chief Justice Russell as "a Bill to promote crime."

## THE MASTERS OF THE IRISH NATION.

The four signatories to the proclamation suppressing the Irish nation are:—

SIR JAMES CAMPBELL, one of the chiefs of the Carsonite Rebellion, legal assessor to Carson's Ulster Provisional Government. Speaking against Home Rule on the 5th January, 1912, in Dublin, Sir James (then Mr.) Campbell said:—"I for one will never hesitate in public or in private to urge and persuade my loyalist fellow-countrymen to resort to every means, every means available to men of honour and courage, before they would consent to be deprived of that which was their heritage."

Mr. JUSTICE ROSS, a supporter of the Carsonite Party in Ireland, who sat for Derry City as a Unionist Member from 1892 to 1895. Since his elevation to the bench he has exhibited in his judgments a bitter hostility to the aspirations of the Irish people.

Mr. FRANK BROOKE, a member of the Brooke family of Fermanagh, which has been noted for its Carsonite activities. He is also a prominent member of the Irish Landowners' Association, successor to the Landlords' Organisation, which bitterly fought against the enactment of the Land Acts.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS O'SHAUGHNESSY holds the position of Recorder of Dublin, a Dublin Castle paid position, to which he was appointed as a reward for his scurrilous attack on the Irish clergy at the hearing of the Meath Eviction Petition in 1892.

## MAY BE SHOT AT SIGHT.

Any person failing to answer questions put by the armed police in Ireland is now likely to be shot at sight. At Gould's Cross, Co. Tipperary, on Friday night, two men carrying travelling bags who alighted from the train were questioned by the police as to their names and destination. Failing to answer they were fired on by the police. Eight shots were fired in all. The men decamped in the darkness, and one of them was reported to be badly hurt.

## IRISH MOTOR DRIVERS DEFY ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

The Committee of the Irish Automobile Drivers' and Automobile Mechanics' Union have decided that their members shall not comply with the order of the English Government requiring the motor drivers to apply for permits to the Army of Occupation. The penalty for non-compliance with the order is confiscation of the car or cycle and imprisonment as criminals of the owner or driver.

## STARVED EDUCATION, BUT FATTENED POLICE.

The Dublin *Irish Independent*, in its editorial columns of November 20th, has this comment:—

"In this country we have the strange anomaly that more money is spent upon police than on primary education. For the latter the amount voted in the current year is only £2,721,000; the police vote, including the cost under the Bill now to become law, is £3,535,079. The estimates make provision for 11,602 policemen; the number of teachers in the service at the end of December, 1917, was 15,820."

## ENGLISH INTERESTS HAMPER IRISH TRADE.

The following case throws a white light on the methods employed by England and England's agents to isolate Irish ports and to keep Irish industries crippled. Messrs. Lalor and Company, candle manufacturers, Ormonde Quay, Dublin, ordered a quantity of scale from an American firm through its London agent. The ship bearing the cargo came to Dublin direct from America without calling at Liverpool, but the agent billed Messrs. Lalor with the cost of handling and carting the cargo in Liverpool, the Liverpool port dues and the freight from Liverpool to Dublin. The extra

charges, which were never incurred, amounted to close on £2 per ton. Messrs. Lalor appealed to the Dublin Port and Docks Board to fight the imposition, and the Board, after trying to evade the question, has reluctantly referred the matter to its law agent for advice. This Board controls Dublin Port, and is run in the interests of English shipping companies. Its constitution, laid down by English Act of Parliament, allows six representatives from Dublin Corporation out of a total of 25 members, the remainder representing the traders and shippers; the selection of these latter is so manipulated that the Board is dominated by the shipping concerns whose interests are the maintenance of the control they exercise over the cross channel trade.

The Irish manufacturer has hitherto paid from 12 to 20 per cent. more for his raw materials imported from abroad than has the English manufacturer. This is because of the extra port dues, freights, handling, etc., incurred through transshipment of cargo in English ports. One of the results of direct sailing lines between Irish and American and Continental ports will be the abolition of this handicap on the Irish manufacturer. It is evident, however, from the case of Messrs. Lalor that the English interests involved regard with jealous eyes the new departure which is going to deprive them of their tax on Irish industries.

## G. B. S. ON IRELAND.

At the King's Hall, on Friday, 28th November, Mr. George Bernard Shaw lectured on "Socialism and Ireland." In the preliminaries to his speech he said that it was the first time during his thirty-five years of public speaking that he had to speak on Ireland. The speech betrayed the reason why Shaw, an Irishman, had never lectured on Ireland before, and that was because her grievances were not of paramount interest to him. He said that Ireland was a "dull" subject, because all tales of cruelty are dull, and for the brilliant G. B. S. the speech he gave on the subject was "dull." There was no new thought; though, listening to Mr. Shaw, one felt that he would like to suggest something more original than what he termed the "Fabian," or Federal solution—which, by the way, happens to be *The Times* solution now! Altogether the importance of Sinn Fein was dealt with too slightly. Yet Mr. Shaw seemed to be full of glee that the Sinn Fein Loan now amounted to £4,000,000, which was to be used to develop the people and country, not for propaganda, for "what's the use of giving tracts to a missionary?" By these words he admitted that all Ireland is Sinn Fein. I came away thinking that G. B. S. had tempered his lecture to the audience or platform, or both, and regretted not having stayed at home to finish his last book of plays, where he is more truly Shavian! "M."

## PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

NOVEMBER 24TH.—Questions as to the danger of Japanese trade competition were put to Sir Auckland Geddes, but his reply was: "I see no reason at present to fear that British manufacturers will be unable to hold their own in competition with the Japanese." Meaning naturally, that cheap labour is just as plentiful here as in Japan!

## COAL.

The ways of capitalistic Governments are strange; first we had unemployment benefit to ward off the workers' revolution, now we have the reduction of 10s. per ton on household coal. Sir Auckland Geddes himself gave the game away by saying: "As a direct aid to the cost of living in these exceptional and abnormal times, we propose to fix the price of domestic and household coal at a level 10s. per ton below the present price, thus letting the general householder share in some measure in a privilege which the workers in the industry have for long enjoyed and receive some benefit from the present high value of this national asset."

## PRISONERS IN SIBERIA.

NOVEMBER 25TH.—The Supreme Economic Council is dealing with the question of the poor prisoners of war in Siberia, Sir Hamar Greenwood informed the House. Meanwhile they are suffering the most awful hardships.

## STRIKE BREAKING.

The arrangements to procure voluntary, civilian, or other service in time of strikes are still being maintained, "so far as possible," Mr. Shortt informed Mr. J. Jones (Lab.). The workers in their turn should see to it that their organisation does not fail them?

## RUSSIA BOYCOTTED.

In reply to the Notes addressed to the Neutral Governments by the Allies, requesting them to co-operate in blockading Soviet Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland, Spain, and Holland have all accepted the inevitable. So far as the Governments of these countries are concerned, "no licence is granted to ships bound for Soviet Russia"; banks will not facilitate banking transactions with Soviet Russia; all correspondence,

postal or telegraphic, is suspended, and no passports are issued for Soviet Russia without special authorisation. Could a blockade be more complete?

## CHILD LABOUR.

NOVEMBER 26TH.—A specially amusing phase of British Government is the rigidity of its adherence to the farce of taking the "opinion" of a state or country, when the legislation is good and necessary, and of coercing people when the government wants to enforce a bad measure. In respect of child labour in India, Mr. Montagu said: "We want to raise the age, but before deciding, we wish to consult Indian opinion." It will be the opinion of Indian capitalists which Mr. Montagu will get, who will, of course, urge that circumstances in India are different from other countries. To these authorities let it be said plainly that a child is a child, whether English or Indian, and that the future of the race depends on the chances such small wage-slaves are given.

## WHAT NEXT?

Mr. J. H. Thomas made an effort to introduce a Bill to permit a Peer to retain his seat in the House of Commons, if he so wished. The House showed its disapproval of the Bill by a majority of 113 votes against its introduction.

## SEX DISQUALIFICATION.

The Lords do not approve of ladies sitting in the House of Lords "because they do not consider that this alteration in the Constitution of the House of Lords should be made at this time or in this manner."

## THE FLEET IN THE BALTIC.

NOVEMBER 27TH.—"I have already stated that the British Fleet cannot undertake to resume their patrol of the Baltic." The Prime Minister's statement on the policy of the Baltic blockade.

## PARLIAMENTARY EXACTITUDE.

Mr. Acland (C.L.) asked Mr. Wardle when the Unemployment Bill would be introduced; he replied "shortly." Mr. Acland: "Does 'very shortly' mean before Christmas, or after Christmas?" Mr. Wardle: "I think so!" Mr. Acland: "Which?" Mr. Wardle: "Before!"

## AUSTRIA.

The Prime Minister stated that the Supreme Economic Council in Paris has reached "the conclusion that only a comprehensive arrangement for a large international credit would adequately meet the situation, and it is essential for the success of such a proposal that the United States should contribute that part of the expenditure which has to be incurred in dollars." Thus capitalism destroys a country to build it up, and enmesh it in the coils of those specific capitalists who finance the victim!

## NO PROGRESS.

"There is no statutory authority for municipal councils to undertake the wholesale and retail supply of milk within their areas," was Mr. McCurdy's statement on the municipal control of milk. This again proves the utter impossibility of progress under the present system!

## UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

The sum of 7/- per week unemployment benefit under the National Insurance Act is to be increased to 11/- per week. Which would you prefer to starve on 7/- or on 11/-? It is a case of starvation anyway!

## THE COAL MYSTERY.

NOVEMBER 28TH.—Mr. Brace (Lab.) moved that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the administration and functions of the Department of the Coal Controller. The Government took this as a vote of censure, and the docile House so devoted to the whip turned down Mr. Brace's motion for inquiry by 196 votes. Sir Auckland Geddes again has the pleasure of snapping his fingers at the House. All he now proposes to do is to have the accounts audited by a reliable firm of accountants. A House that sits down under this treatment should be asked to resign by the people. This old machinery is worn out and must be scrapped.

M. O'C.



## :: W.S.F. : INTERNATIONAL : FAIR ::

In the Bunhill Row Memorial Buildings,  
ROSCOE STREET, E.C. (Bus 54. Trams 55, 43, 65, 11 and 5. Tube—Old St. Stn.)  
Friday and Saturday, 5th and 6th December, 1919.

3 p.m. to 10.30 p.m.  
Doors open 2.30 p.m.

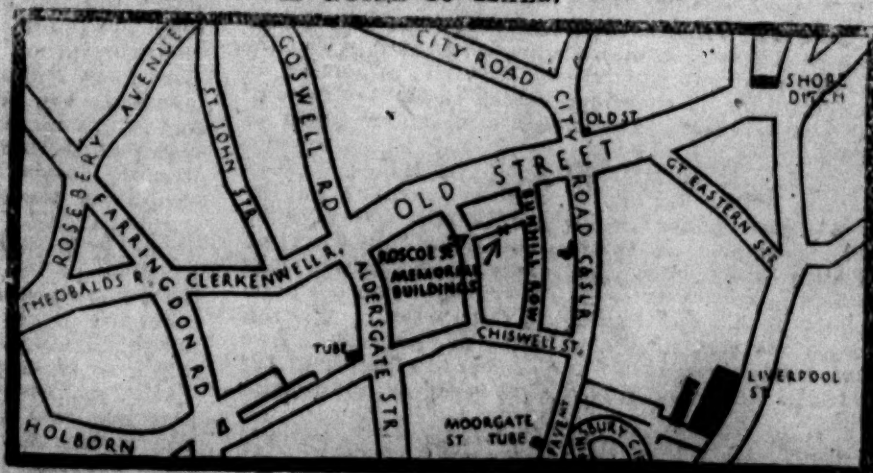
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SCIENTISTS

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SKETCHES

A GUIDE TO HALL.



FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5th.

Opening Ceremony 3 p.m. Opener:  
**LT. COL. MALONE, M.P.**

SPEAKER:  
**Prof. W. T. GOODE.**

Recently returned from Soviet Russia.

CHAIR: Miss SMYTH.

Tea will be served by Japanese Attendants.

- 4 p.m. Concert arranged by Miss Nevine.
- 5 p.m. Songs by Elsa Lancheater.
- 6.30 p.m. Dances by Elsa Lancheater.
- 8 p.m. Hebredean Folk Songs; a Lecture-Concert by Cedar Paul.

There will be a Silver Collection at the end of each Entertainment.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6th.

Opening Ceremony, 3 p.m. Opener:

**TOM MANN,**  
(Secretary of the A.S.E.)

CHAIR: MRS. WALKER.

- 4 p.m. Concert (in aid of the Mothers' Arms Day Nursery).
- 5 p.m. Songs by Elsa Lancheater.
- 6.30 p.m. Dances by Elsa Lancheater.
- 8 p.m. Hebredean Folk Songs; a Lecture-Concert by Cedar Paul.

Lemonade and Light Refreshments.

### STALLS OF ALL THE NATIONS:

RUSSIA—Surprise Stall: Mrs. Cole and Mrs. Sweetlove.  
JAPAN—Sweets & Confectionery: Poplar W.S.F.  
IRELAND—Fancy Goods: Mrs. and Miss Pearce.  
GERMANY—Xmas Presents: Mrs. Fowler Shone.  
EGYPT—Toys: Mrs. Thring.

ENGLAND—Brushes: Mrs. Savoy.  
TURKEY—Mothers' Arms: Miss Burgis.  
SPAIN—Grocery: D. Carford.  
FRANCE—Fruit and Vegetables: Mr. Pascoe.  
ROUMANIA—Literature and Xmas Cards: Phoebe Rickards and Joan Beauchamp.

Livestock Stall—Turkeys, Geese, etc.

Admission—2s., 1s. 3d., 8d. (including tax).

Tickets may be obtained from—**JOAN BEAUCHAMP, 7, South Square, Gray's Inn, W. C.**  
**MISS BUSH, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow.**

## THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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

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Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

### LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

- Sunday, Dec. 7th 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, White-chapel. Miss Grove. Chair: Melvina Walker.
- Friday, Dec. 12th. 7.30 p.m.—Queen's Rd, Dalston Lane. Melvina Walker.
- Saturday, Dec. 13th Great Push in Peckham and Lewisham.

### INDOOR.

- Friday, 5th and Sat. 6th Dec. 3-10.30 p.m.—Bunhill Row Memorial Buildings. International Fair (See advert.)
- Monday, Dec. 8th 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting.
- 8.30 p.m. W. S. F. Reading Circle.
- Thursday, Dec. 11th. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street. Mark Starr. Sixth Lecture on Industrial History, (The Merchant Class).
- Friday, Dec. 12th. 7-10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road, Dancing.

### OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

- Sunday, Dec. 7th 12 noon—Victoria Park. Walter Ponder and others.
- Tuesday, 9th Dec. Queen's Road Dalston Lane—7.30 p.m.; Walter Ponder and others.
- Thursday, 11th Dec. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd. E.3. Business Meeting.

### WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, 9th Dec. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Jim Cant.

### Willesden Freedom League.

Sunday, Dec. 7th 7.30 p.m.—Hamilton Hall, 375 High Road, Willesden. (Near Pound Lane). Mr. C.R. Roberts, P.R.I.B., 'The Truth about Russia.' Chair: Mr. Fred Willis, B.S.P. Admission free. Questions invited.

### GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund—Irene, per Mrs Drake (20s. weekly) £4, Bow Club £1-7-4 Collections—Osborn Street (two) £1-14-0, Railway Street 3/6, Greenwich (two) 3/6, Workers' Hall 2/7, Waterloo Road 2/-, Trafalgar Square £2-0-10.  
Social work—Mr and Mrs Sadd Brown £8, Misses Gulland (monthly) £1-15-0, Nurse Hebbes (£10/- wkly) £1, H. W. Jordan £1, Per Olga Moschewitz £1, Mr. W. Holmes 10/-, Miss Smith 10/-, A.J.L. 5/-.  
Collections—Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts, Green's Yard, 14/3. Miss Burgis, Churn 5/9½ Cyril Thring 9/-.

### Sixpenny Sermons at Chandos Hall

21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.

Tuesday, Dec. 16th at 8 p.m.

"Why the Catholic Crusade demands an English Revolution."

Preacher:

Conrad Noel.

(Priests of the Catholic Crusade.)  
Admission Sixpence.

Opener of discussion:

Jack Bucknall.

Free Discussion.

## HELEN KELLER WANTS BLOCKADE ON RUSSIA LIFTED.

Helen Keller, blind, deaf and dumb, has addressed a remarkable message to the people of America to demand the lifting of the inhuman blockade imposed by the Entente upon the people of Soviet Russia. Helen Keller said in her appeal:

"The Allied and associated governments which are guilty of this infamy violate every principle of civilization, every rule of common honesty. Our governments.....are fighting the Russian people half secretly and in the dark with the lie of democracy on their lips and the indirect weapon of the blockade in their hands....."

"Is it liberty or tyranny to send American boys and American-made arms into a country which has done our country no harm? Is it justice to conspire with certain European imperialisms against what, to say the least, is an effort toward democracy? Is it humanity to connive at withholding food and supplies from a hundred million people who ask and have repeatedly asked through their elected Government, not help, but peace?"

"I see signs that, in America, Christianity has become illegal, humanity has become treason, justice has become disloyalty. If we try to limit the freedom of other people, we sacrifice our own freedom, and there are always enemies at home to take advantage of our national misdeeds against other nations, and under cover of diplomatic and military sins abroad to sin against us."

"What has become of our independence, our individual rights, of free speech, free assemblage, free press? I find that they have been transferred from Washington to Moscow, from their old home to a new home in which only a few years ago they would have been hated strangers."

### MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

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### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CLUB AND INSTITUTE.

The official opening of the Club will take place on Saturday, December 6th at 7.30 p.m. Membership is open to all International Socialists.

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to work and old enough to vote! (Advert.)

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