

Workers' Dreadnought

VOL. VI.—No. 48.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21st, 1920.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

LONGUET AND THE TWO INTERNATIONALS.

By ROBERT DELL. (The "Manchester Guardian" Correspondent Who Was Expelled From France.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT:

Dear Comrade,—You have—unintentionally, I am sure—misrepresented the attitude of Longuet and the majority of the French Socialist party in regard to the two Internationals. On February 4th *L'Humanité* published the text of the resolution to be proposed at the national

traditional principles of Socialism," with the view of entering into negotiations with the Third International.

You will admit that Longuet, Paul Louis, Marcel Cachin, Frossard, Paul Faure, Mayéras and the other signatories of this resolution do not want to remain in the Second International,

section. There must be only one International including all real Socialists, and that is the object of Longuet and those who are acting with him. The basis of that International must, as their resolution says, be the Communist Manifesto and the Amsterdam resolution of 1904 which, as their resolution also says, are the basis of the Third International. But, as they rightly say, we have been so completely cut off from Russia by the action of our capitalist Governments, that preliminary discussion with the Russians is necessary. There cannot be any doubt that such discussion will result in complete agreement. All that we know of Lenin's conduct during the last two years suggests that he is more reasonable and more opportunist in the literal sense of that term—which is not a bad sense—than some of his Western followers.

Yours fraternally,

ROBERT DELL.

We shall reply to this interesting letter in our issue of next week.

PHILIP SNOWDEN'S CRITICISM of the Third International.

In the *Labour Leader* of February 12th Philip Snowden makes a heated attack on the Third International. He thinks, he says, that the Divisional Conferences of the I.L.P. which have passed resolutions in favour of the I.L.P. affiliation to the Third International "have done so without a full appreciation of what is involved in this momentous decision" which, he says, "may lead to consequences of a deplorable nature."

We think that Snowden is probably quite right in thinking that some, at least, of those who wish to adhere to the Third International have not fully grasped what is involved. We Communists must endeavour to enlighten and convert them to a full appreciation of Communist ideals. In the meantime it is also our duty to protect the Third International from being weakened by the entry into its ranks either of half-convinced converts, or mere opportunists. That is why the Third International has issued the statement, of which Snowden complains, that it will not negotiate with the Austro-German, Swedish and Dutch Social Democratic Parties, the French Socialist Party, and the British I.L.P.

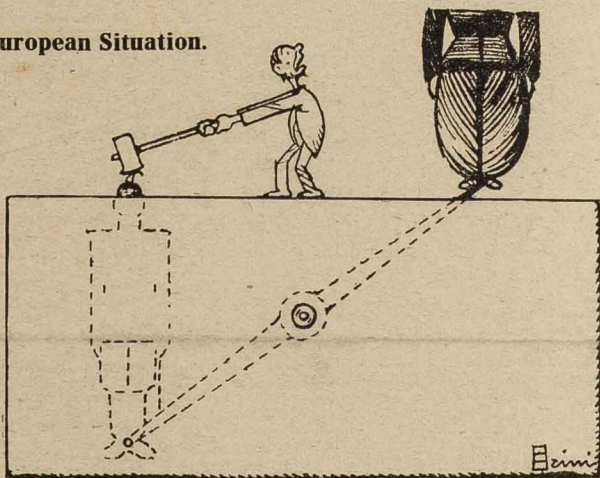
Snowden seems to condemn the Third International because its manifestoes are not very easily accessible, because it is obliged to meet in secret, and because its delegates reach it with difficulty, and are often prevented from arriving at all. The capitalist Governments attack the Third International because they recognise that the existence of capitalism is menaced by Communism. The Second International meeting at Berne was facilitated by the capitalist Governments because they recognised that, so far from endangering capitalism, it would help to strengthen it.

Snowden is horrified because the Third International has declared for the Proletarian Dictatorship, the arming of the proletariat, and the disarming of the bourgeoisie. We advise

A View of the European Situation.

The Crushing of Militarism.

Drawn by Scalapini.



congress of the French Socialist party at Strasbourg by the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International, of which Longuet is a leading member. This resolution, which like all French Socialist resolutions is extremely long, declares that the Second International "is no longer in harmony with the revolutionary situation that is arising in most States, and is making a new International of action necessary," and that the French Socialist party cannot remain in it. It further declares that "none of the fundamental declarations of the Moscow International is at variance with the essential principles of Socialism, that the thesis of the dictatorship of the proletariat—intended to effect the transition from capitalist society to the Socialist regime—is at the basis of every revolutionary conception, that the institution of workers' councils is evidently one of the most effective means of arriving at this capture of power."

The policy proposed by the resolution is the adherence of the French Socialist Party to the suggestion of the German Independents, namely the "fusion of all the elements of the Second International that remain faithful to the principle of class-war, with the groups forming the Third International." The parties in the Second International that desire to take this course must, the resolution says, "in the first place condemn, as the Moscow International has, every kind of co-operation with the bourgeoisie, especially the ministerial coalitions that have existed in most European countries both during and after the war." Finally the resolution asks the Swiss Socialist party at once to summon a preliminary conference of delegates from all the sections of the Second International that are determined to act on the basis of "the

or to "have a foot in both camps." The difference between them and my friends of what is called the Extreme Left of the French Socialist party is purely one of tactics. The question is whether it is better that a section of the French Socialist party should secede from it and join the Third International at once, or that the whole party—having shed, as it will have to shed, a minority of social-patriots and "reformists"—should unite with the Third International in company with the large majority of the Socialist parties of Europe. For my part I have no hesitation in saying that the policy of the Committee for the Reconstruction of the International is the wiser one.

In any case let us refrain in England from the deplorable personal attacks and imputation of motives which some of my friends of the Extreme Left in France are unhappily permitting themselves. It is really grotesque to accuse a man like Longuet of favouring "right Socialist compromise with capitalism." I have known Longuet for many years and I was the witness of his courageous stand during the war—all the more courageous since his partial German descent naturally exposed him to particular attack. I also know many of the so-called Extreme Left—Charles Rappoport and Boris Souvarine, for instance, are intimate friends of mine, and I like them no less because it seems to me that on this occasion their tactics are unwise, and, indeed, almost incomprehensible. It is obvious that the Second International is dead. The best thing to do with corpses is to bury them. It is equally obvious that the time has come for revolutionary Socialists to break with social-patriots and "reformists," who will be found to be in a small minority in nearly every national Socialist

INTERNATIONAL NEWS. By L.J.S.

WALL STREET & MEXICO.

him to study the story of the Russian Revolution, as told by eye-witnesses like John Reed, Louise Bryant, Bessie Beatty, and by the Russian Communists Lenin, Trotsky, and the rest; the story of the Finnish Revolution* and the story of the Hungarian Revolution,** the many accounts of the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviets and the story of the German Revolution, the murder of Luxemburg, Liebknecht and other Communists. Let him fully consider the events which have transpired in all the countries where the capitalist system has been seriously threatened or actually overthrown. Then let him ask himself again whether, after all, unpleasant though it may seem, it is not literally true that force will have to be met, and force will have to be used before the capitalist regime can be broken down.

Snowden admits that the Second International has failed, but he is unable to realise the reason of its failure, for his only solution is to build up a fourth International on the same lines. He says:—

"The wise course for International Socialism to follow is that proposed by the Left of the Second International, including the German Independents; namely, to try to bring together the whole International Socialist movement for the consideration of the existing situation, with a view to the uniting of the movement in a live, active International."

This would mean to re-build the Second International as it was before the war, and thus to bring together again all sorts of totally incompatible elements which have recently been sundered. The body Snowden proposes could not possibly come to a united decision on any vital matter; it would be a mere debating society, quite impotent either to act or to set forth a coherent policy. Fortunately the plan can never be realised; the Communists will never again form an International in company with the Reformists.

Clifford Allen, in the same issue of the *Labour Leader*, urges a forward move by the I.L.P. He says that in this article he has "purposely abstained" from "merely pressing the particular opinions" he "would like to see adopted." Nevertheless he reveals the fact that he has not yet reached the point at which he can qualify for adherence to the Third International. We hope, however, that he will formulate the opinions he "would like to see adopted," and if he cares to accept the hospitality of our columns we are willing to debate those opinions with him.

* The Finnish Revolution, by O. V. Kuusinen, price 3d.
** The Hungarian Revolution, by Charles Henry Schmidt, price 9d. Both published by the W.S.F.

COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

A Suggestion.

DEAR EDITOR: As there is at present a keen discussion going on throughout the whole Socialist movement, regarding the events of the Third International, I beg to suggest that an attempt should be made to hold all the Socialist Congresses, during Easter, in the same town.

Further, the movement ought to set aside one day, either Easter Monday or Tuesday, and all the delegates—representing every phase of Socialist thought and policy—should attend a National Convention to discuss the position of Socialism, in this country, and its relation to the Third International.

Everyone can see that there is going to be a serious conflict of opinion regarding the Third International, in the various Socialist Parties.

It would be useless to try to smother the gathering differences rapidly arising in our midst. Free and open discussion, and frank criticism, will help to show the Left and Right Wings exactly where they stand.

To facilitate such discussion, we must get together, and the Easter Conferences, by being held simultaneously in one town, would offer a splendid opportunity to organise such a convention.

Capitalism is rushing rapidly towards a crisis. Let us therefore be prepared! Yours etc., W. PAUL.

THINGS YOU OUGHT TO READ.

Facts About Communist Hungary, by Alice Riggs Hunt (an eye-witness). Bela Kun is being tried for his life. Read about his work in this pamphlet. Price 4d., post free 4d.

Capitalism and The Counter-Revolution, by J. T. Walton Newbold, M.A. A Marxist examination of important issues of immediate and practical significance that have been given all too little attention by the revolutionary elements in this country. Price 3d., post free 3d.

The Finnish Revolution, by O. Kuusinen. A self-criticism that gives much food for thought. Price 3d., post free 3d.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS. By L.J.S.

WALL STREET & MEXICO.

For many years American financiers have been propagating through the world a belief in a fictitious person called the "graser," or Mexican; assisted by journalists, novelists, and especially photo-play producers who have prostituted their brains and their art in the service of Wall Street. Almost every week, for instance, an American photo-play is turned out, in which the villain is a travesty of a Mexican, with all the attributes of the equally fictitious Hun. A Mexican who is like a real human being never appears in an American photo-play. This has all been meant to lead up to armed intervention by the United States in Mexico.

A Mexican correspondent of *La Vie Ouvrière*, A. E. Gale, is both trenchant and optimistic in an article on the menace of the intervention of the United States. "What is the true cause," he asks, "of all this agitation in favour of intervention in Mexico?" "Petroleum," is the quite natural reply which comes to the lips of most of those to whom the question is put. And, to a certain extent, this reply is a good one; but there is a reason which is dominant and more profound: "American capitalism dreads to see Bolshevism implanted in Mexico. That is why it demands intervention."

The oil tax, he points out, is naturally a bitter pill for the American Capitalists to swallow. Having been accustomed to enormous profits from the "backward country," they are horrified to find it acquiring enough intelligence to get a little of its own back. But this is not the principal cause for the demand for intervention. If this pretext did not exist, American Capitalism would find another. Wall Street wants to rule Mexico, to prevent the revolutionary tendency, which has been able to develop under Carranza, assuming a new and more precise form. "Carranza is not a Socialist," Linn Gale points out; "but, according to a man who occupies a high situation in the Government, and who knows what he is talking about, the land, the oilfields, and all the mines would certainly have been nationalised a long time ago if it had not been for the fear of intervention by the United States."

Wall Street has been specially agitated by the reply of the Minister of Finance, Cabrera, to a journalist, as to the spread of Bolshevism in Mexico, namely: that "Bolshevism is an ideal economic system, although it is not possible to introduce it into Mexico at the present time." Wall Street is also very angry with the Prime Minister, Berlanga, for giving an order for the release of the Russian Communist Dimitri Nikitin, arrested at the request of Americans for Bolshevik propaganda. The United States Government, also, no doubt, feels sore at the fact that, during the War, some 30,000 United States "deserters" found refuge and hospitality in Mexico.

Many well-known Mexicans are accused by the United States of having Bolshevik tendencies who know nothing about Bolshevism. "However, in spite of all these lies, there is, in truth, in Mexico a certain tendency towards Bolshevism."

For the Mexicans, Capitalism has always signified misery, destitution, and slavery. They are opposed to it

from their birth, without knowing with what to replace it. I have spoken to many Mexicans who had no idea of revolutionary Socialism; and nearly always when I have explained in what it consists, they have replied, 'Yes, I believe that that is a good system. We ought to adopt it here.' . . . In all public places it is interesting and significant to note the joy which is manifested at the announcement of Bolshevik victories.

"Conscious of the proletarian sentiment growing and spreading in Mexico," concludes Linn A. E. Gale, "knowing that Capitalism is condemned in the Republic of the South, the beast of the North is preparing to send millions of young Americans into a new and furious dance of blood and death and violence! But it is too late! Their plot will miscarry. The working-class of the United States will not again submit to being cannon fodder in a capitalist war. Certainly the reason for the intervention in Mexico is the fear of Bolshevism. But the result of such intervention, if it is ever tried, will be revolution in the United States."

BOLSHEVIST TENDENCIES IN SWITZERLAND.

In an interesting article in *La Nouvelle Internationale*, of Geneva, J. Humbert-Droz states that sleepy officialism in the Swiss trade union movement has suddenly been awakened by its anxiety and with good cause. "The workers' organisations wish to create shops' councils, which will claim the control of production in preparation for the taking over of the undertakings from the shareholders, or proprietors, and managing them. They wish to create workers' councils in the towns to direct the action of the working-class—Soviets, actually Soviets!"

"The question is not a choice between centralism and Federalism, as our bureaucrats would make it out to be. We are living in the third year of the Proletarian Revolution of Russia. We are against Federalism, which disperses the forces of the struggle. We are for Centralism—but there is Centralism and 'Centralism,' and the new hardly resembles the old."

BARCELONA'S ALL-HIGHEST.

On behalf of the Governor of Barcelona, it may be claimed that he is not so silly as our politicians and Labour rulers: he does not try to make compromise between democracy and plutocracy, between Capitalism and Socialism. "In Parliament," he says, "they may say what they like about the trade unions. But I affirm that the Governor of Barcelona will not parley with the trade unions, and if I am fifty times Governor of Barcelona, I will fifty times uphold the same standard of conduct. For me the trade unions belong to past history."

In Madrid, the lock-out has come to an end after lasting seven weeks, following the mediation of the Governor. The building workers concerned got a slight rise in wages. On February 2nd, a general strike was declared in Santander.

national, the rank and file is for it. Any support to the Parliamentary opportunists is simply playing into the hands of the former.

The B.S.P. doesn't count at all here. I say this to one who has been a member since its inception. For long it has been drifting around without a policy of any kind, but now it is firmly embedded on the rocks, and it is only a question of time (and a very short time at that), till it breaks up completely. What is wanted here is a sound revolutionary industrial organisation, and a Communist Party working along clear, well-defined scientific lines. If our comrades can assist us in building these we will take their help gladly; if they cannot, for God's sake let them keep out altogether, lest they betray the Revolution by lending their support to the re-actionaries, who are so eagerly clamouring for Parliamentary "honours" (!) and who are so anxious to prove that they can rule as effectively as the "boss" class politicians themselves.

With all good wishes, Yours for the Revolution, W. GALLACHER.

Rank & File Convention

Called by the

National Administrative Council
of
Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees,
Scottish Workers' Committees,
Central London Council of Shop Stewards'
and Workers' Committees and South
Wales Unofficial Reform Committee.

To be held the day before

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

and the evenings during its sittings.

All Workers' Committees, Trades Unions, Trades Union Branches, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies and their Branches are invited to send delegates.

Object: To declare the "Rank and File" policy in regard to Russia and the class-war.

If your society has not yet received an Agenda and invitation to the Convention, write to the Secretary, M. F. HEBBES, 10, Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.

SOVIETS IN ITALY. By Our Italian Correspondent.

Since the Congress of Bologna last October, the Italian Socialist Party has been squarely committed to the Soviet régime as the instrument of proletarian administration. The Maximalist faction, which dominated this congress, agreed upon the participation of the Party in the elections for the bourgeois Parliament, only on condition that the Party should, at the same time, organise the system of Soviets, which was to realise the revolution and take the place of Parliament. After the elections, the chief function of the Party became the organisation of this Soviet system. The project was formally initiated at a National Council of Regional delegates, held at Florence this month.

But, previous to this, the question of Soviets had become one of concrete importance. This was due largely to the so-called "Turin movement," led by Antonio Gramsci, one of the editors of the Turin edition of *Avanti!*, and editor of *L'Ordine Nuovo*, the organ of his ideas. Gramsci, one of the leaders of the young "intellectuals" of the Party, insisted on immediate action. He was vexed by the delay which was being caused by the hesitancy of the Socialist Confederation of Labour, to agree on a Soviet system which might rob it of its importance. He determined to force the hand alike of the Confederation and of the Party.

His strength among the workers lies chiefly in the metal trades. And here he determined to initiate the serious discussion of Soviets, by initiating serious Soviets in fact. During the autumn, and especially during the months of November and December, Soviets were organised in all the chief factories of the metal industry, with the co-operation of the union. Here was a *fait accompli*. The Party complained that the Soviets Gramsci had formed did not fulfil the function of true Soviets, in that they did not provide for the assumption of political power. In fact, the Party, which feels the drag of many reformists within its ranks, and among its officials, was embarrassed by the formation of Soviets outside its jurisdiction. It said that Soviets should not have been formed until the matter had been thoroughly discussed by the workers. But it hastened to initiate the discussion.

The Party was quite right in asserting that Gramsci's Soviets did not fulfil the functions of political Soviets. In point of fact, they are no more than factory councils, with powers over matters of discipline, discharge, and the like. Such Soviets are becoming common throughout the whole capitalist world. They were even introduced into American factories during the War, by the Government War Labour Board. As tending to lessen shop friction over minor points, they are readily accepted by enlightened employers. Gramsci knew quite well that the metal trades' Soviets were not true Soviets. But he contended that they were a germ. Assuming petty functions now, they could enlarge their functions gradually, and develop full political organs when the revolution comes. The great thing, he asserted, was to get them started. He was able to do this without much friction within the industry because the metal workers are admirably organised and united, and, since last summer's successful strike, are able to impose their will on the employers in all minor matters without discussion. Only in the Westinghouse factory in south Italy, and a few others, did the attempt fail.

The Party, then, at the Florence Convention, faced the matter squarely. On a motion of Leone, it was decided to initiate a two months' discussion in all the local

branches, and that the political secretary of the Party should prepare a project of Soviet organisation as a basis for this discussion. After the two months' discussion, the delegates to the council, bearing specific mandates from their locals, are to meet again and prepare to effectuate the Soviet organisation to be agreed upon ultimately.

The Bombacci plan is closely modelled on the Russian system. It contemplates a network of Soviets—above and beyond the present factory councils—which shall of the Party, as advance guard of the revolution, working within the Soviet system, the revolution comes. But its particular pre-occupation is to preserve the authority prepare themselves to be the organs of revolutionary defence and administration when

The plan provides for the institution of a Provisional Central Executive Committee, to be composed of four members of the Party, three members of the Confederation (Socialist), two of the Unione Sindacale (syndicalist and anarchist), and one member of the Co-operative League (this association, which is very powerful, and has always been, more or less, Socialist in character, has recently oriented itself strongly toward the Socialist Party). The Central Executive Committee is to provide for the organisation of Soviets in all Italy. It will organise a subordinate Provisional Executive in each Regional division of the country, and this, in turn, will provide for the election of the primary Soviet organs within its jurisdiction, delegating the concrete work to territorial sub-committees. The primary organs will be Local Soviets, elected by the workers on the basis of one delegate to two hundred workers or fraction thereof. Each factory employing two hundred or more workers will be a unit, and small factories will be combined for the purpose. Workers in the railroads and state departments will be grouped according to their most natural groupings, and home workers (including wives of industrial workers), will be represented by territorial groupings (city blocks and the like). Landless farm workers, and small farm owners who do not exploit labour, will have their Soviets, but it is specially stipulated, in the case of the peasants, that only those shall be entitled to vote who hold membership in some revolutionary organisation, political or economic. (This provision is a precaution against the possible reactionary influence of the peasants, particularly of the Catholic peasants, who would be wholly under the influence of the local priests. It is, of course, an "undemocratic" provision; its necessity will be understood by anyone who knows the character of the peasantry in certain parts of Italy.)

The Primary Soviets, which must meet at stated brief intervals, will elect delegates to the Local or Territorial Soviets, and these will have the political administration and legislative functions within their respective regions. It is stipulated that the localities shall be delimited, so far as possible, so as to include in each a city and the country region which economically feeds it. Here is, perhaps, a precaution to preserve the influence of the city workers over the peasantry; certainly it corresponds with the economic reality, for neither the city nor the surrounding country is economically self-sufficing.

The Local Soviets elect delegates to the Regional Soviets, which have similar powers, and these elect the delegates to the National Soviet. Each of these bodies elects an Executive Committee, which is in charge of the actual work of administration. It must be re-elected every six months. Any delegate, from the top to the bottom of the system, can be recalled

by his constituents, or censured, or summoned to render account at any time.

In addition to this geographical network, there is a criss-cross industrial system of Local, Regional, and National Soviets, elected by the primary bodies according to their industrial classification. These Soviets are to take care of the purely economic interests of the workers.

The Bombacci plan seeks to preserve the predominance of the Party by two provisions: first, that in the provisional stage, the Central Executive can dissolve any Soviets elected irregularly, or in contradiction to the general criteria of the Soviets, and call a new election." This broad power practically secures the dominance of the central body (it, also, is "undemocratic"). Second, that the Central Executive may add to any one of the lower Soviets, new members, specialists in technical problems or adepts in revolutionary organisation. The plan further provides for a National Council of Economy to co-ordinate the economic functions of the several Soviets. This would probably be, as it has been in Russia, an organ of first-rate importance. The function of these Soviets in the pre-revolutionary period is envisaged in the Bombacci plan as chiefly educational. They are, also, to gain gradual control of production within the shop, where possible, but this is not stressed. Likewise, the formation of a Red Guard is not specifically mentioned, but it is, perhaps, implied in a sentence concerning preparations for the defence of the Soviets against possible violence on the part of the bourgeoisie.

Finally, the project has a word to say about the place of existing workers' institutions in the Soviet system. Stripped of its vague language, it sets forth that the trade unions should not oppose the formation of Soviets, for (a), their officials will, undoubtedly, be given positions in the Soviets; and, (b), the rank and file will have important functions in shop control.

The discussion of the project has already begun. Two lines of criticism are noticeable; that of the anti-parliamentary "abstentionist" faction, led by Bordiga, who asserts that the project gives insufficient power to the Party, which must be all-powerful in the revolutionary period; and that of the "Turin movement," led by Gramsci, who says that it gives insufficient place to the pre-revolutionary function of the Soviets, in edging the capitalists out of the factory through industrial action. One may be permitted to predict, however, that the Bombacci plan will be carried by a good majority.

But how the Italian bourgeoisie will act when Soviets begin to assume reality—no one can predict that!

BUY

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HAS THE INTERVENTION STOPPED?

Lloyd George's Statement.

Lloyd George told the House of Commons on February 10th that "all the British forces are out of Russia, except Batoum, and from there they are being rapidly withdrawn," that from Georgia and Azerbaijan the troops are being withdrawn to Constantinople, "where they are wanted." He says the Allies will not make peace with the Soviet Government because, he asserts, it is cruel and "not a democracy." The Allied Governments were bound to help the Anti-Bolshevik forces, because they "called them into being," but "you cannot crush Bolshevism by force of arms." The Allies might restart civil war in Russia, but "the Bolshevik armies are more formidable, more numerous, better equipped, better led, better disciplined." "The volunteer army during its occupation of large tracts of Southern Russia managed to alienate the populations." The suggestion that Soviet Russia should be encircled by "an advancing ring of fire" will not work, because no one can be found to do it. General Mannerheim cannot make Finland do it. "The Baltic States are making peace with Russia. Roumania has as much as she can do to watch her Hungarian frontier. The Japanese certainly will not advance." Moreover, he asks, who is to pay, who is to equip gigantic armies? "France will not. America will not. Italy will not. Is there any statesman who will accept the responsibility of putting the burden upon the taxpayers in this country?" There is no reason, he argues, to fear a Bolshevik military invasion of other countries. Poland, Roumania, Armenia, Central Europe, are "short of all the things that Russia wants." At Baku (Russian Baku) the Russians might get oil, but they could get it by trade " (trade with the British capitalists who have stolen it.) "If they came to Mesopotamia what could they get that the British do not take there?" (A cool admission!) In short, there will be no invasion, unless the blockade continues for several years, unless there is a prosperous Central Europe to invade, and unless "invasion becomes the only alternative to starvation." (Certainly a certificate of good conduct for the Soviets, though Lloyd George did not intend it so.)

All this would seem to point to an end to the intervention, and Winston Churchill, speaking at Dundee, like a bear with a sore head, appears to support this contention, by "placing or record" his "sincere and personal conviction that the great Allied powers will each and all of them, learn to rue the fact that they could not take more decided and more united action to crush the Bolshevik peril at its heart and centre before it had grown too strong."

Capitalism Still Hostile.

The great successes of the Red Armies, their capture of Odessa on February 8th, their territorial gains on every front, the overthrow and execution of Kolchak, the reports that Denikin is "ruined" all go to show that Soviet Russia is a formidable enemy, with whom the Allied Powers might well think that, after all, it is best to make peace. Yet it must be noticed that a *Times* correspondent asserted in a message of February 2nd that Denikin had "turned the

corner" and was making compromises with the border states. But Esthonia has concluded peace with Soviet Russia; and the other Baltic States, though they profess their determination to act with the Allies, are expected to follow. The Letts have entered into an armistice with the Soviets. Tchitcherin is reported from Moscow as saying that the Soviet Government has "anticipated the English policy" by accepting the creation of a cordon of Baltic States, and by entering into peace negotiations with them. He says that these negotiations were a "dress rehearsal for a future agreement with the Entente" and "by showing the bourgeoisie the advantages they stood to gain from an agreement with us, we were opening vistas not only to the Esthonian, but to the English bourgeoisie."

This attitude of compromise with Allied capitalism, forced on Soviet Russia by the pressure of the long continued war, is one that all Communists must deeply and bitterly regret. We workers in the Allied countries must bear the responsibility for any undermining of the Communism of Soviet Russia that may result. We were warned that unless we would help her Soviet Russia would be obliged to make great concessions to capitalism.

If the military intervention against Soviet Russia be really about to cease, and we do not yet believe it, no one should be led away by the foolish thought that the hostility of the capitalists is in any way changed, or that a genuine peace between Communist Russia and the capitalist governments can ever result. Lloyd George says, "I believe we can save Russia by trade." Commerce has a sobering influence in its operations. He means that he still hopes to "save" Russian capitalism.

Two counter-revolutionaries, Makeiev and Shmelev, have been sent as representatives of the "Russian" co-operative societies in England to arrange trade with Soviet Russia. These Anglo-Russian societies are quite reactionary. They brought a message from the Allies asking for the names of the delegates the Central Co-operative Council at Moscow proposes to send abroad to confer with the Russian co-operative societies outside Russia. Comrade Litvinoff, of course, says that the Allied Governments cannot pick and choose the Soviet representatives, and hints that the Soviet delegates may prefer to negotiate in neutral countries and not in Paris or London. The Allied Governments will trick the Soviets if they can. Our Russian comrades are fully aware of this, and we observe that Trotsky has now left the war office and will deal with just this very critical question of foreign trade.

Will the Germans be Used to Fight the Soviets?

But whilst the talk of trade and peace is going forward, the probability of a military offensive still remains.

Philips Price definitely asserts that such an offensive is being prepared in Germany. He declares it is believed in Berlin that the British War Office has let it be known that it will not insist, at present, on the reduction of the German army to 100,000 men, as dictated by the Versailles Treaty. He insists that Noske is building up a White Guard Army of 1,000,000 "to make Europe safe for capitalism," and that the old Bermondsey Army returning to Germany from the Baltic, is preparing to equip an army of 100,000 men to aid the Poles in a big offensive against Soviet Russia in the spring. He says that such giant coal and iron trusts as Thyssens, Synnes, and the Kali Syndicate are intriguing with British capitalism, for an agreement that they shall refrain from trading with British Colonies in return for the right to exploit raw material in Russia. These powerful German capitalists are working for a German offensive against Soviet Russia.

Churchill has also said we must make friends with Germany and force her to help in the extermination of Bolshevism.

It must be remembered that no statement of Lloyd George can be relied on; when he says it is not possible to fight Russia any longer, that is no proof that he is not actually preparing a great offensive.

TOWARDS A COMMUNIST PARTY.

In *The Call* of February 12th Albert Inkpin, secretary to the B.S.P., gives an account of private unity negotiations to form a Communist Party of the four organisations which at present declare affiliation to the Third or Communist International, inaugurated at Moscow.

Before dealing with the general principles involved, which are of very much greater importance than the mere details of the negotiations, I will add a little to Inkpin's account and make also some corrections in it.

The First Negotiations: The B.S.P. and the Soviets.

The beginning of the negotiations dates a good deal further back than Inkpin puts it; in fact, from the summer of 1918, when members of the W.S.F., hearing that almost the whole of the B.S.P. Executive would be affected by the raising of the conscription age, approached the B.S.P. in a spirit of comradeship, with a tentative offer of fusion which was very cordially received. The W.S.F., however, drew back from the negotiations, because in the course of them, E. C. Fairchild stated that he did not think the organisation should decide between Parliament and bourgeois democracy and the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship, as the goal towards which our propaganda should be aiming. Inkpin and Alexander, who took part in the negotiations, did not dissent from Fairchild's statement, and as it was proposed that Fairchild should be co-editor of the proposed joint organ of the new party, it was evident that a revolutionary Socialist body, like the W.S.F., could not possibly agree to fusion.

Further Negotiations.

At Whitsuntide, 1919, the W.S.F. annual conference instructed its Executive to open negotiations with the B.S.P., S.L.P., and South Wales Socialist Society, for the formation of a united Communist Party. The B.S.P. had by this time declared for the Soviets, though it was still waiting to ballot its members on the subject of affiliation to the Third International. Messages had in the meantime come direct from the Third International urging the formation of a Communist Party in Britain and, as Inkpin says, a unity conference was called shortly afterwards.

The Proposed Unity Compromise.

As Inkpin further says, a proposal for unity emerged on the basis of the following planks:—

- (1.) Affiliation to the Third International.
- (2.) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
- (3.) The Soviets instead of Parliament.
- (4.) A referendum of the new party to be taken three months after its formation to decide whether it should affiliate to the Labour Party.

The W.S.F. contends that it was also decided to take a referendum on the question of Parliamentary action three months after the formation of the new party, a question of great importance in this country, as the letter from W. Gallacher, which follows this article, will plainly indicate to those not already aware of it.

As I was at the time acting in a secretarial capacity to the unity conference, I took notes of the conference and wrote to each of the societies embodying these notes. The five points, enumerated above, were set forth in my letter. Nevertheless the B.S.P. and S.L.P., though they did not dissent from my version of the proceedings at the time, seem to have overlooked the Parliamentary point and did not add it to the ballot of their members, which they took later on.

Rank and File Refuses Labour Party Affiliation.

The B.S.P. ballot paper, as Inkpin points out, grouped the three main planks with the question of a referendum on the Labour Party affiliation, as the conditions of forming a united party, and asked its membership to vote "yes or no." The result was a majority for unity on that basis.

The S.L.P. asked its membership, as Inkpin says, for two votes; (1) on the question of unity on the basis of the three main planks; (2) on whether a referendum should be taken of the new party on affiliation to the Labour Party.

Inkpin quarrels with the S.L.P. for having thus endeavoured to ascertain the opinions of

its membership in detail; he says:—

"To put the proposal to the S.L.P. membership in two distinct and separate parts was simply to ask for the recommendation regarding the Labour Party to be rejected."

To state that it is to imply that the S.L.P. membership does not know its own mind and can be manoeuvred into accepting, or rejecting unity proposals by the division of a sentence. The S.L.P. membership was fully aware that the B.S.P. had agreed to the unity proposals on condition that affiliation to the Labour Party should not be excluded. The S.L.P. members were aware that the referendum proposal was a compromise which had emerged from the discussion. All this had already been set forth in the *Socialist*, the S.L.P. organ. Since the S.L.P. has always made a great point of refusing to affiliate to the Labour Party, the question was a burning one in the S.L.P. and there was no possibility of its being slurred over.

The W.S.F. ballot asked the views of its members on each of the five questions separately, and also inquired whether the members would agree for the sake of unity to the suggested referendum on the Labour Party and Parliamentary action. The result was an overwhelming majority for the three main points, and against Parliamentary action and affiliation to the Labour Party. On the question whether the referendum should be agreed to in order to secure unity of the four parties, the voting was equal.

Inkpin goes on to explain that whilst the unity negotiations were proceeding between the four organisations, the B.S.P. privately made special endeavours to enter into relations with the S.L.P., but these failed.

Inkpin next refers to a further conference on unity, called by it in January. As a matter of fact there were two January conferences; one on January 8th, one on January 24th. The S.L.P. did not attend the conference of January 8th, and at the time the result of their ballot was not known; the conference was informed that the S.L.P. had not replied to the invitation.

B.S.P. Proposal.

As Inkpin says, he proposed on behalf of the B.S.P.:

that the three bodies accepting the unity proposals should proceed on the lines of the original recommendation, leaving it to the logic of events to bring in the S.L.P. We suggested the immediate establishment of a Standing Joint Committee of the three bodies, to go into the details of amalgamation—finance, papers, offices, and staffs—prepare a draft platform and constitution for the new party, and summon a great national congress to be held at Easter, of all organisations and branches of organisations, local groups, and societies, that were ready to join in, at which the Communist Party should be definitely launched. This Standing Joint Committee should also be empowered, on behalf of the three bodies, to issue manifestoes and pronouncements on all matters of national and international importance, act as the British secretariat of the Third International, and conduct a great campaign in the country leading up to the Easter Congress.

WHAT IT MEANT.

As I pointed out at the time, this proposal would have placed the standing joint committee above the Executive of the existing parties in the matter of national and international policy, giving it the right to issue manifestoes in their name before the parties had arrived at a common agreement on policy, and before they had decided whether to fuse or not!

South Wales Moves Adjourndment.

The Call observes:—

"Very coolly, I regret to say; very coolly indeed, particularly by the W.S.F., who, six months ago, were chafing at the slowness of the bigger organisations. Although there is far less in common between the W.S.F. and the S.L.P. than there is between the B.S.P. and the S.L.P., the W.S.F. representatives said they could not go on without the S.L.P., and the delegates from the S. Wales S.S. said the same. Eventually it was agreed to adjourn the conference, pro tem, pending an important event expected to occur shortly, which is anticipated to have an important bearing on the question of unity, and it was left to me to summon the conference together again later on."

I dissent from the view that there is more in common between the B.S.P. and S.L.P. than between the W.S.F. and S.L.P., but that is a matter of opinion. Let us stick to the facts.

Inkpin has not been quite accurate here. As

a matter of fact it was the delegates of the South Wales Socialist Society who moved the adjournment of both the first and second conferences, on the ground that they were instructed by their Executive not to proceed with the negotiations unless the S.L.P. were present.

This resolution at the first conference was seconded by me. I stated that in my opinion unity without the S.L.P. would not be the unity of all the Communist parties which we had set out to effect, and that a further effort to obtain the presence of the S.L.P. should be made. Moreover, I expressed as my view and that of the W.S.F., that the B.S.P. forms the right wing of the Communist parties, and that unless the three other parties came in together, there would be a danger that the right wing policy would predominate.

The resolution to adjourn was carried. At the conference of January 24th, when I was not present, a letter was read from the S.L.P. stating that as a majority of its members had voted against unity, it could take no part in the negotiations.

The South Wales Socialist Society then moved that the conference should adjourn until after the forthcoming meeting of the Third International and should then meet to receive the report of the delegates to that conference. Though in neither case had the W.S.F. anticipated that the South Wales Socialist Society's proposals would take the form they did, the W.S.F. again found the S.W.S.S. proposal wise, and our delegates seconded it. The proposal was carried.

Third International Declines Against Affiliation to Labour Party.

A very interesting unity conference will now take place, because the Third International meeting, which has just been held, has stated that the affiliation of no Communist party will be accepted which has not completely severed its connection with the social patriotic organisations, amongst which, it declares, is the British Labour Party. Therefore it would seem that if that international meeting can be held to speak for the Third International, the Communists of Britain must either be out of the Labour Party or out of the Third International. This is a matter of great importance to those who are considering the formation of a new Communist party.

The Labour Party Affiliation, the Principles Involved.

But let us now proceed to a fuller examination of this question. Inkpin does not seriously argue it. He seems to regard it as a merit not to hold strong views on this, or perhaps on any question that might hinder unity with the B.S.P., though the B.S.P. policy is of course in a fluid condition and is in process of emergence, under the pressure of circumstances, from the old ideals of the Second International.

Inkpin says:—

"Personally, I do, because all past experience has shown the stultification that follows isolation from the main body of the working-class movement. But, as I say, I would take my chance. To me the need for the Communist Party is the supreme question—all others are secondary to this."

"But would affiliation apply for all time?"

"Of course not. No tactics can be determined now to apply for all time. We are in a revolutionary period, and circumstances might speedily arise to compel the Communist Party to leave the Labour Party. Or it might be expelled. In either case it would be, I think, in circumstances that would witness at the same time the secession of large numbers from the Labour Party, which the Communist Party would absorb."

It will be observed that comrade Inkpin refers to the Labour Party as "the main body of the working class movement." Another comrade of the B.S.P., at the Third International, just held, put the B.S.P. position more strongly. He said: "We regard the Labour Party as the organised working class."

We do not take this view of the Labour Party. The Labour Party is very large numerically, though its membership is to a great extent quiescent and apathetic, consisting of men and women who have joined the trade unions because their workmates are trade unionists, and to share the friendly benefits.

But we recognise that the great size of the Labour Party is also due to the fact that it is the creation of a school of thought beyond which

the majority of the British working class has not yet emerged, though great changes are at work in the mind of the people which will presently alter this state of affairs.

Social patriotic working class parties of bourgeois outlook, like the British Labour Party, exist, or have existed, in every country: the Noske-Scheidemann Social Democratic Party in Germany, the French Socialist Party, and the Socialist Party of America are typical examples.

How the Parties Will be Divided.

As the Russian Socialists were split into rival factions, so each of these parties will be rent asunder. On the one hand will be the parties of Revolution; on the other the parties of Reform.

The points in the rival programmes will be:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| Reformist Programme. | Revolutionary Programme. |
| 1. Reform and the bolstering up of the capitalist system. | 1. The overthrow of capitalism by the Workers' Revolution. |
| 2. Bourgeois democracy. | 2. The dictatorship of the working class. |
| 3. Parliament. | 3. The Soviets. |
| 4. The nationalisation of certain industries. | 4. The socialisation and workers' control of all production, distribution and exchange. |
| 5. Industrial action by the industrial organisations; merely to palliate industrial conditions under capitalism. The political organisations to confine their attention purely to attempts to capture Parliament and the local governing bodies. | 5. The political strike and revolutionary industrial action organised by the Communists. |

6. Preservation of the old trade unionism or abstention from interference with it.

7. (a) Social patriotism and imperialism, navalism and militarism.
(b) Bourgeois pacifism.

8. Reform and academic preaching of State Socialism under Bureaucratic control with an attempt to remunerate employees according to their abilities and training.

7. The international solidarity of the workers and Red Army till international Communism brings universal peace. Disarming of the bourgeoisie.

8. Communism, in which the era of equal wages and equal rationing of scarce commodities, gives place to the abolition of the wage system and the unchecked supply of the needs and desires of the people as a natural right, independent of service.

To make clear the difference between themselves and the reformists, the Revolutionary parties will call themselves Communists, whilst the reformist organisations will adhere to the Labour or Socialist title.

The rallying point for the reformists will be the Second International; the revolutionaries will gather about the Third.

The social patriotic parties of reform, like the British Labour Party, are everywhere aiding the capitalists to maintain the capitalist system, to prevent it from breaking down under the shock which the Great War has caused it, and the growing influence of the Russian Revolution. The bourgeois social patriotic parties, whether they call themselves Labour or Socialist, are everywhere working against the Communist revolution, and they are more dangerous to it than the aggressive capitalists because the reforms they seek to introduce may keep the capitalist regime going for some time to come. When the social patriotic reformists come into power, they fight to stave off the workers' revolution with as strong a determination as that displayed by the capitalists, and more effectively, because they understand the methods and tactics and something of the idealism of the working class.

The British Labour Party, like the social patriotic organisations of other countries, will, in the natural development of society, inevitably come into power. It is for the Communists to build up the forces that will overthrow the social patriots, and in this country we must not delay or falter in that work.

We must not dissipate our energy in adding to the strength of the Labour Party; its rise to power is inevitable. We must concentrate on

making a Communist movement that will vanish it.

The Labour Party will soon be forming a Government; the revolutionary opposition must make ready to attack it.

The B.S.P. sees the division of parties into communist and social patriotic factions which is taking place throughout Europe, but it still wishes to cling to the Labour Party. Why?

Does it hope to capture the Labour Party and secure in it a majority to support the Third International? Such a majority has been secured in the Italian Socialist Party, which seems, on a superficial view, to be the one Socialist party in Europe which need not split. But the Italian Party will also split. The Third Internationalists captured a great majority at the Bologna Conference, but the majority of the Parliamentary Party is opposed to the majority of the Socialist Party itself, and will undoubtedly secede, taking with it a certain faction.

The Labour Party Fortified Against Progress.

But the British Labour Party is a much more difficult body to capture than the Italian Party. It is said that the Labour Party is not, strictly speaking, a political party at all, because it is mainly composed of affiliated trade unions; but that fact makes it much more difficult to effect changes in the British Labour Party than in the French, German, Italian, or any other Socialist Party. In such parties both the election of the Executive and officials, and the resolutions governing the policy of the party, are voted upon at the party conferences by delegates from the branches acting under branch instructions. Party Executives and officials are seldom changed; apathetic members, unaware of the changing situation, vote to keep people and things as they are and reactionary officials, retained for old services, nullify any forward move adopted by conferences. Nevertheless new ideas may gradually surge upward, and come to the top at some time or other. But in the British Labour Party there are special brakes to prevent even the slow changes possible in the Continental Socialist parties. Officials appointed for life or for long terms of years, immovable fixtures, bar the way to progress. In many unions a proportion of the delegates to annual conferences is appointed by the national executive. The branches neither appoint delegates to Labour Party congresses, nor vote on resolutions. Divisional conferences and national Executives, national and local officials, prevent the opinion of the rank and file from making itself felt. In all Europe there is no social patriotic organisation so carefully guarded for social patriotism as the British Labour Party.

The British Labour Party is moreover less Socialist than any of the other adherents to the Second International. It was the last to join the Second International because only lately had it advanced even thus far. Its dominant figures were loth to take any step even so small as joining the Second International, which might appear to divide them from the capitalist Liberal and Tory parties. The man whose policy represents the centre and majority policy of the Labour Party is Arthur Henderson, the friend of Kerensky.

On Breaking Away from the Labour Party.

Inkpin says that circumstances may compel the B.S.P. to leave the Labour Party. The Labour Party may turn them out, or it might refuse to admit the new Communist Party. Inkpin says that if the B.S.P. or the new Communist Party were to leave the Labour Party at an appropriate moment it might bring other sections away with it.

There have been many appropriate moments for the B.S.P. to break away; for instance, when the Coalition Government, in which the Labour Party was represented, began the intervention against Soviet Russia, Kerensky, who had come to England to appeal for intervention, was at this juncture welcomed as an honoured guest upon the platform of the Labour Party Congress, whilst Litvinoff was refused a reply. That, indeed, was an appropriate moment for leaving the Labour Party, but

every conference has furnished appropriate moments. The B.S.P. might have left when the Labour Party failed to join the anti-intervention strike of July 20th and 21st. Instead of failing even to move the motion that the Labour Party should affiliate to the Third International, which the B.S.P. tabled at the last Labour Party conference, it might have made a great point of that resolution, and have broken away because it was not carried. The B.S.P. might have left the Labour Party when it organised an Albert Hall meeting to boost President Wilson, whose Government has organised, and was even then carrying on a merciless persecution of American Socialists and industrial unionists. The B.S.P., or some other Party within the Labour Party, could do excellent propaganda, if, at the next conference, it would put up a big fight on a Communist issue, and then break away to join the opposition outside.

The Communist Party Must Not Compromise.

But that is not the mission of the new Communist Party, which must enunciate the Communist programme that is yet to stand when the Soviets are erected and the proletarian dictatorship is in force. The Communist Party must keep its doctrine pure, and its independence of Reformism inviolate; its mission is to lead the way, without stopping or turning, by the direct road to the Communist Revolution.

Labour Candidates.

Those who believe that a Communist Party can remain in the Labour Party and take part in Parliamentary contests, should realise the position of the unfortunate Communists who elect to become candidates under such auspices. They must first present themselves for selection by the local Labour Parties; after which they may be vetoed by the Party Executive. Since the Labour Party is still thoroughly reformist, but few local Labour Parties are prepared to adopt candidates with any Communist leanings. If any Communists succeed in getting adopted as candidates they must run as "Labour" candidates only; no other title is allowed; they will be held responsible for the Labour Party's reformist programme; they will be expected to have speaking for them reformist speakers; their election addresses will be subject to the approval of the local Labour Party. Should any Communists suffer all this and secure election to Parliament, having duly taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown, they will become members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and subject to its discipline, which is strict.

The Parliamentary Labour Party decides on most questions; what line the Party shall take, who shall voice its views, and how its members shall vote.

The Speaker of the House of Commons is notified by the various Party representatives which of the Party members are to speak in the debates. The Speaker arranges with the Party representatives the order in which the speakers shall be called upon. Until all the persons thus arranged for have been called on the Speaker will allow no other Member to catch his eye. Only if the debate has virtually broken down will the unchosen Communist get an opportunity to speak! And if he does, the other Members of Parliament can silence him by leaving the Chamber, for the debate can only continue whilst 40 Members remain.

Inkpin says that he advocates affiliation to the Labour Party, because he experienced the stultification that resulted when the B.S.P. stood outside the Labour Party. But is Inkpin quite sure that this was the real cause of the stultification? Was it not, perhaps, that the B.S.P. policy and programme were not far enough removed from those of the Labour Party, to create any strong current of feeling in the opposite direction? We ask this, reflecting that many of the men who then led the B.S.P., and most notably, H. M. Hyndman, are to-day Social Patriots of a most extreme order, their Reformism being too weak, and their bourgeois Imperialism too strong, even for the Labour Party!

But again, comrade Inkpin, does it not occur to you that the times are changing? Do you

not see that the Revolutionary Communism that to-day is stirring the blood of the workers' advance-guard in every country, and has won through to power in Russia, seemed, in the days when the B.S.P. stood outside the Labour Party, too impossibly remote to gain adherents, except amongst the dauntless (daring few, the very dauntless, very daring few)?

The War and the Russian Revolution have helped to bring Communism nearer. The increasing consciousness of the Workers, which was developing even before those world-shaking events, is preparing the way for the Communist Party which will one day assume control. But even to-day, the convinced Communists, those who will work actively to build the Communist Party, and to bring the Communist Revolution, are, in Britain, very few in number.

A Sound Party More Important Than a Big One.

Do not worry about a big Communist Party yet; it is far better to build a sound one. Do not argue, comrade Inkpin, that the B.S.P. membership is larger than that of some other parties. Do not let us pretend to be big, comrade Inkpin; we are all very small in size; and if some are smaller still, it really does not matter. The great point is, just now, that we should be advancing the propaganda of Communism. When the workers are ready to accept Communism, we shall see a big Communist Party. Until that time comes, the Communist Parties that are really Communist Parties, will certainly be small.

In the meantime, we must persevere with Communist propaganda, and never hesitate lest we should make it too extreme. Let it be clear-cut and absolutely Communist; the more extreme our doctrine is, the more surely it will prepare the workers for Communism.

Comrade Inkpin is right in thinking that we should do propaganda in the Labour Party; yes, and in the Trade Unions Congress, and in the other affiliated bodies. Of course we do, and of course we must, but we can do it without affiliating to the Labour Party. In every industrial organisation, there are some Communists. We must see to it that their number grows, and that they all link up with the Communist Party, and push its programme and policy. They must fight for the acceptance of the programme and tactics of Communism in the Labour Party, in the trade union congress, in the trade union branches, in the workshops—everywhere. To influence the workers who are to-day in the Labour Party, it is not necessary for the Communist Party to ally itself with the Labour Party; that they are susceptible to outside influence has been proved time and again—by Lloyd George, as well as by the workers' advance-guard—but the future is with us.

How We can Influence Those Who are in the Labour Party.

Comrade Inkpin speaks of the Labour Party as "the main body of the working class movement." It no longer represents the revolutionary workers. More and more they are congregating outside its ranks! Gallacher's letter shows us the position in Scotland, and the same tendency is at work in England and Wales.

In Italy, which is several stages ahead of us in revolutionary progress (as our Correspondent, in his article, "Soviets in Italy" shows), the Socialist majority has already recognised that the revolutionary movement must be based on the workshop, and they are preparing the Soviet organisation on that basis; there are differences of detail within the Italian Party, but it is generally recognised that the working class must be reached by a direct appeal within the workshops. An enormous work lies before us there. Until we have done the propaganda necessary amongst the rank and file workers, we shall neither influence, nor expel the officials at the head of the Labour Party and the trade unions.

I shall return to the subject of the new Communist Party next week.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

February 10th. The first sitting of the new session opened with the usual speech from the throne.

Lloyd George Roused.

Excited by Mr. Adamson's criticism of the proposed Government Bill for Ireland, Mr. Lloyd George exclaimed: "Was there a single Sinn Féiner who told him that they would accept his proposal? Not one! What is the use of talking about self-determination, either here or outside, if you do not mean it? By self-determination do you mean that at the moment the majority of the Irish people demand a Republic, you are to grant it? You do not, and it is dishonest to suggest it." Brave, Lloyd George; here you have clearly shown that you really understand the meaning of "self-determination"; but why should it be right for the republics of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and all the rest to exist, if an Irish Republic is taboo? Therefore, the Prime Minister had better discontinue to be what he termed "dishonest," and admit that the republics here mentioned were created so as to ruin the Central Empires, without thought or care for that word "self-determination." Lloyd George's taunt to the Labour Members was a true home thrust; they do not mean to give self-determination to Ireland. Adamson proved that by his talk of giving "the most generous measure of self-government we possibly can."

According to the Prime Minister, the high cost of living is not caused by profiteering. Another wise saying of his was that workmen cannot be got because "trade union regulations cannot be suspended." By that he means that ex-soldiers will not be allowed to be blacked by the unions; has he tried forcing the employers to pay the trade union rates to these men, at the same time advocating that, where possible, these men should join their respective unions.

No! Lloyd George and Co. do not love powerful trade unions, so they go about the country, prating about 350,000 soldiers being prevented from working by the trade unions! The Prime Minister's remarks on Russia are dealt with elsewhere.

Nationalisation.

February 11th. Mr. Brace (Lab.) moved an amendment to the Address regretting the fact that the King made no mention in his speech of the nationalisation of mines, although the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Coal Industry had recommended such legislation.

A Strike For Soviets.

Mr. Lloyd George argued that, should the miners decide to strike on the nationalisation issue, the Government would regard that as "establishing a Soviet in the land, and, if it succeeds, there is an end of constitutional government." This was something before which the nation "which fought the greatest war in history" would not bow down! In short, one could visualise the Citizen Army forming to defend the country from the miners. What a farce, but, also, what a reality. In this fight we see the beginning of the Government's attack on Communism at home.

Starving Vienna.

February 12th. The prevailing conditions of starvation and appalling want in Vienna are not due to the Peace Treaty, Mr. Lloyd George maintains; because the Treaty is not yet in force!

Bolsheviks in England.

One hundred Bolshevik prisoners, Mr. Churchill declared, were brought to England as hostages.

SOUTHS WALES NOTES. By R. P.

Bolshevik Footballers.

"Changed conditions need new tactics," seems to be a maxim observed by the South Wales coal-owners.

At one time they acquired an interest in all the "pubs." Certain kinds of work were rewarded with drinks, which could only be changed for beer at the particular "pub" in which the manager would be interested.

Work in a good many pits, could also only be obtained via the public-house. Happy was the man (on pay-days) who would spend all his spare time, and most of his money, in the "pub," for surely, in these days, when the managers had more power than they have to-day, his pay docket would be a fat one.

Then the management seemed to realise that this method of lacing after the social interests of their slaves had its drawbacks. In consequence, we had our Welsh "revivals." Bethels and Salams grew, under the blessings and patronage of the coal-owners, like mushrooms, at every street corner.

The managers and officials of the collieries became, of course, the deacons of these chapels. It might thus become the chief ally of the Capitalists, and voice unto any man who dared to challenge the power of the manager! The ministers and local preachers could be relied upon to make the position of any such man intolerable.

Men who had worked a fortnight, and at the end of that time had not sufficient wages to pay their "butty," or helper, could go to the chapel on Sunday to hear the man who had been, at least, partially responsible for this, leading the congregation in prayer to aid unholy deity.

The old order changeth, however; and the intelligence of the worker beginning to assert itself, the Church loses its hold upon the people. Economic and industrial history classes are now started in every mining hamlet in the coalfield. Seeing in these classes a grave menace to their power, the coal-owners now bestow their blessings on sport.

In frantic fear, they open their purse-strings, and appoint salaried officials as sports organisers. The Owen Coal Company has appointed an organiser with a salary of £1,000 per annum, who is authorised to find football pitches and sports grounds, regardless of expense.

But, alas, for the poor Capitalist! His effort is too late to serve any useful purpose. In a good many areas, football clubs have been started, to which only professing Bolsheviks are admitted, and everywhere this has been done, the books have had to be closed within a few days, owing to the overwhelming number of applicants for membership!

When the need arises, one can confidently predict that the football pitches of Wales will yield an overwhelming number of Red Guards, and the Capitalists will be disappointed and defeated in their endeavours to create a bulwark of opposition to the aspirations of the working-class by bribing the sporting element.

Although all the efforts and schemes of the Capitalists are predestined to failure, one lesson can well be learned from them, and it is this: "Twentieth century conditions need twentieth century tactics." In all, and above all, be original.

British Empire Union.

The British Empire Union has been very rash in publishing State secrets. Mr. Holmes (L.) disclosed the fact that that union is appealing for £250,000 for its "campaign against Bolshevism and industrial unrest." As an inducement to generous donors, the British Empire Union points out that it has obtained a concession from the Income Tax authorities, whereby no tax need be paid on such contributions. Mr. Chamberlain explained this statement by declaring that 1,800 associations came under a similar scheme; but he cannot explain away the truth which this disclosure should bring home to the workers of this country. That truth is that traders of all classes, to escape income tax, and the odium of profiteering, will contribute to the British Empire Union, which, in return, will carry on its vile atrocity mongering against our Russian comrades, at the same time attacking every effort made at home to obtain a betterment in social conditions. In short, increased production can thus mean that the worker is helping his employer to gain more money to use in the fight against the workers at home and abroad.

Thomas on Production.

February 13th. In a speech on the financial state of the country, Mr. Thomas (Lab.) said: "I entirely agree that production is the essence of this question. . . . It is true that he qualified that remark later by saying that the workers could not be expected to produce more, when they might be cut off work any day. But the fact remains that Mr. Thomas fails to grasp the argument put forward against increased production by Socialists, he still thinks in his reformist-capitalist way, hoping for improvement in a world made bankrupt by the very system he is trying to help patch up. Let us hope the rank and file will be wiser than their leader."

M.O.C.

Forcing the Special Conference. Rhondda No. 1 District Withholds Payments.

The executive of the S.W.M.F. seems to have thoroughly got the "wind up." No other explanation can account for their refusal to call a special conference. But the rank and file are not going to be thus balked, and the officials of the Rhondda No. 1 District have already been authorised to withhold payments to the Central Fund until a conference has been called.

Labour Paper for South Wales.

The conference, to discuss ways and means of floating a labour paper for the Rhondda, held on February 13th, at the Empire, Porth, ended in a fiasco. The central executive of the South Wales Miners, hearing of what was taking place in the Rhondda, and scenting danger therefrom, decided to give their paternal blessing to a resolution that had been long shelved (but taken down and dusted at every annual conference), which urged the necessity of setting up a press at Cardiff. This news, made public for the first time at the conference, caused the whole question to be referred back. Unless, however, one is greatly mistaken, to meet the need of the Rhondda, a rank and file newspaper will shortly be floated.

Horner and Pritchard.

At the monthly meeting of the Rhondda miners, the cases of comrades Horner and Pritchard were brought forward.

It was unanimously decided to convene a special District meeting, and to recommend the lodges to vote in favour of direct action, unless the two cases were satisfactorily settled. The special District meeting was held on the 14th inst., and it was unanimously decided to down tools on the 23rd inst., unless the action against comrade Horner is withdrawn, and comrade Pritchard is re-instated.

LONDON "HANDS OFF RUSSIA" COMMITTEE.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION at ALBERT HALL

on SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28th, at 7.45 p.m.

For Tickets apply to Secretary: FRED H. PEET, 21a, Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C. 2.

Speakers:

Lt-Col. MALONE, M.P., Wm. T. GOODE, M.A., ISRAEL ZANGWILL, JOHN MACLEAN, M.A., Commander H. GRENFELL (late British Naval Attaché, Petrograd), ROBERT WILLIAMS.

Chairman - - - - - TOM MANN.

No charge is made for Tickets, but contributions towards cost of meeting will be cordially appreciated.

WANTED: STEWARDS AND LITERATURE SELLERS.

DOINGS OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Save the Children.

The Labour Party Executive is urging that British municipalities shall take care of children from the famine-stricken areas of Europe. We know of some famine-stricken areas of Great Britain—but let that pass. The Labour Party would best help the children of Europe by using direct action to recall the Allied capitalist watch-dogs which are policing those famine-stricken areas to prevent them adopting Communism and making common cause with Soviet Russia, in which lies their only hope of salvation. When the German Revolution broke out Soviet Russia offered immediate food and help of all kinds; Allied pressure was used to prevent the acceptance of the offer. When the German and Austrian Revolutions once more broke out, the Allies will again endeavour to suppress them, unless the workers of the Allied countries take action. The Labour Party Press Bureau's circular says that the infant mortality in Budapest has reached the appalling figure of 90 a month. What did the Labour Party do to save the Hungarian Soviets from overthrow by the Allies?

Execution by Paris or The Hague?

The Labour Party Executive has excelled itself in futility by declaring, according to its Press Bureau, that "although it holds the principle of responsibility for war crimes should be vindicated," the accused should be tried before the Hague Tribunal or some other "neutral international court." Can the Labour Party Executive really fail to recognise that any so-called "neutral court" will be dominated by the Allies? But since the Labour Party wishes to bring home the responsibility for war crimes we ask its opinion of the punishment due for its own great war crimes: its assent to the beginning of intervention against Soviet Russia, and its support of the conscription of working-men to fight in a capitalist war?

Food Control.

The Labour Party is demanding the transformation of the Food Ministry into a permanent department. When the Limerick general strike took place as a protest against the establishment of military permits to enter the town and cross the river, the Food Controller tried to starve out the strikers by ordering that no flour should be released from the mills for use in Limerick. Such tactics would, of course, be used against the workers in this country also in any serious action by them against the employing class. But the Labour Party dearly loves the institutions of the capitalist state and has not the spirit even to demand workers' control of the food supply.

Adamson's Reply to the "Gracious Speech."

Adamson, Labour Party chairman, replying to the King's speech, disgraced himself by an unnecessary servility; more than once referring to "the gracious speech from the Throne," though the ordinary bourgeois politician is generally content to drop the gracious, and declaring that "every Member of the House will join with his Majesty in congratulating ourselves that at last we have had the final ratification of the Peace Treaty with Germany."

He made common cause with the capitalist regime, urging the Government to do everything possible "to throw the workers into the work of reconstruction, which is so desirable," and expressing a desire for "social peace."

Adamson's criticism of the Government was exceedingly weak. He referred to it as having been "up till now, a Government of good intentions." It was quite the sort of speech that a moderate Liberal might have made.

When Lloyd George spoke of making peace with the Soviet Government as an impossible proposal,

it was no Labour leader, but Commander Kenworthy who said "hear! hear!" Where were the I.L.P. Members, who are supposed to form the left wing of the Labour Party?

The Labour Party's Press Bureau strangely asserts that the Prime Minister has appropriated the Labour Party's policy towards Soviet Russia; it says:—

"Indeed, the Prime Minister does not hesitate to appropriate the very argument put forward last session by Mr. Clynes in his advocacy of a sane Russian policy. Mr. Clynes stated that the best way to restore stable government in Russia was, not to fight the Russian people, but to feed them. In his latest declaration on Russian policy the Prime Minister said: 'We must fight anarchy with abundance.'"

"We have failed to restore Russia to sanity by force; I believe we can save her by trade."

As we have said, the Social Patriotic Labour Party is as anxious to overthrow the Soviets as is the Lloyd George coalition!

Oh, Those Votes!

In the days when women were going to prison for the vote, the Labour Party declared it an unimportant question. Now that some women have votes to be caught, the Labour Party has devoted one of the four places it has secured for private Members' Bills to a measure for extending the franchise to women on the same terms as to men; another place is given to "mothers' pensions," while a bill for compensation for subsistence due to mining operations, a measure designed to protect owners of house property, and one for ameliorating the condition of the blind, make up the total. The Labour Party is evidently desirous of proving that it is not waging a class struggle!

W. Brace, in speaking on the mines nationalisation, was evidently animated by the same intention. He declared that this was "not a mere question of raising wages, or any sort of personal advantage" for the miners. Brace is not a miner, you must remember. He supported nationalisation, he said, firstly, for economy in management; secondly, for safety in working; thirdly, for maximum output. He urged that strikes and lock-outs would be reduced to a minimum, and security given against industrial disturbances. There would be "fair purchase of the interests involved," an output allowance to miners: the "needs of the exporter of coal were not neglected" by the scheme. The colliers and shareholders would be as well off as ever; their scrip would be exchanged for Government bonds; "a piece of paper would come up and a piece of paper would go back."

The *Daily Herald* declares it was "a really admirable speech." Lloyd George said the same; but he aptly pointed out that the Sankey Scheme does not eliminate private profit, and that the compensation on the basis of interest paid by the State for money now—5 or 5½ per cent., which Brace thought so fair—was "a pretty high rate." What does my hon. Friend gain by what he calls "eliminating private profit" if he does not eliminate the private investor also? He simply changes the character of the paper; in fact, that is what he said." That was Lloyd George's comment: we think that for once the actual miners would say the same thing.

W. Lunn made the most militant, working-class speech heard in the House since Keir Hardie's time, threatening a great national strike to compel the Government, and declaring: "You may be preparing machine-guns and the like, as we gather you are doing, for the miners and other workers; that won't affect the matter at all. The fight will go on."

We wish that Lunn had been advocating something better than the miserable Sankey scheme. Lloyd George rebuked him; the press has rebuked him; the *Daily Herald* has rebuked him, saying that he made "a very bitter speech," and gave Lloyd George "a convenient peg."

WHAT THE EX-SERVICE MEN SAY.

The Annual Conference of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen has passed the following resolutions:

RESOLVED:

Hands Off Russia.

(1.) That we, the delegates of the International Union of Ex-Servicemen, Widows, and Dependents, assembled here in congress, protest against the Allied intervention in Russia, as it is not in keeping with what we ex-service men were told we were fighting for, namely, self-determination. Now is the time to allow the people of Russia to manage their own affairs, and we demand the immediate withdrawal of all Allied troops from Russia; and, furthermore, that the organised worker shall stop producing munitions in order to make war with Russia, or any other nation, impossible.

Amnesty for Prisoners.

(2.) That we, the delegates here assembled in annual congress, demand the release of all naval, military, and political prisoners. We know, from experience, that many of them are rotting in convict settlements for frivolous offences. Recognising, as we do, that all the Allied Governments, with the exception of the British, have given their prisoners free pardons; also, the political prisoners have committed no offence. We demand that the prisoners named above be released at once. With the help of the organised workers, they can be liberated.

Hands Off Ireland.

(3.) That we, the delegates of the International Union, here assembled in congress, demand that the British troops be at once withdrawn from Ireland, and that the Irish people be allowed to govern their own country according to their own ideas. We hereby tender to the Irish Nation our fullest sympathy and co-operation; and, further, we pledge ourselves to assist them in their fight for freedom, by all the means at our disposal.

The Socialisation of Industry.

(4.) That we, the delegates here assembled, demand that the working-class put into operation a scheme, whereby production shall be carried on for use, and not for profit. We realise that it is in the interests of the capitalist class to have a certain amount of surplus labour, in order to break strikes and keep down wages. We protest that the promises of employment made to ex-servicemen have not been fulfilled. The King recommends that five per cent. of the ex-service men be assured employment. We do not desire that the ex-service men should be pitted against the worker. All men and women should have the right to live, and, as long as the question of unemployment is unsolved, there can be no peace.

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Saturday, February 21st, Stockwell Street, Greenwich, 3 p.m. Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker.
7 p.m., Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.
Sunday, February 22nd, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m. Walter Ponder. Chair: Melvina Walker.
Friday, February 27th, Cobden Statue (near Mornington Crescent), 7.30 p.m. Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.
Saturday, February 28th. Meetings in Hammersmith.

INDOOR.

Monday, February 23rd, 20, Railway Street, 7.30 p.m. Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m., Reading Circle.
Thursday, February 26th, 20, Railway Street, 8 p.m. Mark Starr. Third Lecture on Economics: "Labour and Labour Power."
Friday, February 27th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 to 10 p.m. Dancing.
Sunday, February 29th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7 p.m. Mr. D. E. Maguire: "War and Finance."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

Sunday, February 22nd, Victoria Park, 12 (noon). Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, February 24th, Queens Road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, February 26th, 400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m. Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, February 24th, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m. Mrs. Simpson.

EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

Tuesday, February 24th, Old Public Offices, Wakefield Road, 8 p.m. Rev. Humphrey Chalmers: "The New Testament and Revolution."

Pass the "DREADNOUGHT" on to your Friends.