Another Irish Soviet.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

VOL. IX. No. 11. SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1922. [WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

MOSCOW.

I greeted thee in the haze of the morning;
In the haze of the great heat I saw thee,
O city of blue domes,
O city of blue domes and golden stars.

In the haze of the great heat I saw thy people;
Thy people in long drab garments, thy wayside peddlars,
Thy people submerged in the peddling of ages,
Thy people who sit and wait upon thy stones.

In the great heat I drove over thy cobbled roadways;
In thy great heat my sore feet pressed thy cobbles,
My shoulders were bowed with a burden as of the ages,
The ghosts of thy chlidren were crowding about my knees.

I saw thy churches that bar thy roadways;
Thy shrines of the past that bar thy progress,
Their priests mid the dim gold walls, who hold their ritual,
Dark priests with their 'broidered robes and jewelled fingers.

In the burning sun I saw the Cathedral of Basil;
In the burning sky its domes of green and yellow,
Its wierd, wild fruits, the dream of a madman,
The flowery patterns meandering over its stones.

In the blaze of the heat I saw the walls of the Kremlin;
In the great heat I saw the cool of their pink and grey,
Their chequered marbles the hand of Time hath fondled,
Their curious carvings that Time hath wrought with his fingers.

I passed within the gates of the Kremlin,
I passed by the sweeping road that gazes over the plain,
The road that gazes over the murmuring haze of Moscow,
That sees the ancient city with all its domes.

I passed through the Kremlin, the home of a hundred churches;
Its stones are fewer than the tale of its iniquities.
I saw its mosaics in their splendour, its gold, and its porphyry,
I heard the clash of its bells.
I passed to the House of the Czars, with its great portal,
I entered the House of the Czars, with its wide stairway,
I saw there the long, red banners of Revolution,
The red, wild banners of Revolution that hung in the House of the Czars.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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BRUTAL TREATMENT OF THE WORKLESS.

A Trafalgar Square Protest.

On March 29th the Camberwell Unemployed joined with the locked-out engineers in raiding the Albany Engineering Works, Camberwell, in order to induce blacklegs to down tools. This object was achieved. Two C.I.D. men attempted to interfere, but without success.

Later the same day two unemployed men, who had nothing to do with the raid, were arrested. One of them has made the following statement as to the manner in which they were treated. Although there was abundant evidence to prove that the arrested men were not present at the raid, they were both sentenced to fines and imprisonment, the magistrate saying that in his judgment "Two such worthy officers could not make a mistake."

A protest meeting in connection with this case is being held by the Camberwell Unemployed in Trafalgar Square at 3 p.m., Sunday, March 27th.

STATEMENT BY ONE OF THE VICTIMS.

We were arrested soon after mid-day, just past Glengall Road. We were then taken on a No. 63 'bus from Trafalgar Road to a turning near Rodney Road, which led to the police-station. Hawkins and I walked along together; Police-constables C— and W— walked behind us. On reaching the police-station, Police-constable W— told Hawkins to go in first, and went in with him. I then followed with Police-constable C— behind me. On entering the charge-room I saw Police-constable W— strike Hawkins on the jaw with his right fist. Hawkins then fell to the ground, near the cupboard with some prize cups on top. Hawkins then got up again, and W— then kicked him. W— then turned to me and said, "It's a good job you are a cripple, or you would get the same." He then said to Hawkins, "sit down there, you dirty b——." Hawkins sat down. C— then said to me, "Sit down over there, you carny cripple s—, or I'll knock your b— head off." I sat down on a form near the table with the cupboard near by, the table being in front of me. I then saw C— hit Hawkins in the face and knock him off the seat on to the floor. C— then kicked Hawkins and said, "Get up, you unemployed ——." Hawkins then got up and sat on the seat again. C— and W— then went into the office near the front entrance, and were out of the charge-room for about ten minutes. W— then came back with some papers and sat down beside me. Soon after, C— came in and leaned over the table and said to W—, "What shall we charge them with?" W— then shrugged his shoulders, but said nothing. C— then said, "Will assault and wilful damage do?" W—

(Continued on page 8)

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ANOTHER IRISH SOVIET.

The employees of all the butter factories of Messrs. Cleeve, in the South of Ireland, have seized the factories of their employers and are operating them successfully through a Soviet of the workers.

The manager, on behalf of the Workers' Council of Action, wrote to us the other day from the Workmen's Hall, Tipperary, asking us to find a market for 40 tons of first-quality butter, and offering to present a large quantity of sweetened condensed milk to the Russian Famine Fund.

We at once sent the information to the *Daily Herald*, in order to make it known to the various Labour organisations in so far as the Workers' Council might not have done so. We also approached the Friends' Famine Relief Committee, and received by way of reply the following communication:—

FRIENDS' EMERGENCY AND WAR VICTIMS' RELIEF COMMITTEE.

DEAR SYLVIA PANKHURST,—

We are in receipt of your kind offer of the 18th inst., and very much thank you for bringing this to our notice.

We regret, however, that at the present moment we are not in a position to consider the proposition, as we have bought up considerable supplies during the last week or so, and it leaves us unable for the present to consider any other offers, particularly as it relates to milk, of which we have shipped rather larger quantities than our particular area is requiring immediately, on account of the fact that we were able to purchase very advantageously.

Again thanking you, we are,

Yours sincerely,
HAROLD L. WALKER,
Supplies Department.

10 Fetter Lane, E.C.4.
May 18th, 1922.

Having noted that the Friends had as much condensed milk as they can use in famine-stricken Russia, we telephoned to point out that, while the milk was a gift which could be stored or transferred to other areas, the actual commodity for sale was butter. The reply was that the Friends' Relief Fund has purchased of butter also as much as it can handle for some time to come. To say the least of it, we were greatly astonished to hear that the famine-stricken area is so abundantly supplied. Indeed, we could not forbear to wonder whether, had the offer come from Messrs. Cleeve and not the Workers' Council of Action . . . ?

IRELAND.

ANOTHER PARLIAMENTARY DEAL.

De Valera and those who still support him have agreed to accept the Downing Street Treaty. De Valera and his supporters will protest that they have not done so, but the facts declare they have done so. The De Valera Party has accepted the Treaty in agreeing to put forward jointly with the Treaty Party a National Sinn Fein Panel for the Dail elections, the number of candidates of each party being equivalent to its present strength in the Dail. This gives the Treaty Party a majority without the matter being voted upon by the electors. The electors cannot give the De Valera Party a majority of seats because it will only run enough candidates to maintain its present minority. The election in June will therefore be a mere farce so far as the De Valera and Griffith parties are concerned.

After the election, according to the terms of the agreement, the Cabinet shall contain a majority for Griffith, Collins, and the Treaty Party.

The reason given for the compromise is that "The national situation requires the entrusting of the Government into the joint hands of those who have been the strength of the natonal situation during the last few years."

Thus, after all the fire-eating that has gone on the De Valera Party has accepted the Downing Street Treaty, and has done so in such a way as to prevent the Irish people from declaring themselves upon the issue. Since after pretending to hold out against the Treaty, it has capitulated just before the elections, the De Valera Party has practically cut out any others who might have decided to make opposition to the Treaty a test question at the elections.

The Irish Labour Party had decided to contest the elections. Whether it will now withdraw its candidates and leave the way clear for the Sinn Fein Coalition, as it has done before, remains to be seen. In any case, the Labour Party will not make the Treaty the test issue. Its officials support the Treaty, and it will put forward a Reformist Labour programme.

The British Government, nevertheless, has suddenly objected to the Sinn Fein politicians' deal. It is afraid of the Treaty question being allowed to drift, lest Irish public opinion against it grows in strength. Winston Churchill is calling the Treaty Party to heel and complaining that the Griffith-De Valera deal is an infringement of the Treaty. The British Government is again playing the part of the big bully and rattling the sword as capitalist Imperialism always does.

The *Daily Herald* hails the truce between the Griffith and De Valera factions as being what Ireland needs. It adds a note of regret that the truce does not actually settle the differences of the respective parties, since neither side has openly given way on the Treaty *versus* Republic controversy. Nevertheless, says the *Herald*, the truce will provide a firm government, and "a firm government is the first essential. It is always essential on the morrow of a revolution."

Ah! that is where we part company with the *Daily Herald*; the revolution that the *Daily Herald* regards (prematurely, perhaps) as finished with in Ireland is little or nothing to us: we are looking to the proletarian revolution that is to come. We do not wish to see the proletarian revolution opposed by a strong Government. We wish it to be as weak, as disorganised, as divided against itself as a Government may be, that the struggle of the proletariat may the more quickly be entered on.

The *Daily Herald* wants a strong Government in Ireland "to cope with silly sporadic disorder." What is the silly sporadic disorder? The *Daily Herald* doubtless means the guerilla warfare between North and South, but we suspect that Griffith and De Valera are still more concerned about another form of disorder: industrial disorder, industrial Soviets like those which, at the time of writing, are controlling the butter factores in the South and West of Ireland.

The *Morning Post*, in a leader of May 22nd, quoted a letter from a "respectable Irishman":

"*The country is getting worse and worse. Last week railway stations were raided all over the place, and goods taken out of the trains by the Transport Union. I am told that when the railway staff appealed to the Free State police at —— station to stop the robberies, the police replied that they belonged to that Union themselves, and couldn't help it.*"

The conditions of the Irish workers have long been intolerable; more and more they are beginning to act for themselevs in procuring temporary redress. Their ambitions and capacities are growing in this direction.

By this same road the British workers must also travel at last. They are slow to begin.

THE ENGINEERS' LOCK OUT.

The resolutions and speeches about stopping the trains, trams, light, water supply, and so on, in order to win the engineers' lock out, appear to be mere drum-beating to keep up the spirits of the rank and file. The negotiations still drag on without any threat of such drastic expedients being officially made to the employers or the Government. If the proposed hold-up is to take place, the men who have got to bring it about will have to take the initiative without waiting for the officials in the Union offices. Tom Man, who appears to be the principal exponent of the hold-up project, should take steps to bring about a business conference of the men concerned if he really wants anything to happen.

At such times as this the absurdity of looking for direct action to the old, hide-bound, multifarious trade unions becomes apparent. It is clear that such action as the hold-up advocated by Tom Man will not take place until the workers who do the work are organised on a workshop basis, with the clear self-confessed object of taking just such action in furtherance of the class struggle.

Those who are prepared to take such action should, moreover, prepare themselves to go further; for when they do so, they place themselves upon an inclined plane which leads to the overthrow of the capitalist system. To retreat from that plane, once it has been entered upon, means not merely ignominious defeat, but brings down upon the workers who retreat ruthless victimisation and cruel punishment.

The present position of the engineers and of the working class in general is indeed a pitiable one. Unless they are prepared to enter the grim struggle to overthrow capitalism, it is obvious that they are far from having reached the limit of what they will be called upon by the employing classes to endure.

The firm of Arrol Johnston, Ltd., an auxiliary of the great Beardmore engineering combine, has just issued, through its managing director, Charles Pullinger, a remarkable document, which is doubtless the forerunner of a new policy. This document states that the shop will be a non-union shop, as before the war:

"*The only condition will be,*" *says the document,* "*that I shall ask you to sign an undertaking that you have no connection with a trade union, and that you agree whilst in our employment neither to join nor subscribe to the funds of any such organisation.*"

The workers were asked to give a reply, and told that if they failed to accept the condition they would be regarded as having "definitely severed their connection with the firm."

The Trade Union-Labour Movement is being attacked by the employing classes in three directions: (1) Wages are being cut down and men cast out of work; this apart from the suffering to the workers concerned, undermines the financial strength of the Trade Unions. (2) The prestige and power of the Trade Unions is being attacked by the refusal to tolerate the interference of the Union officials in questions of management; the engineers' lock out on this question is but a symptom of the general tendency. (3) The Trade Union Amendment Bill respecting the political levies imposed on their members by Trade Unions will have a most serious effect on the Labour Party funds, because these funds are mainly gathered from the dues paid by apathetic members whose acquiescence is merely passive, and whom it will be difficult, if not impossible, to beat up to take an individual responsibility for the political fund.

Faced with the present intensification of the class struggle, the old Trade Unionism and Labourism is powerless. The old movement must be replaced by a conscious movement for the overthrow of the present system. The new movement must be constructed on Soviet lines, in order that the workers who have overthrown the old system may be prepared to administer production and distribution when the old capitalist administrators have disappeared.

The Russian attempt to create a proletarian Republic has failed in many directions; and in no direction more completely than the Sovietisation and workers' control of industry. It behoves us to learn by the mistakes that have been made in Russia.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

FINANCE AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE.
BY A. WAIGHT.
9D. CLOTH - - 6D. PAPER.
FROM "THE DREADNOUGHT" BOOKSHOP.

PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By TOM ANDERSON.

One fine Sunday morning I was cycling to Kilmarnock, and when I came to a spot called "Logan's Well" I dismounted.

Nature was calling to me. It was the middle of June. The corn said "Good morning"; the tatie field said "How are you?" The hawthorn hedges were laughing, and with joy the tears were dropping off each leaf. The lark hailed me from the middle of the field, singing, "See the golden sky," then he soared high up in the air singing as he went, "Soviet, Soviet, Soviet," till the strain died away.

The big turnips in the fields were bobbing their leaves as if to say "Good morning, miss." The wheat, with stately pride, seemed to say "Are you alone?" and the birds were humming a note of joy as they flew over my head; even the rabbits were playing in the open, and the cows and the sheep were chewing, chewing, chewing, at the velvety grass. The horse raised his head and looked at me as if to say, "Do you stay here?"

It was glorious. It was Sunday morning. A great day is Sunday, the day on which the great mass of the slaves are allowed to go out.

Someone coughed. I looked round and saw a man eating a piece of bread, behind a clump of grass. "Good morning, miss," he said, and he lifted his weather-worn cap. "Good morning," I replied; "you are at breakfast. You are early, it has just gone eight." "Yes," he said, "I always take my breakfast earlier on Sunday morning."

He was a tramp, one of the great unwashed; a strange face he had, not an old man, about forty-five years of age.

"Going to church, miss?"

"No," I replied; "I am too old for that."

He looked at me.

"Good! you will be a sinner."

"Not exactly, somewhere between a saint and sinner.

"You'll be a bit of a lady."

"Just a little bit," I replied.

"I see," he said, "you are the New Woman."

I laughed and laughed. "No," I said, "I am only a woman."

"You are early on the road."

"Yes," I said, "I am going to open a Proletarian School in Kilmarnock."

"A Proletarian School, miss. Is that the schools that all the papers are squinting about?"

"That's so."

"Then you are a Proletarian. Oh! I see, you are a class war girl," and with that he shouted "Chains."

I laughed, and I would have liked to kiss that dear sunburnt tramp, but modesty forbade me. "Are you a Proletarian?" I said.

"My dear comrade, look at me; no mistake. Examine my mentality, again no mistake," and with that he extended his hand. "Let us shake," he said, "for the Social Revolution."

My face was burning; I felt the tension on my cheeks and eyes. I felt I would like to know the man's story, so I said:

"Will you tell me your name and a little of your experience? It might be useful for my lesson to-day."

"Certainly, comrade, certainly. Just wait till I fill my 'clay'; it's my only bad habit. You don't smoke, comrade?"

I shook my head.

"Good, you are better without it."

"My story, then. First, I was born in Glasgow on the 17th December, 1871, of honest, decent, God-fearing parents. I was baptised in Rose Street Free Church, and received the name of Donald McLeod McLachen. I was an only child, and I was educated in Hutcheson Grammar School in Crown Street, Glasgow. I was a little above the average, having won several bursaries. My mother really have liked to make me a minister of the Gospel, but that was not to be, for I became acquainted with a friend of my father's who was a revolutionary Socialist. This man quakened my mentality.

"It's too long a story, comrade, to tell you of the books I read at his suggestion, but the first two were Darwin's 'Origin of Species' and Grant Allen's 'Evolution of the Idea of God.' I served my 'time' as a watchmaker and optician, and my 'time' was just out when I lost my dear mother, and the blow to dad was too much for him, for he died within a year afterwards.

"We are a very curious family, we McLachlans; there is some weird in our nature, and I have it in my blood. I need not tell you about that; it would take too long. I was now twenty-one years of age and I had a love of romance. Comrade, you will excuse me if I get a little sentimental on this part of my story. I am a great believer in love; these may seem strange words coming from the lips of a tramp. Man, comrade, has taken thousands of years to learn love; it is one of the attributes of the race, it is the affinity of the sexual tie; and that's one of the dark spots of my life. My love of all that is beautiful in the human was crushed; my light was put out by the losing of my love. One thing remains to me yet, and one thing only—*my first kiss*. Those lips seem to me even here now—the panting breath, the little struggle. My arms around her, and again I kissed her, and plighted my troth.

"I had been taught privily by my mother. She was a noble woman. She told me all about the sexual tie; she prayed with me and for me that I might be good and true and holy and never defile myself, but keep my purity and love for the woman I had vowed to.

"I am only a tramp and I have kept the vow that I made to my mother, that I would live a pure life.

"But strange things happen.

"My girl was the daughter of a minister, and when I went to ask his permission to become betrothed to Margaret—for that was her name—he became frightfully angry.

"'What are you?" he said. 'A watchmaker, a workman. What can you offer her? Nothing; nothing but a home in a slum. Nothing but starvation and penury during her life. I would rather,' he said, 'see her dead there at my feet than marry into that.'

"I stood like a child, dazed and bewildered, and said nothing, the hot tears running down my cheeks.

"Then he calmed down and said: 'Donald, I am giving you this advice for your own good. The children of our class cannot marry into the working class; they have nothing in common, and I am surprised that Margaret has allowed you to pay attentions to her. Take my advice, Donald, and marry, say Mary, our servant. She will be able to bear hardships and rear a family on next to nothing if need be, and I will do all I can for both of you.'

"The spirit of the McLachlans arose within me, and I caught him by the throat. 'Beast!' I said; 'I will have your life—you are not fit to live!' I strangled him and got ten years' penal servitude for it. He did not die then, but in about three months afterwards; and when the warder told me in Peterhead that the Rev. Donald McTavish was dead, I shouted out, 'Thanks be to God!'

"I served my sentence. You will never know, comrade, what it is to be put away for ten years—that story's too long. The day comes at last and I am set free, and as I left the prison the word came to my lips, 'Margaret!' I walked down the street. 'Yes,' I said aloud, 'I will go and see Margaret.'

"I learnt on coming to Glasgow that Margaret was drowned trying to save a child's life at Rothesay, the year after I was put away.

"So here I am. I have visited every village in your Empire and also in France, Germany, and Russia, and even to far-away China and India I have set clocks a-going.

"I am a wandering Proletariat and I have lost my love."

I was crying when he finished, and could say little. "Comrade," I said, holding out my hand, "good morning. Here is our little magazine you will find me through it."

And the tramp bowed his head.

ESPERANTO.

KANTO DE STUDENTOJ.

Ĝoju, ĝoju ni, kolegoj,
Dum ni junaj estas!
Post plezura estanteco,
Post malgaja maljuneco
Sole tero restas.

Vivu la akademio
Kaj la professoroj!
Vivu longe kaj en sano,
Ĉiu akademiano,
Vivu sen doloroj!

Vivu, floru nia regno
Kaj reguestro nia!
Kaj amkoj meconataj,
Protegantoj estimataj
De l'akademio.

Vivu ĉluj la knabinoj
Belaj kaj hontemaj!
Belaj kaj hontemaj!
Vivu ankaŭ la virinoj,
Amikinoj kaj mastrinoj,
Bonaj, laboremaj.

Mortu, mortu, malgajeco
Mortu la doloro
Mortu ĉiu intriganto
Kaj malamon konservanto
Longe en la koro.

L. L. ZAMENHOF.

NOTE.—This "Gandeamus" schoolboy song, put into Esperanto by Dr. Zamenhof himself, is very easy to learn.

The third stanza is appropriate in the case of schools that are assisted by voluntary subscribers and donors, because the word *meconataj* is an adjective derived from the name Maecenas, of a wealthy Roman of the days of Augustus, who was an open-handed supporter of arts and learning.

THE REWARD OF VALOUR.

The soldiers who went from England to the great scrap in which they could have no possible interest have been nobly rewarded. Some of them are already in the workhouses in the old land, and some of them are starving in every city in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The representatives of the masterclass who went to the war as generals or admirals are in altogether a different position—as far as rewards go, anyhow. Admiral Beatty received £100,000; Admiral Jellicoe, £50,000; Admiral Maddene, £10,000; Admiral Sturdee, £10,000; Admiral Roeback, £10,000; Admiral Keeys, £10,000; Commander Tyrwhitt, £10,000; General Haig, £100,000; General French, £50,000; General Allenby, £50,000; General Plummer, £30,000; General Rawlinson, £30,000; General Byng, £30,000; General Horne, £30,000; General Hankey, £25,000; General Robertson, £10,000; General Birdwood, £10,000; General Wilson, £10,000; General Trenchard, £10,000.

BANKERS' RULE.

The *Chicago Tribune* reports that the bankers representing France, England, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Holland, and America will meet in Paris on May 23rd. The American point of view, which is believed to be supported by the British and Italian delegates, and probably by the Dutch, is such that will probably change all the projects that the French have made for May 31st in case of Germany defaulting in the payment of reparations. Pierpont Morgan is believed to have been charged to demand that the greater part of the Allied forces actually on the Rhine should be immediately withdrawn to give Germany greater possibilities to meet the reparations obligations.

As is well known, the Reparations Commission has practically put the entire problem of the reparations in the hands of the bankers.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

By ROSA LUXEMBURG.

(Translated from the German by M. CAMPBELL.)

(Continued from last issue.)

Among the rural population Lenin's agrarian reform has created a new and powerful array of enemies to Socialism, whose resistance will be far more dangerous and obstinate than was that of the big landed nobility.

That military defeats should have led to Russia's collapse and disintegration is partially the fault of the Bolshevists; but, apart from that, the objective difficulties of the situation were greatly increased by their political principle. This principle was the so-called right of nations to self-determination, which in reality amounted to the disintegration of the Russian State. It is a formula that has been proclaimed time and again by obstinate doctrinaires as the right of the divers nationalities of the Russian Empire to determine their own fate independent of external pressure (going so far as to include the right to break away from Russia and set up a new and separate State). As such, it became the special battle-cry of Lenin and his comrades, when in fierce opposition to the imperialism of Miliukov and Kerensky. After the October revolution it reappeared as the main item in the Bolshevist domestic policy, and constituted the whole of their platform at Brest-Litovsk; indeed, it was the only weapon with which they could attack the powerful position of German imperialism.

It is surprising, when we come to consider these facts, that Lenin and his comrades should have stuck to this slogan with such obstinate consistency, because it is so obviously contrary to the much-vaunted centralism of their general policy, just as it is contrary to the attitude they have always adopted towards the other democratic principles. Although they were never tired of belittling all matters relating to the Constituent Assembly, universal suffrage, freedom of the Press and of speech. In short, to the whole apparatus that maintains the basic liberties of a democratic people (in Russia all these matters could be classed under the "right to self-determination"). Yet they handled the right of nations to self-determination as though it were the very sign and symbol of democratic politics, and for the sake of which all real criticism founded on the actual conduct of affairs must be silenced. They gave the world to understand that they had never been at all impressed by the idea of everybody in Russia being given the opportunity to vote for the Constituent Assembly; that is, they thought nothing of that state of affairs in which a people, in the complete liberty of a popular republic, gives voice to its opinion on the basis of that democratic suffrage which exists in all quarters of the earth. On the contrary, in very solemn and critical declarations they declared its results to be null and void. Nevertheless, we see them at Brest fighting for all they are worth to secure a "plebiscite" of Russia's alien nations to determine which State they shall belong to, as though this plebiscite were the very palladium of liberty and democracy, the unadulterated quintessence of popular opinion and the supreme decisive factor in questions involving the political fate of nations.

The contradiction that yawns here is all the more incomprehensible in view of the fact that the democratic forms of the political life of each country have to be considered (as we shall see later) as being positively the most valuable—nay, further, the essential foundations—of Socialist politics, whilst the notorious "Right of all nations to self-determination" is nothing but empty, petty bourgeois phraseology and humbug. Honestly, what does this right mean? It is just the A B C of Socialist politics to combat every kind of oppression, including, of course, that of one nation by another.

If Lenin and Trotski, and those who are backing them up have a reputation for being sober and critical politicians; they make ironic gestures each time they are confronted with that Utopian species of phraseology dealing with disarmament, League of Nations, etc. If, nevertheless, they have this time got a mania for empty phrases in the same category, we can only explain the mania by supposing that it fits in with some kind of opportunist policy. Lenin and his comrades undoubtedly reckoned that there could be no better way of getting the many alien nationalities that exist within the Russian Empire fettered to the revolutionary cause, to the cause of the Socialist proletariat, than by giving them, in the name of the revolution, the greatest possible liberty to the control of their own destinies. It was analogous to the policy the Bolshevists observed in their dealing with the peasants. These were to have their craving for the land satisfied by the pledge of a direct confiscation of the estates and property of the nobility, and were thus to be tied to the standard of the revolution and to the proletarian Government. Unfortunately, in both cases events proved that there had been a miscalculation. Lenin and his comrades obviously expected their fight for national freedom (in which they showed a willingness to grant complete State separation of Finland, the Ukraine, Poland, Livonia, the Balkans, Caucasia, etc., to result for them in so many loyal allies of the Russan revolution; but we have since witnessed how matters turned out quite the reverse. One of these "nations" after the other availed itself of the newly-bestowed freedom to proclaim itself the deadly enemy of the Russian revolution, one after another sealed a pact with German imperialism, under whose protection they were then able to carry the flag of the counter-revolution into Russia itself.

The side-issue fought out with the Ukraine at Brest, which brought about a decisive change in these negotiations, as well as in the whole internal and external political situation of the Bolshevists, provides an exemplary illustration. The attitude of Finland, Poland, Livonia, the Baltic Provinces, and the nations of Caucasia, shows most convincingly that we have here a question, not of a mere fortuitous exception, but of a typical phenomenon.

Of course, in all these cases it is not really the "nations" that are carrying out this reactionary policy; it is that the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois classes, finding themselves involved in a bitter conflict with their own proletarian masses, have adopted the "national right to self-determination" as an instrument of their counter-revolutionary policy. But—and this is just the crux of the whole question—now we see the Utopian-petty-bourgeois character of this phrase, for in the harsh reality of our class-ruled society, and especially in a time of very acute antagonisms, it is simply transformed into a means for maintaining the supremacy of the bourgeois class rule. The Bolshevists and the revolution will have to pay dearly for the knowledge that under capitalism's rule there is no such thing as the self-determination of a nation, that in a class-governed society each class endeavours to "determine itself" in its own way, and that for the bourgeois classes all the aspects of national freedom are secondary to those of class supremacy. The Finnish bourgeoisie, like the Ukrainian petty bourgeois classes, was completely united in preferring the German rule of force to national independence if the latter were to be bound up with the threat of Bolshevism.

The "plebiscite" was the main issue at Brest, and if Lenin and Trotski took up in all seriousness the idea of turning the real class relationships upside down by its means; if they honestly believed that by supporting it they were putting a confidence in the revolutionary masses of each nation that would result in a majority vote for a pact with the Russian revolution; then their optimism remains quite incomprehensible. Even if they meant it merely as a tactical move in their encounter with the German policy of force, they were playing with fire. Supposing there had been no German military occupation, then if a plebiscite had actually taken place in the border States the mentality of the peasant masses and of the broad layers of still indifferent proletarians would have come under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie, and the whole vote would have been captured with the aid of the thousand-and-one means at the disposal of the bourgeois classes, so that nowhere would the Bolshevists have had anything to rejoice over. It is almost an inviolable rule that every time a plebiscite upon any question of national concern crops up, the ruling classes know how to oppose it successfully if it does not suit their purpose, or if it is in their interests they will make use of means and devices which secure its acceptance. They obtain the result they desire in either case, a fact which clearly shows that Socialism cannot possibly be obtained by means of the vote.

National aspirations and separatist tendencies develop apace in the midst of revolutionary conflicts. Not only do they develop, but, as the Brest Treaty disclosed, they are pushed to the fore and made the shibboleth of Socialist and revolutionary policy. This fact has caused great consternation in the Socialist ranks. It has been most damaging to the struggles of the proletariat in those border countries of Russia. So long as the Socialist proletariat of Finland fought as part of the solid revolutionary phalanx of Russia, it commanded a dominating position in its country; it claimed the majority in the Landtag and in the army, it had succeeded in completely crushing the Finnish bourgeoisie, and was master of the situation in all matters connected with the land. At the beginning of the century, before Ukrainian nationalism began to flirt with the Karbowentr and the "Universals"; before Lenin had fallen a prey to the idea of "an independent Ukraine," the Russian Ukraine was regarded by Socialists as the stronghold of the Russian revolutionary movement. It was from there, from Rostof and Odessa, from the plains of the Donetz, that the first lava streams of the revolution (as far back as the years 1902-1904) broke forth and made the whole of Southern Russia a veritable ocean of flames. It thus prepared the way for the 1905 outbreak. The same thing happened in the present revolution. We find, indeed, that the best troops of the proletarian phalanx are drawn from the South Russian proletariat. Poland and the Baltic Provinces have been since 1905 the most powerful and reliable centres of the revolution in which the Socialist workers of these provinces have played an outstanding rôle.

How was it, then, that in all these provinces, and in just these particular proivnces, the counter-revolution suddenly won the day? It was simply because the working masses of these provinces, torn away from their Russian comrades, and with their movement crippled by the national movement, were left to the mercy of the national bourgeoisie of these border countries. Instead of acting in the spirit of the real international class-policy (which they upheld in other matters); instead of endeavouring to realise the most compact union of the revolutionary forces throughout the whole territory of the Empire; instead of defending with tooth and nail the integrity of the Russian Empire as being the revolution's realm; instead of opposing each individual national aspiration by proclaiming their supreme political command to be the homogeneity and the indivisibility of all proletarian elements existing within the domain of the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevists have taken a contrary line of action. By taking up the high falutin nationalistic phraseology of "the right to self-determination even to State separation," they gave the bourgeoisie in all these border countries the very finest opportunity and excuse for which it could wish, to unfurl the banner of their counter-revolutionary aspirations. Thus, instead of warning the proletarians of the border countries that any kind of separatism was pure trickery on the part of the bourgeoisie, the Bolshevists have managed to confuse the masses of all the border countries by their watchwords, and have delivered them over to the democracy of the bourgeois classes. As a result of their advocacy of nationalism, they have themselves brought about the disintegration of Russia, and have placed in the hands of their own enemies the weapon that was to strike at the heart of the Russian Revolution.

We know without the assistance of German Imperialism; without "German bayonets in German hands" (as it was expressed in Kautsky's "Neue Zeit"), the Lubinski's and the other Ukrainian poltroons, as well as the Erickes and Mannerheims of Finland and the Baltic barons, would never have been able to get the better of the Socialist proletarian masses in their respective countries. National separatism was the wooden horse in which the German "comrades," with fixed bayonets, were drawn into all these countries. The real class antagonisms and questions of military expediency and strength were responsible for Germany's intervention on Russian territory. Nevertheless, the Bolshevists were to blame for the ideology which served to mask this counter-revolutionary campaign: they themselves strengthened the position of the bourgeoisie and weakened that of the proletariat. The most telling evidence is supplied by the Ukraine, which was destined to play such an unfortunate rôle in the fortunes of the Russian Revolution. The Ukrainian nationalism in Russia was something quite different from that of the Czech, Polish, or Finnish nationalism. It was nothing more than a vagary, a bit of goose-stepping by a doezn or two petty bourgeois intellectuals. It was in no sense rooted in the economic, political, and spiritual conditions and circumstances of the country. It was lacking in historical tradition, because the Ukraine had never constituted either a nation or a State. It was without any special national culture (except its reactionary romantic poetry), and was absolutely incapable of assuming a definite political structure until a sponsor appeared in the shape of the "right of all peoples to self-determination."

This phrase has assumed from time to time a very real importance in the history of the class conflicts. It is the unfortunate lot of Socialism to have been destined in this world-war to supply ideological pretexts for counter-revolutionary policy. At the outbreak of the war German social-democracy hastened into the Marxian lumber-room to find an ideologic shield for the marauding expedition of German Imperialism, declaring that it would shortly liberate the Russian people from Carism. It fell to those who were the direct opposites of the Government Socialists—to the Bolshevists—to provide water for the mills of the counter-revolution by their insistance upon the right of nations to self-determination. By so doing they supplied an ideology which was not only able to throttle the Russian Revolution itself, but which enabled the counter-revolutionaries to carry out their plan of liquidating the whole of the world war. It is important that we should make a thorough examination of the policy of the Bolshevists into these matters. The right of nations to self-determination, coupled with the League of Nations and disarmament in a Wilsonian sense, will form the battle-cry behind the coming conflict of international Socialism with the bourgeois world will be fought out. It is as clear as daylight that this pre-occupation with self-determination and the whole of this national movement, matters which are at present constituting a very grave danger for international Socialism, have been strengthened to an extraordinary degree by the Russian Revolution itself and the Brest negotiations. We shall have to deal with these aspects in greater detail. It was the tragedy of the Russian Revolution that the Bolshevists should have been caught and bled to death in the spider's web of this phraseology. This should henceforth serve as a warning example to the international proletariat.

We see how this state of affairs resulted in the dictatorship of Germany. From the Brest Peace Treaty to the "Supplementary Treaty." The 200 expiatory sacrifices in Moscow. This situation naturally led to the Terror and to the stifling of democracy.

(To be continued. We can supply readers with back numbers containing previous chapters.)

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

GERMANY *VERSUS* BRITAIN.

THE POSITION OF LABOUR IN 1921.

GERMANY:	
German population	60,000,000
Workers on strike	772,891
Total number of strike days	11,608,129
Trade Unionists unemployed out of 6,631,567 Trade Unionists	1.4
BRITAIN:	
British population	43,000,000
Workers on strike	1,873,950
Total number of strike days	81,211,900
Unemployed, according to Trade Union Returns, November 1921	228,484
Total insured unemployed	1,865,170

RECEIVED FOR REVIEW.

The Restoration of Agriculture in the Famine Area of Russia. Being the Interim Report of the State Economic Planning Commission of the Council for Labour and Defence of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. Published by the Labour Publishing Co., 5/-.

The translators are to be congratulated on having acquired sufficient mastery of a difficult language to render this rather dry report into easy prose. Much of the book will be found rather tedious by the ordinary reader. On the other hand, it is hardly so exhaustive or so technical as to satisfy those who may be studying Russian conditions with a view to practical work there. Many of the details given are merely dull instead of being definitely informative.

Nevertheless, the observant reader will cull many interesting facts.

The famine area (apart from the Uralsk region, from which data are lacking) has a population of 18,260,000—*i.e.*, 16 per cent. of the total population of Soviet Russia and the Ukraine. The rural population is 16,180,000, and the urban 2,080,000. Barely 4 per cent. of the people are employed in non-agricultural work. The rural population of this area in 1916 was one-fifth of the total population of European Russia at that time. Its cultivated area comprised 24 per cent. of the whole cultivated area of European Russia. It contained 23 per cent. of the draught horses and 17 per cent. of the oxen in European Russia. Its annual export of grain between 1909 and 1913 averaged 187,821,000 poods—*i.e.*, 24 per cent. of the total export of the entire Russian Empire and 55 per cent. of the export of European Russia, with the exception of Ukraine and Northern Causica.

A Russian pood, it should be noted, is 36.11 English pounds averdupois; 3 poods are approximately 1 cwt., and 62 poods 1 ton.

In the year 1916 an average of 92 desyatinas of land were under cultivation for every hundred of the population. In 1921 only 58 desyatinas were cultivated for every 100 persons. A desyatina equals 2.7 acres.

SOVIET FARMS.

It is intereting to bserve that the Soviet farms in the famine area number only 654, and comprise only 1,115,861 desyatinas as compared with the 56,430,000 which are contained in the whole famine area, not including Uralsk.

Half of the Soviet farms in Russia are in the famine area. These farms are mentioned as valuable for experimental work, and as examples to the peasants; but, as the Report says:

"*The work of these farms is only in the initial stage. They are engaged in setting their house in order.*"

Moreover:

"*Many of the Soviet farms . . . have not yet been inaugurated. The land is still to be surveyed, and the farms exist only in embryo.*"

For example:

"*The Novouzensk belt has been handed over to the Gomza* [State machine shops] *to the extent of* 452,358 *desyatinas, and no more than* 11,000 *desyatinas of this are under cultivation. Out of the* 170,597 *desyatinas assigned to the Soviet farms in Tsaritsin province, the greater part consists of steppe pasture land, and no more than* 32,000 *desyatinas are cultivated. In Astrakan province, where horticulture is the predominant form of husbandry, the cultivated land amounts to little more than* 2,500 *desyatinas.*"

All this is disappointing. In the early days of the Soviet Government much was said of the splendid intensively cultivated private farms of the dispossessed great landlords which were to have been taken over as Soviet farms, in order that the peasants might learn thereby the value of modern methods of agriculture, and, above all, of co-operative work? After five years we had hoped to hear good news of these Soviet farms. The war and the counter-revolution have much to answer for. Are they wholly to blame for there being nothing more than this to report?

THE NOMADS.

The proposals for agrarian reorganisation made in the Report deal with the people, the cattle, and the soil. It is said that the nomad people, "wherever the natural conditions render it possible, should be gradually transformed into a stock-raising population settled on the land." There has been a tendency throughout history for the nomads of the desert to move on to the fruitful lands and settle down there. To enforce such settlement, however, would be an interference with human freedom and development not to be tolerated. The Report indicates that "the plan of agrarian reorganisation" includes the marking out of a land reserve for the Kirghiz and Kalmuck elements which are nomadic. We hope there will be no attempt to confine these peoples to the reservation.

The Report indicates that stock raising will be transformed from "the keeping of herds on pastures to the keeping of stall-fed beasts."

Without laying claim to any expert knowledge of stock raising, one cannot forbear a sigh fr the unfortunate beasts. The proposal in vasty Russia seems to the lay mind that of the expert run mad.

It is proposed to abolish "the huddling together of the population into closely-set aggregates of farmsteads, forming huge villages along the lines of the Volga and its tributaries, and also in those parts which come within the influence of the railways." It is proposed to create instead settlements ranging from 1,500 to 2,000 desyatinas in extent. It is also proposed to form a State colonisation reserve for the population of provinces where there is a scarcity of land.

Such schemes can only be realised if irrigation and means of transport are provided; for it is, of course, to obtain these that the population congregates along the rivers and the railways.

A considerable part of the Report deals with the irrigation question. Amongst the details of millions of people, millions of desyatinas, millions of poods which fill the Report, it seems somewhat incongruous that we should be informed that for each kind of investigation necessary for these vast schemes draughtsmen's requirements, drawing materials, etc., must be provided; strange to have it noted down that amidst a great expenditure of 39,000,000 gold roubles (a gold rouble is worth 2/2). Two hundred and five draughtsmen's sets will have to be provided, as well as some hydrometers, meteorological apparatus, gonio-meters, levels, and plane tables. One conjures up the amazing spectacle of gigantic Russia's reconstruction waiting for 205 paint-boxes.

The Report informs us that industry and trade is moving Eastward, and one is reminded by that phrase that nothing of Socialism finds its way into the Report. It is stated that for 910 skilled workers on the irrigation schemes, 9,050 labourers and 8,820 carts and horses will be needed. Shade of Peter Kropotkin, what sayest thou?

One of the most interesting sections is devoted to irrigation by mechanical-power plants on a large scale.

It is pointed out that, owing to increasing deforestation and the importance of forests in producing humidity, wood must not be used for fuel, except in small quantities floated down from the upper reaches of the Volga. The widespread utilisation of peat fuel is said in the Report to be "out of the question." Bituminous shale, of which a new variety has been found, and of which there is a large quantity in the lower and middle Volga region, can, however, be used. Shale is enormously heavy, and produces five times as much ash as either peat or coal. Therefore, the electric plant for which it is to be used should be situated near the mines. The electric plant can also be used for working the mines. This, unlike so many other projects, is not wholly in the air. Civil engineer Regirer already last winter built the first Russian furnace for burning bituminous shale; and the furnace, says the Report, has been burning satisfactorily for six months. Experimental furnaces have been built, with a view to planning power stations supplied with shale fuel.

In Saratov and Tsaritsin, which it is designed to make centres for cutting up and transporting timber, it is proposed to erect electric pant served by wood fuel.

In the southern part of the area natural gases are found, and these also it is proposed to use for fuel for the electric powerstations when a searching investigation into these resources has been held.

The winds of the area attain a notable velocity. It is therefore proposed also to use wind power for generating electricity, using asynchronous generators for the electric power stations when a searching in- of the motive force.

It is intended to develop the industries of the region and to transfer thither those industries which are carried on in the North of Russia with the products of the South-East, and which have, it is claimed, an altogether artificial existence in the North.

BE AUDACIOUS.

In our issue of May 13th "The Searchlight" referred to the case of Charles and Mary Whybrow, who were sent to prison for cruelty to their children because they took refuge in a tool-shed when unable to get a house. "The Searchlight" further suggested that if the Inspector of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children had called on the people who were living under tarpaulins in Camberwell, the same fate might have befallen them. We now learn that the Camberwell Guardians asked the Society's representative to call on this family, but he refused to report against them. We also learn that comfortable neighbours objected to the fumes which arose from a bucket of burning coke with which the family tried to warm their habitation. The police-constables also refused to report against the unfortunate family.

"WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT" SHOW CARDS.

We have some small *Dreadnought* show cards with a fine decorative drawing in which the worker is depicted breaking the chains which bind the earth. These may be obtained from the *Dreadnought* office by those who will display them.

POEMS OF REVOLUTION
By L. A. Motler.
1s.

RUSSIAN WORKERS v. SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

By Alexandra Kollontay.

(*Continued.*)

The rank and file worker is observant. He sees that so far the problems of hygiene, sanitation, improving conditions of labour in the shops —in other words, the betterment of the workers' lot has occupied the last place in our policy. Further than housing of workers' families in the inconvenient bourgeois mansions we did not go in our solution of the housing problem, and, what is still worse, so far we have not even touched the practical problem of housing in regard to workers. To our shame, in the heart of the republic, in Moscow itself, they are still living in filthy, overcrowded and unhygienic working men's quarters, one visit to which makes one think that there was no revolution at all. We all know that the housing problem cannot be solved in a few months, even years, and that due to our poverty its solution is confronted with serious difficulties, but the facts of ever-growing inequality between the privileged groups of the population in Soviet Russia and the rank and file workers, " the frame-work of the dictatorship," breed and nourish the dissatisfaction.

The rank and file worker sees how the Soviet official and the practical man lives and how lives he—he on whom rests the dictatorship of the proletariat? He cannot but see that during the revolution the life and health of the workers in the shops commanded the least attention; that where prior to the revolution there existed more or less bearable conditions, they are still maintained by the shop committees, and where the latter did not exist, where dampness, foul air and gases poisoned and destroyed the workers' health, these conditions remained unchanged. " We could not attend to that; pray, there was the military front." And yet whenever it was necessary to make repairs in any of the houses occupied by the Soviet institutions they were able to find both the materials and the labour power. What would happen if we tried to shelter our specialists or practical men engaged in the sphere of commercial transactions with foreign capitalists in those huts, in which the masses of workers still live and labour? They would raise such a howl that it would become necessary to mobilise the entire housing department in order to correct " the chaotic conditions " that interfere with the productivity of our specialists.

The service of the Workers' Opposition consists in that it included the problem of improving the workers' lot together with all the other secondary demands of workers into the general economic policy. The productivity of labour cannot be increased unless the life of the workers will have been organised on the new Communist basis.

The less that is undertaken and planned out (I do not speak of something that has been carried out) in this sphere, the deeper is the misunderstanding, the estrangement, and still greater is the mutual distrust between the direct-workers. There is no unity, no sense of their identity of needs, dmands and aspirations. The leaders are one thing, and we are something altogether different. Maybe it is true that the leaders know better how to rule over the country, but they fail to understand our needs, our life in the shops, its requirements, and immediate needs; they do not understand, and do not know." From this reasoning follows the instinctive leaning toward the unions, and consequent dropping out of the party. " It is true that they are a part of us, but as soon as they get into the centres they leave us altogether; they begin to live differently; if we suffer, what do they care? Our sorrows are not theirs any longer."

And the more our industrial establishments and unions are drained of their best elements by the party which sends them either to the front or to the Soviet institutions, the weaker becomes the direct connection between the rank and file workers and the directing party centres. A chasm is growing, and at present, therefore, this division manifests itself even in the ranks of the party itself. The workers, through their Workers' Opposition, ask: Who are we? Are we really the prop of the class dictatorship, or are we just an obedient flock that serves as a support for those who, having severed all ties with the masses, carry out their own policy and build up industry without any regard to our opinions and creative abilities under the reliable cover of the party label?

Whatever the party leaders might do in order to drive away the Workers' Opposition, the latter will always remain that growing healthy class force which is destined to inject vitalising energy into the rehabilitation of the economic life as well as into the Communist Party which begins to fade and bend low to the ground.

Thus there are three causes that bring about a crisis in our party; there are, first of all, the supreme objective conditions under which Communism in Russia is being carried out and realised (the civil war, economic backwardness of the country, its utter industrial collapse as an aftermath of the long years of war); the second cause is the heterogeneous composition of our population (7 millions of workers, the peasantry, the middle classes, and, finally, the former bourgeoisie, men of affairs of all professions, who influence the policy of Soviet institutions and penetrate into the party); the third cause is the inactivity of the party in the field of immediate improvement of the workers' life coupled with the inability and weakness of the corresponding Soviet institutions to take up and solve these problems.

(*To be continued.*)

We can supply readers with previous chapters.

THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

By Peter Kropotkin.

Who does not remember the remarkable chapter on the Division of Labour by which Adam Smith opened his inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations? Even those of our contemporary economists who seldom revert to the works of the father of political economy, and often forget the ideas which inspired them, know that chapter almost by heart, so often has it been copied and re-copied since. It has become an article of faith; and the whole economical history of the century which has elapsed since Adam Smith wrote has been, so to speak, an actual commentary upon it.

" Division of Labour " was its watchword. And the division and sub-division—the permanent sub-division—of functions has been pushed so far as to divide humanity into castes which are almost as firmly established as those of old India. We have, first, the broad division into producers and consumers; little-consuming producers on the one hand, little-producing consumers on the other hand. Then, amidst the former, a series of further sub-divisions: the manual worker and the intellectual worker, sharply separated from one another, to the detriment of both; agricultural labourers and workers in the manufacture; and amidst the mass of the latter, numberless sub-divisions again—so minute, indeed, that the modern ideal of a workman seems to be a man or a woman, or even a girl or a boy, without the knowledge of any handicraft, without any conception whatever of the industry he or she is employed in, and who is only capable of making all day long and for a whole life the same infinitesimal part of something: who from the age of thirteen to that of sixty pushes the coal cart at a given spot of the mine, makes the spring of a penknife or the eighteenth part of a pin? Mere servants to some machinery of given description; mere flesh-and-bone parts of some immense machinery; having no idea about how and why the machinery is performing its rhythmical movements. Skilled artisanship is swept away as a survival of a past which is condemned to disappear. For the artist who formerly found æsthetic enjoyment in the work of his hands, is substituted the human slaves of an iron slave. Nay, even the agricultural labourer who formerly used to find a relief from the hardships of his life in the home of his ancestors—the future home of his children—in his love of the field, and a keen intercourse with Nature, even he has been doomed to disappear for the sake of division of labour. He is an anachronism: he must be substituted, in a Bonanza farm, by an occasional servant hired for the summer, and discharged as the autumn comes; a tramp who never again will see the field he has harvested once in his life —such is, we are told, the agricultural labourer of the future. " An affair of a few years," the economists say, " to reform agriculture in accordance with the true principles of the division of labour and modern industrial organisation."

Dazzled with the result of our century of marvellous inventions, especially in this country, our economists and political men went still further in their dreams of division of labour. They proclaimed the necessity of dividing the whole of humanity into national workshops, having each of them its own speciality. We were taught, for instance, that Hungary and Russia are predestined by Nature to grow corn in order to feed the manufacturing countries; that Britain had to provide the world markets with cottons, ironware, and coal; Belgium with woollen cloth, and so on. Nay, within each nation, each region had to have its own speciality. So it has been for some years since; so it ought to remain. Fortunes have been made in this way, and will continue to be made in the same way. It being proclaimed that the wealth of nations is measured by the amount of profits made by the few, and that the largest profits are made by the specialisation of labour, the question was not conceived to exist as to whether human beings always *would* submit to such specialisation; whether nations could be specialised like isolated workmen. The theory was good for the day—why should we care for to-morrow? To-morrow might bring its own theory!

And so it did. The narrow conception of life which consisted in thinking that profits are the only leading motive of human society; and the stubborn view that supposes that what existed yesterday would last for ever, proved in disaccordance with the tendencies of human life; and life took another direction. Nobody will deny the high pitch of production which may be obtained by specialisation. But, precisely in proportion as the work required for the individual in modern production becomes simpler and easier to be learned, and, therefore, also more monotonous and wearisome—the requirements of the individual for varying his work, for exercising all his capacities, become more and more prominent. Humanity perceived that there is no advantage for the community in riveting a human being for all his life to a given spot, in a workshop or a mine, and depriving him of such work as would bring him into free intercourse with Nature, make of him a conscious part of the grand whole, a partner in the highest enjoyments of science and art, of free work and creation.

Nations, too, refuse to be specialised. Each nation is a compound aggregate of tastes and inclinations, of wants and resources, of capacities and inventive powers. The territory occupied by such nation is again a most varied texture of soils and climates, of hills and valleys, of slopes leading to a still greater variety of territories and races. Variety is the distinctive feature both of the territory and the inhabitants; and that variety implies a variety of occupations. Agriculture calls manufacturers into existence, and manufacturers support agriculture. Both are inseparable; and the combination, the integration of both brings about the grandest results. In proportion as technical knowledge becomes everybody's virtual domain; in proportion as it becomes international, and can be concealed no longer, each nation acquires the possibility of applying the whole variety of her energies to the whole variety of industrial and agricultural pursuits. Knowledge ignores artificial political boundaries. So also do the industries; and the present tendency of humanity is to have the greatest possible variety of industries gathered in each county, in each separate region, side by side with agriculture. The needs of human agglomerations correspond thus to the needs of the individual; and while a temporary division of functions remains the surest guarantee of success in each separate undertaking, the permanent division is doomed to disappear, and to be substituted by a variety of pursuits—intellectual, industrial, agricultural—corresponding to the different capacities of the individual; as well as to the variety of capacities within every human aggregate.

When we thus revert from the scholastics of our text-books, and examine human life as a whole, we soon discover that, while all the benefits of a temporary division of labour must be maintained, it is high time to claim those of the

Continued on page 7.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

An interesting piece of Parliamentary manipulation took place on the Tory Private Members' Bill to provide that a Trade Union shall not establish a political fund except by a majority of 50 per cent. in a ballot in which at least 50 per cent. of the members voted. The Bill also provides that, instead of the unwilling member being obliged to notify the Union that he does not intend to contribute to the fund, the member willing to comply with the decision of the Union in regard to the political fund must fill up a form each year promising his contribution. This Bill is a Private Members' Bill, but it is going through, in spite of all the whining by Clynes and Thomas that the Labour Party has prevented strikes.

It has become an axiom that Private Members' Bills have no chance of becoming law without Government assistance; but this so-called Private Members' Bill is getting assistance. Lloyd George assists it, but avoids some of the discredit attendant upon introducing it, and the measure will be said to have been carried by general assent.

Do you remember, fellow-workers, and especially the women, how the Speaker for a quarter of a century refused to give the closure and allow a vote to be taken on the Private Members' Bills to give votes to women, which came in like hardy annuals year by year? The Speaker was supposed to be acting entirely on his own initiative. And his excuse was that the subject was too important to be treated by a Private Members' Bill. Of course, the Speaker was acting on Government orders against votes for women. Of course he is acting on Government orders now against the Labour Party; for what has happened? This measure, introduced for the first time on May 9th, passed to a Second Reading with the Speaker's permission, and passed on to the committee stage by a majority of 165 to 31 votes. Sir George Younger said that the Bill had been introduced because of the pressure brought to bear on Unionist headquarters by Unionist Labour associations. His organisation has printed a million application forms to be used by Trade Unionists not wishing to subscribe to their Union's political fund. A quarter of these had been sent to Unionist Labour Associations. The Tories do not relax their propaganda amongst the workers.

G. N. Barnes (Labour Renegade) said there was a good deal to excuse, if not to justify, the Bill. The measure was supported by three other Trade Union delegates now in the C.N.D.P.—Messrs. Jesson, Stanton, and Walton—whose name recalls another—the Coal Association!

The promoters of the Bill pointed out that a return relating to 42 Unions which support the Labour party financially showed that these Unions had a membership of 1,710,869. Of these, only 504,734 voted in the ballot for political action and 3,861,563 alone actually voted in support, and 117,564 against. Therefore 2,635 members, the vast majority, took no part in the ballot.

This Bill is, of course, an impudent interference with the liberties of working-class organisations; capitalism in power manipulates the law-making apparatus as it pleases.

The voting upon the question of Labour representation reveals the bogus character of the Labour Party's claim to represent organised labour. It shows, moreover, the widespread indifference with which the mass of workers regard their Trade Union affairs and the Labour Party itself. Labour Party politics leave the bulk of the workers untouched. In the class struggle the ruling power will always use the law to suit its own ends.

NO RELIEF FOR THE LOCKED OUT.

Where Boards of Guardians have consulted Sir Alfred Mond as to granting relief to the locked-out engineers, whom the employers now invite to work if they will betray their Union, he advises that " relief cannot lawfully be granted to any man for whom work is in fact available." The Government helps the bosses to beat the workers.

The Speaker refused to allow the matter to be discussed by the House.

STARVING THE MINERS.

Mr. Bridgeman (C.U.), Secretary of Mines, said the coal trade is reviving. In the first three months of the year British coal exports to Western Europe were only 6 per cent. below those of the " great year " 1913, whilst to every country outside Europe except South America they were greater. They were actually greater to France. Labour members, however, complained that the coal had been almost given away; that whilst the export was 54 per cent. greater than last year the total price was only 10 per cent. more; that the miners were being starved, their wage being only £2 2s. a week, 20 per cent. above 1914, while the cost of living is up 80 per cent.; that short time is common in the mines, and many thousands are unemployed.

Charles Edwards (Lab.) said some miners in South Wales are earning 36/- a week and paying 15/- in rent. No reduction had been made in mining rents and royalties, which had provided a million and a-half pounds for their owners last year.

Fred Hall (Lab.) complained that Yorkshire mine-owners are breaking the wage agreements.

J. C. Gould, a Unionist and a coal-owner, thanked the miners for their sacrifices in working for starvation wages, for they had benefited the country, he said; but, of course, they have merely benefited the bosses.

To Labour members' complaints of the agreement forced upon the miners at the close of last year's lock out, the Government representative replied: " Read your *Daily Herald*, and you will see that the Secretary of the Miners' Federatin says the agreement is a good one."

Frank Hodges has done the work of the Coal Association more than once.

On May 16th the Government proposal to make the teachers contribute to their pensions was defeated. On May 17th a resolution to increase the pensions of pre-war soldiers and sailors was opposed by the Government and defeated.

The Breakdown of Our Industrial System.—*Continued from p. 6.*

integration of labour. Individualist political economy has had enough time to preach *division*. We proclaim *integration*; and we maintain that the ideal of society—that is, the state towards which society is already marching—is a society of integrated labour. A society in which each individual is a producer of both manual and intellectual work; where each able-bodied human being is a worker, and where each worker works both in the field and the industrial workshop; where each aggregation of individuals, large enough to dispose of a certain variety of natural resources—it may be a nation, or rather a region —produces and itself consumes its own agricultural and manufactured produce.,,

Brutal Treatment of the Workless.—*Continued from p. 1.*

nodded his head, meaning yes. C— then wrtoe in his notebook and said something to Hawkins which I did not hear. I then heard Hawkins say, " It's a lie." C— then took out his baton and struck Hawkins on the left shoulder. Hawkins put his right hand on his left shoulder and twitched with pain. He called C— a rotten bully. C— then said to Hawkins, " Shut up, or you'll have another one." C— and W— were then called outside. While they were out, I and another police-constable had a conversation; he was well spoken. C— and W— then came back and stood together by the desk. C— was writing on a sheet of paper and telling W— what to write on his paper. C— then asked Hawkins and myself our names, ages, addresses, and occupations. When I told C— my trade he sneered, and said to W—, " Look what calls itself a surgical bootmaker." W— laughed. C— said, " I'm proud that I'm a Britisher, and not a lousy Communist. The place you came from is not fit to be seen, it's only a dirty lousy bug hutch. Why, you only have a wash once a month." He then laughed and spoke to W—.

W— then told Hawkins to stand up and get over there, the other side of the office window. He then told me to sait down on the chair previously occupied by Hawkins. Then a sergeant came in and read out the charges. Hawkins said, " I know nothing about it; it's a got-up charge." I said, " Those men are liars. I was not there." The sergeant made us sign our names on the charge sheet.

W— then searched Hawkins and C— searched me. He took my cards of membership of different organisations away, also a badge I was wearing. C— then looked at the cards, and holding up my membership card of the Communist Party, said, " This one will get you six months." C— then took the cards and badge he had taken from me into the office. Another constable took Hawkins to the cell, then came back for me. C— said, " I'll see to him." C— took me to a cell, and when I was inside he said, " Now what you got to say for yourself?" He then punched me on the right side of my face with his left fist, then on the other side with his right fist, saying, " Sit down there, you b——." He then punched me again on the left shoulder. I called him a coward. He then tried to punch me in the eye with his right fist. I stopped the blow with my right arm and called him a dirty rotter. He then struck me another blow under the left ear, which made me feel giddy and fall to the ground. He then shut the door. I did not see him again until the next morning in the court. The other policemen treated me all right.

This statement I swear is the truth.

(Signed) James Lancaster.

SACCO AND VANZETTI.

A motion for a new trial has been filed in the Superior Court of Massachussetts, U.S.A.

It is based on two important affidavits.

The first is that Louis Pelser, one of the four witnesses put forward by the authorities to identify Sacco and Vanzetti, now admits his testimony to have been perjured. He says when he gave his testimony: " I couldn't have been in my right mind. I don't think I was exactly sane. I must have been forced by someone." Pelser declares that previous to the trial he insisted on speaking to the District Attorney-General that he had not seen enough to testify.

The second affidavit is that of Roy E. Gould, an eye-witness of the South Braintree shooting with which Sacco and Vanzetti are charged. He was within five to ten feet of the bandit car and was shot through the coat. He retains a vivid memory of one bandit, whom he declares was neither Sacco nor Vanzetti. The defence has only just discovered Gould, but the police knew of the evidence he could give in defence of Sacco and Vanzetti from the very day of the crime. The police did not put Gould forward because their object was to secure a conviction.

The case of robbery and murder with which Sacco and Vanzetti are charged took place on April 15th, 1920. More than two years have elapsed, and Sacco and Vanzetti, obviously innocent men, arrested simply because they were active workers, agitators, are still in prison under sentence of death.

SPICE.

WOBBLING AROUND.

The wave of Right Wing Communist discipline has broken. Six months ago the orders of the Right Wing Communists were not to sell, buy, or read other than the official Party organ; not to act except by order of the Party Executive; not to think other than the officially sanctioned thoughts. Now R. W. Postgate, in quitting the editorial chair of the *Communist*, declares: " The readers make the paper: the paper only lives if the readers are a part of it." He concludes: " And more and more, as the *Herald* falls into the power of the Labour Party officials, as the various weekly 'Socialist' papers wilt away and become more and more official. What paper but the *Communist* is there that will express that working-class *Reality?* "

So as the C.P.G.B. becomes more and more merged in the Reformist United Front it will change its tune, and for the cry " Party Discipline " it will substitute " Unofficial." Hitherto, remember, it has decried the very existence of any unofficial paper.

This is how those who have not quite made up their minds what they are fighting for wobble around.

. . . . . .

" A national welcome," quotha! Who wrote that phrase had evidently not seen the public's welcome to Doug. and Mary. If Charlie Chaplin had got no better " nationalwelcome " than that, he would have sacked his publicity agent.—*The Morning Post.*

. . . . . .

A modern Parliamentarian is not chosen by the people: he is chosen by the Caucus, with no alternative but some similar Parliamentarian chosen by some similar Caucus.—*Mr. G. K. Chesterton.*

. . . . . .

I cannot help thinkng that the English Bar is probably the oldest and tightest trade union in the world.—*Mr. Patrick Hastings, K.C.*

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