

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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## THE GENERAL STRIKE.

### Will British Labour Join with France and Italy?

The French and Italian comrades, by a policy of deeds not words, are at last forcing the windbags of the British Labour and Socialist movement to declare themselves. In their supremely difficult task of forcing the British Labour movement into action, they have our grateful and enthusiastic support.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald went to Italy and Switzerland and France as a messenger of the International. In Italy, as reported by *The Avanti*, he said:—

"Before leaving the Second International we should attempt to conquer it. The Berne Conference did not condemn the Bolsheviki, but merely sent a commission of inquiry to Russia. The British workers will be happily impressed if I am able to return with the assurance that the Italian Socialist Party will place its strength at the service of the Second International to defend the Russian Revolution and the Socialist Programme. It is important to save the Russian Revolution, quite apart from the particular form of organisation and specific actions adopted by the Bolsheviki, because if the Socialist Republic is allowed to fall, socialism will fall with it."

*The Labour Leader* published the following account of Mr. MacDonald's activities in Milan:—

"After a short stay in Rome, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. C. Roden Buxton left for Milan, where they took part on Sunday in a Socialist gathering, at which the Italian official Socialist leaders, Signori Turati, Treves, and Lazzari, and the French Socialists, M. Longuet, were also present. The meeting unanimously decided to organise an international protest against the Peace at Versailles, to take the form of a twenty-four hours' strike in every European country."

*L'Humanité* made a similar statement, and *The Times* further reported:—

"A circular has been addressed to all branches of the official Socialist Party and to all 'comrades,' signed by Signor Lazzari, secretary of the party. The circular states definitely that the concrete proposal put forward by the Italians at their recent meetings with the British and French Socialists at Rome and Milan was for 'a demonstrative general strike to be carried out contemporaneously in France, England, and Italy to show solidarity with the Government of Soviets and as a useful threat against the policy of Versailles'; that this concrete proposal 'was personally welcomed by the comrade delegates of England and France,' and that these had returned to their own countries to discuss the possibility of putting the plan into execution."

And then, from the lands of generous Latin enthusiasms, MacDonald returned to the barren and timid atmosphere of the official Labour Party,

where men's eyes are fixed on the possibilities of climbing the Parliamentary ladder to a *successful career*. The knight errantry of a general strike to save the Socialist Republics, seemed fantastic indeed to the smug respectability of Eccleston Square. Therefore on June 11th the following passages appeared in *The Morning Post*:

#### MR. MACDONALD'S DENIAL. His Efforts to Combat Bolshevism.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald denied, in an interview yesterday, that he and M. Longuet in their recent discussions with the Italian Socialist Party had agreed to accept the proposal to declare a twenty-four hours' general strike in France, England, and Italy, in sympathy with the Soviet Governments as a protest against the Versailles Peace. Mr. MacDonald admitted that the matter was raised by the Italians, but said he pointed out to them that it was not within the scope of his mission, and he only consented to discuss it under protest. "I went to Berne and Rome," he added, "because the Italians had decided to join the Moscow Internationale, and the Swiss, although not deciding to join the Moscow Internationale, had decided not to join our second Internationale. The general object of my work was to get these two nations, that had gone off in the Moscow direction, to come into an International Alliance which did not lean so far to the left. I told the Italians that if they wanted my own view of the British Trade Union position, I did not believe that a general strike was at all possible. What I was there for was to try to get this sort of Bolshevist wave stopped, to get them to come and join the whole Socialist movement rather than associate themselves with a Bolshevist Left. It is because I think the Allies are strengthening the Moscow idea that I am so bitterly opposed to the action that is going on now. We have good evidence that the Allied intervention is keeping the Bolshevists going."

Mr. MacDonald also wrote to *The Times*:—  
"I hope that you will be good enough to allow me to state in your columns that the account which you publish to-day of my visit to Italy and Switzerland is nothing but rubbish from beginning to end. To go through the various mis-statements in your report is neither possible nor necessary, but I must deny categorically (1) that there was any idea that I spoke for trade unionism or that I pretended to pledge trade unions; (2) that funds were ever mentioned either in official or private conversation; (3) that I conferred with strikers in Paris. But it is not only on definite points that your report errs. It is a constructive misrepresentation from beginning to end."

These, and not the views reported from Italy, are the views we are accustomed to expect from

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Our continental comrades have made the mistake of judging him, not by his actions, but by the glorious reputation which the attacks of the capitalist press have built up for him.

The French and Italians have resolved on definite action to stop the capitalist attack upon the Soviet Republics. They refuse to content themselves with the endless, empty bluffing which appears to be so satisfying to British Labour Leaders. Following up the Conference with MacDonald, Jouhaux, the Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labour, telegraphed to the British Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress and Labour Party Executives asking them to send delegates to arrange for the Italian, French, and British General Strike.

The British Executives declined to send delegates—the notice was said to be too short—and stated that a general strike can only be declared here if resolved on by a ballot vote of the Trade Unions. If that is true, the rule should be amended at once, for the class war cannot be carried on successfully without the possibility of swift action.

The French and Italian comrades undoubtedly hold strong opinions regarding the behaviour of the British Labour Leaders, who boast that the movement they control is "the hope of the world." But the Continental comrades are not to be put off with technical excuses. On June 16th, when the French-Italian Conference reported unanimous approval of the 24-hour strike proposal, it was intimated that the British officials are expected to take the necessary ballot of the trade unions, in order that the British Workers may join the strike. Evidently the French and Italians are prepared to postpone the strike in order that this may be done.

Delegates from France and Italy will attend the Labour Conference at Southport, on June 25th to June 27th.

The British Labour Party will be on its trial there. Will it come up to the scratch, for this mere demonstration strike, or will it disgrace itself by the confession that under no circumstances will it back its words by the industrial forces at its command?

## QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

### UNREST AMONGST THE SOLDIERS.

On June 6th British soldiers disembarked at Millbay docks refused to go to a rest camp. Eventually the authorities gave way and sent them to dispersal centres.

At Neath on June 7th Admiral Sir Hugh Evan Thomas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., was to have presented a tank trophy to the town with bands and ceremony. The discharged soldiers and sailors were not invited. They therefore had a procession of their own with a dummy tank and removed the official tank from the official spot. The official procession was abandoned.

June 12th, 3,000 soldiers at Belmont Camp, Surrey, refused to be sent abroad and have since managed the camp, having neither parades nor punishment and calling for volunteers for the various duties.

June 12th, 200 soldiers refused to embark at Dover for service overseas.

June 13th, 200 Gordon Highlanders at Aberdeen refused to go to India.

June 14th, Canadian troops at Witley set fire to buildings in the town on the Portsmouth Road as a protest against delays in their return home.

June 15th, 100 men at Brocton Camp, Stafford, demonstrated against being sent to India.

### THE NEW WAR LOAN.

Europe starving under the blockade: churchbells ringing to announce the new, and very profitable, war loan. The Revolution will sweep away such excesses.

### THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE MEETING.

#### Tom Mann Intervenes.

The London Labour Party's resolution at the big Trafalgar Square meeting on June 16th, pledged the meeting to try to turn out the Government at the next general election in order to prevent the Russian intervention, to secure the Abolition of Conscription, &c.

Tom Mann appeared in the Square during the meeting, the audience called for him, he was hoisted on to the plinth and put another resolution: That direct action be taken on June 23rd. A great show of hands declared for Mann's resolution, not one was raised against it.

Will the London Labour Party add Mann's resolution as its own and will it act on it?

### IRELAND AND WILSON.

President Wilson has promised to give unofficial help to the Irish American Delegates in their efforts to secure that the representatives of the Dail Eirann, President de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett, shall be permitted to lay Ireland's case for independence before the Peace Conference. Unofficial help is of course quite useless; that is the kind of help Wilson offered to American suffragettes, but they refused to accept it and attacked him vigorously. The Irish should follow their example.

Having found that one police representative board has become a wing of the Policemen's Union, the Government has decided to make membership of the Union a ground of dismissal, and to try another representative board!

### CONSTANCE MARKIEVICZ AGAIN

#### ARRESTED.

Brave Constance Markievicz, M.P., is again under arrest for addressing a meeting in Cork City some weeks ago. The meeting was proclaimed, but it took place nevertheless, and though she was told that she might not leave the city without a permit, she got away in disguise and returned to Dublin.

### THE WHITE TERROR.

The Finnish Socialist paper *Suomen Sosialidemokraati* reports that on April 12th and 13th, 90,000 workers were arrested, and 15,817 men, women, and children were executed, 15,000 workmen died of hunger in prison and 60,000 were condemned to upwards of 6 years imprisonment. Of the 92 Socialist Members of Parliament, 46 have been sent to prison, where four have died, and two have been shot. The Allies have not intervened in Finland!

### UNDER CAPITALISM.

*The Times* publishes records of sweated wages paid to women by London drapers. Cases are given of mantle hands with from 5 to 40 years experience paid 14s. a week. The women have to buy their cotton, oil and needs, which average 2s. a week, out of their scanty wages. And yet people are afraid to trust themselves to the dictatorship of the workers!

### THE MOONEY STRIKE.

960 Trade Unions of U.S.A. have voted for a general strike to secure the release of Tom Mooney and only 90 against.

EUGENE DEBS.

His Speech on Going to Prison.

Eugene V. Debs first attracted public attention during the great Pullman strike that, for a time, threatened to disorganise the entire railroad industry of the country.

In 1894 the American Railway Union, an organisation of railway workers that had come into existence the year before, through the tireless efforts of Eugene V. Debs to unite the various existing bodies of organised railroadmen in different parts of the country into a virile, effective fighting union, took up the fight, and decided to refuse to work on trains that carried a Pullman car.

Under the leadership of Debs the fight was conducted with such whole-hearted enthusiasm that within a few days all railway traffic about the large centres of the West and Middle West practically came to a standstill.

Victory for the Railway Union seemed assured, when the United States courts, at the behest of the Railway Companies, issued injunctions forbidding the continuation of the boycott of Pullman car trains.

Upon the protest of Governor Altgeld, President Cleveland sent troops to Illinois, and practically placed the entire territory involved in the strike under martial law.

Debs and a number of other strike leaders were indicted. "It was not the railways, nor the mines that beat us," Debs testified later, "but the power of the United States Supreme Court."

In September of the same year, Debs was tried on a charge of contempt of court and sentenced to six months in Woodstock gaol. But the events of the great strike had taught Debs a lesson that he never forgot.

They showed him that, in every struggle against the working-class, capitalism presents a solid front against the labouring class, that the Government, in every such struggle, stands with the enormous powers of its armies and its courts on the side of organised capital, against the forces of labour.

Debs went into Woodstock gaol because he had led his class in revolt against industrial oppression. He came out a confirmed Socialist, because he realised that the struggle of the working-class against capitalist oppression cannot be won until the working-class has captured the entire machinery of government that to-day is the greatest weapon in the hands of its enemies, until it has taken control of the means of production, to use them for its own interests.

Since then 25 years have passed, and during that quarter of a century Debs has given every day of his life to the struggle of the proletarian masses.

The following speech was delivered by Debs on March 12th, before the Socialist Party of Cleveland, Ohio, and was his last public utterance before entering the Federal Penitentiary at Moundsville, W. Virginia to serve a ten years' sentence.

"RATHER SPEND LIFE IN GAOL THAN BETRAY SOCIALISM!"

How true it is that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will! It may seem strange to you, but in my plans, in my dreams, I did not think of going to the penitentiary—and I—I had a thousand times rather go there and spend my remaining days there than betray this great cause.

So far as I am concerned it does not matter much. The margin is narrow, the years between now and the sunset are few, and the only care that I have personally is that I may preserve to the last the integrity of my own soul and my loyalty to the only cause worth living for, fighting for, and dying for.

It is so perfectly fine to me to look into your faces once more, to draw upon you for the only word I have ever had, the only word that has ever come to me, the only word that I can ever speak for myself. I love mankind, humanity. Can you understand? I am sure you can.

people, to pay tribute to an insignificant few who enjoy life while the great body of the people suffer, struggle, and agonise without ever having lived. Can you understand? I am sure you can.

Let me get in touch with you for a while. I am going to speak to you as a Socialist, as a revolutionist, and as a Bolshevik, if you please.

And what is the thing that the whole world is talking about? What is it that the ruling class power of the world are denouncing? It is the rise of the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, the common man, who for the first time in history said, "I have made what there is, I produced the wealth; I want to be heard."

Now, for the first time in history, his bowed head lifted, he stands erect and is beginning in his grim strength to shake off the manacles, straighten himself in the sunlight, in his gigantic attitude, opening his eyes, beginning to see for the first time, beginning to ask why it is that he must press his rags closer to his body, that he may not touch the rich man's costly silks, that he himself produced—why it is that he must walk in alleys, while he is forbidden to enter the great palaces he has erected—why it is that he must support all the banquets of the world that he may not taste.

He is beginning to think. That is Bolshevism! That is the revolution in Russia! That is the beginning of the end of capitalism and the end of the beginning of Socialism!

And because we say this they are going to put us in gaol. With every drop in my veins I despise their law and I defy them. If the Scriptures are true, Paul was sent to prison, and shortly afterward the prison doors were opened by an earthquake.

The earth is beginning to shake beneath the feet of the profiteers.

Have they outlawed the red flag here? The red necktie? The red socks? How perfectly foolish! Have you heard about the Pope in the Middle Ages forbidding the comets to appear? Why, the other day the chaplain in the House of Representatives asked God to give Congress wisdom!

I am appealing to you to-night—the crowd, the mass, the common people—I do not care anything about the Supreme Court, begowned, befettered, bewiskered old fossils, corporation lawyers, every one of them—they have not decided anything. They never have; they never will.

Sixty years ago the predecessors of the same body confirmed the validity of the fugitive slave law. They declared that a black man had no rights which his master was bound to respect. They imagined that chattel slavery was secure for all time. And within five years that infamous institution was swept from the land in a torrent of blood.

They did not dare to meet the issue. They did not decide that the Espionage law was constitutional. They dared not put that decision upon record. Have you read that law? The amendment to that law that makes it a crime for you to criticise crime in the United States? That makes this country take the place of old Russia under the Czar?

"Have you ever read it? Know anything about it? Know that it is a gag upon your lips, fetters all your constitutional rights? That law—do I respect it? No!

"How perfectly fine it is to stand straight up and do what Wendell Phillips said: 'When they pass that kind of a law, but it under your feet.' "Do not say a word against war—not one. That is treason—to the ruling classes, for all time. Make war; you do not. You never did. You paid all the bills, shed your blood, made all the sacrifices. You do not say a word. Have your limbs shot off, your eyes gouged out, gassed, come back, and then hunt for a job.

"The finest thing I know is to carry yourself as a man—face humanity, look up into the sun and not feel ashamed of yourself; walk straight before the world, and live with it on terms of peace, look at yourself without a blush. Have you ever tried it? If you have, you are a Bolshevik.

"The great world is in travail to-day. A great upheaval is shaking the foundation of capitalist society. The master class are driven to extremities. They are going to establish a League of Nations to preserve the peace, to prevent war. What does it mean?

Simply this: That the master class itself is staggered by the cost of modern war. Here are all these modern nations, great and powerful in economic and military ways, straining to harmonise their various conflicting interests. In theory it is perfectly fine; but how ridiculous it is to imagine for a moment that the interests of nations that

are innately in conflict can be permanently harmonised.

What does it mean? It is the last, desperate, temporary expedient of the master class, the commercial interests, the economic interests, to prolong their sovereignty. Have you any views on it?

Who is it that is making the terms of peace? Is it not strange that the great, common people who shed their blood, fought the war, made the sacrifices, should have no voice in making the terms of peace? The working class—the working class, which for 1,000 years constituted the slaves, the tragedy of history—I recall it as I speak, I can see across all the centuries, the patricians of ancient Rome in the amphitheatres, while they poured their slaves into the Coliseum to destroy them for pastime—and through the Middle Ages, how the serfs were killed for their profit and glory—through all that, I can see the working class, that youth, the victim of the ages, the martyr of the centuries, you who went to war when it was declared, you who were in the trenches, you who shed your blood like water, you who suffered the agony that human speech can never tell, you who had your limbs torn from your bodies—you have no voice in that Peace Conference, no representation there.

Just one second-hand one, Sam Gompers. The other day Sam, fourfoot Sam, was banqueted by a sevenfoot Russian duke, and the duke was in poor company.

The world is in turmoil. Where is your representative; where did you elect him? What did you have to say about these terms? Not one real representative, but politicians and diplomats,.....the tools of your masters—that is who is there.

They are going to make the world perfectly safe for democracy, and that is why I am going to the penitentiary.

You can think a bit, and I want to stir you into thought and action. We are on the eve of tremendous developments. The world before your eyes is being destroyed and recreated. Russia is making a beginning, the Soviet is just a sample. They have shed some blood, they have made some mistakes, and I am glad they have. When you consider for a moment that the ruling-class press of the world has been vilifying Lenin and Trotsky, you can make up your mind that they are the greatest statesmen in the modern world. In that brief space of time they have done more than all the capitalist governments have ever dared to do in constructive work. They have refused to compromise. They said to the old reactionaries: "You will not have any voice in the government until you do useful work."

In every previous revolution it was said that the working class was not ready. Russia did not know that it was ready; that is the trouble with the working class of the world.

What have they done? They have given the franchise to men and women all over the republic. They have inaugurated many beneficent changes. They have said: "We do not want the recognition of the United States, or of any capitalist government." That is fine, inspiring; I applaud it with all my heart.

In Germany the same spirit is at work to-day. We do not know, we cannot tell; the dispatches are meagre. And so it is in Bohemia, Bulgaria, Hungary, England, France, and in the United States of America.

They are going to suppress the red flag; you may not carry a flag except under your vest. That is the level of their statesmanship. Aren't you proud of it?

In Germany—do you know what is going on there? In spite of all opposition, the Spartacists, the heroic followers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the most magnificent and heroic figures in Europe in modern history. They are dead, but the revolution lives, and their magnificent souls go marching on.

At the beginning they said that the Bolsheviks had ruined and bankrupted the country of Russia, and in the next breath we read that they are financing the revolution everywhere. The daughter of Trotsky stole 50,000,000 roubles, and Lenin never had a daughter. The wife of Lenin went to Italy with trunks loaded with gold, and she never has been in Italy in her life.

Is there a lie they have not told? Is there a calumny which they have not circulated about Lenin and Trotsky?

They are fighting for your liberty, for you, if you only knew it, and I am only too glad to pay my tribute to those men I love. Along this line Congress is making an investigation. The Overman Committee has discovered that there is some Bolshevik agitation in the United States. It is to be ended by deporting, without trial, without hearing, forty-six of our working people.

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A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW.

PART II. EMPLOYMENT.

We then questioned our comrade from the Third International on the question of unemployment. He reminded us that Russia is an immense country and that it is difficult to have more than a general knowledge of the whole of it and a detailed knowledge of a small part. Last year there was great unemployment in Moscow, but now employment is normal there; and generally throughout the country. The unemployed problem is no longer a problem in Russia: no one speaks of it now. The unemployed do not suffer: they are pensioned; they have no anxiety. They got at first the same pay as those who were working, but it was said that some few people, some occasional individuals took advantage of this, so now the pay is two-thirds of the ordinary working pay. Our comrade particularly impressed upon us that no lack or shortage is permitted: if the family is large, if there is illness, if there is any reason why more money, food, or clothing is wanted, it is forthcoming. In Moscow, and generally, there is work for all; indeed, there is so much construction to be done that there is often a shortage of

EUGENE DEBS.

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How perfectly brutal and infamous and disgusting an example of how capitalism treats its working men. Compare the hard, horny palms of those who are to be deported with the lily-white hands of the deportees. You can see the difference. The deported were the producers. If they are to be sent abroad, I want to go with them!

What you and all of us need in this hour of trial and travail is working-class solidarity. We need to unite. We need to get together. We need to feel the common touch. We need to recognise our kinship. The world is against us if we are not for ourselves. Through the history of the ages you have been oppressed, you have been downtrodden, you have been exploited, you have been degraded. When you go for a job to the master class you work under conditions they prescribe. You depend upon them for tools, you work for their benefit. Do you like this? This is capitalism.

The system in which you enrich your master and impoverish yourselves, the system under which 5 per cent of the people own the wealth of the country and the great body of the people struggle through all their years for an existence and pass away without ever having enjoyed one hour of real life. How pathetic and tragic it is that in our land, with its boundless resources and treasures, its machinery, its workers, everything for production for every man, we have in the midst of all these benefits the great body of the people struggling for existence.—From a leaflet issued by the City Committee of the Socialist Party of Greater New York.

AN AFRICAN PROTESTS.

At a meeting of the Aborigines Society recently held in Westminster, Sir Hugh Clifford, the newly-appointed Governor of Nigeria and late Governor of the Gold Coast said: "I would urge educated natives of West Africa to consider seriously before attempting to upset the traditions of their ancestors." Has Sir Hugh Clifford been troubled by a movement for self-determination in Africa?

Mr. Dove of Lizville Freetown, Sierra Leone, who was present at the meeting, is a native of West Africa; he regards himself as an intelligent African and has had a European education. He says that all thinking Africans, whether they be highly cultured or of average common sense, are aware that British rule in India "is directed to the overthrow of all independent-minded Africans, in that the chiefs are absolutely under the control of District Commissioners and native interpreters and police, who have other interests to serve than those of the governed." He adds that the Criminal Code of Nigeria and the Gold Coast permit District Commissioners to try and to pronounce death sentences upon natives without regard to the general British law. He urges that since Britain has not remained under the feudal system, it is a mistake for her politicians to expect Africans to do so. His own reply to Mr. Dove that it was only by their own effort and sacrifice that the British people have obtained anything better than feudal justice, and that even to-day the workers are economically enslaved.

labour. People are accepted for work of all kinds, "manual" or "mental" without regard to their political views.

WHO DOES THE DIRTY WORK?

We asked whether there is any difficulty in finding people to do what is considered dirty and disagreeable work. Our comrade replied that up to the present there has been no such difficulty; people in the main are glad to serve in the Communist society, and they naturally do the work they are accustomed to; but should such difficulty arise later, efforts will be directed to getting the work done by machinery. Already things are trending in the direction of getting all uninteresting work done by machinery.

We told our comrade that we had seen a Soviet decree by which members of the bourgeoisie are expected to do compulsory manual work in lieu of serving in the Red Army. That, he told us, was an early decree which in practice was found unnecessary. People who refuse to work are not punished; they are merely left alone and forgotten: they do not get the many special facilities which are open to workers: their share of the cheap rationed food is smaller than that allotted to workers, but nothing, save the length of their purses, limits their opportunities to buy non-rationed articles. They have perfect freedom in every way and can become workers like the rest of the community as soon as they choose. The compulsory labour referred to in the decree is reserved for those who have actually revolted against the Soviets and even they are little troubled by it for the Communist rule is lenient: only people without ideals are able to be harsh and stern disciplinarians. The offences of those who disobey the rules of the community are passed over once or twice, to give them every opportunity to refrain from anti-social conduct before any restraining steps are taken.

WAGES AND FOOD.

Our next inquiry was concerning wages: we had heard that these ranged from 500 to 700 roubles a month and we wished our comrade to explain precisely on what principle the gradation is made. Our comrade explained that wages have now risen considerably because the cost of living has risen. They range now from 1,000 to 3,000 roubles a month. Those who get the minimum wage are persons who do work requiring neither skill nor strength; persons, for instance, who bring the sacks in which the goods are packed by others; persons of a class which the Communists hope and expect will disappear. The sliding scale of wages has been forced upon the Soviets by the skilled workmen, who are Mensheviks and not having fully grasped the Communist ideal, say: "Why should the man who brings the sacks get as much as I, who am a skilled man?" The People's Commissaries get less than the skilled manual workers. Only experts from the old regime, whose experience is necessary, and who cannot yet be replaced, get more than 3,000 roubles. They are paid according to whatever contract the Soviets are able to make with them. These wage distinctions are merely features of the transition stage and will presently disappear.

"But," said we, "after all the amount of the wage does not matter, the question is what one can buy with it." Our comrade assented, and proceeded to explain that when the Ukraine was under the control of hostile armies the food situation in Moscow and Petrograd was exceedingly difficult, but the situation has improved enormously and is expected to improve still further.

There is plenty of food in Russia to feed the people. There is a surplus in the Ukraine and the Volga district which is more than enough to supply the north and north-west and the industrial districts of Petrograd and Moscow. Scarcity in the parts of Russia where little food is produced is only due to counter-revolutionary fighting, and the railways being largely monopolised by the transport of troops.

The Allies are to blame for this and for their seizure of the oil at Baku which is needed for railway and river transport. Russia has been longer in a state of war than any country. Nevertheless by the great efforts made by the Russian people through their Soviets, and especially since the recovery of the Ukraine the situation has rapidly improved.

BREAD.

Bread is rationed as follows:— 1st class: heavy manual workers . . . . . 1 lb. of bread per day. 2nd class: sedentary workers . . . . . ½ lb. of bread per day. 3rd class: those who refuse to work . . . . . ¼ lb. of bread per day.

These rations are in practice usually exceeded and are sometimes doubled.

The bread is made of rye, which is the bread most commonly eaten in Russia, and indeed all over the Continent, and is more nutritious than the wheat bread eaten in Britain. White bread is obtainable in the Ukraine and Volga districts. The rye bread which forms the ration is now of excellent quality and unadulterated. Last year it was mixed with oats and other things.

In addition to the fixed ration bread and flour can be obtained in two other ways. It can be brought from private speculators, who still exist in Russia. (The people say it is as difficult to clear them out of Russia as to clear bugs out of a house.) The speculators charge enormous prices. The rationed bread costs two roubles per pound; that seems a big price, but the cost of the rouble has fallen tremendously, and a rouble is worth less in Russia even than outside. The unrationed bread bought from speculators costs 20, 25, even 30 roubles per pound.

The second way of obtaining bread beyond the ration is only open to workers: a factory or an office arranges to import a supply of flour from the Ukraine and when it comes it is divided equally amongst all the workers in the factory or office. The amount which any group of workers may import is limited, but the limit is large enough not to be reached. These consignments come often enough for the workers never to be in want of bread. Such opportunities are not open to the bourgeoisie who refuses to work. Therefore he is forced to exist on his quarter of a pound daily ration or to buy from the speculators.

MEAT, FISH, VEGETABLES.

Meat is scarce, except horse meat of which there is plenty, but which is not liked by the people. Invalids have the first share of the meat, the rest of the population being served later.

Fish in Moscow has always been scarce and of indifferent quality owing to the city's geographical situation. The supply of vegetables varies according to the season and transport facilities.

SUGAR.

Sugar is scarce, but it has to be remembered that before the war no people consumed so little as the Russians, though great quantities of sugar were exported from Russia.

MILK.

Milk is rationed and can also be bought from speculators at a high price. It goes first to the children, but our comrade in whose household are no children, was able to buy milk every day in Moscow.

Of wood and leather there is no special scarcity in Central Russia, but oil, owing to the English capture of Baku, is scarce in every part of Russia, not merely for transport, but for domestic use. This is no novelty, for the peasants never had oil to burn in their houses. They used to have only about 16 to 20 roubles a month. Before the war they eat little and exported much. Now they have better food than any other class. The industrial workers also have much better food than before.

"You cannot understand," said our comrade, "it is painful to me to be living out of Russia: life is so simple and easy there. I can hardly endure life in the capitalist countries now!"

(Continued on page 1370.)

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All business communications to the  
MANAGER, 152, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

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### THE ALLIES RECOGNISE KOLTCHAK.

The Allies have recognised Koltchak. He came into power by imprisoning his colleagues in a counter-revolutionary government; and he maintains his rule by force and the aid of foreign munitions, money, and men. The allied support promised to Koltchak in the letter of recognition issued by Lloyd George, Wilson, Orlando, and Clemenceau, had already been at his service for many months before these guarantees were at last tardily published as a sop to public protests. We are surprised, therefore, to find the guarantees vague and flimsy. Koltchak says: "My first thought when the Bolsheviks are definitely crushed will be to fix the date for the Elections to the Constituent Assembly."

That might be many years hence, but Koltchak does not agree to the Allied suggestion that if it is not possible to hold an election if he reaches the seats of Government the Constituent Assembly of 1917 shall be re-assembled. His reason for refusing this is important; it is that the majority of the members of that Assembly are now in the Soviet Ranks! In 1917 only about one-third of Assembly was Bolshevik, but experience of life under the Soviets, and of the practices of Koltchak and his like, has induced the majority of the Menshevik and Social Revolutionaries to join in helping the Soviets. The demand by the Soviet Government that Axelrod, an ex-Menshevik, now a Bolshevik prisoner in Germany, shall be unharmed, is an opportune reminder of this fact.

The internal affairs of Russia Koltchak is ready to discuss with the Allies, but he makes it plain that they are to have no power regarding them. He makes the same proviso regarding the small nationalities which were included in the Czar's dominions. There is to be no self-determination of peoples. The final solution must belong to the Constituent Assembly.

### KOLTCHAK BEATEN BY RED ARMY.

Meanwhile Koltchak is steadily retiring before the Red Army, in spite of the Allied help. The capture of Ufa for the Soviets is of immense importance. Ufa has not only been the seat of the successive Counter-Revolutionary Governments; it is a vital point of communication by road, rail, and water. Its strategic importance in Russia, where communication is so deficient, is very great. Moreover, it is in the heart of rich food-bearing lands. It was of far greater moment to the counter-revolution than Petrograd is to the Bolsheviks. And Koltchak is still retiring. Any slight advantage gained just now by the forces of Denikin or the counter-revolutionaries on other fronts is due to the fact that the Red Army has been concentrating against its most formidable enemy, Koltchak.

The *Times* reports that a British naval officer saw £17,000,000 worth of British war material lying on the quays at Ekaterinodar, for General Denikin's use, also that hundreds of British officers are helping him and that a British aviation station has been established there. If Koltchak be vanquished, there is always Denikin or some other stalking horse for international capitalism.

### THE HUNGARIAN RED ARMY.

The Hungarian Red Army seems successful as that of Russia, and as a result 1,300 wagons of coal can now be brought to Budapest, where

300 were formerly, and the factories and steam threshing engines are well supplied. Bela Kun has again assured the Allies that the Hungarian Soviet Republic desires to live at peace with all the world and only fights in self-defence. It has even respected the demarcation lines fixed by the Allies, but the Czech-Slovaks, Yugo Slavs, and Rumanians have passed the boundaries and have forced the Soviet Republic to take arms. Bela Kun again urges a conference of the states concerned, in Vienna.

### FRENCH AND ITALIAN STRIKES.

The strikes in France and Italy grow daily more serious. Clemenceau found it necessary to stop soldiers being used as blacklegs on the Paris railways, and to grant the strikers' demands, but other strikes have developed. Italy seems to be on the verge of revolution. The Genoese sailors, who refused to allow munitions to depart thence to Russia, have carried their point, and secured a victory over both Italian and British authorities.

### THE PEACE TREATY.

The Allied Governments have brushed aside Germany's appeal for a just peace based on President Wilson's fourteen points. "Seven million dead," they say, "all buried in Europe, and twenty million others carry upon their backs the wounds and suffering of somebody else must suffer for the consequences of the war." And these are they who professed to be fighting a war to end war. Only a few very slight modifications in the treaty have been admitted, and Germany must sign it by June 23rd.

We wait now the accelerated approach of the coming revolution which shall release the German workers from the long servitude of capitalism now weighing upon them with so heavy an oppression.

In Vienna the workers' revolution is now taking place.

### BRITISH VICTIMS.

Many people who are eager to send food to German women and children fail to realise that there are British born German women and children in this country whose piteous existence on starvation doles should make an even more urgent appeal to their sympathies than the sufferers overseas. These women are not only in want, but are also enduring separation and ostracism. Their husbands have been removed to Frimley Camp, which has been officially condemned as unfit, and where they are housed under canvas, eight men to a tent. There is no sanitary accommodation save the bucket and the spade.

The wives of the men at Frimley propose making another attempt to call attention to their situation on Tuesday, June 24th, when, meeting at Westminster Bridge Station at 3 P.M. they will proceed to the House of Commons.

### CAPITAL'S SPECIAL CONSTABULARY.

The Metropolitan Special Constabulary is being organized to do the work which the police may refuse to do. If the police strike, or refuse to act against revolting workers, the members of the new force who will enlist, not for a mere living, but to give emergency special aid to the established order, will be called in. The Union of the Middle Classes, which has been so widely boomed, and which was to have arranged a blackleg force for all emergencies, has evidently failed to catch on; the force of Capitalist defenders is therefore being formed under official auspices.

In Ireland we have the Carsonian Volunteers, the Sinn Fein Volunteers, the Labour Volunteers, beside the police and soldiery. Are we about to see a similar development in this country arising out of the creation of this new special constabulary, which undoubtedly will take on a political character?

### CONSTABLE SPACKMAN.

Congratulations to Constable Spackman for refusing to desert the Police Union.

### RANK AND FILE NOT HEARD BY COAL COMMISSION.

The unofficial Reform Committee in the South Wales coalfield which drafted the Miners' Next Step and initiated and popularised the Miners' Charter, since adopted by the M.F.G.B., has drawn up a scheme for the control of the mining industry. The unofficial Committee desired to give evidence before the Coal Commission and a deputation came to London for that purpose, but Frank Hodges, the Secretary of the M.F.G.B., refused to call it before the Commission. Any Dick, Tom or Harry who has desired so give evidence on the employers' side has been allowed to do so, people have actually stepped out from the audience at the Commission and been admitted as witnesses at their own request, yet the rank and file, who do the actual work below and are moreover the backbone of the Miners' Federation in their district, have been refused.

We regret that the members of the deputation allowed Mr. Hodges to exclude them. We wish they had forced their evidence upon the Commission, leaving it no choice but to hear and record what they had to say, or to put them out.

### BLACK AND WHITE ROTS.

The Seamen's and Firemen's Union has placed its ban upon the employment of negro seamen, so they are ashore and cannot get away. They are attacked and if they retaliate they are arrested! Is this fair play? The fight for work is a product of capitalism: under Socialism race rivalry disappears.

## NEWS FROM RUSSIA.

(Communicated by the People's Russian Information Bureau.)

Tohtcherine on behalf of the Russian Soviet Government on May 25 telegraphed to the Finnish Foreign Minister expressing the Soviet Government's understanding of the fact that Finland is forced by the Allies to violate the interests of the Finnish people and to engage in dangerous adventures against Russia. To excuse its attack on Soviet Russia, he says, the Finnish Government invents unfounded accusations against Soviet Russia, and brings forward alleged deputations of the inhabitants of Olenetz which profess to regard the Finnish troops as liberators. These deputations consist of exploiters and monopolists. Yet the Soviet Government is still as far removed as ever from all designs of aggression and conquest against Finland.

In a wireless message from Petrograd, May 29th, Tohtcherine and Rakovski protest against the seizure by the Roumanian Government, during its occupation of Besarabia and of the Russian front, of supplies belonging to the Russian army.

### RECONSTRUCTION IN BASHKIRIA.

A wireless message from Moscow, May 31st states:

"The Representative of the Bashkir Military Committee (Adigaloff) attached to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in an interview with a correspondent of the Russian Telegraph Agency, records that, in spite of the tales of horror spread by Koltchak about Red Army soldiers, organisation work is being carried on energetically in Red Bashkiria. A Soviet plenipotentiary has been despatched to Red Bashkiria, where he is engaged in reconstruction on Communist lines. Soviets are being formed everywhere. In connection with the Communist Land Policy, Adigaloff stated: 'The right to private property is hardly regarded by the Bashkirs. The land in many districts is not divided, and belongs to the commune. The nomadic life of the Bashkirs is based on Communist ideas.'

### HELP FOR THE KALMYKS.

Moscow wireless of May 31st:—

"The Executive Committee of the Kalmyk working population has appealed to the People's Commissariat for nationalities to take measures to save the starving population of the Kalmyk Steppes. A Commission of Representatives from the Government Executive Committee, the Government Party Committee, and the Kalmyk Executive Committee will be sent immediately for the purpose of investigation to the 'ulus' (Nomad camps) which have suffered most during the civil war. Besides the necessary quantity of grain will be despatched and subsidies granted from State funds to the poorer Kalmyk families, who will repay in instalments. A Congress will be convened of Representatives of the Soviet and the Kalmyk people.

### RUSSIAN SOVIET TELEGRAMS TO AFGHANS.

A Moscow wireless message, dated June 11, gives as follows the text of the Bolshevik answer to the Ameer of Afghanistan, addressed to the Afghan Foreign Minister:—

"We have received by wireless the text of your Majesty Amanullah Khan's letter, together with your covering letter. We are sending our answer, the original of which will be dispatched by special messenger.

"In the name of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, we express our sincere desire to enter into diplomatic negotiations with the Afghan people. . . . The Soviet Government, from the first day they received power, have heralded to the whole world their desire, not merely to recognise the right of self-determination of all peoples both great and small, but to render assistance to those peoples who are struggling for their independence, and for the right to settle their own internal life in accordance with their own desires, without permitting the interference of the great foreign Imperialist Governments.

"The Soviet has restored all that was taken away by the Russian Tsars, and has afforded autonomy to all Musselman peoples. To those who desired to remain voluntarily in the Russian Socialist Federative Republic of Soviets, the Soviet has afforded material and military aid.

"Directly the Soviet Government learned of the declaration of independence of the Afghan people, that moment they admitted the desirability of entering into contact with the Afghan people."—*Wireless Press.*

### NORWAY JOINS THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The Norwegian Socialist Party has decided to join the Third International.

### 360 SERBIAN SOCIALISTS DEPORTED.

The *Populaire* of May 29th reports:—"Serbia is a democratic country and the Peace Conference will not allow her Government to convene a Constituent Assembly." The First of May demonstrations were forbidden in Serbia. As the Socialist organisations nevertheless attempted to celebrate the day, 360 arrests took place at Sarajevo and machine guns were placed in front of the socialist offices. 360 socialists were deported to Montenegro and are employed at road mending. Their families are unable to communicate with them.

French working women, wives and mothers of soldiers, have sent to the President of the International Red Cross a protest against the ill-treatment of German prisoners on the railways.

## DISMISSED FOR BEING A TRADE UNIONIST.

### Building Workers' Industrial Union Scores a Victory.

The fight between craft and industrial unionism is not only fought out on the floor of the Trade Union Congress. The struggle goes on most bitterly in the workshop and the craft unions even drag in the master class to assist them in staving off the march of progress. The co-operative employees and corporation workers, who have been victimised by the craft unions for daring to form organisations of their own, are not more fiercely assailed than the Building Workers' Industrial Union. The N.U.R. and the Miners' Federation, having grown strong enough to defy craft unionism, are lending no aid to the industrial unions which are struggling with difficulty into being.

We have already reported the opening proceedings of the case tried by the Caxton Hall Labour Tribunal, in which thirteen members of the Building Workers' Industrial Union had been dismissed from the employment of Messrs. H. Mathews & Sons, of Buckinghamshire, contractors to the Royal Air Force, for their membership of the B.W.I.U.

The Brothers Mumby, who are the managers of the firm, declared that they were quite impartial regarding the unions to which their employees chose to belong and that when the A.S.E. and the National Union of General Workers threatened to strike if the B.W.I.U. men were not dismissed, they replied that this was a matter that the men must settle amongst themselves.

In regard to that point we will merely say in passing that the B.W.I.U. had been busy organising in Buckinghamshire men who had never been organised before, that it had manned the neighbouring works of Poster & Dixie, and for the first time in the district had established through the Court of Arbitration the London rate of wages for the employees there, a higher rate than that paid at Mathews'.

But, whatever may have been the attitude of Messrs. Mumby the officials of the craft unions concerned admit, that they worked their hardest to secure the dismissal of the B.W.I.U. men. Eventually these efforts were successful: the National Conciliation Board (a

body half composed of employers, half of representatives of the craft unions) sat to discuss the fate of the B.W.I.U.

The B.W.I.U. was not given a hearing, it was not even informed that the case was coming on. The Conciliation Board decided that the B.W.I.U. is not a recognised trade union and the Ministry of Labour came to the same decision.

The decisions were communicated to Mathews' firm and the B.W.I.U. men there were then told by their employers to join craft unions, and the thirteen men who failed to do so were dismissed. The following notice was posted on the premises:—

### General Manager.

May 1st, 1919.

*Various of our men belong to the Building Workers' Industrial Union and as it is now an official instruction that this is not a recognised union we shall have no alternative but to dispense with their services or for them to join the craft trade unions.*

Mr. Mumby, the manager, denied that this notice was posted on the firm's authority, though it remained up from May 2nd to May 4th. On the adjournment, the chairman said that the court would allow no further evidence, except in regard to the posting of this mysterious notice. But when the Court reassembled no evidence regarding the notice was given. There was no attempt to prove who had posted the notice and none of the firm's officials, except the Brothers Mumby, were called to state that they did not post it.

Comrade Wills very ably, and with all the force of a professional advocate, sternly questioned Mr. Mumby: "When you saw that an unauthorised notice had been put up in your name, were you not indignant?"

Mr. Mumby assumed an indifferent air: "It was not worth it."

"Yet you had received definite instructions from the Air Board to remain impartial!"

"I was annoyed."

"What inquiries did you make to discover who had done this?"

"I asked various time-keepers and foremen."

"Did you take any steps to refute the statement?"

"No."

## AUSTRALIAN NEWS.

We have received the following notes from George Washington, General Secretary of the International Industrial Workers, 192 Castlereigh Street, Sydney, the old movement under a new name, as an Australian Act of Parliament has made the old name illegal and the workers are not yet powerful enough to challenge their persecutors directly:—

"The new organisation has the old preamble and constitution."

"After the imprisonment of Grant, King, Larkin, Lynn, and the others in the band of 12 I.W.W.s. who were imprisoned for their One Big Union propaganda, the Sydney I.W.W. local tried to organise a general strike. The Government stopped this move by passing an Illegal Associations Act, under which most of the militants were imprisoned, and all of foreign birth were deported."

"Those who were left formed a Release Defence Committee, from which resulted a Royal Commission. This commission established the innocence of the 12 men in the public eye, but officially failed to inculpate the police. The Royal Commission refused to take new evidence concerning the innocence or guilt of the 12 prisoners. Some of the charges made against the police were not proven, but others undoubtedly were. The Commissioner remarked upon the mental agility of the police and their witnesses and characterised Scully, the chief Crown witness, as an unscrupulous person who would not hesitate to stoop to perjury to serve his own ends. After denouncing the Crown witnesses as criminals and perjurers and casting doubt upon the honesty and veracity of the detectives the Royal Commissioner, Mr. Justice Street, blandly masked his approval of criminals and perjurers by pronouncing their innocence of the charges levelled against them. It took Justice Street ten weeks to decide to whitewash the police."

"That is the end of the political attempt to free the ten men. The next attempt must be made by the industrial rank and file."

"We have captured an organisation called the I.L.P., changed the name, shifted into a good new hall, and started a paper, *The Proletariat*. Big meetings are being held.

"Unemployment is rife and returning soldiers increase the trouble."

"The Trades Hall here is running a One Big Union with a revolutionary preamble, but a political clause and they are receiving plenty of abuse from the capitalist press and the Trade Union officials."

### MORE DISUNITY.

Ships coming into Cardiff with grain for the firm of Spillers & Bakers, the largest millers in the district, have been for the past forty years unloaded by a gang of their regular employees, who are now members of the Workers' Union.

The Dockers' Union recently raised objections to this practice, and laid down the law to the effect, that only men holding a card of the Dockers' Union will be allowed to unload ships. They say only "casual" labour must be employed.

As a result of their attitude on this question, some time ago a ship was held up, and as grain is under the control of the Government, the Ministry of Supply sent down a double intake suction plant which unloaded the ship, doing away with the labour of 60 men. The position is now getting serious and there is the possibility of the mills shutting down for lack of wheat. This would mean the unemployment of large numbers of members of the Workers Union who are beginning to feel very bitter on the matter. The employers are highly delighted over the dispute and would like to see open warfare between the two Unions. They are the only people who would benefit, for while the workers are squabbling over a bone the masters clear the table. If this dispute cannot be settled between two Unions, amongst themselves—by realisation of their class interests—why not call in Tom Mann as arbitrator?

When dog fights dog, the wolf escapes.

J. T.

**The 'Dreadnought' always contains exclusive information. We ask our readers to introduce it to their Friends.**

The chairman of the Labour Tribunal, the Right Hon. Reginald Talbot, dealt considerably with Mr. Mumby. An effort had been made to suggest that there was no victimisation of the B.W.I.U. men because men were being dismissed on account of shortage of work. The Chairman asked Mr. Mumby: "Did you tell your foremen how many men in each week were to be discharged? Is that how you discharged the men?"

"Yes," said Mr. Mumby hesitating. "Did you give verbal instructions that B.W.I.U. men were not to be exempt from dismissal?" The question caused a sensation—every one seemed to be taking a deep breath—what would Mr. Mumby say? He hesitated. The Chairman seemed to feel the expectant pause. "Let me have your own words," he added a little testily.

"I said: 'While you're on the job you'd better include the B.W.I.U. men.'" Mr. Mumby further admitted that he had personally advised a certain good workman, Walter Taylor, to leave the B.W.I.U. and that his foreman had done the same. He tried to evade the question in regard to the general foreman, saying: "Oh, he's not that type of man: he's Scotch," but it was too late, even the Chairman interposed: "But your firm says so in a letter of March 6th!"

Mr. Mumby had lost the case. He tried to show that the craft unions and not the firm were to blame for what had happened and called Hayes, the Organiser of the National Union of General Workers, to give evidence. Wills objected that all evidence except that concerning the posting of the notice had been ruled out and that he had not been given an opportunity to call rebutting evidence, but the Chairman overruled the objection.

Hayes came forward—a hardened example of the old-fashioned trade unionism, very respectful and subservient to the "higher" grades of society, quite oblivious of the idea that the capitalist system may one day be changed and the various rungs in the social ladder be levelled flat.

"Are you a representative of a craft union?"

"No, unfortunately we haven't got to that stage yet."

He assured the Court that he had always "tried to pacify the men," to keep them from getting "out of hand" and going on strike. He revealed the tortuous methods by which he had fought against the rival union. "I found twenty-five discharged soldiers: they said: 'We've been out and done our bit, while these men have been hiding behind these huts!' Of course, I agreed with them."

The B.W.I.U. men were in a minority on the job. Mr. Mumby said there were 15 of them to 1,300—that was after some of them had been induced to leave or to give up their union, but there is no dispute that they were a small minority of the employees. Nevertheless, as Hayes admitted, he used the discontent of the discharged soldiers against the B.W.I.U. men. German prisoners were employed at Mathews' firm. Again this fact was used, not against the firm, but against the minority of B.W.I.U. men. "Men were surprised to see so many German prisoners. As Wills's union had not raised a finger against the Germans, we demanded the B.W.I.U. men be removed from the job." A meeting to discuss the B.W.I.U. question was held at the works.

"Did you refuse me an opportunity to rebut your statements?" Wills asked Hayes.

"I did," Hayes answered, "I said enough time had been wasted with piffle."

Col. Cookson from the Air Board addressed that meeting. Said Hayes: "A man above the status of an organiser generally gets a caning. On that occasion he got nothing but cheers. I think he was well satisfied."

Finally the Chairman stopped the proceedings; he did not see what all this had to do with the case. He was not taking any notice of the evidence. Wills asked that in the event of the decision being favourable to the B.W.I.U., he might be allowed to address the Court on the question of damages to show what the members of his union had suffered by dismissal. The Chairman was understood to agree, but after a brief adjournment he announced the verdict without allowing this. He stated that the Tribunal was of opinion that a breach of the law, that a worker must not be dismissed for belonging to a trade union, had been committed; but it was not a very serious breach. The firm would be fined £1 in each case, the money to go to the dismissed men. The Act allows a fine of £10 in each case.

£1 as compensation for dismissal in these days of growing unemployment, when a worker may be thrown out of work for an indefinite period as a result, is poor compensation indeed; and £13 is a mere bagatelle to a Government contractor!

E.F.P.

### A MESSENGER FROM MOSCOW. (Continued from page 1367.)

There is no grumbling at the price of food because the people know that the food they buy with coupons is cheaper than in any capitalist country relatively to wages and the value of money. There is no want and no hunger.

We asked to have this further explained to us. Our comrade said that the average wage of a worker is 2,000 roubles a month, but the combined income of a family is frequently 6,000 roubles a month. The Communist programme says that the mothers should not work, but Russia has need of workers; there is so much to construct and develop that mothers' work to serve Russia quite apart from any financial necessity. Our comrade gave us his own family earnings and budget. He earns 2,000 roubles; his wife, 1,600 roubles; his daughter, 1,000 roubles. "You still have unequal pay for men and women, then," we observed. "Not at all," he replied. "The pay is according to the work one is doing. At one time I was earning 1,100 roubles and my wife was earning 1,600 roubles. That was when I was a public speaker for the army, and the woman who was organising the speakers was getting 2,500 roubles. This prejudice that some people must be paid more than others is a legacy of the old regime: we expect shortly to overcome it." Then he gave us his budget:—

	Roubles.
Rent, including fuel and light, for three persons per month	200
Midday meals at restaurant for three persons at 15 roubles per day, consisting of soup, meat, or fish, &c., and bread (unrationed)	450
Dinner for three cooked at home by wife, per month	900
Breakfasts and suppers for three, per month	300
Tea for three, per month	150
	1,950

The combined income of the family is 4,600 roubles per month, 2,650 is therefore left for clothes, amusements, household needs, &c. A much larger proportion of the income remains after rent and essential food have been paid for than is the case with the mass of the population in any other country.

#### LARGE FAMILIES.

But it will be asked what happens where there is only one breadwinner and there is a large family of young children. This budget

## NEWS FROM IRELAND.

The difficulties which farm labourers in Ireland have to contend with, when, having joined a Union they make a demand on their employer for a betterment of conditions, are manifold. The chief of these, however, is the power of life and death, almost, which these employers have at their disposal. The labourers for the most part live in cottages owned by their employers. Almost the first action of certain of the employers in the case of a dispute is to threaten eviction. They know well that should they do so that it is next to impossible for the labourers to get another cottage in the neighbourhood, that the execution of such a threat may mean the scattering of families; that the eviction in most cases leaves the labourer with little choice in the matter of housing his family; sometimes it means the roadside or the workhouse. Faced with such a probability it is indeed wonderful that knowing their utter dependence on their employers, they do not hesitate to claim what they think is only a mere instalment of their rights.

Before the war was over the employers did not make so free with their threat. But now that there are numbers of unemployed discharged soldiers on the labour market, the employers, in a case of dispute, avow their intention of evicting their troublesome labourers and filling their places and houses with discharged soldiers. Thus they are able, at the one time, to advertise their patriotism and determination to keep as long as they possibly can their workmen in a state of feudal subjection.

seems to indicate that such a family would be in want.

First of all it must be remembered that the children may have all their meals free at school. Moreover, people who have large families of children may have, without paying, milk, sugar, fruit and other things for the children. Where the children are concerned we have already the real practice of Socialism.

#### CHILDREN AND MOTHERS.

Our comrade particularly impressed upon us that children are not suffering for lack of milk in Russia, not even in Petrograd and Moscow and that their well-being is the first concern. One of the things that in all his life he had found most impressive was the speech of a working woman. She said that the Communist was the only party which had ever cared for children; her speech had moved him to tears. The children are the dearest care of the Soviets. They must be kept in ignorance of the struggle through which the world is passing. All sorts of festivals are arranged for them. On May 1st there were free trams running into the country for them, free marionettes and all sorts of shows.

Expectant and nursing mothers have increased bread and milk rations and even a woman of the third class, the hostile, counter-revolutionary bourgeois, has all the privileges open to women of the first class, if she is pregnant or nursing; all children are placed in the first class.

And these are the "Bolshevik thieves and murderers!" What capitalist state of society has freed the children of the poor from privation or given to the working mother the economic comfort of the rich? How miserably mean and undemocratic, as compared with this open-handed generosity, appears the scheme, which Mrs. Pember Reeves and the Fabian women are propounding, for giving the expectant and nursing mother 5s. a week "for her own nurture," with a peck of patronage and inspection!

Having disposed of these most obvious questions and answers, our comrade proceeded to enlighten us upon deeper and more interesting questions; the structure and organisation of the Soviet community and the theoretical purposes of the Communists. To these we shall return next week.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.  
(To be continued.)

Lately we have had several of these cases brought to our notice. An agreement was arrived at between the Enniskerry Branch of the Farmers' Association (of which Lord Powerscourt is President) and the Enniskerry Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. All the farmers of the district, with the exception of Lord Powerscourt, abided by the agreement. His labourers refused to work until he would see fit to abide by his agreement. Three days after they resumed work. Lord Powerscourt then dismissed nine of his labourers. He gave them notice to quit by a certain date, after which if they had not left their cottages, he would evict them. This in spite of the fact that most of these tenants had occupied those cottages during the lifetime of his father. It was rumoured abroad that he was going to replant with "Comrades of the Great War." But the Enniskerry and Bray "Comrades" were in sympathy with the evicted tenants and would not allow themselves to be used in this way. Up to the present he has not been able to find any one to take the places of the victimised men.

Lord Bellew, of Ballyragget, Kilkenny, has also given two of his men notice to quit his cottages because there was a dispute between them with regard to pay. The men did not leave the cottages, and he had them brought before a court to get an order for eviction, but the two cases were dismissed.

In Rhode where a dispute of great bitterness has been going on several families were evicted. But they have been fortunate

enough to find other houses. Several of the men on strike were arrested, the legal phraseology called it for "unlawful Assembly." We are informed by the solicitor who has the case in hand that, "All the local military as well as the police appear to be absolutely at the disposal of the employers in this wages dispute. An amazing state of affairs if one could be amazed at anything nowadays."

And in Strokestown where there is a pending dispute the employer has threatened that if the dispute comes off he will evict and dismiss all his men, and get discharged soldiers from England to fill their places. But the labourers in spite of the threat are going ahead tightening up the organisation in the district.

But in Castlebar the workers have a way of threatening the employers. There, when the employers locked out the men in the bakery for daring to ask for an increase of wages, the employees immediately got possession of a bakery long disused, and started up a co-operative bakery for themselves. This week they report that in a few days they will be able to employ all the men locked out, and will supply all the bread needed in the town. They have also put a bread-van and driver on the road and he is swelling up the order list.

Thus the trick is turned on the employer who thought to break the men's spirit by locking them out. The men have not only locked out the employer but have left him without a business. They have found it more to their liking to work for, and to share the profits with their fellow-workers, than to work for and give the profits to an employer. In this way they have given a splendid object lesson to the rest of the country.

#### CONNOLLY MEMORIAL CONCERT BANNED.

The Irish Labour Party reports: The British Government in Ireland seized upon the Connolly Birthday Concert in the Mansion House as an object for a new display of force directed especially against Labour.

All the songs to be sung at the concert had passed the Censor for publication in the May Day number of *The Voice of Labour*. The only doubtful items in the programme were Casey's contributions on the violin: Offenbach's 'Barcarolle,' the Ave Marias of Gounod, Schubert and Mascagni, and other pieces from his classical repertoire.

On Thursday morning, June 5th, armoured cars patrolled Dublin streets, and in the evening numerous tanks appeared in the northern parts of the city; but by a curious coincidence, several of them broke down. There is much speculation whether the breakdown was mechanical or psychological.

An attempt was made by the authorities to induce the Lord Mayor to close the Mansion House, but he refused to do such work. A person in mufti, professing to be a police inspector, called upon William O'Brien, who was announced as Chairman of the Meeting, and informed him that the "authorities have prohibited it."

The authorities avoided all the usual formal legal preliminaries of proclamation, thereby allowing a huge crowd of men, women, and children, in holiday mood, to gather in the vicinity of the Mansion House.

A number of people had been admitted to the Mansion House when Inspector McGarry, Dublin Metropolitan Police, pushed in and demanded to know if William O'Brien accepted full responsibility for the Meeting. Being satisfied on that point, he retired and cordons of police were drawn across the street, preventing access to the concert room.

A detachment of the Irish Citizen Army had been sent to seize the Trades Hall, and the Fianna (Irish Boy Scouts) immediately directed the people to proceed there, where Casey and Dolly and the Concert Party, repulsed in their attempt to penetrate the police cordon, had already begun their programme.

While the crowd was thus clearing peacefully away, Sergeant Fitzpatrick, D.M.P., attempted to hustle a young man in Stephen's Green, and on his showing some resentment the Sergeant called for help and drew his revolver. Several shots were at once fired from the crowd and the Sergeant and two constables fell. Their comrades then scuttled into a public house and several entries in Dawson Street.

NORA CONNOLLY.

## THE DESTRUCTION OF CHINA'S INDEPENDENCE.

### A TALE OF SHAME. BY ARTHUR FINCH.

On July 13th, 1911, the British and Japanese Governments concluded an agreement, ostensibly to bring about general stability and repose in Eastern Asia. The second clause (b) of the preamble states that the object of the agreement is:—

"The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principles of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China."

After the investment of Kiao-chau, with the aid of British troops, in November, 1914, Count Okuma, then Premier of Japan, repeated his assurance of August, 1914, that Japan "has no ulterior motive in engaging in war with Germany, and has no desire other than to act up to her treaty obligations (Root-Takahira Agreement, 1908, Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1911—open clauses, French and Russian agreements—open clauses), and secure peace for the Far East." On April 26th, 1915, when the revised demands were presented to China the Japanese Minister at Peking gave the following solemn undertaking to China:—

"The Japanese Government will restore the leased territory of Kiao-chau at an opportune time in the future and under proper conditions."

The Chinese Government accepted the Twenty-one Demands, after the Ultimatum of May 7th, 1915, denied at the time by the Japanese Government through the Kokusai official news agency characteristic of Japanese diplomacy. In so doing the Japanese Government ignored Article III. of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which reads:—

"The High Contracting Parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate agreements with another Power to the prejudice of the object described in the preamble of the agreement."

I am not concerned here with the Japanese demands for railway and exclusive mineral rights in the Yangtze Valley, which directly conflicted with legitimate British interests there. But it must be recalled that in her communications with the Treaty Powers the fact that she was so doing was withheld. How exclusive rights have operated against the policy of equal opportunity, agreed to in the Root-Takahira Agreement of November 30th, 1908, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, 1911, and the French and Russian Agreements of 1907—open clauses—was shown in Southern Manchuria. On the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, Japan compelled China to agree not to grant concessions in South Manchuria. It was desired by Anglo-American railway contractors to construct a line there between Chinchow and Aigun, which would have been of inestimable future benefit to the Chinese people. It did not compete with the Japanese-owned South Manchuria railway in any way, but Japan withheld her consent, and Russia agreed to do likewise, for had they not their secret agreement of 1905 to give Japan control in Manchuria? Japan has acted similarly in recent American railway construction schemes (Siems-Carey Co., &c.). The position is now that in Southern Manchuria as also in Eastern Inner Mongolia (now extended to Northern Manchuria as a consequence of the secret agreement entered into with Russia in 1916), Japan, by evading taxation, providing preferential goods rates, has excluded all traders other than Japanese. This has already called forth a protest from the powerful American Manufacturers' Association, October, 1916, to their Government. But they forgot the secret clauses to the Japan-Russian Agreement of 1910, and the earlier one of 1905.

The notorious clauses of the Peace Treaty (Section IV.) relative to the disposal of Shantung make it of interest to recall Group V. and Group II. of the Twenty-one Demands which had then been accepted in toto would have made China another Korea. Article II. of Group II. stipulated that China

"Engages that within the Province of Shantung and along its coast no territory or island will be ceded or leased to a third Power under any pretext."

The object of this article has been shown since by Japan making this a fortified area, building strategic railways as she desired to do in Article III. of Group II., and thus consolidate her interests on China's coastline as she has done in Manchuria and Mongolia. The Peace Treaty conflicts with the promise made in the Exchange of Notes between the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government on May 25th 1915. The Note reads:—

EXCELLENCY.—In the name of my Government I have the honour to make the following declaration to the Chinese Government:—

When, after the termination of the present war the leased territory of Kiao-chow Bay is completely left to the free disposal of Japan, the Japanese Government will restore the said leased territory to China under the following conditions:—

1. The whole of Kiao-chow Bay to be opened as a commercial port.
2. A concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan to be established at a place designated by the Japanese Government.
3. If the foreign Powers desire it an international concession may be established.
4. As regards the disposal to be made of the buildings and properties of Germany and the conditions and procedure relating thereto, the Japanese Government and the Chinese Government shall arrange the matter by mutual agreement before the restoration.

(Signed) HOKI EKI.  
His Excellency, Lou Tseng-tsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is well to remember that Group V. demands "were postponed for future consideration." When the affray took place in Chanchiatun Eastern Inner Mongolia, in August, 1916, between Chinese and Japanese soldiers, who had no legal right to be there, the demands were brought up again, but a compromise was effected owing to the splendid protest of Dr. Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Foreign Minister. Since then the state of civil war in China, which gave Japan the opportunity to finance both factions in return for valuable mineral and other securities, has brought about secret agreements between the Northern Militarists and the Japanese Government, which it is averred involve the re-arming of the Chinese army by Japan, the dependence of China on Japanese arsenals, the supply of munitions therefrom, and the establishment in China of an arsenal for the manufacture of war material. The agreement, it is said, was concluded by the notorious Tuan-Chi-Jui Cabinet. It contained just these things for which Japan asked in the Group V. Demands.

About the same time, November 2nd, 1917, Viscount Ishi got the Washington Government to agree to the recognition of Japan's special position in China; in the words of the preamble:

"Japan has special rights in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." These negotiations form the data for interesting comments on the part of the Russian Ambassador at Tokio at the time, and since published in the *Pravda*, the official Bolshevik organ. Prior to this, however, at the time of the 1915 negotiations, Mr. Lansing, on behalf of the American Government, sent a Note both to China and Japan, the most important part of which states that the United States Government:

"Cannot recognise any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into, or which may be entered into, between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the Treaty Rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China commonly known as the Open Door policy."

The world does not desire to see a repetition either of the Chinese boycott of Japanese goods which took place in 1915, or a war on defenceless China, because of her refusal to acquiesce in the Shantung "settlement." The latest news

I have from China indicates that the boycott of Japanese goods has begun; the students and merchants are seething with discontent, and demonstrations are being held in the provincial towns against the mailed fist policy of Japan. With the cessation of internal war between the Northern militarists and the Southerners, all parties in the Republic of China are united to oppose the Treaty, which is the death knell of China as an independent polity.

The outlook is black for the peace of the Far East. Japan is pursuing her policy there with a relentlessness and remorselessness which is on a par with English aggression in the Near and Middle East and China in the early part of the nineteenth century. It may yet be possible to avert a calamity; but the Washington Government has shown that it is in the hands of the big financial interests of the United States. The successful pressure brought to bear by these interests in 1917 resulted in the American Government's "recognition" of Japan's "special interests" in return for the Joint Japanese-American financing of railway and other schemes. Labour in Parliament is dumb on international questions, and only concerned with building up a slave State in this country on the lines of the historic State Socialism of Peru, where the people in spite of all their benefits were under the dominance of a powerful and unscrupulous bureaucracy. But an appeal to the Labour Members on the lowest grounds, those of self-interest, ought to arouse them from their stupor—the stupor which acquiesces in the destruction of China's sovereignty.

Experience has shown that wherever Japan has obtained control, in the Far East, she has excluded the products of other peoples. That means ultimately the destruction of Lancashire's cotton trade. Our present statesmen, including those in the Labour Party, appear to be bankrupt of long-sighted views. Therefore the appeal must be made to the people of this country and those of the United States, who are as vitally concerned in the continuance of China's independence as ourselves. Labour politicians hold up their hands in holy horror at the sight of Chinese Labour on the ships competing with British Labour; but they uttered not a word against the treatment of the Chinese coolie working in the base and other camps in France; nor do they protest against the filching away of China's rights to her own territory. How our governing classes must smile at the shallow-brained men who fill the back benches at Westminster! Of course, the former are quite willing to give the workers here wage concessions and shorter hours (which are in themselves illusory because the financiers manipulate the exchanges), whilst they, in league, by means of secret agreements with a predatory power like Japan, can rob the Chinese people of their national heritage contained in their lovely valleys and under their lands in the form of mineral wealth—coal, iron, ore, silver, &c.—as they are robbing the Russian people at the present time in Siberia, in the Altai and Ural mountains. But it rests with the intelligent workers of this country to say that they will have none of these illusory concessions, and certainly that they will not allow Japan and the bands of international exploiters now engaged in "surveying" China, to overrun a peaceful people of 400 millions by Japanese militarists and concession hunters.

## THE APPLICATION OF THE LAW.

### AN INTERESTING PARALLEL.

Colonel Rutherford murders a Major. The plea was that he dreamt about it. Verdict, Insane. Detained during His Majesty's pleasure.

Private Henry Beckett murders a family of four. The plea was that he was subject to hallucination due to being blown up in France. Verdict, not insane. He must hang.

# LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE CONFERENCE.

## RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE SUPPORTS GENERAL STRIKE, JUNE 23rd.

Labour possesses no halls of any size in London; much difficulty was experienced in getting house room for the Conference called by the London Workers' Committee for the release of political prisoners and to focus the general unrest and desire for revolution. As an anti-official Labour Conference it was coldly regarded by officialdom. A Hyde Park demonstration was to have been held in connection with the Conference on June 15th, but the London Labour Party decided to hold a similar demonstration in Trafalgar Square the same day. The London Workers' Committee suggested amalgamating the two meetings, but the London Labour Party refused even to consider the matter or to see a deputation. But this is to be expected. If, as the rank and file movement contends, its principles conflict with those of the official organisation, it must expect to be opposed, not fostered, by officialdom.

The Conference of June 14th was much smaller than the "Hands off Russia" Conference held in the winter, but in some ways it was a better conference, because the delegates showed a more serious revolutionary feeling, and a more thoughtful consideration of realities than formerly.

Tom Mann, as Chairman, made things go with a swing.

Various district delegates reported on local situations. A South Wales miner declared that the miners in his district were waiting for a definite lead. They were beginning to realise that to down tools is not enough. The workers must follow that up by taking control. He said we ought to organise demonstrations to go to the gaols and take the prisoners out.

Jack Wills, Building Workers' Industrial Union, said that a crisis is approaching, and asked: Will the Workers' Committee Movement be able to take advantage of the crisis? Is it out for a

Soviet Republic? Does it realise that the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress will never achieve the Soviet Republic and that the Workshop Movement alone can do it?

A miner from South Yorkshire reported that the Workers' Committee Movement is making great progress there. In some collieries the committees had as many as eighty members. His branch was prepared to endorse any drastic action.

Joy, of the London Woodworkers, who said that he had been a believer in Parliamentaryism but was now converted to the Soviets, said that from 15 to 20 per cent of the men in the workshops are revolutionary, but the majority is inert, and will fight neither for nor against the revolution. Joy believed that a crisis is arriving.

Byrne, of the Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Union, said that, not only are demobilised soldiers becoming rebels, but also the serving soldiers. One camp of 300 men had asked for membership forms; 100 were sent. They were returned signed on both sides, and more forms were wanted.

Higland, Bristol A.S.E., did not want to wait the predicted psychological moment; it might go by unused. He wanted a start made, to see what backbone the workers had got.

A Coventry delegate declared that that city is prepared "to go the whole hog."

Leicester and West London delegates thought the time unripe for action. McManus said that the Clyde is not now in a position to get the prisoners out of gaol: the energy necessary to do that was expended in getting them in. Nevertheless, the late strike will bear fruit.

Walter Ponder of the East London Workers' Committee moved that we join with the French and Italian comrades in a general strike on June 23rd in order to secure the release of political and military prisoners, the raising of the blockade, and the cessation of intervention in Russia and Hungary.

The Welsh delegate suggested adjourning the

Conference and returning to the organisations for a mandate. Norah Smyth replied that there would be no time to get ready for the strike on June 23rd if another conference in London were to intervene.

It was pointed out that the cessation of work on May Day had only been partial, but it was a beginning and the May Day demonstration was better than no demonstration at all. A demonstration of international solidarity on June 23rd would be a fine thing even if only a minority took part in it.

McManus supported the resolution, pledging himself to agitate for its acceptance on the Clyde. If the rank and file conference took this action it would shame the official conferences at Southport.

An amendment opposing the 24-hours strike on June 23rd was withdrawn. Tom Mann left the chair to support the 24-hours strike. Many eyes had been cast on the Triple Alliance, but its Executive contained "some of the worst reactionaries on this earth." They would never act, and he did not care twopenny about making them act; he was out for the building up of the new body. We must do our best to get as many as possible to act with us on June 23rd: an intelligent majority would some day bring about the revolution; we should never get the majority for anything. "No, no," he said, "I shall come up again as an old fairy; pigs will fly before that!"

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Congratulatory messages were sent to the strikers in France, Italy, Canada, Australia, Egypt, and India, to the Irish people in their struggle for independence. Protests were made against the anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland, the anti-negro riots in this country, and the workers were urged to unite against their common enemy, capitalism. A protest was registered against the imprisonment of Debs, Hayward, Mooney, and other American comrades.

## WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

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

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone Post 1787.

## W.S.F. & COMMUNIST PARTY.

As instructed by the Annual Conference at Whitsuntide, the National Executive Committee has entered into negotiations with other organisations for the formation of a united Communist Party. The Committee recommends that the use of the name Communist Party adopted at the W.S.F. Annual Conference be delayed during the progress of these negotiations, in order that the new united party, which it is hoped will eventuate, may adopt the title Communist Party as its own.

## LONDON MEETINGS.

### OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia:-

FRIDAY, JUNE 20th.  
The Square, Woolwich.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21st.  
Great Push against Conscription and Intervention in Russia and for a People's Peace in Canning Town.—Meetings at 3 P.M. at Rathbone Street, and at 7 P.M. at Bechton Road. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Rickards, Mrs. Walker, and Th. Edmunds.

SUNDAY, JUNE 22nd.  
"Salmon and Ball" (Bethnal Green).—11.45 A.M., J. G. Stone.  
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.

Dock Gates, Poplar.—7 P.M., Mrs. MacKenna, 'Ireland.' Chair: Mrs. Walker.

FRIDAY, JUNE 27th.  
Custom House.—12 (noon), Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, JUNE 28th.  
Great Push in Lewisham and Camberwell.

### INDOOR.

FRIDAY, JUNE 20th.  
20 Railway Street.—8 P.M., General Members' Meeting (London Section).

MONDAY, JUNE 23rd.  
20 Railway Street.—7.30 P.M., Business Meeting (Poplar W.S.F.). 8.30 P.M., Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, JUNE 27th.  
Public Hall, Canning Town.—7.30 P.M., Hands Off Russia Meeting (postponed from June 20th).

## OTHER ORGANISATIONS

TUESDAY, JUNE 24th.

Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall.—3 P.M., Mr. Ryall.

THURSDAY, JUNE 26th.  
400 Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., East London Workers' Committee.

## A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held at the

PUBLIC HALL, CANNING TOWN  
(near the station).

on Friday, June 27th, at 7.30 p.m.

Please note CHANGE of DATE! Doors open at 7 p.m.

To protest against Allied Intervention in Russia, and to demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Russian territory.

Speakers: Melvina Walker, Harry Pollitt.  
Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.

Admission Free—Come and fill the Hall.

## CRYSTAL EASTMAN

(JUST RETURNED FROM BUDAPEST)

will speak on

"Revolutionary Movement in Hungary and America" at the

Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, Strand)  
on FRIDAY, JULY 11th, at 7.30 p.m.

SYLVIA PANKHURST IN THE CHAIR.

Doors open at 7 p.m. Admission by Silver Collection. COME EARLY.

## ALBERT HALL PROTEST.

Warships Fighting the Soviet Republics are Flying the League of Nations Flag.

Those words were inscribed on a big red banner which was hoisted at the League of Nations Meeting in the Albert Hall by W.S.F. members during Lord Robert Cecil's speech. There was an uproar, with cries and countercries for and against the demonstrators, but ten minutes elapsed before the banner was taken down. It should have opened the eyes of any Socialists present who still believed in the capitalist League of Nations.

## TO BRITISH SOCIALISTS.

Russian Socialists in Italy asked, through Mr. Buxton, of British comrades: "Will the English proletariat permit the English fleet to bombard the Baltic ports of Russia and to destroy revolutionary propaganda? Will it permit the continued sending of English soldiers to massacre Russian workers and peasants? Will it allow the patrimony of the English people to be handed over to counter-revolutionary adventurers?"

These are questions which Mr. Buxton should put to the British Labour Party and the Second International for which he went to Italy.

## MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought", 152 Fleet Street.

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