

# What Saklatvala Symbolizes

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## ARTICLE III.

BRITISH iron, steel and coal—the basis of Britain's former industrial supremacy—no longer dominate the world markets.

Her textile industry cannot meet Indian, Chinese and German competition.

Her shipbuilding industry is idle.

Her shipping trade has shrunk with the narrowing of the world markets and American competition.

Her foreign investments were liquidated in order to partially defray the cost of the war in 1914-18 and have never regained their former importance. American capital dominates the foreign investment field and Great Britain herself is a debtor nation.

FOR the second time in recent history Great Britain's balance of trade will this year be unfavorable.

In 1924 her imports were 1,186,956,000 pounds.

Her exports in the same year were 915,051,000 pounds—an unfavorable balance of 271,905,000 pounds.

This year her imports have increased to 1,349,707,000 pounds while her exports have increased only to 937,774,000 pounds—her unfavorable trade balance leaping to 411,933,000 pounds.

The British press is hysterical.

IN the London Times ("the bloody old Times," as Cobden called it) for Sept. 19 there was an article by Sir Phillip Gibbs entitled, "Is England Done?" He states that this question is on the lips of thousands of Englishmen and Americans visiting England. He says:

They see the beggars in our streets, they hear the hard luck stories on the tops of busses, see or think they see the dwindling of effort and vitality, a creeping up of pessimism, a spreading of pauperdom that shocks them.

Then Sir Phillip, after acknowledging the hopelessness of the situation for the masses of the population, proceeds to denounce the trade unions, and the Scarborough conference with "its avowed purpose of revolutionary action." Like all of the British ruling class Sir Phillip has no solution ex-

cept to ask support for the England that was but is no more:

"If our working folk are pauperized until they lose the will to work, or if they follow revolutionary leaders into the ways of violence and destruction—I do not believe they will—then indeed we shall see the passing of England and all that was good and gracious in its life. Our Oriental empire will be a flaming anarchy, in which the weak and innocent will perish. The world will lose its strongest rock of defense against brutality and tyranny and the ethics of the jungle. If we give way, the outposts of civilization will be driven in.

"Is such a thing possible? Yes, in my belief it is possible."

J. L. GARVIN, editor of the Sunday Observer, sounds a similar hopeless note:

The Trade Union Congress has shown a strong swing towards Communist sentiment. The Stockport constituency which the unionists (stories) carried by a large majority at the last election has been handed to the socialists in the by-election. Week by week the number of unemployed is mounting toward its old figure of 1,500,000. This means as a nation we are earning less in proportion to our numbers while in the mass we are consuming more than ever . . . unless the Baldwin government, as regards trade and unemployment, can rise above nullity or mediocrity, John Bull will resort to the newspapers and declare a vacant situation.

ANOTHER voice of the ruling class is that of Sir George Hunter, shipping magnate, who three weeks ago appealed to Premier Baldwin to do something (he did not make any suggestions) to avert "impending ruin."

The London Daily Herald, official organ of the British labor party, in its every issue furnishes a wealth of evidence, not only of the continual decay of industry in Great Britain but of the temper of the working class and the brutal arrogance of the rulers.

ON Sept. 17 The Herald published an editorial entitled "Emigrate or Starve!" This editorial deals with

the proposal of Lord Rothermere to abolish unemployment insurance so that those who cannot find work in Great Britain "will be compelled to emigrate to the dominions." Of this proposal The Herald says:

It is difficult to know which is the more shocking—the heartlessness of this, or its scarcely believable folly.

Here is the chief proprietor of a newspaper which has the largest circulation in the world so ill-acquainted with public affairs that he does not know the dominions decline to receive our industrial unemployed.

The only immigrants they want are those who can make a living on the land, and of those we have none to spare. Lord Rothermere's blether about "converting the shiftless pensioners of our labor exchanges into prosperous farmers and graziers" is either criminally ignorant or brutally insincere.

The idea behind such talk is "Get them out of the country. Let them starve somewhere else." That is what Lord Rothermere proposes in his gratitude to the workers for making him, with their daily pennies, a multi-millionaire.

IN the columns of The Daily Herald a discussion on the question of "Shall the Workers' Arm?" is being carried on and never has there been such an outpouring of working class opinion. The majority trend of this opinion is not apparent at this time but the tremendous meaning of such a discussion in parliamentary England cannot be over-estimated.

As for the die-hards of the ruling class they have already made up their minds on the matter. Fascist organizations have sprung up in many centers, violence against the workers is on the increase and the British courts, those bulwarks of democracy, are acquitting regularly those who are accused only of the shooting and beating of strikers and Communists.

THE American capitalist press is watching the British situation closely and true to its class instincts speaks approvingly of the prospect of a fascist dictatorship in Great Britain. Says The Chicago Tribune of Oct. 1:

It would seem that Communism has a strong influence among large numbers of British workers, and the critical question now is whether the comparatively moderate leaders like Thomas, MacDonald, Henderson, and the intellectuals like Snowden and the Webbs have really lost control of the rank and file, while still able to manage the representative machinery of the labor party. Great Britain's present acute economic condition is, of course, favorable to extreme radicalism, and there may be a serious effort to paralyze British transport and production and establish a revolutionary regime. But we doubt that the British middle class will take it lying down. Recent dispatches from England indicate that something resembling a fascist movement may be in train. It won't be a replica of Signor Mussolini's procedure, but it is likely to be quite as decisive. There is no tradition of dictatorship or autocracy in modern Britain, and the British are too competent in republican forms of action to need a dictatorship, at least for more than a momentary crisis. But the proletarians in England have to deal with a class very different from the aristocracy of Russia or Russia's pitiful middle class. They have to deal with men and women of character and self-discipline, having a deep solidarity and loyalty, and plenty of experience in co-operative effort, intensified during the late war, and capable of organizing a more formidable resistance than any proletarian movement can overthrow.

The British people may have to come to grips with the Communist threat sooner or later, and while every rightminded person must hope civil war will be avoided, we suspect that Great Britain would be the better for a clear showdown now, which will compel intelligent British labor to take sides where it belongs, with the middle class, and to repudiate the Bolshevik delusion of the extremists.

(To be continued)